“IF THEY CAN DIE FOR ITALY, THEY CAN PLAY FOR ITALY!”:

IMMIGRATION, ITALO-ARGENTINE IDENTITY, AND

THE 1934 ITALIAN WORLD CUP TEAM

by

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A THESIS

Presented to the Department of History
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2017

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: “If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!”: Immigration, Italo-Argentine Identity, and the 1934 Italian World Cup Team

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Degree awarded June 2017

THESIS ABSTRACT

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Master of Arts

Department of History

June 2017

Title: “If They Can Die for Italy, They Can Play for Italy!”: Immigration, Italo-Argentine Identity, and the 1934 Italian World Cup Team

In 1934, four Argentine-born soccer players participated for the Italian team that won the FIFA World Cup on home soil. As children born to parents who participated in a wave of Italian immigrants that helped reshape Argentine society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these four players were part of a larger trend where over one hundred Argentine soccer players of Italian descent were signed by Italian clubs in the late 1920s and through the 1930s.

This thesis examines the liminal space between Italian and Argentine identity within the broader context of diaspora formation in Argentina through a look at these four exemplars of the transatlantic talent shift. Utilizing sources that include Italian and Argentinian newspapers and magazines, national federation documents, and census and parish records, the thesis reveals the fluidity and temporality of national identity among Italo-Argentine immigrant offspring during the early twentieth century.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This M.A. thesis builds upon previous research conducted as both an undergraduate and a graduate student at the University of Oregon. My gratitude, first and foremost, goes out to Professor Carlos Aguirre for his continued support of my investigations into the broader history of soccer in Argentina. His depth of understanding about both the history of soccer throughout Latin America as well as the broader cultural forces at play helped maintain my own enthusiasm throughout the project. I also wish to thank Professors Robert Haskett and John McCole for their support of this project throughout my time in Eugene, as well as Professor Daniel Pope for his counsel at the earliest stages of the thesis research.

I also wish to thank several other individuals who offered advice throughout the course of this undertaking. Lucas Burke, Josh Fitzgerald, Nichelle Frank, Breann Goosmann, Lacey Guest, Hillary Maxson, Miles Reding, and Haley Williamson all provided instrumental advice throughout the course of beginning the writing of this thesis in History 607 during the Winter 2017 term. Alberto Lioy in the Department of Political Science provided a sounding board as well as critical assistance with reviewing my translations of Italian-language source materials. Lauren Goss of UO Special Collections and University Archives and Patrick Salkeld at the University of Central Oklahoma also offered suggestions at several stages of the draft process.

Dedicated to my wife Melanie, for encouraging me to return to school

and for supporting me at every stop along the journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With less than twenty minutes remaining in the second half of the 1934 FIFA World Cup final, a partisan crowd of between 55,000 and 60,000 mostly local supporters was silenced at the Stadio Nazionale del Partito Nazionale Fascista in Rome. Antonin Puc beat veteran Italian goalkeeper and team captain Giampiero Combi from a tight angle to put Czechoslovakia 1-0 ahead of the hosts. Down by a goal in the final ten minutes of the second half, Italy scored late to force extra time and then found the decisive goal in the first overtime period to claim its first world soccer championship. When Combi hoisted the Jules Rimet Trophy after two full hours of play, Fascist Italy reaped a major reward from its investment in sport as a vehicle for promoting the regime.

Yet Italy's success throughout the tournament was due in large part to the contributions of several key individuals who were born not in Italy but in Argentina. In the final, it was Raimundo Orsi—who had been born just south of Buenos Aires in Avellaneda—who scored the late equalizer that sent Italy and Czechoslovakia to overtime. Five minutes into the first overtime session another Argentine native, Enrique Guaita of Buenos Aires, slotted a pass through the Czechoslovak defense to Italian teammate Angelo Schiavio for the winning goal.[1] The starting eleven for Italy in the finals also included Luis

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This paper includes primary source materials in both Spanish and Italian. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

[1] See "I calciatori italiani alla presenza del Duce conquistano il campionato del mondo," *La Stampa* (Torino), June 11, 1934, for the initial response to the victory in Italy the day after the championship victory. Statistical information and rosters for the 1934 World Cup final was also consulted at "1934 FIFA World Cup Italy: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed February 11, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/italy1934/matches/index.html.

Figure 1. 1934 Italian World Cup Team Photo

Luis Monti is standing in back row, second from the right. Raimundo Orsi is the second player from the left crouching in the front row. Enrique Guaita is at the right end of the front row.

Source: Bob Thomas, "The Italian team is pictured with their coach Vittorio Pozzo before the 1934 FIFA World Cup semi-final against Austria," Getty Images, June 3, 1934, via "World Cup 1934 Photos," *FIFA.com*, posted January 26, 2015, accessed January 27, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/italy1934/photos/index.html.

Monti, the formidable Buenos Aires-born midfielder who patrolled the center of the pitch and became the only player to participate in two World Cup finals for two different teams after captaining the losing side when Argentina lost against Uruguay in 1930.

These talented men were the beneficiaries of the immense pressure on Italian manager Vittorio Pozzo to lead the host nation to victory and validate Fascist efforts to promote sports. Calling upon the best players in Italy's national league meant integrating *oriundi* (the term given to foreign-born individuals of Italian descent) into the starting

lineup for every World Cup match. In addition to mainstays Orsi, Guaita, and Monti, Pozzo gave a start to another Buenos Aires native, Atilio Demaria, as well as Brazilian-born Anfilogino Guarisi during the earlier rounds of the tournament. Of these players, whose status as naturalized Italians made them eligible for military conscription, Pozzo challenged any claims on the legitimacy of including them in his roster. His common refrain was that "If they can die for Italy, they can play for Italy!"[2] In this way Italo-Argentine players (individuals born in Argentina to Italian immigrant parents) were incorporated into Fascist definitions of nationalism.

Photos such as the one on the preceding page, taken prior to the semifinal match against Austria, offer a window into the demeanor of the foreign-born individuals relative to their Italian-born teammates. All three Argentine-born individuals who took the field in Florence that day appear almost disinterested in the pregame revelry and displays of nationalism that were already commonplace at that early stage of international competition. Monti, standing in the back, seems far less at ease than his teammates, while Orsi and Guaita are both fidgeting with their hands in the front row. In total, the trio's body language seems to indicate a desire to get to the business of playing the match.

Each of these men previously suited up for their natal lands in international competition before representing the *azzurri* (the nickname of the Italian national team due to their distinctive blue jerseys) in the 1934 World Cup. Orsi and Monti each won a silver medal with Argentina at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam. Monti was joined by

[2] Attributed to Pozzo in Brian Glanville, "Luck or judgment? Managerial choices at Euro 2004 raise eyebrows," *Sports Illustrated*, posted July 5, 2004, accessed via *Internet Archive* February 2, 2017, http://web.archive.org/web/20110604050359/http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2004/soccer/07/05/glanville.ws/index.html.

Demaria on Argentina's roster for the 1930 World Cup in Uruguay. Guaita was young enough to earn playing time for Argentina both before and after his sojourn in Italy. Even Anfilogino Guarisi, the lone Brazilian in the bunch, won the 1925 Copa América with the team of his birthplace.

Fielding foreign-born players did not in itself make Italy unique among soccer-playing nations. The United States, Italy's opening-round opponent, fielded players who had emigrated from England, Scotland, and Norway.[3] The Netherlands turned to Beb Bakhuys, born in the Dutch East Indies, for much of its offensive firepower. France looked to its own overseas territories and included two Algerian-born players on its 1934 roster.[4] In this period the prevalence of shifting national boundaries meant that representing multiple national teams was not an aberration but a reality of the contemporary geopolitical dynamics at play. Today, while dual representation has been banned by FIFA, players still represent nations as immigrants, and the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union also resulted in athletes representing multiple national teams.

For those who follow international soccer, then, the sport has long required a suspension of belief regarding nationality. Events such as the World Cup serve as the stages for proxy battles between nation-states. In this context, athletes participating in those events take a "single combat warrior" role much like the astronauts about which Tom

[3] The demographics of the 1930 U.S. World Cup team are something which I covered at greater length in a previous paper. You can access that article at Zachary R. Bigalke, "Anything but ringers: early American soccer hotbeds and the 1930 US World Cup team," *Soccer & Society* (2016): 1-21. At present this article can only be accessed online, as it is pending print publication. Access to this article is available at http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14660970.2016.1267.

[4] In order to provide context about the prevalence of foreign-born players representing World Cup teams over time, a detailed chart is included in Appendix B, "Foreign-Born World Cup Representatives."

Wolfe wrote in *The Right Stuff*. Even before the World Cup began in 1930, the Olympics and other competitions provided the chance for rivalries between proximate states to be expressed without recourse to warfare. Yet the suspension of belief comes not only in terms of imbuing athletic competition with the semiotic significance to stand in for military maneuvers, but also in terms of what defines citizenship and inclusion within the nation. This is a question that has vexed not only soccer but all sports since the evolution of modern sports and sporting events.

What was unique in the Italian case are the mechanisms by which over one hundred *oriundi* entered the employ of Italian clubs, beginning with the mid-1920s reforms that swept through Italian soccer and continuing through the end of the Fascist era. Italy's turn toward foreign-born talent was the result of a conscious government-driven reimagining of nationality under Mussolini that will be detailed in the fourth chapter. Much has already been written about the Fascist sport project, especially the emphasis the Italian regime placed on sports facility development in the interwar period.[5] A series of legalistic manipulations helped foster the conditions by which Italy centralized control over soccer on a national level, formed a professional national league, and closed off its borders to foreign talent while expanding the concept of what constituted domestic status.

As such, the four Italo-Argentine players representing Italy in 1934 were among the beneficiaries of structural changes within the sport that permitted *oriundi* to naturalize

[5] See for example: Robert S.C. Gordon and John London, "Italy 1934: Fascism and Football," in *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, ed. Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 41-63; Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004); and *In Corpore: Bodies in Post-Unification Italy*, ed. Loredana Polezzi and Charlotte Ross (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007).

and play for Italian clubs. The passage of the Carta di Viareggio (Viareggio Charter), so named because it was drafted and constituted in the seaside city in Tuscany in August 1926, brought major changes to Italian soccer. The charter paved the way for a fully national league comprised of professional clubs, which began play in 1929-1930. It also sought to reduce the influence of foreigners in the game by restricting the use of foreign-born players.

Yet embedded within the Carta di Viareggio was the loophole that helped facilitate the movement of South Americans into the Italian game, as the Fascist interpretation of Italian identity deemphasized birthplace in favor of lineage to allow foreigners with Italian ancestry to play in the Italian league as "repatriated" Italians. Though they were Argentine citizens by birth, the Fascist government operated under a broad definition of citizenship that extended dual citizenship to individuals whose parents had immigrated from Italy. *Oriundi* thus lived as individuals who identified in a space of multiple nationalities, and it is the interplay between Italian and Argentine identity that drives this project.

This thesis advances the line of scholarship about the 1934 World Cup by evaluating the story of the *oriundi* through both the pull factors that drew athletes to play for clubs in Fascist Italy as well as the push factors that made overseas employment more attractive. This story also requires a look at the broader sociocultural factors that were a critical part of Argentina's demographic growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Italian immigrants helped create the modern Argentine state. Both aspects are critical for beginning to understand why players chose to navigate the liminal space between Italian and Argentine identity.

Identifying as Italian was not a foreign concept to the South American players who journeyed to play in Serie A, as decades of transatlantic migrations primarily related to

employment had already opened the Atlantic as a point of exchange between motherland and diaspora. The decades-long period where immigration irreversibly impacted the demographic composition of the Argentine populace helps explain more generally the state of dual nationality among Italians and their Argentine-born offspring. Like their parents (and in some cases grandparents) who had immigrated to Argentina, the dozens of soccer players who plied their trade in Italy followed in this tradition of economic opportunism.

But while economics might offer a simple explanation as to why *oriundi* soccer players took advantage of professional opportunities in Italy, why were the best among the repatriated players willing to adopt a fluid conception of national identity and represent both their Italian and Argentine nationalities based on temporal and situational circumstances? This research extends an understanding of the broader linkages that might have inspired Argentine-born athletes to assist in the Italian nation-building project by participating in high-profile, high-stakes international soccer competition—as well as the ephemerality of those linkages.

Once the Carta di Viareggio provided the loophole that allowed Italian soccer clubs to turn to South American players of Italian ancestry as a ready supply of talent, players of Italian descent had economic incentive to play up already extant notions of Italian identity. While this rationale might be sufficient to explain participation with professional clubs, though, it does not entirely explain why players represented the national team. To understand why Argentine-born soccer players were willing to represent Italy in international play at the 1934 FIFA World Cup, we must first come to understand the dynamics by which Italians were at the forefront of a demographic boom in Argentina.

What I am undertaking with this thesis is to foreground my primary research on these four players with the extant secondary scholarship on Italian diasporas and Argentine immigration in a way that helps frame the shifting nature of national identity. While the thesis introduces new biographical information about these athletes, it is not primarily a biography in nature. Rather, in working to amalgamate these disparate threads of research, the intent is to investigate more broadly a century of diasporic Italian national identity formation in Argentina and the ways in which Italian culture both shaped and separated immigrants and their children from broader Argentine society.

In doing so, the goal is to move beyond purely economic explanations to better understand why Italo-Argentine soccer players treated national identity as a malleable construct. Each of the four individuals detailed in this thesis emphasized their multiple nationalities at various points in time by choosing to alternate between representing their personal homeland and the native land of their parents. By connecting these storylines, this thesis answers both the structural and individual factors that helped steer men like Orsi, Monti, Guaita, and Demaria to depart from Argentina and represent a nation which only one had previously visited and to which each had varying degrees of familial ties. At once it brings into question both how these four men self-identified in terms of their nationalities, as well as how the general public collectively forms a common national identity.

Because of its sociocultural as well as geopolitical relevance both historically and presently, soccer has long offered a chance to become a representative of the nation on an international stage. The four Argentine-born players who helped Italy win its first World Cup, and who had previously represented Argentina, demonstrate the multiplicity of national identities that can exist within an individual. Through soccer, then, we can see

how the progeny of Italian immigrants in Argentina more broadly incorporated their parents' conception of identity and the societal factors that were developing around them and adapted these traits to take advantage of circumstances.

The four Italo-Argentine stars who represented Italy in the 1934 World Cup demonstrate the fluidity of national identity that persists to the present. Much like the offspring of other diaspora communities, the *oriundi* players who suited up for Italy navigated an intersection between the past national identities of their parents and the nationality they personally developed growing up as youth in a rapidly evolving Argentine culture. In this way, we should be able to learn something about their experiences by understanding the society in which they were raised. The four *oriundi* of 1934 demonstrate the duality of national identity for Italo-Argentine individuals, as they existed in a liminal space between *italianità* and *argentinidad* where they were at once of both nationalities and neither nationality.[6]

[6] *Italianità* is the term describing Italian national character. Likewise, *argentinidad* is the term used to express Argentinian national character. These terms, along with *criollo* (native-born Argentinians of Hispanic descent), *oriundi* (a term describing a foreign-born individual of Italian ancestry), Italo-Argentine (Argentine-born individuals of Italian descent), *mediterraneità* (a term attributed to a Mediterranean character), *albiceleste* (the nickname for the Argentine national team due to the color of their jerseys) and *azzurri* (the nickname for the Italian national team due to the color of their jerseys) will be used throughout the paper. Other terms will be defined as necessary throughout the paper.

CHAPTER II

HISTORIOGRAPHIC REVIEW

The seeds of this thesis were first planted soon after completing my undergraduate thesis work on the politics of soccer's early development in Argentina. To stimulate my general interest in soccer history, I picked up a copy of John Foot's *Winning at All Costs: A Scandalous History of Italian Soccer* to read over summer break. In Foot's work, I heard about the Carta di Viareggio for the first time. Two weeks removed from graduation, my first emotion in coming across this new piece of information was disappointment that I had not made this connection prior to completing my undergraduate work. Given its outsized influence on the flow of talent out of Argentina at the end of the country's amateur era, though, I was also surprised that no prior scholarship on soccer in Argentina had referenced this key document. I filed away this nugget of information and turned toward other projects in the interim.

In returning to the subject over the past year, I began to read more about Italian soccer during the Fascist era. Overall, I was disappointed by the superficial treatment afforded to *oriundi* players within the broader story of soccer's development under the rule of Mussolini. In focusing on the national aspects of the history, scholars of Italian soccer were inclined to gloss over the structural factors that drove players to move away from Argentina. Much like ships passing one another on the transatlantic voyage between Genoa and Buenos Aires, scholars dealing with these two regions knew the other group existed yet never seemed to connect in any meaningful way.

In a 2015 article commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Alain Bairner made an argument for greater

intersectionality in studying the impact of sport on nationalism. As an example of what this new approach might look like, Bairner suggests that "instead of focusing primarily on how female athletes are represented in their national media, it would be interesting to learn how these women see themselves in relation to the national project."[1] This short thought piece by Bairner helped inform the way in which I framed the scope of my research this term. The hybridity of this project aligns with the call to diversify beyond the "imagined communities" narrative issued by Bairner that is as relevant to sport historians as it is to the sport sociologists to whom he was originally speaking.

Like my previous research on U.S. soccer, this current project is in many ways a work of migration history in which national identity is questioned through participation in representing the nation-state in athletic competition. Because it touches upon so many different aspects of historical inquiry, my research is inevitably dependent on the work of past historians as well as scholars in other disciplines. My work engages with scholarship on the immigrant experience in Argentina and the formation of Italian diasporas as much as it does with sport itself. As such, it bears looking a bit further into the key developments within these two fields of research and how evolving understandings of nationality and immigration in the context of Argentina and Italy will influence the final form of my project this term.

In terms of immigration to Argentina, there is a long historiography in the subject. Much of this research is in Spanish, dating back as early as Enrique de Gandía's 1932 ethnographic study of early Italians in Buenos Aires and Jorge F. Sergi's 1940 history of

[1] Alan Bairner, "Assessing the sociology of sport: On national identity and nationalism," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 50, no. 4-5 (2015): 378.

Italian immigration to Argentina.[2] Given the legacy of Italian immigration both in Buenos Aires and throughout Argentina, the continued interest in the subject is reflected into the present. Much of the discussion has remained rooted in a materialist dialectic that emphasizes the labor aspects of immigrants, especially the research conducted through the end of the twentieth century. Some, such as Eduardo P. Archetti, have engaged in study of the immigrant origins of Argentine cultural forms, though the primary focus of most studies centers on urbanization, export agriculture, and the economic factors that guided Argentine immigration policy.

Samuel L. Baily, professor emeritus in the Department of History at Rutgers University, is probably the most prolific scholar to publish about Italians in Argentina during past half-century. Baily began to publish on current developments in Argentina in 1965, and his work was at the forefront of this labor-focused research into Italians in the country. In addition to labor history, Baily has also focused on Italian-language media development and the impact of marriage patterns on assimilation as his research interests have evolved, and his 1999 book *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise* ties together four decades of research in one monograph. He situates himself in opposition to the assimilationist model of migration history that was the dominant discourse within the field during the first two decades after World War II, contextualizing rather than glossing over the structural factors that aided in both assimilation and in the retention of Italian identities.[3]

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[2] Enrique de Gandía, *Los Primeros Italianos en el Río de la Plata y Otros Estudios Históricos* (Buenos Aires: A. García Santos, 1932); Jorge F. Sergi, *Historia de los Italianos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Editora Italo Argentina S.A., 1940).

[3] Samuel L Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 10.

More recent articles by María Cruset and Lucy Taylor both help deconstruct the discourse around citizenship in Argentina.[4] Both published within the past four years, these two articles further demonstrate the limits inherent within immigrant status. Cruset's work focuses on the legal frameworks assembled to maintain the foreignness of Italian populations in Argentina, demonstrating the variable status of Italians in Argentina and the dialectic of assimilation and control at the heart of these laws. Taylor steers her research toward the ways in which immigration confronted the Spanish colonial dichotomies of indigenous versus citizen populations, providing a new theoretical framework that opens the door toward a better understanding of the relationship of Italians to Argentina as political beings.

Further, books such as Federico Finchelstein's 2010 monograph *Transatlantic Fascism* have worked to connect the immigrant discourse into a broader transnational narrative dissecting political developments among homeland and diaspora alike during the early twentieth century. In working to "denaturalize standard notions of what is Latin American and what is European," Finchelstein engages in employing a transnational and comparative dimension to his scholarship which has helped to inform the direction of my current project.[5] A desire to demonstrate both linkages and points of opposition between Argentina and Italy during the Fascist period are at the heart of this research and also play a role in the direction of the research pertaining to the next facet of my inquiry.

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[4] María Cruset, "From 'Melting Pot' to Nation-State: The Argentinian Case," *New Balkan Politics* 14 (2013), online; Lucy Taylor, "Decolonizing Citizenship: Reflections on the Coloniality of Power in Argentina," *Citizenship Studies* 17, no. 5 (2013): 596-610.
[5] Federico Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence, and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919-1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 9.

The historiography related to Italian diasporas is also diverse, and there is far more that has been written about the subject in English. Much like other fields, the history of Italian diasporas began with a focus on labor and economic history. Scholars such as the late Italian economic historian Luigi De Rosa extended this argument with a voluminous array of research on the subject from the 1970s onward. An economic focus remained prevalent in the scholarship through the early 1990s, when Dino Cinel published *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration*.[6] This book provided a more nuanced image of regional variability in the impact of emigration and repatriation on Italian communities than anything that had previously been published, though Cinel's analysis remains firmly rooted in materialist analysis of the lived experiences of Italian diasporas and their financial connections to Italian regional life.

More recently, several monographs released over the past decade have offered new ways of looking at this diaspora beyond a source of remittances to supply needed capital to Italian projects. Aliza S. Wong has picked up the discourse of race that had long been set aside by earlier generations of scholars studying Italian national identity, a critical factor in understanding the variegated nature of Italian society.[7] Mark Choate goes a step further, articulating diaspora formation as a form of "emigrant colonialism" given the lasting ties between Italy and its expatriate communities in Argentina and elsewhere throughout the Americas.[8]

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[6] Dino Cinel, *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration, 1870-1929* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[7] Aliza S. Wong, *Race and the Nation in Liberal Italy, 1861-1911: Meridionalism, Empire, and Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
[8] Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

On a more conceptual level, it has also been valuable to look at several studies related to dual nationality. Liza Mügge's 2012 paper on dual nationality and transnational politics, specifically as it relates to Surinamese and Turkish populations in the Netherlands, helps provide a more detached case study outside of the scope of the thesis. Mügge's research affords an opportunity to test the dynamics that play on immigrants' sociopolitical identities, including the push and pull of state actors in both the country of origin and the country of settlement.[9] Other studies have focused in more acutely on dual nationality among Latinos, both in terms its impact on naturalization in countries of settlement and on political connectedness in both host and origin countries.[10] Since o*riundi* players who signed contracts with Italian clubs in the 1920s and 1930s took on dual nationality, the broader significance of dual nationality both within Latin America and more globally plays another role within the thesis.

In addition to this work on dual nationality, it has also been valuable to look at modern sociological developments regarding assimilation theory, especially as it pertains to the children of immigrants. In challenging traditional models of assimilation theory that articulated a straightforward and linear process of incorporation, sociologists have helped form a more complex understanding of assimilative processes among immigrants and their offspring. Demonstrating the variability in adopting the native language of parents, trends

[9] Liza Mügge, "Dual Nationality and Transnational Politics," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38, no. 1 (2012): 1-19.
[10] Michael Jones-Correa, "Under Two Flags: Dual Nationality in Latin America and Its Consequences for Naturalization in the United States," *International Migration Review* 35, no. 4 (2001): 997-1029; Jeffrey K. Staton, Robert A. Jackson, and Damarys Canache, "Dual Nationality Among Latinos: What Are the Implications for Political Connectedness?" *Journal of Politics* 69, no. 2 (2007): 470-482; Sarah Allen Gershon and Adrian D. Pantoja, "Pessimists, Optimists, and Skeptics: The Consequences of Transnational Ties for Latino Immigrant Naturalization," *Social Science Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (2014): 328-342.

in identifying with parents' national origins, and other factors that play into the pace of assimilation, this vein of research has helped better understand the fluidity of national identity for children navigating spaces between host and diaspora cultures.[11]

This thesis presents the case studies of the four *oriundi* players who represented Italy in the 1934 World Cup and builds upon these various facets of research. The empirical work on Italian diasporic relations, Argentine immigration policy and demographics, and Fascist sport development all inform the thesis, as does the theory underpinning the lived experiences of immigrant offspring and dual-nationality individuals. Integrating these outside influences on sociocultural development helps to place the respective historiographies of Argentine and Italian soccer history into clearer conversation with one another and illuminate how soccer in both countries provided the space in which *oriundi* athletes could express the multiple facets of malleable national identities.

[11] Several recent monographs focusing on new models of assimilation theory include Susan Wierzbicki, *Beyond the Immigrant Enclave: Network Change and Assimilation* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2004) and Caroline L. Faulkner, *Economic Mobility and Cultural Assimilation among Children of Immigrants* (El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2011). See also Barry R. Chiswick, Yew Liang Lee, and Paul W. Miller, "A Longitudinal Analysis of Immigrant Occupational Mobility: A Test of the Immigrant Assimilation Hypothesis," *International Migration Review* 39, no. 2 (2005): 332-353;

CHAPTER III

OPENING ARGENTINA'S DOORS: IMMIGRATION DEMOGRAPHICS AND RAIMUNDO ORSI

Raimundo Orsi was the first of the 1934 Italo-Argentine quartet to make the transatlantic voyage to play professionally in Italy. He arrived in October 1928, having signed a contract with Juventus of Turin after starring in the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics for silver medalist Argentina. The contract between Orsi and the club included payments of 8,000 lire a month, a signing bonus of 100,000 lire, and a Fiat 509.[1]

Figure 2. Photo of Raimundo Orsi

Source: "Raimundo Orsi at Independiente ca. 1920s," *Wikimedia Commons*, updated August 6, 2012, accessed April 22, 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Raimundo_Orsi_Independiente.jpg.

The salary and added bonuses presented the most obvious pull factor drawing Orsi to leave his hometown club Independiente of Avellaneda to play for a foreign team nearly 7,500 nautical miles away. But Orsi has been sold, both at the time of his arrival and decades after the fact, as a quintessential representation of an Italian citizen born abroad. Soon after he arrived in Italy, articles as far south as Naples were asserting

[1] "Raimondo Orsi sbarcato a Genova," *Il Littoriale* (Bologna), October 4, 1928, 1; Tony Mason, *Passion of the People? Soccer in Latin America* (New York: Verso, 1995), 48.

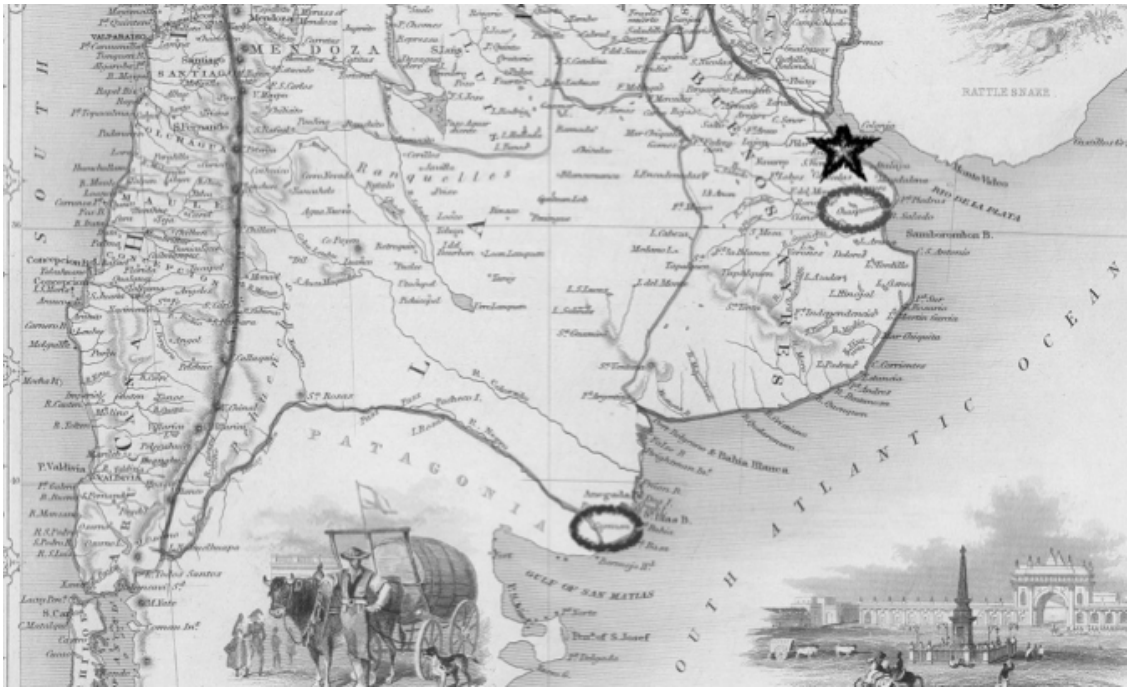
that Orsi was an Italian son of Italian immigrants who just happened to be born in Argentina, and that "he has always lived there as an Italian."[2]

Italian media, under the aegis of the Fascist government, had a clear incentive to upsell the *italianità* of Argentine-born players when trying to introduce them as legitimate Italians to the public. Yet Raimundo Orsi's genealogy does not easily conform to the narrative of Italian identity. Delving into his family tree offers an instructive look at the complicated dynamics that were taking place in Argentina as immigrants helped reshape the nation's ethnic demographics at the turn of the twentieth century. Orsi's lineage reveals the interactions between the two largest immigrant groups as well as the native-born Argentine population during this period of demographic overhaul. We can see this most clearly in the story of Orsi's parents.

We know neither when Raimundo's father, Lorenzo Orsi, arrived in Argentina, nor which ship carried him across the Atlantic Ocean from his native Genoa. His name is nowhere to be found after searching through several databases of ship passenger records. Similarly, the 1895 census records provide no information about how long Orsi had lived in Argentina at the time he gave his information to the census. What we do know is that Orsi was living in Argentina by 1895, having disembarked from one of the ships that traveled back and forth between the ports of Genoa and Buenos Aires, teeming with Italian immigrants seeking new lives in Argentina in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Lorenzo was yet another among the hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants living in Buenos Aires and the port cities south of the federal district the first time he is identified as an Argentine resident.

[2] "Raimondo Orsi in Italia," *Tutti gli sports* (Napoli), October 14-21, 1928, 4.

Figure 3. Map of Southern Argentina from 1851 Atlas



Buenos Aires is starred; Chascomús is circled directly south of Buenos Aires; and Carmen de Patagones is circled at the far south of the border.

Source: J. Rapkin, "Chili and La Plata," in *The Illustrated Atlas, and Modern History of the World Geographical, Political, Commercial & Statistical*, ed. R. Montgomery Martin, Esq. (London: J. & F. Tallis, 1851), via *David Rumsey Map Collection*, accessed March 20, 2017, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~296057~90067579.

According to the local records from the 1895 national census, Orsi was an unmarried 23-year-old living and working in the industrial city of Barracas al Sud, separated by the Riachuelo waterway from the La Boca district in Buenos Aires. Barracas al Sud was still nearly a decade away from being rechristened as Avellaneda (in honor of former Argentine president Nicolás Avellaneda) in 1904. Lorenzo could read and write, according to the census, though it is not clear from the scant details on the census records

whether that was in Spanish or only in Italian. Orsi did not own any real estate in Argentina, but he was employed as a mechanic in the city.[3]

Within six years he met and married Gregoria Donata Yturriaga, the last of four children born to a Spanish immigrant father and an Argentine mother. As with Lorenzo Orsi, there is no clear evidence to indicate precisely when Gregoria's father, Juan Yturriaga, embarked on the transatlantic voyage from his native Spain and arrived in Argentina. But, based on his long residence in the country, we can ascertain that he was among the first waves of immigrants to arrive in the country after the passage of the 1853 Constitution liberalized Argentine immigration policy. According to the 1869 national census, Yturriaga was an illiterate 24-year-old immigrant living and working as a carpenter in Chascomús, about one hundred kilometers south of Buenos Aires.[4]

Given his bachelor status in the 1869 census, Juan Yturriaga likely had not yet met his future wife, Raymunda Martínez. Raymunda was born in the town on the banks of the Río Negro in Carmen de Patagones in September 1851 into a family that lived on what was then the frontier of European settlement in Argentina,.[5] At the time, the Río Negro served as the border between independent Argentine territory and the unincorporated areas of Patagonia.[6] The couple was married sometime around 1871, though it is unclear whether

[3] "Argentina, 1895 censo nacional: Barracas al Sud (Avellaneda), Cuartel 01," *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), 188 of 230, via *FamilySearch*, digitized April 9, 2016, accessed March 9, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6SZQ-D2P?i=187&cc=1410078.
[4] "Argentina, 1869 censo nacional: Chascomús," *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), 7 of 779, via *FamilySearch*, digitized April 13, 2016, accessed March 8, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-XCZ9-WW4?mode=g&i=6&cc=1462401.
[5] "Bautismos 1804-1860," *Parroquia Nuestra Señora del Carmen* (Carmen de Patagones), 381 of 504, via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 26, 2016, accessed March 9, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-K39Z-XY?mode=g&i=380&cc=1972912.
[6] See Figure 2 on previous page for a visual representation of Argentina's southern border during this period.

the wedding took place in Carmen de Patagones, Chascomús, or elsewhere. Either soon before or soon after the wedding, Martínez moved in permanently with Yturriaga in Chascomús. Martínez left her hometown at the height of a four-year Argentine military operation to dispossess Araucanian, Ranquel, and Pampas populations of their territory and extend the southern border.[7]

Raymunda gave birth to the couple's youngest of four children, Gregoria Donata Yturriaga, in Chascomús on December 12, 1880, and the infant was baptized in the parish church nine days later.[8] Still settled in the city after several decades together, Yturriaga and Martínez approached their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary at the time of the 1895 census. After spending the greater part of his life on Argentine soil, Yturriaga had learned how to read and write and had already seen three of his four children with Raymunda reach adulthood.[9] Gregoria, who grew up with her elder siblings during a period of rapid modernization for Argentina, would soon leave home as well. The advent of railroads was shrinking the space between locales, and Gregoria moved north toward Buenos Aires at some point in the waning years of the nineteenth century.

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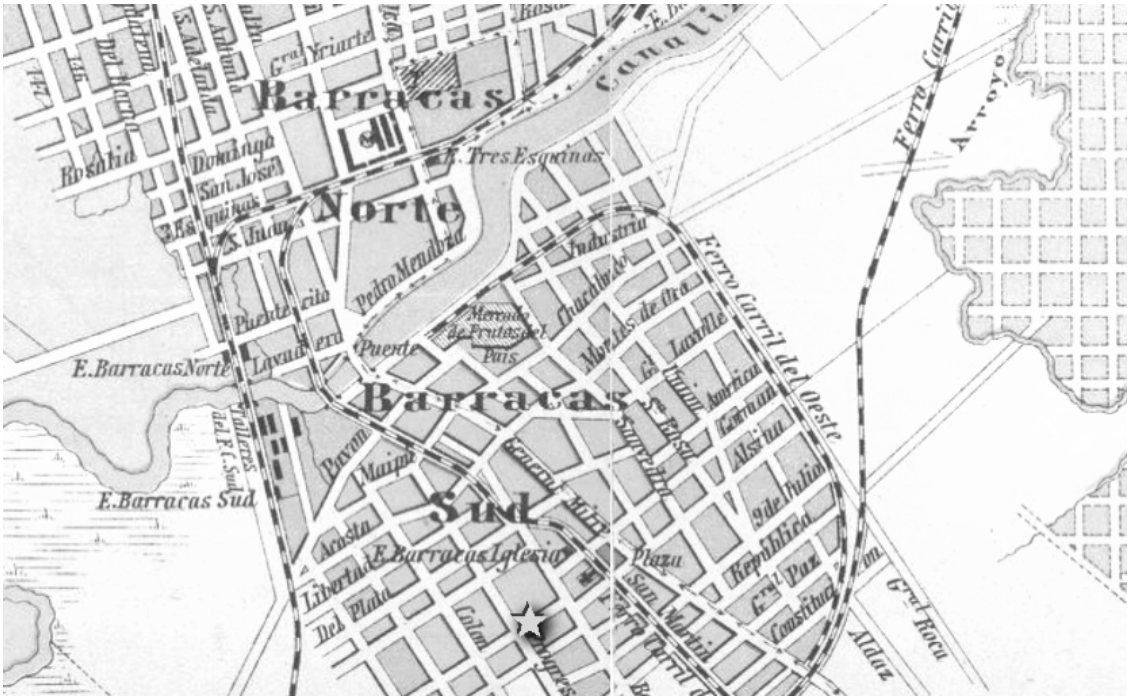
[7] Kristine L. Jones, "Civilization and Barbarism and Sarmiento's Indian Policy," in *Sarmiento and His Argentina*, ed. Joseph T. Criscenti (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), 38-39.

[8] "Bautismos 1878-1881," *Parroquia Nuestra Señora de La Merced* (General Lavalle), 597 of 623, via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 26, 2016, accessed March 9, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-61TS-G6T?mode=g&i=596&cc=1972912.

[9] "Argentina, 1895 censo nacional: Chascomús, Cuartel 02 (Población urbana)," *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), 70 of 199, via *FamilySearch*, digitized April 9, 2016, accessed March 8, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6919-9H4?mode=g&i=69.

Figure 4. View of Avellaneda from 1892 Map of Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area



The starred location at bottom center represents the first residence where Raimundo Orsi lived in Avellaneda, which was then known as Barracas al Sud. Located just off the map to the lower left is the present-day location of Estadio Presidente Juan Domingo Perón, home of Racing Club, and Estadio Libertadores de América, home of Orsi's first club Independiente.

Source: Pablo Ludwig, *Ciudad de Buenos Aires y Distrito Federal* (Buenos Aires: Gunche, Wiebeck y Turtl, 1892), via *David Rumsey Map Collection*, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3702~340019.

After marrying Lorenzo Orsi, Gregoria became pregnant as winter gave way to spring in March 1901. The couple lived on Calle Lavalle 176, a few blocks from the main cathedral in Barracas al Sud. The site has since been rebuilt in the processes of urbanization, but the address now sits nearly equidistant between the old Catholic parish seat and the new secular cathedrals of the modern era, the side-by-side stadiums of soccer

clubs Independiente and Racing Club. Neither club yet existed as Gregoria went into labor and gave birth to a son, Raimundo, on December 2, 1901.[10]

On a fundamental level, the same conditions that allowed Juan Yturriaga to arrive in Argentina at some point in the 1860s also made it possible for nearly two million Italians—including his future son-in-law—to also immigrate and lay down roots over the second half of the nineteenth century. The demographic upturn caused by what was largely a matter of Italian and Spanish immigration was the result of favorable immigration policy implemented by the Argentine government. This policy also opened the door for English immigrants to arrive on Argentine shores, where they transplanted a pastime that eventually blossomed into a national obsession. As urbanization shifted Argentina away from more traditional cultural pastimes, soccer proliferated among both native-born and immigrant populations as a cheap and entertaining diversion adaptable to the cityscape.

To understand why soccer made its way to Argentina in the first place and why Argentine-born soccer players were willing to represent Italy in international play at the 1934 FIFA World Cup, we must first come to understand the Argentine legal structures and social dynamics that made the country an attractive destination for immigrants in the latter half of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. Between 1869 and 1914 the country more than quadrupled in size, from under two million to nearly eight million people. This could not occur without a series of policy decisions by the independent Argentine state that positioned immigrants as a necessary component to realize the country's goals of building an economic base and a steady pool of reliable labor.

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[10] "Bautismos 1901-1902," *Parroquia Nuestra Señora de la Asunción* (Avellaneda), 550 of 815, via *FamilySearch*, digitized June 4, 2014, accessed March 9, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-G6DP-D?mode=g&i=549. See also Figure 4 on previous page.

This chapter investigates the mechanisms that helped bring Yturriaga, Orsi, and the parents of the other three Argentine-born Italian World Cup stars to Argentina prior to World War I. Argentina's leaders actively sought to increase their European population base, to the extent that they inserted pro-immigration language when framing the national constitution in 1853. But the political leaders of the young nation also operated from hierarchical ideas about Europeans that shaded the public reception of this legislation in a stratified and racialized context. By creating advantageous situations for immigrants, these policies helped accomplish Argentina's socioeconomic goals and built a Eurocentric population base in the country while also revolutionizing Argentine society in ways its intellectuals and leaders had not anticipated.

The Motivations of Argentine Government Immigration Policy

After its initial independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, Argentina aimed to define its nation in political rather than ethnic discourse. The goal of early Argentine leaders was to frame a republican system that would stress equality, liberty, and popular sovereignty rather than an ethnocultural definition of the nation.[11] This was not an implicit rejection of ethnicity within the discourse of the nation, but rather a de-emphasis of ethnic identity from a position of primacy in the discourse. The desire to construct a nation defined by its political rather than its cultural traits would serve as a foundational premise for Argentina's early immigration policy.

[11] Jeane Delaney, "Imagining *la raza argentina*," in *Nationalism in the New World*, ed. Don H. Doyle and Marco Antonio Pamplona (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 144.

This can be seen in the discourse around immigration that marks the earliest stage of independence. As early as 1812, Bernardino Rivadavia advocated for the government to offer "its immediate protection to individuals of all nations and to their families who want to establish their domicile in the territory of the State" as a means of promoting an independent modernization project.[12] Always one of the least populous of the Spanish colonies in the Americas, the early independence leaders recognized that they would never be able to fully realize the economic potential embedded within the vast geopolitical spaces unless they managed to acquire the population to convert their modernization goals into reality.

While there were certainly small concentrations of Italians and other immigrant populations in Argentina during the first decades of independence in the early nineteenth century, the foundations which led to wider growth of the Italian diaspora were laid with the drafting of the 1853 Constitution. The document that was eventually signed on 1 May 1853 explicitly incorporated immigration as a fundamental point of emphasis. This document created the formal structures of an open-door policy that stimulated the transatlantic flow of immigrants from Europe, a process which was critical in the building of the modern Argentine state. Building on the sentiments of earlier independence leaders such as Rivadavia, the language in the 1853 Constitution went even further in protecting the rights of foreigners on Argentine soil. The document unambiguously states that the

[12] "... siendo la población el principio de la industria y el fundamento de la felicidad de los Estados y conviniendo promoverla en estos países por todos los medios posibles, el gobierno *ofrece su inmediata protección a los individuos de todas las naciones y a sus familias que quieran fijar su domicilio en el territorio del Estado*, asegurándoles en pleno goce del hombre en sociedad, con tal de que no perturben la tranquilidad pública y respeten las leyes del país." (Translated section in italics.) Quoted in Miguel Alberto Caramuti, *La Política Migratoria Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Depalma, 1975), 21.

"federal government will encourage European immigration" to boost agriculture, industry, and intellectual life in Argentina.[13]

Article 20 of the 1853 Constitution further provided foreigners with civil protections equivalent to those of Argentine citizens. Immigrants needed to reside for just two years in Argentina to request and gain citizenship, and could even request citizenship after a shorter term of residency by "claiming and proving services to the Republic."[14] But the extension of civil liberties to foreigners living in Argentina meant that there were no restrictions on immigrants' freedom of movement, employment opportunities, religious freedoms, or additional tax impositions. These protections, when combined with latent prejudices against Mediterranean populations, meant that there was little incentive for Italians in Argentina to naturalize. While Article 20 eliminated any legal incentive to take on Argentine citizenship, however, Italians were still selectively adopting cultural norms that were becoming more widespread across ethnicities and integrating into the nation through sport and other social organizations.

Whereas Rivadavia had made no overt mention about Eurocentric immigration policy, the motivations had already begun to drift subtly toward racialized conceptions of whitening the population by midcentury. The Constitution made no explicit distinction between European countries in its pro-immigrant policy, though the leaders who signed the

[13] Translated from Article 25 of "Constitución de la Confederación Argentina (1 de Mayo 1853)," *World Intellectual Property Organization*, accessed January 17, 2017, PDF, 271, http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/es/ar/ar147es.pdf. A digital copy of the original handwritten text can also be viewed at "Constitucion de la Confederacion Argentina, 1853," *Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación*, accessed January 19, 2017, PDF, http://www.bcnbib.gov.ar/uploads/constituciondelaconfederacionargentina1853.pdf.

[14] Translated from Article 20 of "Constitución de la Confederación Argentina (1 de Mayo 1853)," *World Intellectual Property Organization*, accessed January 17, 2017, PDF, 270, http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/es/ar/ar147es.pdf.

document were influenced by political theories that delineated not only between European and non-European immigrants but which also differentiated qualitatively between different European nationalities. The next two sections of this chapter examine the immigrants that Argentine political leaders hoped to court and the real impacts of immigration on national demographics.

Argentine Leaders and Desired Immigrant Nationalities

This focus on building the Argentine population via Europe was rooted in the racialized theories of early independence intellectuals such as Juan Bautista Alberdi. Despite living most of his life in exile outside Argentina, Alberdi's political theories had an outsized impact on the men who came together to frame the 1853 Constitution. His 1852 tract, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina*, was utilized in many ways as a blueprint for framing the Constitution. In this text, he argues that immigration will bring the "revitalizing spirit of European civilization to our soil" through the habits brought across the Atlantic by European immigrants.[15] As the independent state matured, ethnicity took on a greater significance in political determinations.

Alberdi reasserted two decades after the Constitution's signing that only European immigration could lead to civilization. Unsurprisingly aligned with prevalent racial theories of his time, Alberdi contended that populating a country with Asians or Africans would "brutalize" the nation. But he also argued that there was a specific form of European

[15] Juan B. Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina,* 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires: La Cultura Argentina, 1915), 88-89.

that should be courted across the Atlantic, and that "the garbage of backward or less-refined Europe" would "poison a country" should it be allowed to overwhelm the immigration policy.[16]

What for Argentinians constituted "refined" Europe? Neither Spanish immigrants like Juan Yturriaga nor the millions of Italians like Lorenzo Orsi fit within the demographic of refined nations. For Alberdi, "the most capable immigrants" were to be found "in England, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and Germany."[17] Northern Europeans, rather than those immigrants from southern Europe, were perceived to be the more desirable ethnicities for fortifying the Argentine population. This attitude was not directly codified within the 1853 Constitution, but it was far from a hidden perception. The relevant sections of the Constitution that frame immigration as European immigration are rooted in this context of a racial discourse in which Italians—along with Spaniards and eastern European immigrants—were perceived to be second-class Europeans, almost of another continent.

As Argentina began to push its borders outward and began to evolve as an independent entity, vibrant communities were forming among many of the immigrant groups in the country. The British, for instance, developed a small but influential community that served as a critical source of both technical expertise and foreign capital as Argentina developed railroads, port facilities, and export-based industrial infrastructure over the latter half of the nineteenth century. But they also introduced their own cultural forms, among which was soccer.

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[16] Juan B. Alberdi, "Gobernar es Poblar" (Paris: 1873), in *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina,* 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires: La Cultura Argentina, 1915), 17-18.

[17] Juan B. Alberdi, quoted in *Documentos de historia argentina 1870-1955*, ed. Liliana Caraballo, Noemí Charlier, and Liliana Garulli (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1998), 15.

June 20, 1867 is one of those mythic dates that looms large over the history of soccer in Argentina. On that day, a group of young men congregated at the Buenos Ayres Cricket Club in the Palermo district to stage the city's first official soccer match.[18] After dividing into two teams and donning colored caps to signify the sides, the group of expatriates took to the field and played two 50-minute halves. When playing time concluded, the team in white caps had won 4-0.[19] That landmark encounter is often positioned as the official beginning of organized soccer in the country.

We know now that the match held on that Thursday afternoon was not the first time that soccer had been played in Argentina. For that matter, the local English-language media in the city were reporting on matches organized and held at the cricket club itself at least as early as 1863.[20] The 1867 narrative retains its power as an origin story for Argentine soccer, however, not necessarily because it was a "first" event but because it frames an early example of how liberalized immigration introduced the cultural forms that evolved into an integral part of Argentine national identity.

It also demonstrates another key facet of immigration that Argentina's elite leadership could not control. Even nationalities such as the British, who Argentine leaders hoped would assimilate most readily into Argentine culture, were inclined to introduce their own cultural forms into the mix. Though the British provided the bulk of the foreign

[18] Through much of the nineteenth century, many English-language maps and English-speaking institutions used this Anglicized spelling of the city name. Interestingly, it was also still used in some Italian-language literature that will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4. This spelling will be used only when applicable in terms of describing specific institutions and references.
[19] "Football Match," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), June 23, 1867, 2. Secondary reports of this match can also be found in Osvaldo Bayer, *Fútbol Argentino: Pasión y Gloria de nuestro deporte más popular* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1990), 18, and Eduardo P. Archetti, *Masculinities: Soccer, Polo and the Tango in Argentina* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 48.
[20] "Buenos Ayres Cricket Club," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), June 26, 1863, 3.

capital and industrial knowledge that helped build up Argentina's export economy, they were no different than other immigrants in the ways they helped steer the direction of modern Argentine culture.

Subsequent generations of leaders were not immune to this hierarchical attitude toward European immigrants. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the Argentine president from 1868 to 1874, did not hide his preference for German immigrants over other European nationalities. More importantly in terms of shaping nationalist discourse, his vehemence against Italian immigrants increased especially in the decades after concluding his six-year term as president.[21]

What makes this especially interesting is that Sarmiento, even as he harbored these sentiments toward Italians in Argentina, was nevertheless a longtime admirer of Italian arts and architecture after first immersing himself on a visit to Europe in 1847. Sarmiento was among the group of oligarchic Argentine elites who saw no contradiction in drawing upon Italian influences to leave behind the Spanish colonial past and articulate a new national form of civil identity even as they disparaged the perpetuation of Italian identity among immigrant populations. As Buenos Aires emulated European cities in reconfiguring its urban footprint in the late nineteenth century, it also drew upon a skilled Italian labor force that could help realize the vision that mirrored the shifting demographics of the Argentine population.[22] The evolution of this cultural connection will be examined further in chapter three.

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[21] Samuel L. Baily, "Sarmiento and Immigration: Changing Views on the Role of Immigration in the Development of Argentina," in *Sarmiento and His Argentina*, ed. Joseph T. Criscenti (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers,1993), 138.

[22] George Epolito, "Golondrinas: Passages of Influence: The Construction of National/Cultural Identities in Italy and the Río de la Plata Basin of South America," *National Identities* 14, no. 3 (2012): 230.

Italians were hardly the only immigrant demographic to draw skepticism about the sincerity of their loyalties within Argentine society. But, as they were the immigrant nationality that rapidly became the predominant diaspora within Argentina in the late nineteenth century, it was Italians who drew the largest level of scrutiny. The perpetuation of such prejudices among the most influential Argentine leaders would have grave consequences given the demographic realities of the growing immigrant populations in Argentina.

The Demographic Impact of Immigration Policy

Though the rest of the players were undeniably British at that landmark 1867 game on the grounds of the Buenos Ayres Cricket Club, one man's lineage has been harder to pinpoint. Among the players in Palermo that late June day was William Boschetti, whose nativity has been traced to the Caribbean island of Saint Lucia but who has also been described as Italian by ethnicity.[23] Boschetti's participation in this landmark event foreshadows the future influence of Italians and their descendants on the development of soccer both in Argentina and, later, as repatriated members of the Italian national team.

While Argentine leaders hoped to court immigrants from northern European nations, these countries contributed little to the demographic growth of the Argentine population through immigration. The British community may have been influential both in

[23] Boschetti was listed as one of the participants in "Football Match," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), June 23, 1867, 2. The argument for Saint Lucia as Boschetti's birthplace was forwarded in Jonathan Wilson, *Angels with Dirty Faces: How Argentinian Soccer Defined a Nation and Changed the Game Forever* (New York: Nation Books, 2016), 3. Depictions of Boschetti as likely being Italian by ancestry have been popularized by Eduardo Archetti, most recently in English in the article "Male Hybrids in the World of Soccer," in *The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Ana del Sarto, Alicia Ríos, Abril Trigo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 407.

Table 1. Immigrants by Country of Origin, 1870-1910						
	1870-1879	**1880-1889**	**1890-1899**	**1900-1910**	**TOTAL**	**PCT**
Belgium	628	15,096	2,654	2,391	20,769	0.6%
Denmark	303	1,128	1,282	3,437	6,150	0.2%
France	32,938	79,422	41,048	37,340	190,748	6.0%
Germany	3,522	12,958	9,204	20,064	45,748	1.4%
Italy	156,716	472,179	411,764	848,533	1,889,192	59.0%
Netherlands	111	4,315	675	1,622	6,723	0.2%
Spain	44,802	148,394	114,731	672,941	980,868	30.7%
Sweden	186	632	490	592	1,900	0.1%
United Kingdom	9,265	15,692	4,691	13,186	42,834	1.3%
Portugal	656	1,852	1,612	10,481	14,601	0.5%
PERIOD TOTAL	*249,127*	*751,668*	*588,151*	*1,610,587*	*3,199,533*	
ANNUAL AVG.	*24,913*	*75,167*	*58,815*	*146,417*		

Source: Data from J. Ulyses Balderas and Michael J. Greenwood, "From Europe to the Americas: A Comparative Panel-Data Analysis of Migration to Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, 1870-1910" (pre-publication draft, November 2006), 23.

providing the capital and skill for early infrastructural development as well as in introducing soccer to the society, but the number of immigrants from the United Kingdom totaled just under 43,000 over the four-decade period between 1870 and 1910 when immigration had the largest effect on the formation of a demographically diverse Argentine populace. The Germans sought by Sarmiento and others constituted a slightly larger population, but the numbers of immigrants from Germany was also below 50,000 over this period.[24]

[24] J. Ulyses Balderas and Michael J. Greenwood, "From Europe to the Americas: A Comparative Panel-Data Analysis of Migration to Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, 1870-1910" (pre-publication draft, November 2006), 23. See also "Table 1: Immigrants by Country of Origin, 1870-1910" on this page for data by decade for the point of origin of European immigrants.

The demographic breakdown of the points of origin of the immigrants of this period illuminates the disproportionate impact of British capital and cultural diffusion on economic and social growth in the country. When the first tentative inflow of British capital entered Argentina in the 1860s and 1870s, emigrants from the United Kingdom accounted for four percent of the total number of immigrants entering Argentina. But from this point, the proportion of British immigrants in Argentina would continue to decline in relation to other immigrant groups.

The decade of the 1870s set the precedent of Italian predominance in immigration patterns that continued throughout the rest of the century and into the 1900s. Three out of every five people to disembark in Buenos Aires to start a new life hailed from the Apennine Peninsula, which had been experiencing its own conflicts revolving around political consolidation during the same span that Argentina went through the growing pains of early independence. The 156,000 Italians who disembarked on Argentine soil were joined by another 44,000 of Yturriaga's Spanish compatriots.

The quantity of immigrants arriving from Italy more than tripled in the 1880s. As Argentina's Italian population grew to more than a half million in size, this decade also marked a larger general boom in immigration. A threefold increase in Spanish emigrants cemented their position as the second-largest group of immigrants coming into Argentina. By the point of the 1914 census, nearly ninety percent of the immigrants that had arrived in Argentina over the preceding four decades were of either Italian or Spanish origin.

The forty years between 1870 and 1910 that mark the most intense period of migration from Europe to Argentina rendered an Italian diaspora that comprised nearly one quarter of the 7.9 million people living in Argentina and a Spanish diaspora that constituted

another twelve percent of the population.[25] That so many of the more than three million immigrants hailed from Italy and Spain cannot solely be attributed to legal factors. In addition, the economic incentives for coming to Argentina can be viewed in context of the wage disparities between points of origin and the destination country.

An Italian immigrant arriving in Argentina between 1890 and 1900 could expect to earn on average 150 to 200 percent more than they would be able to earn working in comparable fields of labor back in Italy. For a Spanish immigrant during the same period, Argentina offered the opportunity to at least double his or her earnings relative to wage scales in Spain. Even as these numbers fell in the early twentieth century both prior to and during World War I, immigrants still earned higher wages in Argentina relative to their points of embarkation into the 1920s and 1930s.[26]

What makes this especially interesting is the fact that this wage gap comes in the aftermath of the Baring Brothers crisis that revealed an overdependence on foreign capital and reduced global confidence in the country's economic future.[27] A lack of data prior to that collapse makes it difficult to know what the situation looked like for earlier immigrants such as Yturriaga, but it seems likely that the trend held firm in the decade prior to 1890.

Once the economic bubble that had built up during the 1880s finally burst, overall European immigration fell by 160,000 during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The

[25] At the time of writing, there is no digitized copy of the 1914 census records available to researchers. In addition to the data found in "Table 1: Immigrants by Country of Origin, 1870-1910" on page 19, information for the total 1914 population was drawn from Michael Soltys, "1914, the year a nation counted its living," *Buenos Aires Herald*, October 3, 2014, accessed March 11, 2017, http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/169759/1914-the-year-a-nation-counted-its-living.
[26] Alan M. Taylor, "External Dependence, Demographic Burdens, and Argentine Economic Decline After the *Belle Époque*," *The Journal of Economic History* 52, no. 4 (1992): 914-915.
[27] David Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 158-159, 166.

two groups whose numbers dropped by the lowest ratios were emigrants from Italy and Spain. The decision of men like Juan Yturriaga and Lorenzo Orsi to take advantage of economic opportunities in a liberal environment for immigrants, and to forge permanent roots in the country regardless of whether they ever attained citizen status, is critical to keep in mind when considering the first- and second-generation offspring of Italian- and Spanish-immigrant parents.

Marriage Dynamics and the Italian Diaspora

The marriages of both Yturriaga and Orsi also help reveal that frustrations with the predominance of Italians and Spaniards among the immigrants flowing into Argentina were hardly universal among the native-born population. The extent to which biases against Spanish and Italian immigrants were confined to the elite factions of Argentine society bears out in the fact that marriages between Argentine citizens and immigrants, and between immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds, were becoming a more regular occurrence by the early twentieth century.

Within this liberal environment, Italian homogamy rates were already in decline by the last decade of the nineteenth century, dropping by more than six percent from 1892 to the period between 1899 and 1901 when the couple married. In the case of Orsi's parents as well as his grandparents, a combination of the demographic influx of immigrants and a gender imbalance among *criollo* individuals precluded high rates of homogamy and explains why both Raymunda Martínez and Gregoria Yturriaga married immigrants.

A deeper look at homogamy rates provides further context for understanding the real level of integration of the Italian diaspora into Argentine society. Among Argentine-

born males, rates of intra-group marriage remained steady around 75 to 80 percent between 1882 and 1923. For Argentine-born women, rates of homogamy increased in the twentieth century. The trend for Spanish-born women mirrors that of Argentine men, while male Spanish immigrants saw their rates of homogamy rise steadily much like Argentine women.

Italians, by and large, do not fit into this same picture of increased homogamy. Instead, rates of exogamous marriage increased at a regular clip among both Italian men and women over this four-decade sample of data. Lorenzo Orsi was thus part of a broader process by which Italians were intermarrying with other communities in Argentina.[28] While Italian immigrants retained a patriotic affinity for their homeland, their children navigated in a space where multiple influences helped shape their own conceptions of national identity.

By the 1920s, also, these immigrant distinctions would have been less significant as more first-generation Argentine citizens married. When Raimundo Orsi married Estela Montes de Oca on March 6, 1926, for instance, it would have registered as a homogamous marriage between two Argentine individuals.[29] What is lost in this picture is whether there were high rates of homogamy within the Italo-Argentine population. In Orsi's case, at least, he followed in his father's footsteps in marrying someone from a multigenerational Argentine family.

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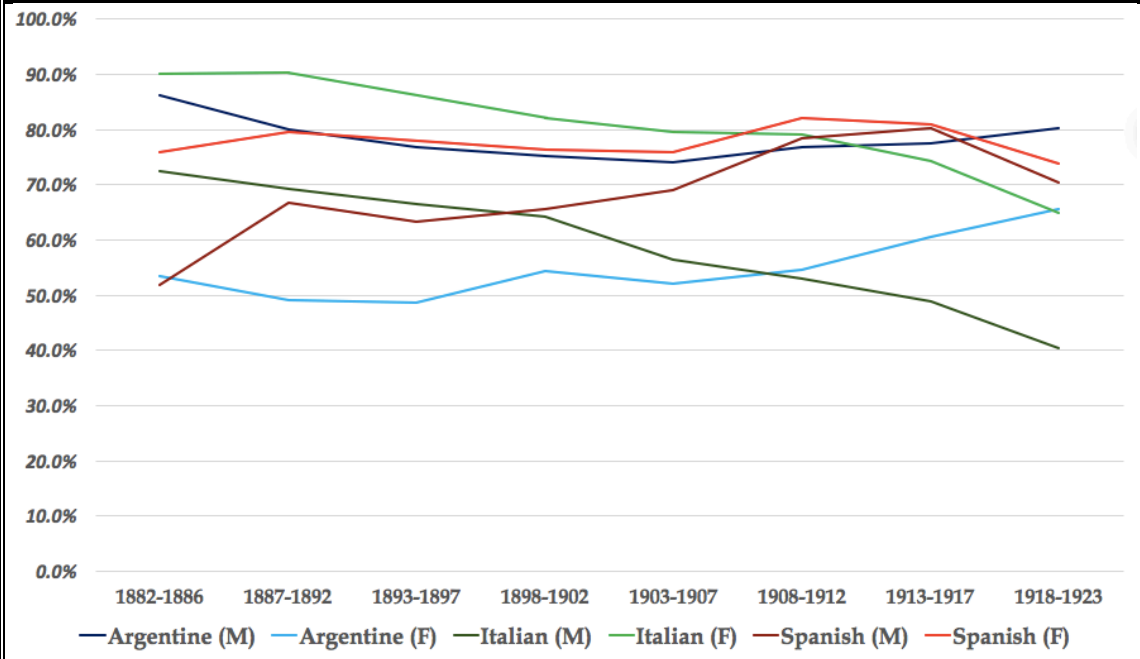
[28] See Figure 5, "Rates of Homogamy in Buenos Aires, 1882-1923," on the following page. For further context on the information visualized within the chart, see Samuel L. Baily, "Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882-1923," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 1 (1980): 40-41.

[29] "Bautismos 1901-1902," *Parroquia Nuestra Señora de la Asunción* (Avellaneda), 550 of 815.

Figure 5. Rates of Homogamy in Buenos Aires, 1882-1923



Source: Data from Samuel L. Baily, "Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882-1923," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 1 (1980): 41.

While Orsi is joined by Enrique Guaita as an *oriundi* star whose Italian ancestry only extended along one side of his family tree, the other two Argentine-born players who represented Italy in 1934 fall on the other side of the demographic divide. Though it would be foolish to infer too much from such a small sample size, the split between the two players from Buenos Aires and the other two from outside the federal district is notable insomuch as it provides a few interesting contexts about both the prevalence of and limits to homogamy throughout Argentine marriages. In the case of the four soccer stars who shifted their allegiances from the *albiceleste* to the *azzurri*, Italian lineage was hardly absolute. A deeper look at the demographics of their peers within the players' respective parishes would help better understand whether this is mere coincidence or indicative of a broader trend.

What the individual cases of the four players reveal anecdotally is that homogamous marriage seems to have been more common within the urban core of Buenos Aires than in other areas of the country. Luis Monti and Atilio Demaria, born in Buenos Aires to parents who were both Italian immigrants, fit a more traditional picture of diasporic insularity. On the other hand, Raimundo Orsi (born nearby in Avellaneda) and Enrique Guaita (from Entre Ríos province) can claim Italian heritage only on their paternal side, demonstrating that homogamy was hardly an absolute during this period. This also furthers the argument presented by Samuel Baily that reveals a more complicated picture of heterogamous marriage patterns that break along gender lines.[30]

Conclusions

Spanning the decades both before and after the drafting of the 1853 Constitution, Italians in Argentina remained stigmatized in one form or another. The racial discourses of Alberdi and other influential Argentine political theorists positioned Italians as less civilized than other immigrant ethnicities from northern Europe, and a subsequent lack of assimilation among these groups further increased the antagonism. But those prejudices were not pronounced enough to prevent the framers of the Constitution from more tightly restricting the scope of immigration to specific European countries, nor did it eliminate the economic incentives that made Argentina particularly attractive as a destination for Italian and Spanish emigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[30] Samuel L. Baily, "Marriage Patterns and Immigrant Assimilation in Buenos Aires, 1882-1923," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 1 (1980): 40-41.

Those prejudices also did not necessarily extend beyond the elite classes, considering the increased prevalence of heterogamous marriage between Italian and Spanish immigrants and the *criollo* population. The increasing number of children who, like Raimundo Orsi, were the product of heterogamous marriages led to the creation of a new generation of Argentine citizens. What, then, would lead a child such as Orsi to grow up and move away from his mother's native land not just to seek out a professional opportunity but also to represent his father's nation in international competition?

Once Italian immigrants began to form a significant demographic presence in Argentina, and began to marry both other Italian immigrants as well as locals and other immigrant nationalities, it was inevitable that this process would help shape the local culture while at the same time retaining connections to their native lands. The next chapter delves into how the nineteenth-century demographic shift in Argentina resulted in twentieth-century processes not only of contestation between immigrants and the extant populations but also of congregation and collaboration. Immigrant labor, along with foreign capital, was an essential component of Argentina's development into a modern independent state. But immigrants also had an important role to play in terms of helping in determining the course of modern Argentine national identity.

While institutional and unofficial prejudices played a part in the formation of Italian enclaves that conflicted with official Argentine goals for an assimilated society, Italians in Argentina did not remain fully insular or entirely endogamous in nature. Their affinity for natal lands was not static, but like other ethnicities with Argentina they coopted and adapted cultural forms from other groups and in turn contributed elements of their own culture to the emerging nationalist discourse. As such, the cultural influences that helped

shape the early lives of Italo-Argentine individuals like Raimundo Orsi were not exclusively Italian, but also included influences from non-Italian immigrants like his grandfather Juan Yturriaga and native-born Argentine individuals such as his mother Gregoria Yturriaga. A multiplicity of cultural influences assisted more broadly in shaping a new, aggregate Argentine identity, but it also helped to influence the fluidity with which Argentine-born individuals with Italian lineage interacted with both their Italian and their Argentine identities.

CHAPTER IV

LIVING IN TWO WORLDS: ITALIAN DIASPORIC IDENTITY AND LUIS MONTI

Among the four players from Argentina who represented Italy in 1934, Luis Monti is the most elusive and the most enigmatic of the group. He was most likely born to Italian immigrants Antonio Monti and Maria Buono in the heavily Italian *barrio* of La Boca at some point in either March or May 1901.[1] Monti and Buono were among that flow of immigrants, arriving in Argentina at some point in the late nineteenth century from the northeastern Italian region of Romagna

Figure 6. Photo of Luis Monti

Source: "Luis Monti cover photo," *El Gráfico*, October 31, 1925.

[1] Monti has been the hardest player for whom to pin down his backstory. After searching through two years of records for each of the eighteen parishes within Buenos Aires at the time of his birth, there was no child by that name recorded as being born on May 15, 1901—the date commonly cited as his birthdate. The only person of this name listed within the records for this general period is listed as being born on March 16, 1901. Given the errors of transcription that inevitably occurred during a period where recordkeeping was all done by hand, coupled with the fact that baptisms regularly took place months after birth, I contend with high confidence that the Luis Monti who went on to play for Argentina in the 1930 World Cup final and Italy in the 1934 final is the same as the Luis Monti listed in the baptismal record at: "Bautismos 1901-1902," *Parroquia San Juan Evangelista* (Buenos Aires), 257 of 1012, via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 14, 2016, accessed April 16, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-GZTZ-H?i=256&wc=MDBG-8NL%3A311514201%2C321662601%2C314274101&cc=1974184.

Figure 7. View of La Boca from 1892 Map of Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area

The starred location at left most likely represents the first residence where Luis Monti lived in La Boca. Located just off the map to the lower left is the present-day location of Estadio Alberto J. Armando, the home of Boca Juniors commonly known as La Bombonera. Note as well the railroads along both sides of the Riachuelo.

Source: Pablo Ludwig, *Ciudad de Buenos Aires y Distrito Federal* (Buenos Aires: Gunche, Wiebeck y Turtl, 1892), via *David Rumsey Map Collection*, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3702~340019.

located south of Venice along the Adriatic coast.[2] After marriage, the couple settled at Palos 215 in the heart of La Boca. Monti and Buono became members of the parish of San Juan Evangelista, and they began to create a life together within the community.

La Boca, situated at the southeastern corner of the Buenos Aires federal district, juts out into the mouth of the Riachuelo (Río de la Matanza) from which it derives its name. Dividing Buenos Aires from the unincorporated municipalities on the south side of the waterway, the Riachuelo cuts inland past Avellaneda and other industrial districts and

[2] Gino Cervi, "Azzurro oriundo, ma serve in un Mondiale?," *GQ Italia*, published June 9, 2014, accessed April 22, 2017, https://www.gqitalia.it/sport/calcio/mondiali-calcio/2014/06/09/azzurro-oriundo-mumo-orsi-paletta-i-mondiali-dei-naturalizzati/.

meanders southwest out of the metropolitan area. By the time Monti was born, railroads cut into the city from the countryside right up to the docks, with lines running along both sides of the Riachuelo to economize the movement of cattle, wheat, and other agricultural commodities to the docks for export.

Amid all this economic transformation, La Boca remained one of the main points where immigrants disembarked from their transatlantic voyages. As a result, the area remained a center of heavy immigrant concentration through the first decades of the twentieth century.[3] During the two decades between the 1895 and 1914 national census, immigrants continued to account for more than forty percent of the total population within the district.[4] Because of the high concentration of immigrants, this was also geospatially one of the main places where identifying as Italian—or even identifying with one's specific region from Italy—was most prevalent.

It was in this environment that Luis Monti was born in the spring of 1901. He grew up at a time when soccer was gaining a lasting foothold among the various ethnic communities represented among both immigrant and native-born groups. The sport was taking root throughout the city, as groups of young men came together to form teams in neighborhoods both within Buenos Aires and in urban areas throughout the country. During Monti's childhood, the two largest clubs in Argentina both came into existence mere blocks from his first home. Within a few years of his birth, both River Plate and Boca Juniors had been formed within the *barrio*.

River Plate was founded shortly after Monti's birth. Congregating near the docks, a multiethnic group that included immigrants and native-born players of British, Spanish,

[3] Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud: Historia de Boca Juniors*, 59.
[4] Sargent, *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires*, 148.

Table 2. Population Growth in La Boca, 1869-1914						
	1869	**1887**	**1895**	**1904**	**1909**	**1914**
La Boca population	6,200	24,500	38,164	60,878	65,370	76,024
City population	171,200	404,100	655,500	944,800	1,222,600	1,561,100
La Boca - % of city population	3.6%	6.1%	5.8%	6.4%	5.3%	4.9%
La Boca immigrant population	---	---	20,442	30,210	30,206	36,185
La Boca - % immigrant population	---	---	53.6%	49.6%	46.2%	47.6%

SOURCE: Data from Horacio D. Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud: Historia de Boca Juniors, una pasión argentina [Vol. 1: El período amateur (1905-1930)]* (Buenos Aires: Galerna, 2008), 28; Charles S. Sargent, *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1870-1930* (Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Latin American Studies, 1974), 148.

and Jewish origin as well as Italian ethnicity founded the club on May 25, 1901.[5] The club struggled to obtain enough space to build facilities and a stadium within La Boca, moving in and out of the *barrio* on several occasions in search of land. The team tried moving across the Riachuelo into Sarandí during its first decade. The experiment lasted two years before the club returned to La Boca in 1907, though the club remained nomadic before finally leaving La Boca permanently after completing construction of its current stadium in Belgrano.[6] Ultimately, River Plate was less dependent on maintaining direct contact with a specific enclave than its modern rival.

[5] "Club Atlético River Plate," *La Nación*, May 22, 1904; Francis Korn and Silvia Sigal, *Buenos Aires antes del Centenario: 1904-1909* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2010), XXVIII; Raanan Rein, *Fútbol, Jews, and the Making of Argentina*, trans. Martha Grenzeback (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 57.

[6] Joel Horowitz, "Football Clubs and Neighbourhoods in Buenos Aires before 1943: The Role of Political Linkages and Personal Influence," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 46, no. 3 (2014): 581; Gabriela Miño, "River, sus comienzos y sus estadios," *La Nación*, July 7, 2011, http://blogs.lanacion.com.ar/archivoscopio/uncategorized/river-sus-comienzos-y-sus-estadios/.

That is because Boca Juniors emerged from origins that were more solidly anchored in ethnically rooted beginnings. Among a population that numbered around 60,000 people, nearly half were immigrants. Two-thirds of those immigrants were born in Italy, and subsequently two-thirds of the native-born population in La Boca was Italo-Argentine by ethnicity.[7] Less than fifteen minutes from Monti's childhood home, a quintet of Genoese friends met in the Plaza Solís on April 3, 1905. There, the group hammered out the details that led to the mythic foundation of Boca Juniors on a park bench.[8]

Like River Plate, Boca Juniors was forced to bounce around from site to site searching for a permanent place to call home. The club's only effort to anchor somewhere outside La Boca, however, nearly caused the club to fold after its membership declined by eighty percent following a 1912 move to Wilde.[9] Whereas expansion outside of La Boca was feasible for a River Plate club that had successfully transcended identification with a specific ethnicity, Boca Juniors was an institution inexorably interlinked with its Italian heritage that could only survive by also remaining geospatially connected to that community.

At the time when Monti started his playing career in 1921, River Plate was playing its final years in La Boca and Boca Juniors had already become a local institution. Yet the local talent never played for either club, as Monti got his start at Huracán in 1921. Monti signed a contract with Boca Juniors the following year, but left to join San Lorenzo before playing a game representing the local club of his childhood community. It was in Almagro

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[7] Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 276, n. 53; see also Table 2, "Pupulation Growth in La Boca, 1869-1914" on this page.
[8] "Historia," *Club Atlético Boca Juniors*, accessed February 20, 2015, http://www.bocajuniors.com.ar/el-club/historia.
[9] Rosatti, *Cien años de multitud: Historia de Boca Juniors*, 72.

that he became a star, and from there where he eventually made his way to play alongside Orsi at Juventus after the 1930 World Cup in Uruguay.

Without individuals like Monti and Buono leaving their native Italy to lay down roots and form new families overseas in Argentina during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Italian national team would have had no nationalist rationale for depending so heavily on the four Argentine-born players who helped win the 1934 World Cup title. But this rationale also depended on the development of an Argentine society that had been irreversibly shaped by Italian immigrant culture and which provided the space for Italians and their offspring to continue identifying as Italian.

The previous chapter demonstrated some of the lingering racially-charged rhetoric and the shifting attitudes toward Italian immigrants that marked late-nineteenth century Argentina. Because the legalistic frameworks that made Argentina a desirable destination for immigrants did not always mesh with social and political attitudes toward certain immigrant groups, hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants like Monti and Buono came together to form a strong diasporic Italo-Argentine identity in their new homeland. Italian identity transmitted from immigrants through their progeny, and in turn also helped reshape Argentine national identity on a broader level.

To better understand how players might have perceived their own identity as Italians and Argentinians in the 1920s and 1930s, it is critical to first gain a better understanding of how Italian identity formed among the Argentine diaspora over the first century of immigration. In considering this subject, we must look not only at Italian immigrant couples such as Monti and Buono but also at those immigrants who, like Lorenzo Orsi, married outside of the Italian diaspora.

As this chapter reveals, Italians who immigrated to Argentina were situated in a space where there was little incentive to assimilate and in which they often outnumbered extant populations, leading to the formation of a strong diasporic identity. But at the same time the limits to endogamy discussed in the previous chapter help explain how Italians became interwoven into broader Argentine society through familial as well as professional links and helped shape the direction of modern Argentine national identity.

Forming Italian Identity and Institutions Abroad

Despite the wishes of Alberdi and other Argentine leaders, the bulk of immigrants that came to Argentina in the late nineteenth century were not from northern Europe. Instead, Italy and Spain accounted for nearly ninety percent of the transatlantic immigration to Argentina from 1870 through 1910.[10] Concentrations of Italian immigrants to Argentina were primarily from two key regions. The first were the northwestern regions of Lombardy, Liguria, and Piedmont. The latter was the province of Chieti, situated in the Abruzzo region along the Adriatic coastline.[11] Just as southern Italy produced a disproportionate number of Italy's immigrants to the United States, these two geographic areas along the peninsula had an outsized influence on Argentine population development.

For many lower-class individuals that made the transatlantic voyage from the Apennine Peninsula and its surrounding islands, Argentina presented a chance to shed their regional pasts and form a collective diasporic national identity in a way that had not been

[10] J. Ulyses Balderas and Michael J. Greenwood, "From Europe to the Americas: A Comparative Panel-Data Analysis of Migration to Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, 1870-1910" (pre-publication draft, November 2006), 23.
[11] Dino Cinel, *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration, 1870-1929* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 109.

accessible in their homeland. As early as the 1820s, immigrants in Argentina and elsewhere in the Americas were beginning to identify themselves as Italian rather than by their regions of origin.[12] Those successive waves of immigrants arrived in a world with institutions that helped ease the transition to Argentine society and reinforced Italian identity.

The first Italian mutual aid society, Unione e Benevolenza, was established in Buenos Aires in 1858—four years before the full geopolitical consolidation of Argentina into its present configuration. Two years after its formation the society's membership numbered in the thousands, and within less than a decade two separate political rifts resulted in the splintering of the organization into three separate mutual aid societies. Each catered to Italians who maintained differing ideological hopes for the future course of governance back in Italy.[13] These groups split along political rather than geographic lines, highlighting the early coalescence of Italian identity among large numbers of Italo-Argentine immigrants.

Not every Italian immigrant remained in urban areas, migrating inland toward other cities and rural communities throughout the main agricultural regions along the Río de la Plata and Río Paraná in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, and Entre Ríos. There, Italian immigrant labor constituted more than half of the working population on the farmlands of the two provinces as both tenant farmers, sharecroppers, hired labor, and independent landholders.[14] Here groups of immigrants often retained their regional identities, as the nascent transportation networks prevented broader cultural exchange

[12] Donna R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 45.
[13] Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise*, 174.
[14] Eugenia Scarzanella, "'Corn Fever': Italian Tenant Farming Families in Argentina (1895-1912)," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 3, no. 1 (1984): 4-5.

beyond one's local community. They were also one of the populations most prone to transnational migrations, working the temporally-alternated harvest seasons in both hemispheres.

Links to Italy were also reinforced through the Italian-language press that began to develop in Argentina by the 1860s. The largest newspaper, *La Patria degli Italiani*, had a regular circulation of 11,000 by 1887 and an estimated 40,000 regular readers by 1904. This and other newspapers championed Italian language and culture and reinforced already strong links with the burgeoning European republic.[15] By the early twentieth century, this Italian nationalism had flourished to the point where in some ways it was as if Italy had set up satellite colonies within another country.

In May 1913, *La Patria degli Italiani* saw fit to publish a "New Ten Commandments of Italian Immigrants" to codify for its readers the terms of what it meant to be an Italian abroad. The commandments insisted not only upon maintaining trade links and patriotic fervor for the homeland but also passing these sentiments along to successive generations of foreign-born Italo-Argentine children.[16] Given that he was literate, it is entirely possible that Lorenzo Orsi read this article and took heart to inform and instill a sense of Italian identity to young Raimundo, who was at the time the "New Ten Commandments" were published. Though he continued to grow up much like any other Argentine boy, we will see that Raimundo readily championed his links to Italy later in life.

[15] Samuel L. Baily, "The Role of Two Newspapers in the Assimilation of Italians in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, 1893-1913," *The International Migration Review* 12, no. 3 (1978): 327-328.
[16] Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 73.

It was this lingering maintenance of Italian identity on Argentine soil that sparked the greatest backlash against the Italian diaspora. French and English populations also suffered questions about loyalty as their children received citizenship from their parents' home countries.[17] In this regard, the issue was less with a maintenance of cultural identities than it was a question of patriotism. But it must be noted that, whether born to two Italian immigrant parents like Monti or a heterogamous couple like Orsi, Italo-Argentine citizens did not remain *wholly* Italian. Successive waves of immigrants and their native-born progeny helped to shape Argentine identity. They were also transformed by the rapidly urbanizing society as they interacted with extant Argentine populations and other immigrants from throughout Europe.

While populations retained their own languages upon arriving in the Spanish-speaking country, recognizing one another as compatriots through these linguistics, they eventually came to learn Spanish. This was usually the case even when immigrants did make efforts to learn Spanish prior to emigrating from Italy, as there was rarely any reference to the linguistic idiosyncrasies of Argentine Spanish in dictionaries, instruction manuals, and other educational materials on Spanish-language instruction in Italy in the decades leading up to World War I.[18]

As they adopted the local Spanish dialect as their own, immigrants incorporated certain idioms into the larger amalgamated local language. *Cocoliche*, a nineteenth-century pidgin language merging Italian and Spanish forms that evolved into *lunfardo*, another linguistic form that disseminated popularly as the language of tango music. Ultimately this

[17] Baily, "Sarmiento and Immigration," 137-139.
[18] María Martínez-Atienza and María Luisa Calero Vaquera, "Gramáticas de español para italianos (1873–1915): la emigración como motivo para el aprendizaje de lenguas," *Iberoromania* 80 (2014): 261-275.

amalgamated into the *castellano rioplatense* that became the lingua franca of a cosmopolitan nation.[19] One can also see the Italian influence in such areas as Argentine cuisine, which incorporates many elements of regional Italian culinary traditions that were first introduced by immigrants in the nineteenth century.

Like other Italian diasporas throughout South America as well as the United States, the growing Italian communities of Argentina operated in a liminal space where they were geographically of the Americas while remaining culturally and patriotically Italian. The Italian community in Buenos Aires and elsewhere was simultaneously shaping Argentine society while remaining tied culturally to Italy. Patriotic links to the old country remained firmly in place as generations of agricultural laborers continued the seasonal migrations back and forth across the Atlantic and permanent expatriates passed on Italian identities to their children. As the next section details, this was but one of several economic links between Italy to Argentina.

Economic Patterns Between Italy and Argentina

Even though Italian communities settled in Buenos Aires and other urban areas of the Río de la Plata and the Argentine interior, they retained links to their ancestral lands and many became locked in cycles of migration. The pattern of remittances and return migration that marked the lived experience for many Italians living abroad, both in Argentina and elsewhere, effectively positioned the Atlantic as an aquatic borderland.

[19] Donald S. Castro, *The Argentine Tango as Social History, 1880-1955* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1990), 17-19; Ana Cara-Walker, "Cocoliche: The Art of Assimilation and Dissimulation among Italians and Argentines," *Latin American Research Review* 22, no. 3 (1987): 39-40.

Human capital became one of Italy's largest exports, with foreign currency flowing back across the ocean at regular intervals to help finance the slow growth of the burgeoning nation-state.

For decades, Italians living in Argentina had limited options to protect the wages and capital they acquired working abroad. In 1872, the Banco de Italia y Río de la Plata was established in Buenos Aires and recognized by the Argentine government, providing access to banking services for the first time. The bank opened branch offices in La Plata and Rosario by 1887, and soon other Italian banks began to form and service other communities in the interior such as Santa Fe and Chivilcoy.[20] These banks, however, were not situated as spaces for the transfer of money back to Italy.

Instead, much like Italian emigrants living in the United States and throughout Europe, Italo-Argentine populations availed themselves of various means of remitting money across the Atlantic both official and clandestine.[21] While official channels such as international money orders were readily available at Argentine post offices, the slow process of money transfer led many to either risk sending currency or gold coins via registered mail or turning toward often usurious private bankers that served as forwarding agents. Through these various channels, immigrants living in Argentina forward between ten and forty million lire annually back to Italy throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and into the early 1900s.[22]

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[20] Luigi De Rosa, "Italian Emigration to Argentina and Immigrant Remittances (1850-1908)," *Journal of European Economic History* 36, no. 2-3 (2007): 383-384.
[21] For information on European and U.S. remittances, see Cinel, *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration,* 141-149.
[22] De Rosa, "Italian Emigration to Argentina and Immigrant Remittances (1850-1908)," 388-389.

The ability to send remittances in one form or another back to Italy was in large part the result of wage imbalances that were discussed in the previous chapter, as increased earning power abroad allowed Italians in Argentina to make more money than they could back home. So far, no correspondence between Argentina and Italy has been found from any of the 1934 World Cup players or their parents, but a look at one representative family can help us better understand the dynamics that linked diaspora to native land economically during the same period when Antonio Monti and Maria Buono were starting their family in a new homeland.

A cache of correspondence from a pair of Italian brothers who emigrated permanently from Italy to Argentina in the first decade of the twentieth century provide a lens into at least the world of literate Italian immigrants which included Orsi. The Sola brothers, Oreste and Abele, arrived in Buenos Aires in 1901 and 1912 respectively from Biella, a town located in the far northwestern corner of Italy. A collection of more than two hundred letters between the brothers and their relatives back in Biella offers a glimpse into the patterns of remittance that continued throughout the brothers' lives in Argentina.[23]

Five years after Oreste first arrived in Argentina, he had established himself to the point where he sent his first documented remittance of 300 lire back to Italy in June 1906.[24] He sent another 200 lire in September 1907, and by early 1908 his correspondence stated that "I'll still send you the same amount as I do now."[25] A regular pattern was established in which money was regularly sent back across the Atlantic in letters, helping subsidize the

[23] *One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence Across the Atlantic, 1901-1922*, ed. Samuel L. Baily and Franco Ramella, trans. John Lenaghan (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
[24] Oreste Sola, Letter 26 (Buenos Aires, June 12, 1906), in *One Family, Two Worlds*, 67.
[25] Oreste Sola, Letter 29 (Buenos Aires, September 4, 1907), in *One Family, Two Worlds*, 70; Oreste Sola, Letter 31 (Buenos Aires, February 19, 1908), in *One Family, Two Worlds*, 73-74.

family's pastoral lifestyle back in Biella. Even when Argentina suffered through an economic downturn in the period leading up to and the beginning stages of World War I, Oreste and Abele still managed to send 500-lire remittances back across the Atlantic in regular intervals.[26] These remittances continue up until the death of the Sola brothers' parents.

We have no way of knowing whether Antonio Monti or Maria Buono ever sent money back to family in Romagna, but even Italian mechanics could make far better money in South America than a comparable position would provide in wages back home. Though perhaps not as fastidious in maintaining correspondence as the Sola family, it is not inconceivable that Monti and Buono would have maintained regular contact with family back in Romagna. And, like so many other Italians who migrated to the Americas during the period, this correspondence would have potentially included the occasional remittance.

While the Sola brothers present a representative picture of the individual workings of sending money back to family overseas from Argentina, they also offer an idealized picture of marriage. Not only did Oreste marry a fellow Italian immigrant but, like Monti and Buono, he wed a woman who emigrated from a community near his own Italian hometown. The homogamy patterns among the Italian community in Buenos Aires, discussed in the previous chapter in the context of the Orsi family, indicate the likelihood of a far greater demographic variegation among subsequent generations who identified as Italo-Argentine than one might expect from a community that retained strong diasporic links to families that remained across the Atlantic.

[26] Explcit references to remittances occur at seven points during the period from August 1913 to February 1915. See letters 102, 106, 107, 111, 114, 116, and 118 in *One Family, Two Worlds*, 142-143, 145-146, 147-148, 150-151, 153, 154-155, 156-157.

When men like Monti or Sola married a fellow Italian, they not only sought someone else from Italy but someone who emigrated more specifically from the same region. At times the Italian diaspora's links to their home communities transcended the development of a new national identity, and this is what primarily engendered an ideological backlash against immigrants who chose not to participate in the formation of new Argentine conceptions of their national identity.

Yet we know from the work of Baily and Ramella that the Sola brothers remained in Argentina, despite the frequent discourse throughout their letters talking about a return to Biella. There is also no indication that either Antonio Monti or Maria Buono returned to their homeland at any point before, during, or after the period when their son played for Juventus and the *azzurri*. The formation of diasporic connections maintained links to the homeland, but it also created new geospatial connections within Argentina that proved lasting.

In this way, even the most ardently patriotic Italian immigrants helped shape the direction of Argentine national identity in the twentieth century. The shifting and multidimensional sociocultural landscape in which their children grew up helps explain why *oriundi* players such as Monti felt comfortable shifting identifying with multiple nationalities over the course of their careers. As the next section demonstrates, the intellectual shifts in Argentine public discourse regarding immigration also helped to shape this environment in which Italo-Argentine individuals were raised. Italians received the heaviest scrutiny for what was perceived as an unwillingness to assimilate into broader Argentine society, but there was also no clear consensus as to how Italian culture might fit into Argentine society.

Immigrants, Pastimes, and *La Raza Argentina*

The elite class in Argentina had been all too happy to support the initial pro-immigration policies instituted when Sarmiento was in power, but as they found themselves subordinated into a ruling minority in their own country a series of increasingly conservative administrations watched the new century approach with apprehension about the irreversible processes they had set in motion. In an ironic twist that will be highlighted further in the next chapter, native elites turned toward the same social structures that fostered ethnic integration of immigrants in hopes of promoting and preserving perceived Argentine traditions.[27] The critical point for now is that the stipulations of the 1853 Constitution providing immigrants with rights equivalent to citizens without requiring eventual naturalization came under greater scrutiny from the very individuals who had initially supported Article 20.

As the twentieth century dawned, this retention of diasporic Italian identity proved contentious as a new generation of Argentine intellectuals sought to more clearly define an ethnic basis for national identity. Having built a solidly European demographic base within Argentina, the goal of this generation was to turn those foreign elements into citizens. Popular culture depicted immigrants as the source of criminality in urban spaces, which helped to inspire the passage of laws restricting immigration in 1902 and 1910.[28]

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[27] Julio Frydenberg, *Historia Social del Fútbol: Del Amateurismo a la Profesionalización* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2011), 30.
[28] Aline Helg, "Race in Argentina and Cuba, 1880-1930: Theory, Policies, and Popular Reaction," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990), 45-46.

Growth had come with both opportunities and costs. Reliance on foreign capital had created boom and bust cycles within the Argentine economy. Increased urbanization, industrialization, and the transformation of pastoral operations in rural areas played as big a role in pushing traditional Argentine gaucho culture closer to obsolescence as immigration did in this shift. Yet the blame for this cultural shift was placed mostly on immigrants. Italians and Spaniards alike came under heat from influential Argentine politicians such as Sarmiento for their unwillingness to assimilate, similarly to the smaller French and English communities.

But given this *criollo* cultural backlash against immigrants' unwillingness to assimilate, why then did soccer and not another sport find purchase in Argentina? Cricket may have predated soccer's presence in Argentina, and it was cricket clubs that provided the social structures from which the first matches and clubs were organized. Cricket, along with rugby and other British sports, remained niche pastimes confined to pockets of the British diaspora in Argentina. The *criollo* elite of Argentine society turned toward polo as a way of mimicking and mythologizing the significance of gaucho equestrian traditions in a rapidly modernizing society.[29] But for most of Argentina's population, whether native-born or immigrant, polo was a cost-prohibitive pastime inaccessible on any level.

Instead, soccer proved most resilient in terms of accessibility and adaptability to the range of urban spaces available. As the sport gained popularity somewhat among Spanish and Italian immigrants but especially among their native-born children, the new participants took advantage of whatever open space was available within the urban environment to develop an adaptive *potrero* culture in which "the importance of freshness,

[29] Archetti, *Masculinities*, 102.

spontaneity and freedom" were of paramount importance.[30] As opposed to the monotony that was perceived within the British system, Argentine soccer "made use of dribbling, and brave individual effort, in defence as well as attack, which resulted in a style of football that was more agile and attractive."[31] This evolution of a particular local style of play served as one of the points of congregation between immigrant groups, both in terms of contact within teams as well as between teams.

This transition was all taking place during a period marked by attempts to construct the notion of *la raza argentina*, which Eduardo Magione framed in 1909 as "the need to give a soul to the variegated grouping of men and tendencies that is in the process of forming the Argentine race."[32] Recognizing the diversity of European groups living within Argentina, this conception of Argentine nationality was inclusive of groups such as the Italians. Magione's view indicates that not everyone was willing to discount the contributions which immigrants had to offer toward forming a modern national identity. Like other efforts, however, this was predicated in forming a singular identity out of this diverse pool of communities coexisting in the country.

Consensus, however, was rare regarding what cultural traits should take preeminence in defining Argentina's unique national identity. Various individuals privileged ethnicity and language, specifically Spanish, in defining this identity. Others espoused religion, especially Catholicism, as the common denominator that underpinned

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[30] Eduardo Archetti, "'And Give Joy to my Heart': Ideology and Emotions in the Argentine Cult of Maradona," in *Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Soccer*, eds. Gary Armstrong and Richard Guilianotti (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 35; Gaffney, "Stadiums and Society in Twenty-First Century Buenos Aires," 163.
[31] Rory Miller, "Introduction: Studying Soccer in the Americas," in *Soccer in the Americas: Fútbol, Futebol, Soccer*, eds. Rory Miller and Liz Crolley (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2007), 8.
[32] Delaney, "Imagining *la raza argentina*," 152.

Argentine identity. Some also turned toward personality traits and common interests in helping formulate this definition.[33] The key was in finding those sociocultural traits that translated across ethnic boundaries.

In that regard, soccer—originally introduced and popularized among the British expatriate community in the mid-1800s—was already positioned as one of the few cultural forms that transcended ethnicity among the agglomerated European populations in Argentina. By the first decade of the 1900s, soccer had expanded beyond Buenos Aires and was gaining popularity in urban centers throughout the country. As such, it provided a formative space for interactions between groups that helped construct this national identity.

The Growing Italo-Argentine Impact on Soccer

In addition to Boca Juniors and River Plate, the first decade of the twentieth century saw the formation of the other three "Big Five" clubs of Argentine soccer—San Lorenzo, Racing Club, and Independiente. Each of their formative stories reveal the influence of Italians at this point of early development. These are the clubs that gained prominence as youngsters like Orsi and Monti grew up, and by the time the two sons of immigrants began their careers in Argentina these five clubs had firmly established their preeminent position thanks to the contributions of Italo-Argentine stars.

San Lorenzo, the third of the five clubs based in Buenos Aires and the team for which Luis Monti became an international sensation, was formed in January 1907. That year, a group of youths led by Federico Monti (no known relation to Luis) and Antonio Scaramusso established the informal club structure that evolved into San Lorenzo de

[33] Delaney, "Imagining *la raza argentina*," 150.

Almagro over the next year.[34] The group spent the next year playing in the streets of the expanding *barrio*, at the corner of México and 33 Orientales Streets near the Oratorio San Antonio. The location was less than ideal for the young athletes, as neighbors frequently complained until police arrived to scatter the assembled teams.[35]

Almagro and its adjacent neighborhoods had become another nodal point for immigrant communities in Buenos Aires as well as less-wealthy *criollo* families; the young men who gathered to form *El Club Forzoso de Almagro* were the sons of this diverse community, and the streets would become the focal point of community life for these adolescents.[36] Playing in the streets of an urban environment experiencing exponential growth was also fraught with danger; when one of the young men was nearly hit by a passing tramcar, Father Lorenzo Massa witnessed the spectacle and offered the grounds outside the Oratorio San Antonio as a playing field in exchange for church attendance from the boys.[37] Thus the club also became linked with the church, helping spread its influence further within a predominantly Catholic society.

This same period also saw the rise of clubs outside Buenos Aires. By 1913, Racing Club from nearby Avellaneda became the first non-British club to win a league title. Formed a decade earlier on March 25, 1903 by 21 young men of various ethnicities between the ages of 15 and 24, Racing Club had rooted itself in the growing district of Avellaneda

[34] "Historia," *Club Atlético San Lorenzo de Almagro*, accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.sanlorenzo.com.ar/institucional.php?codigo=1.
[35] Carlos Carullo, "106 años llenos de Gloria," *Museo Jacobo Urso*, accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.museodesanlorenzo.com.ar/contenido/MUSEO1/museoJ1345.htm.
[36] "Classic Club: Centurions dream of Copa glory," *FIFA*, accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.fifa.com/classicfootball/clubs/club=2147481868/.
[37] "Classic Club: Centurions dream of Copa glory," *FIFA*.

after affiliating with the Argentine Football Association two years after its formation.[38] Only two players on the 1913 championship roster were of British descent, and every player on the team had been born in Argentina.[39] Racing Club became the first dominant institution after the sport transcended its English roots, which only served to intensify competition across the board. It is at Racing Club where Luis Monti, the only player to take the field in World Cup finals for two different teams, spent eight years of his career before migrating to Italy.

Racing Club's rival in Avellaneda provided the formative space where Monti's future teammate on both the 1928 Argentine Olympic team and the 1934 Italian World Cup team, Raimundo Orsi first developed his talents. Independiente was first conceived in August 1904 when employees of a local department store who were prevented from playing for the company team gathered and formed their own club. The club officially formed and drafted its constitution on New Year's Day 1905, and soon settled permanently to play in Avellaneda.[40] There Independiente soon became a rival to Racing Club, a situation that is even more pronounced given that the two teams' stadiums are presently situated side by side down the road from where Orsi spent his childhood.

Until soccer garnered enough interest to attract club development among a wider range of immigrants beyond the British diaspora, it could not develop solidly as an Argentine cultural form. Among the most iconic clubs that remain relevant to this day in Argentina, Italian immigrants and their offspring had a varying degree of influence in the

[38] "La Historia del Primer Grande," *Racing Club AC*, accessed via *Internet Archive* on March 15, 2015, http://web.archive.org/web/20160307190222/http://www.racingclub.com.ar/historia/.
[39] Bayer, *Fútbol Argentino*, 21.
[40] "Historia," *Club Atlético Independiente*, accessed March 22, 2017, http://clubaindependiente.com/es/institucion/historia.

formation and rise of these institutions. This socialization process further indicates that insularity within the Italian diaspora only went so far in Argentina, and that this large pool of immigrants and their Italo-Argentine families readily contributed to the rise of this popular pastime much as they helped influence the linguistic and culinary developments discussed earlier in this chapter.

Conclusions

The pace of demographic change during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries put immigrants, especially Italians, in position to help shape the future course of Argentina's sociocultural development as an independent nation. At the same time, the Italian diaspora retained strong links with its mother country that continued to grow over time even when families formed and stayed in Argentina. Italians living in Argentina thus maintained strong links between both the mother country and with their new communities outside the diaspora.

In this way, the Atlantic Ocean remained a space of economic, cultural, and political exchange between the two coalescing nation-states. Much of this exchange remained rooted in transatlantic migrations. Forty percent of Italian emigrants that disembarked in Argentina eventually made their way back to Italy during the first decade of the twentieth century. By the 1920s, one-third of Argentine immigrants from Italy returned to their homelands.[41] This continued two-way flow was integral in reinforcing Italian identity even for those that chose not to make the return migration and settled permanently in South America. Not everyone settled like Orsi and Guaita had, and those

[41] Cinel, *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration*, 106.

patterns of travel between the two countries remained another critical part of both countries' continued development.

This continued exchange, coupled with the demographic shifts in the populace, meant that Argentine politicians were increasingly looking toward Italy as a cultural reference point. Less conflicted than Sarmiento, who admired Italy's art and architecture even as he reviled the perpetuation of Italian patriotism among immigrants, Argentine leaders in the early 1900s began to forge stronger cultural bonds with the country that had provided so much of its population base over the latter half of the previous century. As much as their paternal links helped Italo-Argentine soccer players identify with the country of their fathers, so too did the shift toward a country that increasingly allowed itself to absorb and adapt Italian culture as its own.

In the next chapter, these bonds will be examined in greater detail. Even before Fascist Italy turned toward Argentina as a source of talent to stock its soccer league and its national team, Argentina increasingly embraced its links to Italy as it was demographically changed by Italian immigrants. Italian cultural forms were gradually incorporated into this concept of *la raza argentina* as a means of expressing this link. Even as they continued to maintain their Italian identities, immigrants and their progeny were living in an evolving Argentine society that was increasingly beginning to resemble their own diasporic images of *italianità*.

CHAPTER V

TENUOUS BUT LASTING BONDS: ARGENTINE LINKS WITH ITALY AND ATILIO DEMARIA

Like Luis Monti, Atilio José Demaria was the son of two Italian immigrants. His father, Antonio Demaria, was born in the town of Crescentino in the Piedmont region of Italy.[1] The elder Demaria had already emigrated by 1895, when as an 18-year-old he was living with family and working as a laborer in Lomas de Zamora.[2] His wife, Albina Meola, was still an 11-year-old in Italy at the time of the 1895 census. Though we do not know how they met or where they were married, we do know that the couple were married and living at Castillo 333 in the Villa

Figure 8. Photo of Atilio Demaria

Source: "ATILIO DEMARIA, hombre récord," *El Gráfico*, published May 30, 2014, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.elgrafico.com.ar/2014/05/30/C-5306-95-historias-de-la-seleccion-en-los-mundiales.php.

[1] "Il Campione della Settimana: Attilio Demaria," *La Domenica Sportiva*, December 11, 1933, 13.
[2] "Argentina, 1895 censo nacional: Buenos Aires, Lomas de Zamora, Cuartel 05 (Población rural)," *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), 10 of 77, via *FamilySearch*, digitized April 9, 2016, accessed April 19, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-635W-4SN.

Alvear *barrio* west of Recoleta and northwest of Almagro at the time Albina gave birth to Atilio on March 19, 1909.[3]

A look at the map on the following page demonstrates just how quickly the city was growing outward. Seventeen years before Demaria was born, the area between Villa Alvear and Chacarita was on the urban fringes. By 1909, the area was filling in as the urban space extended along rail lines westward from the Río de la Plata. Just as the urban space was expanding, Demaria grew up at a time when soccer was expanding in popularity, yet the fact that he was nearly a decade younger than Orsi and Monti also meant that he reached maturity at a time when the Argentine league was in drastically different shape than it had been at the beginning of the 1920s. Through the amateur era, three different schisms led to the formation of dissident leagues. Power struggles over institutional control of the sport had led to the increase in opportunities for new clubs to form, as clubs affiliated and disaffiliated over arguments that centered in one form or another over questions about money. The fractious nature of this period for Argentine soccer simultaneously facilitated irruptions in club development and participation but which also diluted the competition level for all parties concerned.

The first rupture in the early iteration of the Argentine league came in July 1912, just a few months after the Demaria family had grown with the arrival of Atilio's younger brother Felix on April 27, 1912.[4] By that point the family had moved westward to Haedo

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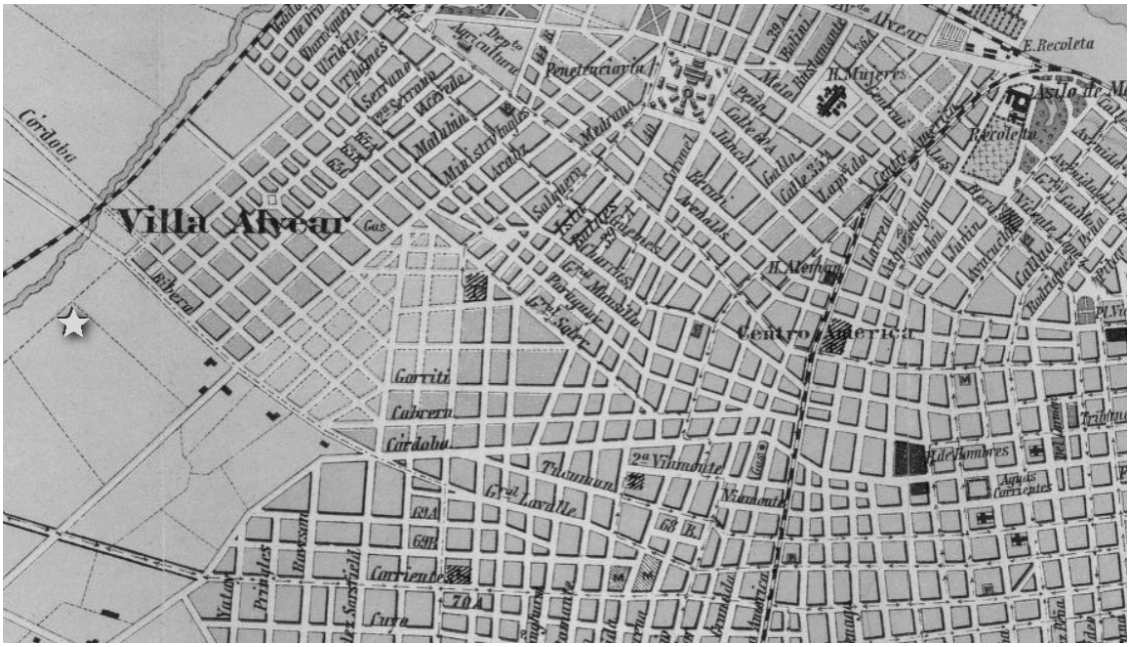
[3] "Bautismos 1909-1910," *Parroquia de San Bernardo* (Buenos Aires), 286 of 800, via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 19, 2014, accessed April 19, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-G6X6-3?mode=g&i=285&wc=MDBL-ZM3%3A311514201%2C319904101%2C312964801&cc=1974184. I have chosen to use the spelling of Demaria, without an accent, as this is how it appears on the baptismal record and the census records.

[4] "Felix Demaria II," *FC Internazionale Milano*, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.inter.it/it/archivio_giocatore/G0205.

Figure 9. 1892 View of Area between Recoleta and Villa Alvear



The starred location at left represents the first residence where Atilio Demaria lived in Villa Alvear.

Source: Pablo Ludwig, *Ciudad de Buenos Aires y Distrito Federal* (Buenos Aires: Gunche, Wiebeck y Turtl, 1892), via *David Rumsey Map Collection*, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~3702~340019.

on the metropolitan outskirts, the town that Demaria would call home both early in life and in his final years. The issues that were beginning to come to a head when the Demaria brothers were in their youth would have a lasting impact that steered the course of their careers overseas.

This initial institutional feud began over a dispute regarding gate receipts after the stadium of Gimnasia y Esgrima de Buenos Aires (GEBA) had been appropriated by the Asociación Argentina de Football for a match against an all-star side from Rosario. The club argued that the Asociación's terms presented "an imposition that, despite being sanctioned by an article of the rules of procedure of the Association, is not consonant with

the autonomy of affiliated clubs."[5] Other clubs joined GEBA in disaffiliating from the Asociación, and the dissident group formed its own league that operated for the next two seasons.

After the relationship between the two leagues was mended in 1914, soccer operated in an uneasy holding pattern through World War I. But by 1919 the Asociación and several of its most influential clubs were once again at a standoff. Ignored by the Asociación's executive council, which was unwilling to cede governing power to club delegates, and twelve dissident clubs—including Estudiantil Porteño and Gimnasia y Esgrima de La Plata (Gimnasia La Plata), the two clubs at which Demaria started his career in Argentina—disaffiliated from the league.[6] Once again rival leagues operated alongside one another, crowding the metropolitan space of Buenos Aires and the surrounding communities with a glut of soccer.

Because of this second divide in the administration of the game, Argentina was forced to watch from home as South American rival Uruguay brought the Olympic gold medal home to the Río de la Plata from the 1924 Paris Summer Games. Feuding between rival Olympic federations and rival national soccer federations caused Argentina to miss the April deadline for registering a team, preventing them from competing against the world in France. Two years later, only the intervention of Argentine president Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear could bring a tenuous end the infighting and reunite the various factions

[5] "Un Conflicto Deportivo," *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), June 10, 1912, 12.
[6] *Memoria de la Asociación Amateurs de Football* (Buenos Aires: Talleres Ferlini & Segade, 1920), 10-11.

Figure 10. 1928 Argentina Olympic squad

Luis Monti is standing in back row, fifth from the left. Raimundo Orsi is crouching at the right end of the front row. Domingo Tarasconi, top scorer of the 1928 Amsterdam Olympic soccer tournament, is crouched second from the left in the front row.

Source: "La squadra dell'Argentina, seconda classificata nel torneo," from Vittorio Pozzo, "Il torneo di calcio ad Amsterdam," *Lo Sport Fascista* (Milan), July 1928, 15, http://dlib.coninet.it/bookreader.php?&c=1&f=5177&p=18#page/2/mode/2up.

administering the sport long enough for the team to coalesce in time to play at the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam.[7]

The team that Argentina sent across the Atlantic to compete in the Netherlands was heralded by Italian sports outlets as a favorite to reach the final. On its way to playing rival Uruguay for the gold medal, Argentina ran rampant over their competition, outscoring the United States, Belgium, and Egypt by a combined 23-5 score to set up the South American

[7] For more details on the schism within the Olympic committee and within Argentine soccer as it pertains to the 1924 Olympics see Cesar R. Torres, "'If We Had Had Our Argentine Team Here!': Football and the 1924 Argentine Olympic Team," *Journal of Sport History* 30, no. 1 (2003): 1-24.

final. The team was heavily dependent on the firepower of Italo-Argentine stars such as Domingo Tarasconi, a forward for Boca Juniors who scored eleven goals in Amsterdam and finished the tournament as the top scorer. Uruguay successfully defended its 1924 Olympic title with a 2-1 replay victory after the teams tied 1-1 in their first attempt to settle the championship.[8] In its post-Olympics coverage, the recently inaugurated magazine *Lo Sport Fascista* spared no praise for the two finalists:

> *È una classe a sé quella dei giocatori del Rio de la Plata. Freschezza di movenze, spontaneità di comportamento, varietà di giuoco, praticità di atteggiamenti. Una classe di fronte alla quale occorre inchinarsi.*[9]
>
> The players of the Río de la Plata are in a class of their own. Freshness of movement, spontaneous behavior, variety of playing, practical attitudes. A class in the face of which we must bow down.

That sentiment proved prescient, as soccer clubs in Italy's restructured national league began to bow before the rich talent pool of Argentina (and to a lesser extent Uruguay) and started to sign *oriundi* to professional contracts soon after the Olympics ended in Amsterdam.

It was the 1928 Argentine team, as much as the Uruguayans who won the title, that inspired Fascist sports leaders in Italy to manipulate citizenship laws to justify utilizing foreign-born talent in international competition. The Italo-Argentine stars who played a critical role in the silver-medal performance offered a diasporic talent pool which helped lead Italy to World Cup glory but also brought into question what it meant to be Italian.

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[8] Statistical information regarding the 1928 Olympic tournament from Karel Stokkermans, "IX. Olympiad Amsterdam 1928 Football Tournament," *Rec.Sports.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated July 21, 2016, accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tableso/ol1928f-det.html.

[9] Vittorio Pozzo, "Il torneo di calcio ad Amsterdam," *Lo Sport Fascista* (Milan), July 1928, 17, http://dlib.coninet.it/bookreader.php?&c=1&f=5177&p=18#page/2/mode/2up.

Orsi was the first Italo-Argentine star to capitalize on this new opportunity, but it might have been Demaria who benefitted most from the advent of Italian professionalism.

Still seventeen years old at the time that Orsi, Monti, and the rest of Argentina's Olympic team return from Amsterdam, Demaria was beginning his career with Estudiantil Porteño at the time that the final rupture in Argentine soccer irrevocably set the sport on its path toward full professionalization. By the time the Asociación first openly discussed the need to accept the professional future of the game in October 1930, Orsi and Monti were already suiting up for Juventus. Dr. Juan Pignier, the president of the Asociación, argued to the board, "the implantation of professionalism should be addressed, if you want to govern by the reality of the facts."[10] Nothing came of the motion immediately, leading most of the top clubs—including every Big Five club—to disaffiliate from the Asociación and form the Liga Argentina de Football. Twelve members initiated the move on May 9, 1931; by May 31, a new 18-team league had formed in which players were openly paid for the first time in Argentina.[11] The move to professionalism, in the eyes of the clubs endorsing the concept, "will have also contributed to [soccer's] moral greatness and to that of its institutions."[12]

Demaria's club, Estudiantil Porteño, sided with the Asociación and remained amateur. Having been part of Argentina's roster at the 1930 World Cup in Uruguay, Demaria was loaned to Gimnasia La Plata for a tour of Brazil and Europe. That tour, part

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[10] Asociación Argentina de Football, *Memoria y Balance General de 1931* (Buenos Aires: 1932), 11-12.
[11] Iwanczuk, *Historia del Futbol Amateur en la Argentina*, 224-225; Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, "Fútbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina," in *Sport in Latin American Society: Past and Present*, eds. J.A. Mangan and LaMartine P. DaCosta (London: F. Cass, 2002), 100.
[12] Liga Argentina de Football, *Memoria y Balance General de 1932* (Buenos Aires: Imp. Araujo Hnos., 1933), 14.

of a broader process of transnational soccer exchanges that will be discussed later in this chapter, took eighteen players and a small staff on a whirlwind transatlantic voyage that lasted five months and included visits to eight countries on two continents. Demaria played in all 27 matches as a representative of Gimnasia La Plata, and once he returned with the traveling party he played one professional match with the club in the Liga Argentina before signing with Milanese club Ambrosiana-Inter for the 1931-1932 season.[13]

Like Orsi and Monti before him, Demaria had opened the eyes of Italian clubs with his performances on European soil. Demaria was still a relatively young player when he relocated overseas, however, and his storyline shows the longest period spent playing and coaching in Italy. Before going into the specifics of how Fascism coopted soccer as a way of symbolically linking motherland with its diasporas in the next chapter, it is worth looking at the ways in which connections to Italy and Italian culture were beginning to influence Argentina in the early twentieth century.

Successive generations of Italo-Argentine children had been born as Argentine citizens even as older immigrant generations often chose to eschew naturalization. As Italian ethnicity became demographically dominant within Argentine culture, politicians in turn increasingly expressed their affinity for Italy. This chapter examines the various ways in which Argentina continued to be shaped by Italian society even after the period when immigration had a less pronounced impact on sociocultural development.

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[13] Pablo Ciullini, "Gimnasia y Esgrima La Plata Trip to Brazil and Europe 1930/31," *Rec.Sports.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated December 8, 2016, accessed April 23, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablesg/gimnasialp-trip31.html; "Attilio Demaria I," *FC Internazionale Milano*, accessed April 22, 2017, http://www.inter.it/it/archivio_giocatore/G0204; Angelo Clerici, "Demaría, Atilio José," *Diccionario Futbolística*, accessed April 22, 2017, http://www.gelp.org/displaydictionaryselection.php?id=340.

Political Pandering and the Italian Diaspora

Electoral reforms, championed by President Roque Sáenz Peña and passed in 1912, introduced secret balloting and compulsory voting for every adult male citizen in Argentina, bringing the full machinery of the democratic process to the general populace for the first time. "To fear the legality of secret voting is to show oneself intimidated by democracy," Sáenz Peña articulated against the voices of detractors, "thus ascribing to the present generation a civic cowardice which is not present in the souls of the constituents or in the creative concept of a nationality, the fruit of courage and wisdom."[14] This afforded an opportunity for Italo-Argentine individuals, and immigrants who had taken on citizenship under the liberal naturalization provisions that remained from the 1853 Constitution, to exercise real power in the political process for the first time.

Despite his rhetoric, Sáenz Peña did not anticipate what would transpire, assuming that the various factions among the oligarchy that had dominated Argentine politics for five decades would maintain popular support among the restricted class of people considered citizens for the purposes of voting.[15] Instead, nearly two decades of popularly elected governments followed in the wake of these reforms, with the governments of Hipólito Irigoyen and Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear guiding the nation through World War I and the 1920s.

During the Radical era, politicians were quick to recognize the impact of Italo-Argentine contributions to Argentine national identity. In a June 1926 interview, Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear told the Milanese newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, "I would not be an

[14] Quoted in Ricardo Levene, *A History of Argentina*, trans. William Spence Robertson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 504.
[15] Rock, *Argentina 1516-1987*, 190.

Argentine if I didn't love Italy. My love for Italy is second only to my love for my own fatherland."[16] What makes this especially interesting is the fact that Alvear had no personal connection whatsoever to Italy; he was born into the Argentine elite in 1868, with his father serving as the first mayor of Buenos Aires. His grandfather was also born in South America prior to independence, making his connection to Italy as tenuous as Raimundo Orsi's maternal side of the family tree.[17]

Positioning in solidarity with Italy was not a political stance exclusive to Argentina's Radical government. After Yrigoyen was deposed in 1930, new leader José Félix Uriburu continued this political shift toward acknowledging the lasting impact of Italy on Argentina. Echoing Alvear's comments four years earlier, Uriburu said in a 1930 interview with *Corriere della Sera* that "indestructible links unite Argentina to Italy."[18] The similarity of Uriburu's sentiments when compared to Alvear demonstrates that playing up Italy's influence on Argentina's development was a political tactic that transcended party, ideology, and electoral legitimacy. And fostering stronger ties to Italy proved tempting for politicians on all levels.

This attitude extended beyond the federal government to include provincial leaders, and lasted even after players like Orsi began returning to Argentina from their years playing in Italy. The governor of Buenos Aires province, Manuel Fresco, met personally with Mussolini and maintained contact with Fascist officials between 1936 and 1940. Fresco went so far as to commission buildings that resembled the *palazzi comunali* in the new

[16] Quoted in Federico Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence, and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919-1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 51.
[17] Félix Luna, *Alvear* (Buenos Aires: Libros Argentinos, 1958), 15-16.
[18] Quoted in Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism*, 52.

cities of the Agro Pontino.[19] In this way new Italian architectural forms became yet another cultural form that, like linguistic and culinary developments, helped shape Argentine national identity.

The passage of the Ley Sáenz Peña also helped to facilitate the development of soccer in Argentina into a political instrument, as large numbers of men who were about to vote for the first time in 1912 turned toward clubs to guide their decision-making process at the polls. Individual local politicians such as Pedro Bidegain, Jorge Newbery, José P. Tamborini, Eliseo Cantón, and Alberto Barceló exercised real power during the Radical period by developing clientelist networks as key administrators at local soccer clubs. Media sympathetic to the causes of the Radical government, such as Boca Juniors supporter Reinaldo Elena, used their support of major clubs to influence public opinion.[20] In the case of both politicians and the media members who covered them, all parties were operating in wards where they too inevitably had to cater to the desires of Italo-Argentine clients, constituents, and customers.

The demographic shifts within the Argentine population, both through immigration and through marriage and birth, helped create a populace that was increasingly Italian in its characteristics. Politicians without any ancestral connection to Italy felt the need to play up the essential elements of Italian contributions to modern Argentine society. But this also ignores the reality that Italian identity was neither uniform nor static, and there were many conceptions of what it meant to identify as Italian thousands of miles away from Italy. The

[19] Epolito, "Golondrinas," 236. For a deeper understanding of the planned cities of the Agro Pontino and their impact on Fascist architecture more broadly, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Three New Deals* (New York: Picador, 2006).
[20] Horowitz, "Football Clubs and Neighbourhoods in Buenos Aires before 1943," 567-570, 574-576.

next section examines those variegations in Italian identity that sprang up in Italo-Argentine political discourse, and how Argentine politicians were often pandering to Italian-identifying voters in ways that courted some and alienated others.

The previous chapter went briefly into the formation of mutual aid societies beginning in the 1850s, and the ways in which politics led to the proliferation of social organizations that espoused divergent ideological beliefs both about Italy and about how Italians should function within Argentina. Those mutual-aid societies demonstrate that, even at an early period before widespread immigration had irreversibly altered the demographics of the Argentine population, there was a spectrum of political ideology within the Italian diaspora that was proliferating in Argentina. As the number of Italians living in Argentina increased through the nineteenth century and into the 1900s, it only increased the number of opinions toward how to relate politically to their birthplaces.

Connections to Italian politics did not necessarily translate to widespread support for Fascism, either among the Argentine government or the Italian diaspora in Argentina. The formation of a middle class that was more broadly integrated into the Argentine economy and society, coupled with the broad incorporation of Italo-Argentine offspring into electoral politics by the Ley Sáenz Peña and the Radical period, meant that there was less incentive to identify with Mussolini's nationalist rhetoric. As opposed to other Italian diasporas, especially those in Brazilian cities, there was a greater tendency toward antifascist political leaning among the Italian community in Argentina.[21] Even as Italian

[21] João Fábio Bertonha, "Fascismo, antifascismo y las comunidades italianas en Brasil, Argentina y Uruguay: una perspectiva comparada," *Estiudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 14, no. 42 (1999): 117, 120-121.

identity was recognized by all parties as a critical component of the modern Argentine nation, that did not mean adopting wholesale every innovation to develop in Italy.

In aggregate, though, Italians in Argentina were inclined to show sympathy to the government in Rome during Mussolini's reign. As the Radical period ended in a coup d'état and a succession of military leaders and fraudulently elected governments ruled Argentina during the 1930s, the general political trend was far more sympathetic to authoritarian governments.[22]

On that same note, it is hard to imagine that players all had a singular rationale for signing contracts with Italian clubs. For individuals like Orsi or Monti, Italy offered the chance to extend careers and earn more solid paychecks doing so. For a player like Demaria, the opportunity to travel to Italy and play in the stadium of his future club prior to signing likely had a major impact on his decision to return to Milan to play for Ambrosiana-Inter. The next section turns toward the discussion of overseas tours by both Italian clubs in South American and Argentine clubs in Europe, focusing on how these exhibitions provided limited but impactful transnational connections between the two countries.

Transnational Connections through Soccer

Despite their positions as two of world's historic powerhouse national teams and the deep connections between the two countries, Argentina and Italy did not play one another in international competition until 1974. Further, there were only limited and

[22] Eugenia Scarzanella, *Ni gringos ni indios: Inmigración, criminalidad y racism en la Argentina, 1890-1940* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes Editorial, 2003), 125.

sporadic interactions between club or select sides from the two countries, mainly in the form of Italian teams visiting Argentina on larger tours of South America. The introduction to this chapter illustrated one of the rare instances where Italian and Argentinian touring teams crossed the Atlantic in either direction.

Even when teams did visit, the itinerary often precluded anything more than a rapid series of barnstorming exhibitions before the ship once again left port to return home. In the case of the Gimnasia La Plata tour of 1930-1931, only two of the twenty-two matches of the European leg of the tour were held in Italy. The first was a 3-3 draw in Milan against Ambrosiana-Inter on March 15, 1931, allowing Demaria to showcase his skills against the club which eventually signed him to come to Italy five months later.[23] But even with two Italian immigrant parents, it is telling that the Italian newspapers saw fit to note that neither he nor Uruguayan legend and fellow Ambrosiana-Inter signing Héctor Scarone were well versed in the Italian language.[24]

This dearth of contact between the two countries on the soccer field prevented any long-standing sporting animosities from developing between the two countries in the sport, and is another possible reason why Italo-Argentine players placed a circumstantial emphasis on their various national identities as the situation warranted. At the same time, though, it is also worth considering whether more players might have taken advantage of Italian playing opportunities had there been increased exposure between clubs from the two countries. This will be discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter, but is worth

[23] Ciullini, "Gimnasia y Esgrima La Plata Trip to Brazil and Europe 1930/31," http://www.rsssf.com/tablesg/gimnasialp-trip31.html.
[24] "L'arrivo a Milano di Scarone e De Maria," *Il Littoriale* (Roma), August 7, 1931, 6.

considering as a possible factor that prevented an even larger talent drain from South America.

Because the sport started as a British enterprise, it was inevitable that the first teams from Europe to tour Argentina were British club sides. The first non-British club from Europe to play exhibition contests in Argentina was Torino, who visited South America in 1914. Initially invited by the local league in São Paulo to cross the Atlantic, Torino made its way south from Brazil to play three games in Buenos Aires in late August and early September before returning home. The Italians lost two of the three matches, falling 2-1 to the Argentine national team and 1-0 to defending league champion Racing Club before defeating a league selection in the final match.[25]

Nine years passed until another Italian team made the voyage to Buenos Aires. In 1923, Genoa followed in Torino's footsteps. The club from Lorenzo Orsi's hometown arrived in August, and played four matches during their short visit to the Río de la Plata. Genoa lost its first match 2-1 against a selection of stars from the northern clubs in Buenos Aires on August 19, but managed to pull out a victory against a select eleven from southern clubs in the metropolitan area on September 2. A quick sojourn to Montevideo resulted in a 2-1 victory by the Uruguayan national team, and Genoa concluded its tour with a 1-1 draw against the Argentine national team. Domingo Tarasconi, the top scorer five years later at the Olympics, put Argentina ahead with a goal in the opening minute of play, but Genoa's Aristodemo Santamaria scored the equalizer eight minutes later and neither side

[25] Luciano Pasqualini and Marcelo Leme de Arruda, "South American Trip of Torino and Pro Vercelli in 1914," *Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated March 10, 2016, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablest/torino-vercelli-braztrip14.html.

managed another goal.[26] Once the Italians embarked for their return voyage home, another six years passed before Italian and Argentine teams played one another again.

These limited athletic interactions between Italian clubs and their Argentine counterparts, however, only took place in one direction. This is in part because, until the mid-1920s, Argentine clubs did not make European tours in the same manner that saw clubs from Europe travel overseas. This changed when Boca Juniors became the first Argentine club to visit Europe when they played a series of nineteen exhibitions across the continent between March and June 1925. What is interesting about this trip is the fact that a club thoroughly identified with the Genoese diaspora in La Boca played zero contests in Italy.

After failing to organize in time to send a team to the 1924 Olympic Games, Argentina hoped to send its national team abroad to play a series of contests in Europe. When that plan fell through, Boca Juniors volunteered to make the trip as the country's representative. The club incorporated several players from other Argentine clubs to bolster the side, but it played in the blue and yellow of Boca Juniors. The trip, promoted and organized by the owner of the newspaper *Crítica*, Natalio Bonata, was mainly financed by Bonata and two Spanish businessmen.[27] This trip saw Boca Juniors evolve into a national phenomenon in Argentina, transformed from an ethnic neighborhood institution into an avatar representing a uniquely Argentinian style of play.

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[26] Pablo Ciullini, "Río de la Plata Trip of Genoa CFC 1923," *Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated June 16, 2016, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablesg/genoa-satrip23.html.

[27] Waldermar Iglesias, "Cuando Boca se hizo Boca," *Clarín*, published April 3, 2013, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.clarin.com/deportes/boca-hizo_0_rJ9f1cKiP7e.html.

Because of the nationality of those underwriting the trip, it is not surprising that thirteen of the clubs' nineteen matches took place against Spanish clubs and regional selections from Spain. From there, Boca Juniors then traveled to Germany and France for six more matches before making the return voyage back to Argentina.[28] There is no evidence to suggest that the club deliberately avoided contact with Italian soccer, but it is telling that the club eschewed the opportunity to connect with teams from the country whose descendants had founded the club. That this occurred at the point when Boca Juniors was shifting from a neighborhood institution to develop a nationwide following across Argentina indicates a desire to diversify the club narrative. This is almost a reversal of the actions of Argentine politicians; while *criollo* leaders were appropriating an affinity for Italy and Italian culture in their own rhetoric, Italian-identified institutions were adopting a less ethnically rooted public face.

Had Italy managed to defeat Uruguay in the semifinals of the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam, the two countries would have faced one another in the gold-medal match. Adolfo Baloncieri gave the Italians the lead in the ninth minute, but three Uruguayan goals in the first half put the underdogs in a two-goal deficit at the half against the defending champions from 1924. Virginio Levratto pulled the *azzurri* to 3-2 an hour into the match, but Uruguay held on to face their South American rivals in the championship.[29] The Fascist press was quick to note that Italy had been the only European team to reach the semifinals.

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[28] Pablo Ciullini, "European Trip of CA Boca Juniors 1925," *Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated April 14, 2016, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablesb/boca-trip25.html.

[29] "Olympic Football Tournament Amsterdam 1928: Italy-Uruguay," *FIFA.com*, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/tournaments/archive/mensolympic/amsterdam1928/matches/round=197035/match=32332/index.html.

"Of the European teams present," Vittorio Pozzo wrote in his capacity for *Lo Sport Fascista*, Italy "was the best in every aspect."[30] Even so, the *azzurri* fell short against Uruguay and would have to wait another half-century before finally facing Argentina in international play at the 1974 World Cup.

Italian clubs finally returned to Argentina in 1929, when Torino and Bologna made concurrent South American tours that saw the two clubs play a combined fifteen games against Argentine sides. Demonstrating the gap in talent that still existed between Italian and Argentine clubs in the late 1920s, Bologna managed only one win out of eight during the Argentine part of their tour, defeating Argentina del Sud 2-1 on August 25. Torino knocked off Independiente, which had just lost star left wing Raimundo Orsi to Torino's rival Juventus, along with a combined selection in Rosario to take two victories from their seven exhibitions in Argentina.[31] It would be the last tour by an Italian club during the Fascist era. Instead, as Demaria and the other Italo-Argentine players signed by Italian clubs demonstrate, these teams were becoming more interested in hiring Argentine players than playing matches against their Argentine counterparts.

Conclusions

The desire to play up the Italian roots of Argentina by politicians doubtless had an impact on the next generation of Italo-Argentine youth growing up during the post-World War I era. Italian migrants in Argentina were living in a country that was increasingly

[30] Pozzo, "Il torneo di calcio ad Amsterdam," 17.
[31] Hans Schöggl, "South American Trip of Bologna FC and Torino FC 1929," *Rec.Sport.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated March 10, 2016, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablesb/bolotoro-zam29.html.

recognizing their impact on Argentine national identity. Politicians at all levels in Argentina, whether out of genuine affection or only as a means of pandering for votes, recognized the expediency of incorporating rhetoric extolling Italians as an indelible part of the nation.

While soccer players in Buenos Aires and elsewhere were dealing with the incessant schisms that wracked the sport at its institutional levels, they would have been exposed to rhetoric that played up the importance of Italy to Argentinians just like any other segment of the population. Raised by parents who were sent their own signals through Italian-language media to remain patriotic to their native land, and to pass those virtues on to their own Argentine-born children, this next generation that included Demaria and his fellow *oriundi* on the 1934 Italian team grew up in a society that harbored far different opinions of this demographic than it had only a few decades before.

But by 1931, the window was already closing for Italy to capitalize on the pipeline of players from Italy. The day after announcing the arrival of Demaria and Scarone in Milan, *Il Littoriale* published a more sobering article that spoke to the impact of recent developments in Argentine soccer, reporting on the effect that the spread of professionalism through Argentine clubs would have on the Italian game. Arguing that "professionalism will henceforth prevent the exodus of the best players," the reporter notes that inside-left forward Vicente del Giudice elected to end negotiations with Italian clubs and stay in Argentina after being offered 30,000 pesos (200,000 lire) to remain with Racing Club in Avellaneda.[32] That one of the official sports publications of the Fascist party

[32] "Il professionismo impedirà d'ora innanzi l'esodo dei migliori calciatori," *Il Littoriale* (Roma), August 8, 1931, 3.

printed such an article reflects an intimate understanding by the Italian public as to how its clubs were exploiting a market advantage by hiring Italo-Argentine players.

In the final chapter, the story shifts from the dynamics that helped push players out of Argentina and toward the pull factors that were initiated by the Fascist government to take advantage of this small but significant window of time. Delving into the structural factors that opened the door for Italo-Argentine players to flock to the Italian league during the late 1920s and into the 1930s, we can begin to deconstruct the draw of Italy even after Argentina's league turned toward professionalism. In doing so we will turn toward the story of the fourth Italo-Argentine player who suited up for Italy in 1934, evaluating Enrique Guaita's story in relation to his three *oriundi* compatriots and juxtaposing their experiences against the broader sociopolitical forces at play during this period.

CHAPTER VI

PROPAGANDA AND PATRIOTISM: THE FASCIST SPORTS PROJECT AND ENRIQUE GUAITA

Figure 11. Photo of Enrique Guaita

Source: "Enrique Guaita cover photo," *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, August 15, 1935.

Like the other immigrants that have been introduced in earlier chapters, there is no information as to when either of Enrique Guaita's parents arrived in Argentina. The census records indicate that Arturo Guaita and Eloisa Ormashea married at some point around 1892, when Guaita was thirty-seven years old and Ormashea had just turned twenty-one.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the couple settled in Entre Ríos province and opened their own bakery in Lucas González. By the 1895 census, the couple had been married three years and Eloisa had already given birth to their first three children.[1] The family continued to grow over the next decade, but without being able to consult the 1914 national census records it is hard to determine exactly how many children Guaita and Ormashea raised in Entre Ríos while also running their bakery. We do know

[1] "Argentina, 1895 censo nacional: Entre Ríos, Nogoyá, Sauce (Población rural)," *Archivo General de la Nación* (Buenos Aires), 48 of 246, via *FamilySearch*, digitized April 9, 2016, accessed April 19, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HY-6Q9S-MY9?mode=g&i=47&cc=1410078.

that the family was still growing fifteen years later, when at thirty-nine years old Eloisa gave birth to the couple's seventh son on July 15, 1910.[2] Less than two months later, Enrique Guaita was baptized in the parish of San Lucas Evangelista at Lucas González.[3] As a result, he was the only one of the four Argentine-born *oriundi* on the 1934 Italian team who grew up outside the expanding metropolitan footprint of Buenos Aires and its surrounding cities.

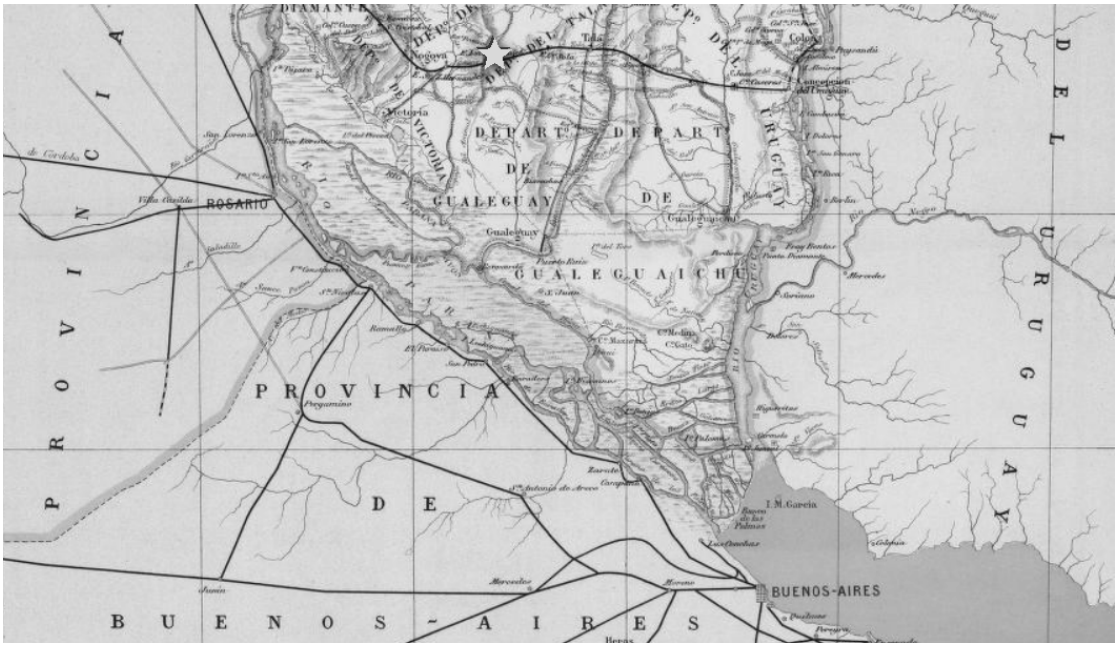
While soccer had begun to expand into the interior of the country, the sport had not yet become as popular in Entre Ríos as it was in other parts of Argentina at the time of Guaita's birth. Introduced to the sport as an adolescent, Guaita began kicking the ball when he turned fourteen. Soon thereafter, he moved two hundred miles away from home to enroll in the medical school at the university in La Plata. At seventeen, he earned his first appearance with Estudiantes de La Plata, and by the end of the season he was already being heralded as one of the top players in the country.

As Guaita developed as a forward, cutting in from the left on the vaunted front line for Estudiantes, it looked as though he also might provide an effective replacement to help the national team recover from the loss of Orsi. Less theatrical with the ball than his predecessor for Argentina, Guaita was nevertheless an effective and efficient striker who

[2] Though the article states that the family's seven children were all male, census records dispute this fact. More likely is that, of the Guaita children, seven were male. See Vittorio Finizio, "Viale del Tramonto: Enrico Guaita," *Corriere dello Sport* (Roma), July 3, 1953, 3.

[3] FIFA and other records indicate that Guaita was born on July 15, 1910, whereas the baptismal record lists August 15, 1910 as the birthdate. As was the case with Luis Monti, I imagine this was a clerical error during a period of exclusively handwritten recordkeeping. See "Bautismos 1909-1911," *Parroquia de San Lucas Evangelista* (Lucas González), 105 of 158, via *FamilySearch*, digitized March 28, 2017, accessed April 11, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-G6X6-3?mode=g&i=285&wc=MDBL-ZM3%3A311514201%2C319904101%2C312964801&cc=1974184.

Figure 12. 1888 Map of Entre Ríos Province



The starred location at top center of map represents the location of Lucas González, birthplace of Enrique Guaita.

Source: Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan, *Provincia de Entre Rios* (Buenos Aires: Felix Lajouane, 1888), via *David Rumsey Map Collection*, accessed April 29, 2017, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~20641~570018.

had already gained a reputation as a gentleman on the soccer pitch despite his youth.[4] Between his role as a student in La Plata and his growing career as a key member of the Argentine national team, there was little reason to expect that Guaita would follow his compatriots overseas.

Like so many other Italo-Argentine stars, though, Guaita was eventually convinced to try his luck in Serie A. He signed with Roma in the spring of 1933, as the club courted three Argentine players to its roster. Guaita arrived in Italy alongside fellow Estudiantes

[4] "I Nuovi Giallo Rossi: Enrico Guàita," *Il Littoriale* (Roma), June 8, 1933, 3; Vittorio Finizio, "Viale del Tramonto: Enrico Guaita," *Corriere dello Sport* (Roma), July 3, 1953, 3.

teammate Alejandro Scopelli and former Racing Club and Atlanta defender Andrés Stagnaro.[5] Scopelli initially looked as though he would be the star signing of the trio, scoring the opening goal in a 4-3 friendly win over Bayern Munich in May 1933 that marked the first appearance of the three Argentine-born stars for Roma.[6] Scopelli and Guaita tied for the club lead in goals during the 1933-1934 season, with each scoring fourteen times over the course of the campaign.[7]

Then Guaita broke out as one of the stars of the 1934 World Cup, scoring the pivotal goal in the semifinals and helping his adopted country win its first international title. Once the new campaign began in the fall, the momentum Guaita had built up over the summer continued to elevate his play into the league year. Scopelli continued to play respectably and finished with eleven goals for the 1934-1935 season. But Guaita eclipsed his compatriot, nearly doubling his output in his second year in Italy. His twenty-seven goals for Roma led Serie A, as Guaita finished six goals ahead of runner-up Silvio Piola of Lazio in the scoring race.[8]

Enrique Guaita's story presents the most puzzling case in terms of why he chose to represent Italy. As noted at the end of the previous chapter, the economic incentive to play overseas had already begun to dissipate thanks to the formation of a professional league in Argentina. Guaita shared another trait with Orsi, in that his Italian heritage can only be traced through one side of his family tree. While his father was indisputably Italian, both

[5] "Scopelli, Stagnaro e Guaita, assi del calcio argentino giungeranno alla Capitale ai primi del mese di maggio," *Il Littoriale* (Roma), April 14, 1933, 6.
[6] "La Roma edizione 1934 gioca un match amichevole colla squadra Bayern di Monaco," *Domenica Sportiva* (Milano), June 25, 1933, 5.
[7] Maurizio Mariani, "Italy 1933/34," *Rec.Sports.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated October 23, 2002, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablesi/ital34.html.
[8] Maurizio Mariani, "Italy 1934/35," *Rec.Sports.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated October 23, 2002, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/tablesi/ital35.html.

census and baptismal records reveal that Eloisa Ormashea was a Spanish immigrant. As we also saw in Orsi's case, all discussion of this fact was judiciously avoided by both the Fascist-operated and independent sports media outlets during his playing career in Italy. Even further, though, later accounts in the Italian press about Guaita's career also uniformly avoided discussion about the contentious circumstances of his departure from Italy in 1935.

Both Fascist-created media outlets and independent press were inclined to support Fascist interpretations of national identity forwarded by the government.[9] Without fail, these stories downplayed foreign origins and positioned *oriundi* such as Guaita as quintessentially representative of Italy. In this regard, it is internalized propaganda directed at convincing the local population of players' identity more than it is an attempt to legitimize the talent in the eyes of the global community. Guaita and the other Argentine-born talent on Italy's 1934 FIFA World Cup roster forced Fascist Italy to sell the players' Italian traits at a time when the government was also working to cement diasporic ties and beginning a course toward territorial expansion with the Ethiopian campaign.

The media served as one component of a system that allowed Argentine-born players to take advantage of their Italian heritage to navigate their way into Italian soccer. Fascist charters passed during the late 1920s provided a framework for centralizing sport across the country at all levels, facilitating in part the development of a nationwide professional soccer league. While restricting participation to Italian players, this legislation

[9] Robert S.C. Gordon and John London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," in *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, ed. Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 45.

operated with a liberal interpretation of Italian nationality which allowed Italo-Argentine athletes to identify as Italian and avoid the restrictions on foreign-born talent.

This chapter delves into the structural factors that opened the door for Italo-Argentine players to flock to the Italian league during the late 1920s and into the 1930s. Through a look at both the demographics of Argentine talent in the Italian league and the mythmaking of the Fascist media, we can begin to deconstruct what brought players such as Guaita to Italy and what caused them to either stay or return to South America. This culminates in a look at the 1934 World Cup and its aftermath, providing the lens through which to examine the conflicted nature of national identity for the *oriundi* who traded one national-team jersey for another.

Legislating *Oriundi* Inclusion in Italian Soccer

Three decades after the sport first reached Argentina, soccer was introduced to Italy in the 1890s and began to take root as a popular pastime in parts of the north. At its earliest point, the sport first became popular in cities such as Genoa and Turin—the heart of the same northwestern regions from which much of the Argentina's Italian immigrant stock originated. Clubs proliferated in the early 1900s, and leagues and competitions began to form in their wake to facilitate regular domestic competition. But it was not until the 1920s that the sport became solidly institutionalized as a spectator sport on a national level, in large part because the Fascist government asserted control over soccer's organization.[10]

[10] Simon Martin, "Football and Fascism: Foreign Bodies on Foreign Fields," in *In Corpore: Bodies in Post-Unification Italy*, ed. Loredana Polezzi and Charlotte Ross (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), 80.

Once Mussolini rose to power, the push to create a Fascist interpretation of Italian national identity that emphasized unified nationalism rather than a confederation of regional identities extended to sport. A critical component of this revisionism involved framing the sport of soccer as quintessentially Italian. The Renaissance sport of *calcio fiorentino* was propagandized as the origin of modern Association football, a storyline that asserted English evolutions of soccer as mere reinventions of an Italian game.[11] While this runs counter to the story of the sport's modern dissemination throughout Italy, the trope nevertheless persisted through the Fascist era. Citing public orders banning local variants of the game in several areas within Italy throughout the fifteen and sixteenth centuries, these polemics focused on Florence as a key site of the sport's diffusion.[12] This revisionist history presented these facts without attempting to counter the evidence available about concurrent English developments.[13] Despite the questionable historicity, the Italian origins of soccer continued to be trumpeted by Fascist media outlets until *calcio* became the preferred Italian nomenclature for the sport.

In the earliest days of Fascist rule, the primary focus of the government as it related to sport was ostensibly geared not toward international prestige and propaganda but rather toward using physical education as a means of creating a strong generation capable of

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[11] John Foot, *Winning at All Costs: A Scandalous History of Italian Soccer* (New York: Nation Books, 2007), 2-3.

[12] Articles positioning *calcio fiorentino* as the origin of modern soccer proliferated especially in 1929. This is likely the result of the increased emphasis on propagandizing competitive sport that was a key component of the Carta dello Sport passed in December 1928. Examples of this polemic include A. Nobili, "La storia e le origini del gioco del calcio," *Gran Sport* 3, no. 4 (April 1929), 33-34 http://dlib.coninet.it/bookreader.php?&c=1&f=5075&p=21#page/20/mode/2up, and Guido Bustico, "Il Calcio Fiorentino," *Lo Sport Fascista* 2, no. 10 (October 1929), 42-44, http://dlib.coninet.it/bookreader.php?&c=1&f=5248&p=44#page/44/mode/2up.

[13] The most thorough scholarship detailing the complex developments of English soccer in the recent historiography can be found in Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, *Association Football: A Study in Figurational Sociology* (London: Routledge, 2015).

defending the nation.[14] This resulted in the establishment of the Ente Nazionale per l'Eduazione Fisica (National Institute for Physical Education, henceforth ENEF) in March 1923, which attempted to centralize control over scholastic physical education. Local authority over physical education was replaced by sports clubs operating under the auspices of ENEF management. The institute's lack of technical expertise ultimately doomed it to failure, though it laid the groundwork for future attempts to organize physical education on a national level.[15]

Even after the ENEF was replaced by the Opera Nazionale Balilla (National Youth Organization, henceforth ONB) in 1927, sport continue to be viewed by the Fascist leaders more as physical education than an ideological vehicle. Italy began shifting toward a policy of using sport as propaganda after the passage of the Carta dello Sport (Sport Charter) in December 1928. Thereafter, athletes were presented as national ambassadors who "display glorious actions in sports struggles against the strongest representatives of other races in the world."[16] Under this new policy, sport shifted from being the means to create new Italian soldier-citizens toward an end in which sports itself served as a proxy for military competition between nations.

The most significant legislation passed by the Fascist government, in terms of creating the structural conditions which opened the door for South Americans in Italian soccer, came in August 1926 with the passage of the Carta di Viareggio. This charter revolutionized the Italian game, legalizing professionalism for clubs and laying the

[14] Angela Teja, "Italian Sport and International Relations Under Fascism," in *Sport and International Politics: The Impact of Fascism and Communism on Sport*, ed. Pierre Arnaud and James Riordan (London: E & FN Spon, 1998), 147.
[15] Teja, "Italian Sport and International Relations Under Fascism," 148-149.
[16] Teja, "Italian Sport and International Relations Under Fascism," 156.

foundation for the introduction of a national league by the end of the decade. A sport that had remained regionally focused into the 1920s began to expand nationwide, and Serie A came into existence in the 1929-1930 season as a means of crowning a national champion over an annual calendar of round-robin fixtures.[17]

Most importantly, the charter restricted the use of foreign players by clubs. Confident in the advances that had taken place in Italian soccer after World War I, the Fascist government inserted this language into the charter in hopes of increasing opportunities for the development of local talent. While the charter did succeed in causing more southern clubs to employ northern Italians rather than looking to foreign markets for talent, the ultimate impact was to stunt the sport's tactical development in Italy as the country shut itself off from the sport's global developments. As a result, Italy failed to gain ground on soccer's global powerhouses of the era and the Carta di Viareggio seemed to produce initial results counter to what was hoped.[18]

Recognizing the need to fortify the stock of talent available to clubs, the Fascist government introduced a critical loophole: the prohibition on foreign players did not include the descendants of Italians. Through the introduction of joint citizenship, clubs could repatriate players of Italian ancestry to play immediately as full professionals.[19] After the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, though, the recognition that a ready-made talent pool of Italian-descended players existed across the Atlantic was brought to light. Articulating a notion of *stirpa italica* (Italian stock), the Fascist authorities argued that there was an essential Italian characteristic that transmitted generationally regardless of whether one

[17] Simon Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2004), 59-61.
[18] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 63-64.
[19] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 195.

was actually born on Italian soil.[20] Under such an interpretation the geographic location of one's nativity proved less important than genealogical and sociocultural connections to Italy. Thus, in accordance with the Fascist conception of Italian nationality *oriundi* players were linked through their ancestry to peninsular roots that served as the basis for Fascist interpretations of nationality.[21]

Though he was not the first Argentine-born player to suit up for an Italian club, Orsi was the first to enter Italian soccer under these new conditions. Thus, while it did not have an immediate impact the Carta di Viareggio created the conditions that facilitated the redistribution of athletes from Argentina to Italy in the late 1920s and through the 1930s. This belated impact is borne out through the demographic influx of South Americans that took place especially after 1930. By the time Guaita was arriving in Italy, the trend was already at its apex.

The Demographics of the Transatlantic Talent Shift

Several Italo-Argentine athletes played soccer in Italy during World War I and through Mussolini's early rise to power. The Badini brothers, born in Rosario to Bolognese immigrants, returned to Italy with their parents as teenagers. The oldest pair, Angelo and Emilio, began playing with Bologna in 1913, and all four brothers suited up for the club.[22]

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[20] Rosetta Giuliani Caponetto, *Fascist Hybridities: Representations of Racial Mixing and Diaspora Cultures under Mussolini* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 3.
[21] Giuliani Caponetto, *Fascist Hybridities*, 59-60.
[22] Istituzione Bologna Musei, "Badini Angelo," *Storia e Memoria di Bologna*, accessed February 11, 2017, http://www.storiaememoriadibologna.it/badini-angelo-484131-persona; Istituzione Bologna Musei, "Badini Emilio," *Storia e Memoria di Bologna*, accessed February 11, 2017, http://www.storiaememoriadibologna.it/badini-emilio-484057-persona. Emilio became the first Argentine-born player to represent Italy in international competition when he was selected to play against Norway at the 1920 Olympics.

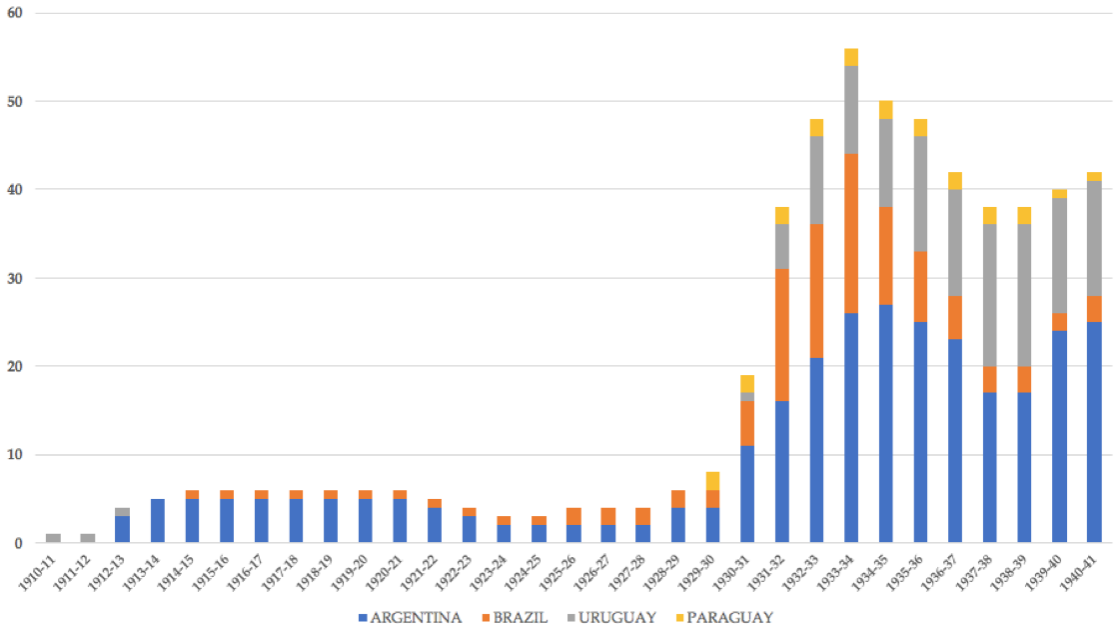
Augusto, the youngest brother, played through the 1926 season. Around the same period the Mosso brothers, born in Mendoza, began playing for Torino after their family had returned to the Piedmont region.[23] Both examples are more reflective of traditional migration stories, indicating that immigration to Argentina was not always permanent, and migratory patterns included the movement of Argentine-born children and their integration into Italian life.

Prior to the passage of the Carta di Viareggio, the only player to leave Argentina specifically to play soccer in Italy was Rosario-born Julio Libonatti. In 1925, Libonatti left his local club Newell's Old Boys to play for Genoa. After transferring to Torino a year later, Libonatti played the first of his seventeen matches for the Italian national team in October 1926 in a friendly against Czechoslovakia.[24] The Italo-Argentine star remained in Italy for more than a decade, playing for Torino until 1937. Once he retired from the sport, though, he set another general trend when he returned to Rosario rather than continuing to live in Italy.

After the 1928 Olympics, Italian clubs finally set about in earnest scouting South American diasporas to replenish a domestic talent pool that had been depleted by the ban on foreign players.[25] Orsi was the first to follow in Libonatti's footsteps, and over the next decade a stream of *oriundi* made the transatlantic voyage along the same route that agricultural labors had endured to exploit work opportunities for decades. At least 60 Italo-

[23] See Appendix A, "Italo-Argentine Players in Italy Before World War II."
[24] Matías Rodríguez, "Julio Libonatti: Goleador de Exportación," *El Gráfico*, November 18, 2014, http://www.elgrafico.com.ar/2014/11/18/C-5833-julio-libonatti-goleador-de-exportacion.php.
[25] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 64.

Figure 13. South American Players in Serie A, 1910-1941



Source: The data was primarily drawn from Davide Rota's work compiling lists of South American players in Italy by nationality. (See bibliography for full citations of each list by nation.) Data was also cross-checked against club rosters from those seasons using a combination of online club player databases, newspaper searches, and FIFA data for players who participated in international competition.

Argentine players and over 100 South American *oriundi* in total signed with Italian clubs after 1928.

To put this in perspective, it is worth looking further at the Italian league in the season prior to the 1934 World Cup. Eighteen clubs across Italy participated in the 1933-1934 season of the top division, Serie A. In a period when in-match substitutions were not yet permitted by the laws of the game, there were fewer employment opportunities all around. On average, each club employed around sixteen players on their first-team roster—eleven starters, and five players available in case of injuries.[26]

[26] This number may have fluctuated by club, but the roster for the 1933-1934 Juventus squad that won the league title was used as a basis for calculation. "Scudetto 1933-34," *Juventus Official*

Calculating out these numbers reveals that an estimated 288 roster spots were available for professional players in Serie A during the 1933-1934 season. Nearly ten percent of those positions were occupied by the twenty-six Italo-Argentine players employed by Italian clubs in the top division. An additional eighteen Brazilians, ten Uruguayans, and two Paraguayan players were also employed by Italian clubs that season. At this point, it is evident that clubs were fully exploiting the loophole provided within the Carta di Viareggio, as nearly twenty percent of the roster spots in Serie A were occupied by foreign-born players from South America.[27] This pipeline, however, would soon dry up as professionalism took hold across the Atlantic. While the trend lasted, however, it was a boon for Italian soccer.

This influx of Italo-Argentine talent, along with other players from South America, raised the standard of play throughout the Italian league. As much as the direct contributions of *oriundi* such as Orsi, Monti, and Guaita helped Italy win the 1934 World Cup, the increased level of competition in league play helped raised the skill level of domestic players as well. The tactical evolutions these players brought from South America to Italy filtered throughout the various levels of soccer to bolster the talent pool across the board, as evidenced by the victory of an *azzurri* team that won the 1936 Olympic tournament in Berlin with a roster of student amateurs.[28]

At once South Americans helped fortify and build Italian soccer even as they brought traits that defied the traditional, more direct style of play that eschewed dribbling

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Website, accessed March 18, 2017, http://www.juventus.com/en/club/torphy-room/scudetto/scudetto-1933-34.php.

[27] See Figure 11, "South Americans in Serie A, 1910-1941" on previous page for a detailed year-by-year chart of foreign participation in the top division of the Italian league.

[28] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 41.

in favor of long passes. Opponents of the *oriundi* infiltration insisted that "the art of the South American is to play the game, our art is to resolve the game."[29] This critique lacks empirical weight, however, especially considering that Guaita and Orsi scored pivotal goals in the semifinal and final respectively. Without their timely contributions, Italy might not have won its first World Cup title. But Guaita and Orsi are also interesting regarding the fact that they both only had a patrilineal connection to Italy; in Guaita's case, his mother was a Spanish immigrant, while Orsi's mother had been born in Argentina to a Spanish immigrant father and a *criollo* mother. It is unknown to what extent detractors knew this about both players, but one imagines that there would be plenty of evidence of denunciations had opponents of *oriundi* realized this fact about two of the most visible foreign-born athletes.

Thus, the project to incorporate Italo-Argentine talent into the Italian national team can be viewed in retrospect as a successful endeavor. The *oriundi* players were in effect an extension of a Fascist attitude toward nationality that deliberately avoided racial definitions in favor of a concept of *stirpa italica* (Italian stock) that incorporated aspects of both northern and southern Italian ethnicity and provided the framework for including diasporic communities into conceptions of national identity.[30] These players were effectively sold to the Italian public as Italian in identity. What must be asked next, though, is how much of this identification was a media creation.

[29] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 195.
[30] Giuliani Caponetto, *Fascist Hybridities*, 3.

The Media's Role in Selling the Italian Traits of *Oriundi*

Italo-Argentine players benefitted from a series of legislative maneuvering that allowed them to join Italian clubs. Though sanctioned to participate as Italians, though, there was no guarantee that spectators would accept the repatriated players as Italians. These players also benefitted from complimentary press coverage, as media outlets were complicit in framing the discourse around *oriundi* to the public. This favorable treatment helped drown out the rumblings of opposition against the participation of repatriated foreigners and reinforced their claims to Italian identity.

As the Fascist regime began to place greater emphasis on spectator sports, the government introduced periodicals such as *Il Littoriale* and *Lo Sport Fascista*. These outlets served as a direct voice for the ruling regime, but they were hardly the only sources of support. Other independent media throughout the country likewise employed Fascist rhetoric in their reporting of soccer.[31] As the introduction of this chapter reveals in the example from *Tutti gli Sports*, not only local media but periodicals throughout the country had an incentive to sell *oriundi* as Italians to their reading audience.

This coincided with efforts to create a full Italian-language soccer lexicon to replace the English-language terms that persisted from the sport's introduction (or reintroduction, in the Fascist reimagining) to the country.[32] This was taking place at a time when media of all forms strove to limit the use of foreign language in articles and broadcasts.[33] Such attempts were not always successful, as Anglicized terminology persisted among the media covering soccer into the 1930s.[34] Nevertheless, the attempt to create Italian-language

[31] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 45-46.
[32] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 66.
[33] Teja, "Italian Sport and International Relations Under Fascism," 160.
[34] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 55.

terminology for the sport demonstrates the desire of the Fascist government to appropriate sport and couch it in a nationalist framework.

Vittorio Pozzo, the manager of the victorious 1934 World Cup team, was another significant voice contributing to the mythmaking about the South American *oriundi* in Italy. Having previously managed the *azzurri* at the 1912 and 1924 Olympic Games, Pozzo assumed full-time duties over the Italian national team in December 1929. He was the first Italian manager to enjoy the freedom to select players without interference from FIGC administrators.[35] Entrusted with the mission of building the Italian team into a powerhouse, Pozzo set about identifying the talent that would win two World Cup titles and an Olympic gold medal between 1934 and 1938.

Even after taking over the reins of the national team, Pozzo continued his regular work as a reporter for *La Stampa*, the daily newspaper in Turin, as well as continuing to write as a correspondent for *Lo Sport Fascista*. In his first report for the monthly Fascist sports magazine following his appointment as the full-time coach of the national team, Pozzo reported on his team's 6-1 victory over Portugal. "Writing about an event in which one has played an active part is something a bit different from writing as a mere observer," Pozzo noted in the first lines of an eight-page article. "It is one thing to be an actor, another thing to be a spectator."[36]

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[35] "Vittorio Pozzo - 'Old Master' helped make Italian football," *FIFA.com*, accessed March 14, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/news/y=2007/m=4/news=vittorio-pozzo-old-master-helped-make-italian-football-512633.html.

[36] "Scrivere su un avvenimento al quale si è preso parte viva ed attiva, è cosa un po' diversa dallo scriverne come puro e semplice osservatore. Una cosa è far l'attore, e l'altra il far lo spettatore." Vittorio Pozzo, "Come ho rifatto la Nazionale," *Lo Sport Fascista* 2, no. 12 (December 1929): 20-27, http://dlib.coninet.it/bookreader.php?&c=1&f=5250&p=23#page/22/mode/2up.

Instead of attempting to downplay his new position, Pozzo freely admitted that he wrote from a privileged position. There seems to have been no consideration for resigning his journalist position after taking the job as national team manager, and Pozzo continued to report from this new vantage point even as he reinvented the *azzurri* during the 1930s. From the outset, not only did he file eight pages in *Lo Sport Fascista* on the win over Portugal but he also published two full columns on the match in *La Stampa* the day after leading the Italian team.[37] By remaining on staff at *La Stampa* through his time as the national team manager and continuing to publish in other magazines, Pozzo could direct the narrative from both sides and ensure favorable coverage match after match.

Beyond the print media, though, the Fascist regime also benefitted from other burgeoning formats. While there were few privately-owned radios, the medium was disseminated as radios became a popular source of collective entertainment in public places.[38] The voice of Nicolò Carosio first became identified with soccer over the radio in 1933, when he won a contest held by state radio corporation Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche (EIAR) and began broadcasting matches. Carosio called Italy's matches during the 1934 World Cup, and for nearly four decades thereafter Carosio was a familiar, recognizable voice for several generations of listeners on both the radio and television.[39]

Newsreels served as another means of disseminating favorable coverage of the Italian national team. The Fascist government first started producing newsreels in 1924 after the foundation of Istituto L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa (Union of Educational

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[37] Vittorio Pozzo, "Vittoria che convince, *La Stampa* (Torino), December 2, 1929, 1.
[38] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 46.
[39] Salvatore Falzone, "Nicolò Carosio Una Voce di Sicilia," *La Repubblica* (Roma), March 15, 2007, accessed March 12, 2017, http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/03/15/nicolo-carosio-una-voce-di-sicilia.html.

Cinematography Institute, henceforth LUCE Institute). Following the passage of legislation in April 1926, cinemas were required by law to show the growing number of LUCE Insitute productions.[40] A critical part of these newsreels was coverage of sports events, which further helped to popularize soccer on a national level. By familiarizing the public with the national team and its players, these newsreel images depicted both native-born and *oriundi* players working in unison without drawing attention to the players as anything but wholly representative of Italy.

The newsreels and the radio, under the control of the state, were predisposed toward playing up the Italian credentials of foreign-born players. Not every media outlet was keen to sell *oriundi* as legitimate Italian citizens, though. *Il Bargello* in Florence, for instance, argued that "whoever has not carried out his military obligations in Italy cannot and should never be considered an Italian citizen."[41] Serving as a dissident voice in the weeks leading up to the 1934 World Cup, *Il Bargello* articulated the conflicted attitude that many felt toward South American-born players who were being sold as ineluctably Italian.

While most of the media was inclined to sell these players as patriotic citizens, this was hardly a universal attitude even among journalists. The general trend toward sacralization of *oriundi* stars in media portrayals, though, tended to drown out dissenting voices. The team which Italy fielded at the 1934 World Cup was perceived by most to be unquestionably Italian. Orsi and the rest of the South American *oriundi* on the roster were no different than their native-born counterparts on the *azzurri*, all striving in what had become "one of so many expressions of national will" upon which Mussolini and the rest

[40] Federico Caprotti, "Information Management and Fascist Identity: Newsreels in Fascist Italy," *Media History* 11, no. 3 (2005): 182.
[41] "Italiano o argentino?," *Il Bargello* (Firenze), May 13, 1934, 2, as translated by and quoted in Martin, "Football and Fascism: Foreign Bodies on Foreign Fields," 101.

of the country had pinned their hopes of attaining "a position of supremacy in each field of human activity, especially in those chiefly dominated by effort and individual risk and the spirit of organization and collective discipline."[42]

Successes and Failures of 1934 World Cup Propaganda Efforts

Originally, the Fascist government campaigned for the rights to host the 1936 Summer Olympic Games in Rome. After losing out to Berlin in 1930, Italy shifted its focus toward winning the bid for the 1934 World Cup. The FIGC was informally promised the rights to the 1934 tournament by FIFA in 1930, but the country had to wait two more years until the 1932 FIFA meetings in Stockholm and Zurich to know for certain that they would host the event. Even then, FIGC international secretary Giovanni Mauro was forced to negotiate terms favorable for FIFA to guarantee the final rights for Italy. Though they did not fund the travel costs for each visiting team as Uruguay had in 1930, Italy did guarantee to underwrite any losses that might accrue from the tournament.[43]

While Italy worked hard to obtain a popular tournament to host, it ultimately seemed to utilize the competition as a means of spreading domestic more than international propaganda. The tournament itself was largely a European affair, lacking much in terms of South American representation. Defending champions Uruguay stayed home in 1934 in protest of the way many European powerhouses had spurned the offer to participate when Uruguay hosted in 1930.[44] Argentina fielded a team, but the loss of captain Luis Monti and

[42] "Volontà di primato," *La Tribuna*, June 12, 1934, 1, as translated by and quoted in Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 49.
[43] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 47.
[44] Terry Crouch, *The World Cup: The Complete History* (London: Aurum, 2002), 16; Brian Glanville, *The Story of the World Cup* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), 25.

so much other talent to Italy was clearly felt. Twice the Argentine side gained the lead, and twice it was overpowered for an equalizer by a stronger Swedish side that ultimately prevailed 3-2 to advance to the next round.[45]

The Asociación Argentina was already concerned about the impact of losing talent to Italy as early as Orsi's departure in 1928. In a complaint to the FIGC, the Argentine federation argued that "the Italians want to form a national team at the cost of Argentine football" and that the Fascist government "has set its eyes on well-known creole players and wants to tie them to Italian clubs to make them Italian players."[46]

While the Fascist government installed the structural conditions by which this process of repatriation took place, though, it still required the willing participation of Italo-Argentine players to function. As noted at the end of the previous chapter, the loss of talent began to taper off soon after open professionalism was introduced in Argentine soccer. By the time the national federation and the professional league had reconciled in 1934, the talent drain was already reaching its apex and preparing to decline. Argentina was not the only South American country weakened by the transatlantic talent shift, but it was certainly hit hardest in terms of the number of players lost to Italian clubs.[47] The loss of talent to Italy had strained the relationship between the two countries.

With every representative from the Americas eliminated in the opening round of the 1934 World Cup, the tournament became a fully European affair by the quarterfinals. Even though European teams dominated the competition, much of the European press seemed to pay little attention to the tournament itself. Interest was highest in those

[45] "1934 World Cup Match Report: Sweden v. Argentina," *FIFA.com*, accessed March 16, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/matches/round=204/match=1102/index.html.
[46] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 195.
[47] See Appendix A.

countries, such as Germany, where their national teams advanced furthest in the tournament. In France (whose team was ousted by Austria in the opening round) and England (which had stoically avoided participating in international tournaments after separating from FIFA in 1920), coverage of the tournament was minimal.[48] The absence of powerful South American entrants surely played one part in this reduced coverage, and the relative newness of a tournament being staged for only the second time also affected the level of global interest.

Because so many key international opponents had opted to remain home, Italy was forced to legitimate its championship by invoking transitive logic. Because England had yet again abstained from participating, for instance, journalists looked to the victories of common opponents over the English as a means of extolling Italy's legitimacy as world champion. Noting that the Czechoslovak team had defeated England in Prague, one reporter argued that England "will have to bow to the winner of the World Cup."[49] Often, the reports celebrating Italy's run through the tournament took on this sort of defensive undertone as a means of building up the validity of Italy's title.

This speaks to another reason for the limited international propaganda value of the 1934 World Cup—much of the focus was directed toward using the tournament to further cement the links between the Italian public and the Fascist government.[50] This is illustrated through the finalists to determine the official poster of the tournament. The winning design from Luigi Martinati incorporates a stylized representation of the *fascio littorio* (the bundle

[48] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 56.
[49] Emiio De Martino, "Si accende domain su otto fronti diversi la battaglia per il campionato del mondo," *Corriere della Sera*, May 26, 1934, 6, as translated by and quoted in Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 55.
[50] Teja, "Italian Sport and International Relations Under Fascism," 162.

of sticks and axe that served as a primary icon of the Fascist movement). The original design by Gino Boccasile also included the *fascio littorio*, but later eliminated overt Fascist symbolism and over time has been the most familiar and iconic poster linked to the 1934 tournament. Mario Gros went even further in identifying the 1934 World Cup as a Fascist enterprise by depicting an athlete giving the arm-upraised Fascist salute.[51] While Boccasile eventually excised the direct Fascist references in his poster, the finalists all originally made conscious efforts to link the World Cup with Fascism.

The attempt to link soccer and the World Cup with Fascism and Italy was also part of advertising campaigns by private corporations. Especially after the Italians defeated Czechoslovakia in the final, companies angled to gain endorsements and use the images of World Cup-winning soccer players as a means of selling their products. Consumer products, ranging from canned goods to soft drinks to beer to chocolates, all sought to include references to soccer and to the World Cup in their imagery as a means of bolstering sales.[52] The World Cup had created new avatars for projecting Fascist physical strength, and the prevalence of soccer iconography in corporate advertisements is indicative of the level to which these connections were successfully created.

The tournament thus fit into the broader context of trying to position soccer as a national sport in Italy. By 1934, the nationwide league had been operating for five full seasons. The Carta di Viareggio had proven effective in shifting the sport from a regional affair into one that garnered national interest. The siting of the final match in Rome was significant, given the fact that the Italian national team had only played its first match in

[51] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 48.
[52] Martin, "Football and Fascism: Foreign Bodies on Foreign Fields," 94-97.

the capital city six years earlier.[53] No longer the exclusive pastime of one region or one socioeconomic class of Italians, the sport and the international championship were linked as representative of the larger rise of Italian society under Fascism.

In this context, newspapers tended not to mention anything about the foreign origins of the key players on the *azzurri* as the team marched through the bracket. In Vittorio Pozzo's article in *La Stampa* after the championship victory over Czechoslovakia, only Orsi was mentioned among the three *oriundi* that participated in the final, and there was no mention of his foreign origins in an article that hailed him as the man of the match.[54] Fascist and independent media outlets would sometimes reference the foreign origins of players. But these references either occurred at the point when players either signed with or left Italian clubs, or were brought up during longer interviews. Rarely was the foreign nativity of Italian national team players mentioned in match coverage, though it did occasionally occur in notes about Italian league matches when players first arrived from South America.

Conclusions

In a December 1934 profile focusing on the family life of Enrique Guaita, *Il Littoriale* articulated hopes that he would recommence the university studies in Rome that he had begun in Argentina.[55] He was at the top of his game, coming off his World Cup heroics, and when the Serie A season concluded a few months later Guaita sat decisively atop the scoring list. After making the decision to move to Italy, he was developing into

[53] Gordon and London, "Italy 1934: Football and Fascism," 52.
[54] Vittorio Pozzo, "I calciatori italiani alla presenza del Duce conquistano il campionato del mondo," *La Stampa* (Torino), June 11, 1934, 1.
[55] "Guaita, idolo anche fra la pareti domestiche," *Il Littoriale* (Milano), December 11, 1934, 1-2.

one of the best offensive talents in the country. And then, just as quickly as he had arrived in the country, he was gone.

After just two seasons, Guaita raised perhaps the biggest questions about nationality and patriotism when he found himself at risk of being drafted into military service in Ethiopia. Attempting to escape conscription, he was caught with his Roma teammates Scopelli and Stagnaro at the Italy-France border.[56] Even though Guaita (as well as Scopelli) had represented the nation in international competition, Italians turned on these individuals as imposters who were shirking their civic duties and exploiting their dual nationality in opposition to Fascist values.

By 1935, when Italy embarked on its campaign in Ethiopia, any lingering propaganda value from the World Cup had dissipated both home and abroad. Thus, the project to incorporate Italo-Argentine talent into the Italian national team can be viewed in retrospect as having mixed results. The lasting impact of the World Cup victory was to cement soccer's place within the Fascist sport project. *Oriundi* players were the beneficiaries of official attitudes toward nationality that deliberately avoided racial definitions and provided the framework for including diasporic communities into conceptions of national identity. Their inclusion in the 1934 World Cup team was a successful endeavor insomuch as they played pivotal roles in allowing Italy to win the 1934 World Cup on home soil.

Beyond that, though, the legacy of the players themselves is far more conflicted. Despite the official line that individuals of Italian lineage were Italian citizens, there was still an undercurrent of skepticism as to the patriotism of Italo-Argentine players. While

[56] Martin, "Football and Fascism: Foreign Bodies on Foreign Fields," 101.

Mussolini, the government, and much of Italian society were willing to accept the sons and grandsons of Italian immigrants as legitimate representative of the nation, there were limits to how patriotic these players really were toward their adopted country. Now that the structural factors that allowed Italo-Argentine players to integrate into the Italian league and the Italian national team are clearer, it is now time to answer to what extent these Argentine-born players viewed themselves as Italian.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION: THE LIMITS OF *ITALIANITÀ* IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1934 WORLD CUP

Vittorio Pozzo was willing to justify playing Argentine-born players by arguing, "If they can die for Italy, they can play for Italy!" As a journalist as well as the manager of the national team, he played a major role in scripting the narrative about these players in ways that downplayed their foreign attributes and accentuated the ways in which they were no different than other Italians. Pozzo had a clear incentive to believe his own agitprop, as the questions about these players' patriotism cast the legitimacy of an Italian-won World Cup in a skeptical light.

As dual citizens who carried Italian nationality, the four men from Argentina who represented Italy in 1934 were certainly eligible to be conscripted into Mussolini's militaristic projects. The question underpinning this research, though, is not whether these four men could die for Italy, but rather whether they and other Argentine-born players were willing to die for Italy. Guaita's case is certainly the most visible repudiation by these individuals of their desire to bear arms for the Italian state. But there are clear indications that his actions mirrored the hesitation of other players when it came time to represent Italy in anything more than an athletic context.

The limits to the patriotism of *oriundi* athletes was evident from Orsi's arrival. As *Tutti gli Sports* noted in its profile on Orsi upon his arrival in 1928, he entered the country "free from any military commitment."[1] This had always been the biggest argument against

[1] "Raimondo Orsi in Italia," *Tutti gli sports* (Napoli), October 14-21, 1928, 4.

including *oriundi* from Argentina and elsewhere on the Italian national team. There is no indication that other players who followed Orsi overseas received this same preferential treatment from the Fascist government. But, as discussed above in the last chapter regarding the limited media opposition to *oriundi* representing the Italian national team, the primary argument against their inclusion almost always stemmed from this perceived lack of military obligation to the nation.

Over the next few years after the World Cup victory in Rome, many of the *oriundi* who helped Italy win the championship began to trickle back to South America. The Guaita case presented in the previous chapter offers the most salacious evidence for eschewing Italian identity, but it is hardly the only example. There seems to have been a clear limit to identifying as Italian among these Argentine-born players, who for the most part chose to return to South America after their playing careers had concluded.

By April 1935, Orsi had taken advantage of his exemption from military service and departed from Genoa back to Buenos Aires. He expressed his regret for having to leave Italy, and contended that he would not play soccer again in Argentina. *La Stampa* was skeptical about the notion that Orsi would return to play again either for Juventus or for the *azzurri*. Though he ostensibly left due to his mother's poor health, the press was quick to note that he presented an Argentine passport at customs as he boarded the steamer for the transatlantic voyage.[2] The skepticism was well-founded, as Orsi went on to play nine more seasons for clubs in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile.

Atilio Demaria, one of the reserves on the 1934 World Cup team, returned to Argentina after the World Cup to fulfill his national service as an Argentine citizen.

[2] "Orsi dichiara a Genova," *La Stampa* (Torino), April 8, 1935, 6.

Perceived as "compromising the good name of Fascist Italy," such actions were anathema to the all-or-noting dialectic that marked Fascist discourse.[3] After fulfilling his duties as an Argentine citizen, Demaria returned to Italy in 1938 and played for four Italian clubs until his retirement in 1948. But he eventually made his way back to Buenos Aires, where he lived until his death in Haedo in 1990.

Ideologically, Fascism is an anti-individualist doctrine that "stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State" and emphasizes militaristic collective nationalism.[4] Because the doctrine rejects individualism, it also rejects what Mussolini called "the absurd conventional lie of political equalitarianism" that is a hallmark of liberalism.[5] It is a totalitarian ethos in which "all the political, economic, and spiritual forces of the nation... circulate within the State" in a way that demands "discipline, the coordination of efforts, [and] a deep sense of duty and a spirit of self-sacrifice" from the populace.[6] Orsi, Monti, Demaria, and Guaita each eschewed this line of reasoning as they navigated between nationalities.

As the trend line illustrated in the chart on page 92, the dependence on *oriundi* talent waned throughout Italian soccer after 1935. Having benefitted from the infusion of athletic talent and technical skill that had developed among the diaspora communities of Argentina and elsewhere within South America, there was little left to be gained either domestically or internationally in continuing to utilize foreign-born talent. As a generation came of age, raised from youth in a Fascist society, there was also less incentive to risk the

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[3] Martin, *Football and Fascism: The National Game Under Mussolini*, 196.
[4] Benito Mussolini and Giovanni Gentile, "The Doctrine of fascism," originally published 1932, trans. 1935, accessed via *SMU.edu* December 8, 2016, http://faculty.smu.edu/bkcarter/THE%20DOCTRINE%20OF%20FASCISM.doc, 4.
[5] Mussolini and Gentile, "The Doctrine of fascism," 13.
[6] Mussolini and Gentile, "The Doctrine of fascism," 19-20.

special dispensations and individualism that marked the lived experiences of the *oriundi* who played in Italy under the restrictions of the Carta di Viareggio.

Ultimately, the Italian sports project under the Fascist regime was as ideologically chameleon as the broader political theory of Fascism as articulated by Mussolini. Born as "a doctrine of action" that was less inclined to account for long-term impacts of decisions in favor of style over substance, Italy was willing to grant special dispensations to players when it was beneficial to their immediate goals.[7] After the World Cup, South American professionalism and the questionable patriotism of Italo-Argentine players shifted the impact of dual nationalism and forced clubs and the national team to rethink the composition of their rosters.

By 1936, when Vittorio Pozzo led a group of Italian-born university students to the Olympic gold medal in Berlin, the gap in talent between South American players and their Italian counterparts had dissipated to the point where clubs had less incentive to look overseas to stock their rosters. Once amateurism was dropped permanently in Argentine soccer, the economic pull factor dissipated and only an appeal to family heritage seemed like a rationale for playing overseas. South American *oriundi* continued to join Italian clubs, but their numbers as a percentage of the total number of professionals steadily dropped through the latter half of the 1930s.

Over time, these foreign stars were viewed with nostalgia for their contributions to Italy's first World Cup title. Yet, even decades after they helped lead the *azzurri* to victory in 1934, players such as Orsi and Monti still felt the need to reiterate their Italian identities

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[7] Piers Brendon, *The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 24-25.

in interviews with the Italian press.[8] The fact that there remained questions about the national identity of these players long after their retirement indicates the ephemeral quality of Fascist efforts to sell *oriundi* as Italians, but they also operated in ways that were anathema to Fascist principles. The fact that these athletes were still compelled to repeat these expressions of patriotism, long after Fascist control of Italian politics had dissipated and despite their achievements being mythicized in the historical record, seems to indicate that even they were never entirely sure where they stood within the broader context of Italian history.

Oriundi contributions to the Italian national team did not entirely end after 1934. While there were no Argentine-born players on the 1938 World Cup team that repeated as champions, Uruguayan-born Michele Andreolo was in the starting eleven for all four of Italy's matches in France.[9] With the tournament interrupted by World War II, Andreolo represented the end of an era. He would be the last *oriundi* to represent Italy in World Cup play for more than two decades.

The 1962 tournament in Chile saw the *azzurri* turn toward four South American-born players to bolster the roster. Two of the players, Omar Sívori and Humberto Maschio, had arrived in Italy for the 1957-1958 season to great fanfare from Argentina. When Argentina requested their return to participate for their native country in the 1958 World Cup in Sweden, the Italian federation turned down the request. After one season in Serie

[8] Giulio Accatino, "Orsi e Monti, con nostalgia," *La Stampa* (Torino), June 7, 1973, 20.
[9] Cervi, "Azzurro oriundo, ma serve in un Mondiale?," *GQ Italia*, published June 9, 2014, https://www.gqitalia.it/sport/calcio/mondiali-calcio/2014/06/09/azzurro-oriundo-mumo-orsi-paletta-i-mondiali-dei-naturalizzati/; "1938 FIFA World Cup France: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/france1938/matches/index.html.

A, Italy was already working to clarify whether these players were eligible to represent their own national team.[10]

What we learn from this incident, however, is limited. The political dynamics within the global soccer community come to the forefront, as the case plays out on an administrative level. Nobody seems to have inquired, at least in the press, as to whether these players had any desire to represent Argentina in international play. Instead, much as it had been when Orsi, Monti, Demaria, and Guaita were among the most prominent South Americans plying their trade for Italian soccer clubs, the decision to move to Italy seems to have been perceived (or at least sold) as a tacit acceptance of Italian identity.

Figure 14. Photo of Omar Sívori

Source: "Enrique Omar Sívori, el último carasucia," *El Gráfico*, August 25, 2015, http://www.elgrafico.com.ar/2015/08/25/C-8330-enrique-omar-sivori-el-ultimo-carasucia.php.

Though they would not play for either Argentina or for Italy at the 1958 World Cup, Sívori and Maschio were joined by Brazilian-born *oriundi* José Altafini and Angelo Sormani on the 1962 Italian World Cup team. Altafini followed a similar path to Monti, in

[10] "Sivori chiesto dall'Argentina per i mondiali di calcio," *Stampa Sera* (Torino), February 19, 1958, 5.

that he started three matches for Brazil during the team's 1958 World Cup title run.[11] Arriving in Italy for the season immediately following the World Cup in Sweden, Altafini seems to have been predisposed to take on Italian citizenship and represent the *azzurri* in part due to the glut of talent available to the Brazilians.

Italy bounced out of the tournament before the knockout stage, but each of the four *oriundi* managed to start at least one of the three matches during the group stage.[12] Maschio had his nose broken in the second match, felled by a left hook from Chile's Leonel Sánchez in the second half of Italy's second Group B match. The "Battle of Santiago" saw two Italian players sent off by English referee Ken Aston, three interruptions for police to restore order on the playing field, and numerous injuries as Chile prevailed 2-0.[13]

While players such as English-born Giuseppe Wilson and Libyan-born Claudio Gentile would represent Italy during the 1970s and 1980s, no other South American *oriundi* took the field for the *azzurri* in World Cup play during the rest of the twentieth century. Four decades after the 1962 World Cup, Mauro Camoranesi became the first *oriundo* of the twenty-first century. Born in Tandil in 1976, Camoranesi capitalized on his genealogy that included a great-grandfather who had left the Marche region for Argentina more than a century before Camoranesi's birth to represent Italy fifty-five times in international competition.[14]

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[11] "1958 FIFA World Cup Sweden: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/sweden1958/matches/index.html.
[12] "1962 FIFA World Cup Chile: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/chile1962/matches/index.html.
[13] Scott Murray, Georgina Turner, and Sean Ingle, "The Knowledge: The greatest-ever European Cup thrashings," *The Guardian*, published November 6, 2003, accessed April 30, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/football/2003/nov/06/theknowledge.sport.
[14] Greg Lea, "Arrigo Sacchi and Italian football's ethical dilemma about foreign players," *The Guardian*, published February 18, 2015, accessed May 2, 2017,

Camoranesi became a mainstay for Italy soon after making his first appearance for the national team in 2003. He was part of the 2006 roster that won Italy's first World Cup in twenty-four years, starting four of the team's seven matches on the way to the championship.[15] Four years later, he was a substitute in two of three matches as the Italians defended their world title by exiting the 2010 World Cup in South Africa after the group stage.[16] Later in his career, though, Camoranesi returned to his native Argentina to play the last years of his career. In an interview with FIFA soon after leaving Europe and returning to South America, he acknowledged missing Italy. "Yes, sometimes I get the urge to go back. I've got a house there and it's where I spent many years of my life."

Figure 15. Photo of Mauro Camoranesi

Source: Matthew Ashton, "Mauro Camoranesi," *EMPICS/Getty Images*, March 26, 2005.

https://www.theguardian.com/football/these-football-times/2015/feb/18/arrigo-sacchi-italy-football-ethical-dilemma-racism-foreign-players.

[15] "2006 FIFA World Cup Germany: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/germany2006/matches/index.html.

[16] "2010 FIFA World Cup South Africa: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/southafrica2010/matches/index.html.

Expanding on the sentiment, he noted, "I do have moments when I miss my home, my friends and certain customs. The feeling washes over me sometimes."[17]

Those feelings of nostalgia, though, have not been enough to inspire his return to the country. Instead, he has commenced a coaching career that has involved stops in Mexico and Argentina. In a similar fashion to the *oriundi* stars of the 1934 World Cup and the players that were on the 1962 World Cup roster, Camoranesi retains ties to Italy largely due to his career and history with the Italian national team. One can imagine Camoranesi giving a similar interview to the one Orsi and Monti conducted in the 1970s, where he will reassert his Italian heritage and identity.

Gabriel Paletta, the only other Argentine-born *oriundo* to play for Italy in a World Cup match, did so when he started in the 2-1 win over England during the group stage of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil.[18] Like every previous generation of foreign-born talent to suit up in the *azzurri*, Paletta has been forced to confront his own heritage and how it fits into the story. "I grew up in Argentina but I feel Italian when I think of my great-grandfather," Paletta said in 2015. "He wanted his children to return to Calabria with some extra money in their pockets, so he could say he'd done what he set out to do. In a certain sense, wearing the *azzurri* would complete his journey."[19]

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[17] "Camoranesi: Football can be very cruel," *FIFA.com*, published April 4, 2011, accessed May 3, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/news/y=2011/m=4/news=camoranesi-football-can-very-cruel-1411576.html.
[18] "2014 FIFA World Cup Brazil: Matches," *FIFA.com*, accessed May 2, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/archive/brazil2014/matches/index.html.
[19] Lea, "Arrigo Sacchi and Italian football's ethical dilemma about foreign players," *The Guardian*, published February 18, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/football/these-football-times/2015/feb/18/arrigo-sacchi-italy-football-ethical-dilemma-racism-foreign-players.

One imagines that Orsi, Monti, Demaria, and Guaita were confronted by this range of emotions as well when they were assessing whether to move to Italy to embark on a professional career in Serie A. In many cases, Argentine-born players spent long careers in Italy, and like Camoranesi they became accustomed to the lifestyle in their adopted country. For the sons of Italian immigrants, even those whose mothers were not Italian, this connection to the land of their fathers would have been even stronger than the connective pull which drew Paletta to represent Italy at the most recent World Cup.

Italy had a clear incentive to incorporate these individual talents into their national team. And the mission was indeed accomplished, as Italy improved its overall talent pool thanks to the wider policy of allowing Italian clubs to sign foreign-born talent with Italian ancestry. Along with Brazilian-born Anfilogino Guarisi, the four Argentine-born stars who helped steer Italy to the World Cup title over Czechoslovakia in Rome had any number of reasons why they might choose to represent Italy. There were plenty of sociocultural factors at play that emphasized the Italian influence on Argentine society in the early twentieth century, helping reinforce their familial links as Italians were accepted more broadly by the ruling sectors of Argentina.

The example set by Orsi, Monti, Demaria, and Guaita in going overseas for employment echoed the generations of Italian agricultural migrants who wandered back and forth across the Atlantic to capitalize on hemispheric seasonal patterns and maximize their earning power. They were also part of a wider soccer talent shift that presaged the modern global marketplace for soccer stars. While most players still choose to represent the nation in which they were born for international competition, the example of

Camoranesi and Paletta shows that this is hardly an absolute even under modern FIFA guidelines that are far stricter about eligibility requirements.

Ultimately, what we can learn from the four *oriundi* stars of 1934 is an important lesson about the fluidity of national identity. Ethnicity is not an inborn trait, and the ability to identify with multiple nationalities on different levels is possible even among those who are not physically gifted enough to consider representing a nation in international sport. These men made a calculus that included economic considerations, family history, competitive quality, the chance to win championships, and any other number of conditioned responses to Italian identity when they decided to make the transatlantic journey to play in Italy.

While the Fascist government in Italy was all too happy to coopt their talents, it was ultimately the players themselves who read their options and recognized that they could make more money in Italy. At the same time, they could fulfill family dreams of returning from South America after finding success overseas. In this way, men like Orsi, Monti, Demaria, and Guaita were proxies who were helping carry out ancestral longings. The opportunity that existed to play in Italy was the result of the structural push and pull factors that existed on both sides of the Atlantic.

The agency to join Italian clubs, to represent the Italian national team, and even to abandon obligations to the state outside of soccer were all within the players' hands. Because they were theoretically capable of fighting and dying for Italy on the battlefield, they were eligible to pull on the *azzurri* and represent the country on the pitch. But in the case of the four World Cup stars from Argentina, none actually chose to take the Fascist government up on that offer.

APPENDICES

This section provides several charts and tables that were too large to fit legibly into the main body of the thesis. The data provide more detailed information on the Italo-Argentine players who ultimately made their way to play for Italian league clubs (Appendix A) and a look at where the four Italo-Argentine players who suited up for Italy in 1934 fit into the broader history of foreign-born players who represented other national teams on the World Cup stage (Appendix B).

APPENDIX A

ITALO-ARGENTINE PLAYERS IN ITALY BEFORE WORLD WAR II

NAME	DOB	BIRTHPLACE	IN ITALY		CLUB(S)
Francisco Mosso	4/10/1892	Mendoza	1912	1922	Torino
Benito Mosso	11/5/1894	Mendoza	1912	1915	Torino
Eugenio Mosso	**8/10/1895**	**Mendoza**	**1912**	**1925**	**Torino**
Angelo Badini	9/23/1894	Rosario	1913	1921	Bologna
Emilio Badini	**8/4/1897**	**Rosario**	**1913**	**1920**	**Bologna**
Cesare Badini	1898?	Rosario	1915	1918	Bologna
Augusto Badini	1900?	Rosario	1918	1926	Bologna
Júlio Mosso	1899	Mendoza	1920	1923	Torino
Júlio Libonatti	**7/5/1901**	**Rosario**	**1925**	**1937**	**Torino**
Artur Quini Ludueña	**10/21/1904**	**Canodà de Gomez**	**1926**	**1934**	**Roma**
Raimundo Orsi	**12/2/1901**	**Avellaneda**	**1928**	**1935**	**Juventus**
César Bertolo	9/19/1911	Rosario	1929	1943	6 clubs
Domingo Bertolo	5/25/1913	Rosario	1929	1941	4 clubs
José Carlos Ponzinibio	5/30/1906	Buenos Aires	1930	1931	Milan
Alejandro Giglio	8/30/1905	Buenos Aires	1930	1932	Genoa
Nicolás Italo Lombardo	3/13/1903	Buenos Aires	1930	1936	Roma, Pisa
Rodolfo Orlando Orlandini	1/1/1905	Buenos Aires	1930	1936	Genoa
Juán Fernando Pratto	6/6/1903	Buenos Aires	1930	1936	Genoa
Guillermo Stábile	1/17/1906	Buenos Aires	1930	1935	Genoa, Napoli
Eugenio Castellucci	4/21/1903	Buenos Aires	1930	1931	Juventus
Angel Capuano	1/25/1910	Buenos Aires	1931	1936	Genoa, Napoli
José "Pepito" Agosto	1/22/1914	Buenos Aires	1931	1939	4 clubs
Juán Esposto	3/7/1907	Buenos Aires	1931	1939	Genoa, Lecco
Luís Monti	**4/15/1901**	**Buenos Aires**	**1931**	**1939**	**Juventus**
Atilio Demaria	**3/19/1909**	**Buenos Aires**	**1931**	**1948**	**4 clubs**
Juan Maglio	2/22/1904	Buenos Aires	1931	1932	Juventus
Alberto Bernasconi	9/15/1912	Buenos Aires	1932	1937	Varese
Franco Ponzinibio	7/16/1914	Buenos Aires	1932	1944	6 clubs
Félix Demaria	4/27/1912	Haedo	1932	1935	Inter
Carlos Volante	11/5/1905	Lanús	1931	1934	3 clubs
Carlos Garavelli	4/6/1911	Las Perdices	1932	1948	8 clubs
José Carlos Miliozzi	3/20/1910	Suipacha	1932	1933	Inter
Antonio Ganduglia	5/14/1907	Buenos Aires	1932	1934	Genoa, Pisa
Enrique Guaita	**7/11/1910**	**Buenos Aires**	**1933**	**1935**	**Roma**
Alejandro Scopelli	**5/12/1908**	**Buenos Aires**	**1933**	**1936**	**Roma**

NAME	DOB	BIRTHPLACE	IN ITALY		CLUB(S)
Andrés Stagnaro	11/19/1907	Buenos Aires	1933	1935	Roma
Attilio Bernasconi	9/23/1905	Buenos Aires	1933	1934	Torino
Francisco Garraffa	5/17/1910	Avellaneda	1934	1943	3 clubs
Alfredo De Vincenzi	**6/9/1907**	**Buenos Aires**	**1934**	**1936**	**Inter**
Roberto Allemandi	1/8/1912	Oliva	1934	1940	3 clubs
Evaristo Vicente Barrera	12/30/1911	Rosario	1934	1948	7 clubs
Antonio Ferrara	**4/4/1912**	**San Fernando**	**1934**	**1939**	**3 clubs**
Mario Evaristo	12/10/1908	Buenos Aires	1935	1936	Genoa
Juán Salvador Rizzo	6/7/1906	La Plata	1935	1938	3 clubs
Silvio Bonino	1/20/1913	Leones	1934	1943	7 clubs
José Spirolazzi	9/21/1915	Rojas	1935	1950	7 clubs
Emanuel Interlandi	10/22/1915	Tucumán	1935	1940	Messina
Angel Rosso	8/28/1915	Buenos Aires	1936	1938	Alessandria
Arcangel Di Reda	1/10/1912	Mar del Plata	1936	1943	Foggia, Savoia
Juán Pozzi	12/20/1916	Rosario	1936	1937	Fano
Rizieri Vallari	11/7/1911	Rosario	1936	1938	Mantova
Víctor José Pozzo	12/1/1914	Buenos Aires	1938	1949	8 clubs
Antonio Campilongo	11/18/1911	Buenos Aires	1939	1940	Roma
Tomás Garibaldi	4/8/1914	Buenos Aires	1939	1941	Genoa
Francisco Providente	1/1/1914	Buenos Aires	1939	1941	Roma
Eduardo Rossi	11/2/1909	Buenos Aires	1939	1941	Albenga
Cataldo Spitale	10/5/1911	Buenos Aires	1939	1941	Roma
Silvestro Pisa	4/4/1916	Buenos Aires	1939	1943	Lazio
Miguel Angel Pantò	11/26/1911	Buenos Aires	1939	1947	Roma
Pedro Pablo Pompei	12/19/1913	Buenos Aires	1939	1951	4 clubs
José Juán Compagnucci	7/24/1917	Rosario	1934	1951	6 clubs
Enrique Flamini	4/17/1917	Rosario	1939	1955	3 clubs
Aldo Raccone	9/17/1919	Buenos Aires	1939	1941	Derthona
Alberto Fazio	9/15/1918	Buenos Aires	1940	1943	Lazio
Anselmo Pisa	7/4/1918	Buenos Aires	1940	1943	Lazio, Inter
Salvador Gualtieri	5/14/1917	Buenos Aires	1940	1951	3 clubs
Hugo Lamanna	3/3/1913	Buenos Aires	1941	1947	Atalanta
Américo Luís Menutti	5/1/1915	Buenos Aires	1941	1947	Bari, Lecce
Américo Ruffino	7/27/1905	Buenos Aires	1927	1936	5 clubs
Angel Raccone	2/12/1915	Buenos Aires	1933	1953	4 clubs

SOURCE: The data was primarily drawn from Davide Rota, "List of Argentine Players in Italy before 1945," *Rec.Sports.Soccer Statistics Foundation*, updated May 22, 2014, accessed February 7, 2017, http://www.rsssf.com/players/arg-players-in-it.html. Data was also cross-checked against club rosters from those seasons using a combination of online

club player databases, newspaper searches, and FIFA data for players who participated in international competition.

NOTES: Players listed in **BOLD** played for the Italian national team during their time in Italy. This list does not include Renato Cesarini and Nicolás Ferrara, who were born in Italy and then migrated to Argentina as children. Cesarini was born in Ancona but moved to Buenos Aires as an infant. Cesarini played for five clubs in Argentina before moving to Juventus in 1929, where he played for six seasons before returning to finish his career in Buenos Aires. Ferrara was born in Chiaromonte, but also migrated in his first years of life. His brother, Antionio, was born in Argentina after the family emigrated from Italy and is included on the list.

APPENDIX B

FOREIGN-BORN WORLD CUP REPRESENTATIVES

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1930	Pedro Suárez	Santa Brigida, ESP	Argentina
	Ernest Libérati	Oran, ALG	France
	Émile Veinante	Metz, GER	France
	Alexandre Villaplane	Algiers, ALG	France
	Alfred Eisenbeisser	Chernivtsi, UKR	Romania
	László Raffinsky	Miskolc, HUN	Romania
	Andy Auld	Stevenston, SCO	United States
	Jim Brown	Kilmarnock, SCO	United States
	Jimmy Gallagher	Kirkintilloch, SCO	United States
	Bart McGhee	Edinburgh, SCO	United States
	George Moorhouse	Liverpool, ENG	United States
	Alexander Wood	Lochgelly, SCO	United States
	Pedro Cea	Redondela, ESP	Uruguay
	Lorenzo Fernández	Redondela, ESP	Uruguay
1934	Constantino Urbieta Sosa	Asunción, PAR	Argentina
	Géza Kalocsay	Beregszász, Austria-Hungary	Czechoslovakia
	Joseph Alcazar	Oran, ALG	France
	Roger Courtois	Geneva, SUI	France
	Joseph Gonzales	Béni Saf, ALG	France
	Fritz Keller	Strasbourg, GER	France
	Émile Veinante	Metz, GER	France
	István Avar	Arad, ROU	Hungary
	Jeno Vincze	Vrsac, SRB	Hungary
	Mario Varglien	Fiume, Austria-Hungary	Italy
	Enrique Guaita	Buenos Aires, ARG	Italy
	Anfilogino Guarisi	São Paulo, BRA	Italy
	Luis Monti	Buenos Aires, ARG	Italy
	Raimundo Orsi	Avellaneda, ARG	Italy
	Attilio Demaria	Buenos Aires, ARG	Italy
	Beb Bakhuys	Pekalongan, IDN	Netherlands
	István Klimek	Timisoara, HUN	Romania
	Lazar Sfera	San Mihai, SRB	Romania
	Ramón Zabalo	South Shields, ENG	Spain
	Walter Dick	Kirkintilloch, SCO	United States
	Jimmy Gallagher	Kirkintilloch, SCO	United States
	Willie McLean	Clydebank, SCO	United States
	George Moorhouse	Liverpool, ENG	United States
	Werner Nilsen	Skien, NOR	United States
	Herman Rapp	Stuttgart, GER	United States
1938	Joseph Nelis	Tutbury, ENG	Belgium

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1938	Charles Vanden Wouwer	Teignmouth, ENG	Belgium
	Karel Burkert	Ujpest, HUN	Czechoslovakia
	Jean Bastien	Oran, ALG	France
	Abdelkader Ben Bouali	Sendjas, ALG	France
	Michel Brusseaux	Oran, ALG	France
	Hector Cazenave	Montevideo, URU	France
	Roger Courtois	Geneva, SUI	France
	Julien Darui	Oberkorn, LUX	France
	Lucien Jasseron	Oran, ALG	France
	Auguste Jordan	Linz, AUT	France
	Ignace Kowalczyk	Castrop, GER	France
	César Povolny	Recklinghausen, GER	France
	Émile Veinante	Metz, GER	France
	Mario Zatelli	Sétif, ALG	France
	Wilhelm Hahnemann	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Hans Mock	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Leopold Neumer	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Hans Pesser	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Rudolf Raftl	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Willibald Schmaus	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Stefan Skoumal	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Josef Stroh	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Franz Wagner	Vienna, AUT	Germany
	Jeno Vincze	Vrsac, SRB	Hungary
	Michele Andreolo	Carmelo, URU	Italy
	Silviu Bindea	Blaj, HUN	Romania
	Vasile Chiroiu	Nagykomios, HUN	Romania
	Ioachim Moldoveanu	Marosujvar, HUN	Romania
	Gheorghe Rasinaru	Szaszsebes, HUN	Romania
	László Raffinsky	Miskolc, HUN	Romania
	Robert Sadowski	Chernivtsi, UKR	Romania
	Lazar Sfera	San Mihai, SRB	Romania
	Alfred Bickel	Eppstein, GER	Switzerland
	Alessandro Frigerio	Tumaco, COL	Switzerland
	Ernst Lörtscher	Bucharest, ROU	Switzerland
	Eugen Walaschek	Moscow, RUS	Switzerland
1950	Roberto Capparelli	[unknown], ARG	Bolivia
	Francisco Urroz	Higuerote, VEN	Chile
	Alfred Bickel	Eppstein, GER	Switzerland
	Jacques Fatton	Exincourt, FRA	Switzerland
	Hans-Peter Friedländer	Berlin, GER	Switzerland
	Geoff Coombes	Lincoln, ENG	United States
	Joe Gaetjens	Port-au-Prince, HAI	United States
	Gino Gardassanich	Rijeka, CRO	United States

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1950	Joe Maca	Brussels, BEL	United States
	Ed McIlvenny	Greenock, SCO	United States
	Walter Johannes Stein	Vienna, AUT	United States
	Adam Wolanin	Lviv, UKR	United States
	Ernesto Vidal	Buje, CRO	Uruguay
1954	Walter Schleger	Prague, CZE	Austria
	Abderrahmane Mahjoub	Casablanca, MAR	France
	Abdelaziz Ben Tifour	Hussein Dey, ALG	France
	Richard Herrmann	Katowice, POL	West Germany
	Josef Posipal	Lugoj, ROU	West Germany
	Mihaly Toth	Bezdan, YUG	Hungary
	Carlos Blanco	Madrid, ESP	Mexico
	Hong Deok-Young	Hamheung, PRK	South Korea
	Choi Chung-Min	Pyongyang, PRK	South Kores
	Chu Yung-Kwang	Pyongyang, PRK	South Korea
	Norbert Eschmann	Besançon, FRA	Switzerland
	Jacques Fatton	Exincourt, FRA	Switzerland
	Basri Dirimlili	Darstor, ROU	Turkey
	Juan Hohberg	Córdoba, ARG	Uruguay
1958	Walter Schleger	Prague, CZE	Austria
	Just Fontaine	Marrakech, MAR	France
	Célestin Oliver	Mostaganem, ALG	France
	Carlos Blanco	Madrid, ESP	Mexico
	John Hewie	Pretoria, RSA	Scotland
1962	Dimitar Yakimov	Slegovo, MKD	Bulgaria
	Frantisek Schmucker	Horvatjarfalu, HUN	Czechoslovakia
	Humberto Maschio	Avellaneda, ARG	Italy
	José Altafini	Piracicaba, BRA	Italy
	Omar Sivori	San Nicolás, ARG	Italy
	Angelo Sormani	Jaú, BRA	Italy
	Yozhef Sabo	Ungvar, HUN	Soviet Union
	Alfredo di Stéfano	Buenos Aires, ARG	Spain
	Ferenc Puskás	Budapest, HUN	Spain
	Eulogio Martínez	Asunción, PAR	Spain
	José Santamaría	Montevideo, URU	Spain
	Roberto Frigerio	Le Havre, FRA	Switzerland
	Norbert Eschmann	Besançon, FRA	Switzerland
1966	Dimitar Yakimov	Slegovo, MKD	Bulgaria
	Néstor Combin	Las Rosas, ARG	France
	Héctor De Bourgoing	Posadas, ARG	France
	Vicente	Lourenço Marques, MOZ	Portugal
	Hilário	Lourenço Marques, MOZ	Portugal
	Mário	Inhaca, MOZ	Portugal
	Eusébio	Lourenço Marques, MOZ	Portugal
	Yozhef Sabo	Ungvar, HUN	Soviet Union

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1970	Erwin Vandendaele	Metz, FRA	Belgium
	Dimitar Yakimov	Slegovo, MKD	Bulgaria
	Alexander Vencel	Ilva Mare, ROU	Czechoslovakia
	David Primo	[unknown], BUL	Israel
	Zvi Rosen	Köln, GER	Israel
	Itzhak Shum	Chisinau, MDA	Israel
	Mordechai Spiegler	Sochi, RUS	Israel
	George Borba	Macerata, ITA	Israel
	Yisha'ayahu Schwager	[unknown], POL	Israel
	Rachamim Taibi	Vidin, BUL	Israel
	Lajos Satmareanu	Nagyszalonta, HUN	Romania
	Vasile Gergely	Nagybanya, HUN	Romania
1974	Jack Reilly	Stonehaven, SCO	Australia
	Doug Utjesenovic	Belgrade, SRB	Australia
	Peter Wilson	Felling, ENG	Australia
	Manfred Schaefer	Baltiysk, RUS	Australia
	Ray Richards	Croydon, ENG	Australia
	Jimmy Rooney	Dundee, SCO	Australia
	Jimmy Mackay	[unknown], SCO	Australia
	Attila Abonyi	Budapest, HUN	Australia
	Adrian Alston	Preston, ENG	Australia
	Peter Ollerton	Preston, ENG	Australia
	Ivo Rudic	Split, CRO	Australia
	Dave Harding	Liverpool, ENG	Australia
	Johnny Watkiss	Willenhall, ENG	Australia
	Branko Buljevic	Split, CRO	Australia
	Peter Ducke	Benesov nad Ploucnici, CZE	East Germany
	Herbert Wimmer	Eupen, BEL	West Germany
	Giuseppe Wilson	Darlington, ENG	Italy
	David Harvey	Leeds, ENG	Scotland
1978	Christian Lopez	Aïn Témouchent, ALG	France
	Jean-Paul Bertrand-Demanes	Casablanca, MAR	France
	Claudio Gentile	Tripoly, LBY	Italy
	Ramón Quiroga	Rosario, ARG	Peru
	Bruce Rioch	Aldershot, ENG	Scotland
	Rubén Cano	San Rafael, ARG	Spain
1982	Nourredine Kourichi	Ostricourt, FRA	Algeria
	Ali Fergani	Onnaing, FRA	Algeria
	Faouzi Mansouri	Menzel, TUN	Algeria
	Bernd Krauss	Dortmund, GER	Austria
	Terry Butcher	Singapore	England
	Jean-François Larois	Sidi Bel Abbès, ALG	France
	Christian Lopez	Aïn Témouchent, ALG	France
	Jean Tigana	Bamako, MLI	France

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1982	Gérard Soler	Oujda, MAR	France
	Claudio Gentile	Tripoli, LBY	Italy
	Ahmed Al-Tarabulsi	Beirut, LIB	Kuwait
	Brian Turner	East Ham, ENG	New Zealand
	Dave Bright	[unknown], ENG	New Zealand
	Bobby Almond	London, ENG	New Zealand
	Duncan Cole	[unknown], ENG	New Zealand
	Steve Wooddin	Birkinhead, ENG	New Zealand
	Steve Sumner	Blackpool, ENG	New Zealand
	Sam Malcolmson	Dalbeattie, SCO	New Zealand
	Adrian Elrick	Aberdeen, SCO	New Zealand
	John Hill	Belfast, NIR	New Zealand
	Allan Boath	Dundee, SCO	New Zealand
	Billy McClure	Liverpool, ENG	New Zealand
	Jimmy Nicholl	Hamilton, CAN	Northern Ireland
	Chris Nicholl	Wilmslow, ENG	Northern Ireland
	Ramón Quiroga	Rosario, ARG	Peru
	Roberto López Ufarte	Fez, MAR	Spain
1986	Nourredine Kourichi	Ostricourt, FRA	Algeria
	Fathi Chebal	Lyon, FRA	Algeria
	Faouzi Mansouri	Menzel, TUN	Algeria
	Rachid Harkouk	Chelsea, ENG	Algeria
	Halim Benmabrouk	Lyon, FRA	Algeria
	Tino Lettieri	Bari, ITA	Canada
	Carl Valentine	Manchester, ENG	Canada
	Gerry Gray	Glasgow, SCO	Canada
	Branko Segota	Rijeka, CRO	Canada
	Igor Vrablic	Bratislava, SVK	Canada
	Randy Samuel	Point Fortin, TRI	Canada
	Paul James	Cardiff, WAL	Canada
	Dave Norman	Glasgow, SCO	Canada
	Colin Miller	Hamilton, SCO	Canada
	Sven Habermann	Berlin, GER	Canada
	Terry Butcher	Singapore	England
	John Barnes	Kingston, JAM	England
	William Ayache	Algiers, ALG	France
	Luis Fernández	Tarifa, ESP	France
	Jean Tigana	Bamako, MLI	France
	Matthias Herget	Annaberg-Buchholz, GDR	West Germany
	Jimmy Nicholl	Hamilton, CAN	Northern Ireland
	Bernard McNally	Shrewsbury, ENG	Northern Ireland
	Jorge Amado Nunes	Berazategui, ARG	Paraguay
	Richard Gough	Stockholm, SWE	Scotland
	Andy Goram	Bury, ENG	Scotland
	Oleh Kuznetsov	Magdeburg, GER	Soviet Union

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1990	Alexandre Guimaräes	Maceió, BRA	Costa Rica
	Terry Butcher	Singapore	England
	John Barnes	Kingston, JAM	England
	Tony Dorigo	Adelaide, AUS	England
	Graeme Rutjes	Sydney, AUS	Netherlands
	John van ‘t Schip	Fort St. John, CAN	Netherlands
	Henk Fraser	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Aron Winter	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Stanley Menzo	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Chris Morris	Newquay, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Mick McCarthy	Barnsley, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Paul McGrath	Ealing, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Ray Houghton	Glasgow, SCO	Rep. of Ireland
	John Aldridge	Liverpool, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Tony Cascarino	St. Paul’s Cray, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Kevin Sheedy	Builth Wells, WAL	Rep. of Ireland
	David O’Leary	Stoke Newington, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Andy Townsend	Maidstone, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Chris Hughton	Forest Gate, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Bernie Slaven	Castlemoat, SCO	Rep. of Ireland
	John Sheridan	Stretford, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	David Kelly	Birmingham, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	John Byrne	Manchester, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Alan McLoughlin	Manchester, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Gerry Peyton	Birmingham, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Richard Gough	Stockholm, SWE	Scotland
	Andy Goram	Bury, ENG	Scotland
	Stuart McCall	Leeds, ENG	Scotland
	Oleh Kuznetsov	Magdeburg, GER	Soviet Union
	Mike Windischmann	Nuremburg, GER	United States
	Tab Ramos	Montevideo, URU	United States
	Robert Prosinecki	Schwenningen, GER	Yugoslavia
1994	Josip Weber	Slavonski Brod, CRO	Belgium
	Carlos Trucco	Córdoba, ARG	Bolivia
	Gustavo Quinteros	Santa Fe, ARG	Bolivia
	Darío Rojas	Buenos Aires, ARG	Bolivia
	Luis Cristaldo	Formosa, ARG	Bolivia
	Minas Hantzidis	Kettwig, GER	Greece
	Savvas Kofidis	Alma-Ata, KAZ	Greece
	Ulrich van Gobbel	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Aron Winter	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Efan Ekoku	Manchester, ENG	Nigeria
	Karl Petter Løken	Karlskoga, SWE	Norway
	Terry Phelan	Manchester, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Paul McGrath	Ealing, ENG	Rep. of Ireland

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1994	Andy Townsend	Maidstone, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Ray Houghton	Glasgow, SCO	Rep. of Ireland
	John Aldridge	Liverpool, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	John Sheridan	Stretford, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Alan Kernaghan	Otley, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Phil Babb	Lambeth, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Tommy Coyne	Govan, SCO	Rep. of Ireland
	Tony Cascarino	St. Paul's Cray, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Eddie McGoldrick	Islington, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Alan McLoughlin	Manchester, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	David Kelly	Birmingham, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Jason McAteer	Tranmere, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Alan Kelly, Jr.	Preston, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Sergei Gorlukovich	Baruny, BLR	Russia
	Yuriy Nikiforov	Odessa, UKR	Russia
	Vladislav Ternavsky	Kiev, UKR	Russia
	Andrei Piatnitski	Tashkent, UZB	Russia
	Valeri Karpin	Narva, EST	Russia
	Omari Tetradze	Velospiri, GEO	Russia
	Ilya Tsymbalar	Odessa, UKR	Russia
	Viktor Onopko	Luhansk, UKR	Russia
	Sergei Yuran	Luhansk, UKR	Russia
	Christophe Ohrel	Strasbourg, FRA	Switzerland
	Nestor Subiat	Buenos Aires, ARG	Switzerland
	Thomas Dooley	Bechhofen, GER	United States
	Hugo Pérez	Morazán, SLV	United States
	Earnie Stewart	Veghel, NED	United States
	Tab Ramos	Montevideo, URU	United States
	Roy Wegerle	Pretoria, RSA	United States
	Frank Klopas	Prosymna, GRE	United States
	Fernando Clavijo	Maldonado, URU	United States
1998	Ivica Vastic	Split, CRO	Austria
	Gordan Vidovic	Sarajevo, BIH	Belgium
	Luís Oliveira	São Luis, BRA	Belgium
	Mbo Mpenza	Kinshasa, ZAI	Belgium
	Joseph-Désiré Job	Vénissieux, FRA	Cameroon
	Goran Juric	Mostar, BIH	Croatia
	Anthony Seric	Sydney, AUS	Croatia
	Robert Prosinecki	Schwenningen, GER	Croatia
	Mario Stanic	Sarajevo, BIH	Croatia
	Ardian Kozniku	Gjakova, KOS	Croatia
	Krunoslav Jurcic	Grude, BIH	Croatia
	Vladimir Vasilj	Hanover, GER	Croatia
	Brian Laudrup	Vienna, AUT	Denmark
	Patrick Vieira	Dakar, SEN	France

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
1998	Marcel Desailly	Accra, GHA	France
	Roberto Di Matteo	Schaffhausen, SUI	Italy
	Fitzroy Simpson	Bradford-on-Avon, ENG	Jamaica
	Marcus Gayle	Hammersmith, ENG	Jamaica
	Andy Williams	Toronto, CAN	Jamaica
	Robbie Earle	Newcastle-under-Lyme, ENG	Jamaica
	Deon Burton	Reading, ENG	Jamaica
	Frank Sinclair	London, ENG	Jamaica
	Darryl Powell	London, ENG	Jamaica
	Paul Hall	Manchester, ENG	Jamaica
	Wagner Lopes	Franca, BRA	Japan
	Gharib Amzine	Montbéliard, FRA	Morocco
	Ali Elkhattabi	Schiedam, NED	Morocco
	Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Clarence Seedorf	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Edgar Davids	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Aron Winter	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Espen Baardsen	San Rafael, CA, USA	Norway
	Roberto Acuña	Avellaneda, ARG	Paraguay
	Ricardo Ismael Rojas	Posadas, ARG	Paraguay
	Neil Sullivan	Sutton, ENG	Scotland
	Matt Elliott	Wandsworth, ENG	Scotland
	Jonathan Gould	Paddington, ENG	Scotland
	Joan Antonio Pizzi	Santa Fe, ARG	Spain
	Cláyton	São Luis, BRA	Tunisia
	Thomas Dooley	Bechhofen, GER	United States
	Earnie Stewart	Veghel, NED	United States
	Tab Ramos	Montevideo, URU	United States
	Roy Wegerle	Pretoria, RSA	United States
	David Regis	La Trinité, MTQ	United States
	Jeff Agoos	Geneva, SUI	United States
	Preki	Belgrade, SRB	United States
	Slobodan Komljenovic	Frankfurt, GER	Yugoslavia
2002	Branko Strupar	Zagreb, CRO	Belgium
	Mbo Mpenza	Kinshasa, ZAI	Belgium
	Joseph-Désiré Job	Vénissieux, FRA	Cameroon
	Anthony Seric	Sydney, AUS	Croatia
	Robert Prosinecki	Schwenningen, GER	Croatia
	Josip Simunic	Canberra, AUS	Croatia
	Stjepan Tomas	Bugojno, BIH	Croatia
	Boris Zivkovic	Zivinice, BIH	Croatia
	Niko Kovac	Berlin, GER	Croatia
	Mario Stanic	Sarajevo, BIH	Croatia
	Robert Kovac	Berlin, GER	Croatia

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
2002	Vladimir Vasilj	Hanover, GER	Croatia
	Jan Michaelsen	Nantes, FRA	Denmark
	Owen Hargreaves	Calgary, CAN	England
	Patrick Vieira	Dakar, SEN	France
	Marcel Desailly	Accra, GHA	France
	Claude Makélélé	Kinshasa, ZAI	France
	Oliver Neuville	Locamo, SUI	Germany
	Miroslav Klose	Opole, POL	Germany
	Gerald Asamoah	Mampong, GHA	Germany
	Alessandro Santos	Maringá, BRA	Japan
	Gabriel Caballero	Rosario, ARG	Mexico
	Efe Sodje	Greenwich, ENG	Nigeria
	Roberto Acuña	Avellaneda, ARG	Paraguay
	Emmanuel Olisadebe	Warri, NGA	Poland
	Abel Xavier	Nampula, MOZ	Portugal
	Petit	Strasbourg, FRA	Portugal
	Jason McAteer	Tranmere, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Matt Holland	Bury, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Kevin Kilbane	Preston, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	David Connolly	Willesden, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Gary Breen	London, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Dean Kiely	Salford, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Clinton Morrison	Tooting, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Andy O'Brien	Harrogate, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Steven Reid	Kingston-upon-Thames, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Lee Carsley	Birmingham, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Alan Kelly, Jr.	Preston, ENG	Rep. of Ireland
	Yuriy Nikiforov	Odessa, UKR	Russia
	Viktor Onopko	Luhansk, UKR	Russia
	Valeri Karpin	Narva, EST	Russia
	Sergei Semak	Sychanske, UKR	Russia
	Sylvain N'Diayé	Paris, FRA	Senegal
	Habib Beye	Suresnes, FRA	Senegal
	Zoran Pavlovic	Tuzla, BIH	Slovenia
	Amir Karic	Orahovica Donja, BIH	Slovenia
	George Koumantarakis	Athens, GRE	South Africa
	Cha Du-Ri	Frankfurt am Main, GER	South Korea
	Curro Torres	Ahlen, GER	Spain
	Tobias Linderoth	Marseille, FRA	Sweden
	Selim Benachour	Paris, FRA	Tunisia
	Cláyton	São Luis, BRA	Tunisia
	Yıldıray Baştürk	Herne, GER	Turkey
	Muzzy Izzet	London, ENG	Turkey
	Tayfur Havutçu	Hanau, GER	Turkey
	İlhan Mansız	Kempten, GER	Turkey

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
2002	Ümit Davala	Mannheim, GER	Turkey
	David Regis	La Trinité, MTQ	United States
	Jeff Agoos	Geneva, SUI	United States
	Earnie Stewart	Veghel, NED	United States
	Pablo Mastroeni	Mendoza, ARG	United States
	Carlos Llamosa	Palmira, COL	Unitd States
2006	Archie Thompson	Otorohanga, NZL	Australia
	Victor Núñez	Santo Domingo, DOM	Costa Rica
	Guy Demel	Orsay, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Abdoulaye Méïté	Paris, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Emerse Faé	Nantes, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Josip Simunic	Canberra, AUS	Croatia
	Niko Kovac	Berlin, GER	Croatia
	Robert Kovac	Berlin, GER	Croatia
	Mario Tokic	Derventa, BIH	Croatia
	Joey Didulica	Geelong, AUS	Croatia
	Stjepan Tomas	Bugojno, BIH	Croatia
	Ivan Klasnic	Hamburg, GER	Croatia
	Anthony Seric	Sydney, AUS	Croatia
	Owen Hargreaves	Calgary, CAN	England
	Jean-Alain Boumsong	Douala, CMR	France
	Patrick Vieira	Dakar, SEN	France
	Claude Makélélé	Kinshasa, ZAI	France
	Oliver Neuville	Locamo, SUI	Germany
	Miroslav Klose	Opole, POL	Germany
	Gerald Asamoah	Mampong, GHA	Germany
	Lukas Podolski	Gliwice, POL	Germany
	Otto Addo	Hamburg, GER	Ghana
	Ferydoon Zandi	Emden, GER	Iran
	Simone Perrotta	Ashton-under-Lyne, ENG	Italy
	Mauro Camoranesi	Tandil, ARG	Italy
	Alessandro Santos	Maringá, BRA	Japan
	Sinha	Itajá, BRA	Mexico
	Guillermo Franco	Corrientes, ARG	Mexico
	Roberto Acuña	Avellaneda, ARG	Paraguay
	Petit	Strasbourg, FRA	Portugal
	Deco	São Bernardo do Campo, BRA	Portugal
	Ivan Ergic	Sibenik, CRO	Serbia & Montenegro
	Ognjen Koroman	Pale, BIH	Serbia & Montenegro
	Savo Milosevic	Bijeljena, BIH	Serbia & Montenegro

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
2006	Oliver Kovacevic	Split, CRO	Serbia & Montenegro
	Mladen Krstajic	Zenica, BIH	Serbia & Montenegro
	Danijel Ljuboja	Vincovci, CRO	Serbia & Montenegro
	Mariano Pernía	Buenoa Aires, ARG	Spain
	Marcos Senna	São Paulo, BRA	Spain
	Tobias Linderoth	Marseille, FRA	Sweden
	Johan Djourou	Abidjan, CIV	Switzerland
	Blerim Dzemaili	Tetovo, MKD	Switzerland
	Valon Behrami	Mitrovica, KOS	Switzerland
	Thomas Dossevi	Chambray-lès-Tours, FRA	Togo
	Robert Malm	Dunkerque, FRA	Togo
	Eric Akoto	Accra, GHA	Togo
	Richmond Forson	Aflao, GHA	Togo
	Alaixys Romao	L'Haÿ-les-Roses, FRA	Togo
	Ludovic Assemoassa	Lyon, FRA	Togo
	Shaka Hislop	London, ENG	Trinidad & Tobago
	Ian Cox	London, ENG	Trinidad & Tobago
	Chris Birchall	Stafford, ENG	Trinidad & Tobago
	Karim Essediri	Paris, FRA	Tunisia
	Alaeddine Yahia	Colombes, FRA	Tunisia
	Mehdi Nafti	Toulouse, FRA	Tunisia
	Francileudo Santos	Zé Doca, BRA	Tunisia
	Adel Chedli	La Ricamarie, FRA	Tunisia
	Chaouki Ben Saada	Bastia, FRA	Tunisia
	David Jemmali	Toulouse, FRA	Tunisia
	Hamed Namouchi	Cannes, FRA	Tunisia
	Andriy Nesmachniy	Bryansk, RUS	Ukraine
	Artem Milevskiy	Minsk, BLR	Ukraine
	Vladyslav Vashchuk	Ashgabat, TKM	Ukraine
	Pablo Mastroeni	Mendoza, ARG	United States
2010	Madjid Bougherra	Longvic, FRA	Algeria
	Nadir Belhadj	Saint-Claude, FRA	Algeria
	Antar Yahia	Mulhouse, FRA	Algeria
	Yazid Mansouri	Revin, FRA	Algeria
	Ryad Boudebouz	Colmar, FRA	Algeria
	Medhi Lacen	Paris, FRA	Algeria
	Abdelkader Ghezzal	Décines-Charpieu, FRA	Algeria
	Rafik Djebbour	Grenoble, FRA	Algeria
	Habib Bellaïd	Bobigny, FRA	Algeria
	Karim Matmour	Strasbourg, FRA	Algeria
	Karim Ziani	Sèvres, FRA	Algeria
	Adlène Guedioura	La Roche-sur-Yon, FRA	Algeria

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
2010	Carl Medjani	Lyon, FRA	Algeria
	Hassan Yebda	Saint-Maurice, FRA	Algeria
	Foued Kadir	Martigues, FRA	Algeria
	Djamel Abdoun	Montreuil, FRA	Algeria
	Raïs M'Bolhi	Paris, FRA	Algeria
	Gonzalo Higuaín	Brest, FRA	Argentina
	Dario Vidosic	Osijek, CRO	Australia
	Nikita Rukavytsya	Mykolaiv, UKR	Australia
	Benoît Assou-Ekotto	Arras, FRA	Cameroon
	Sébastien Bassong	Paris, FRA	Cameroon
	Eric Maxim Choupo-Moting	Hamburg, GER	Cameroon
	Jorge Valdivia	Maracay, VEN	Chile
	Mark González	Durban, RSA	Chile
	Matías Fernández	Caballito, ARG	Chile
	Guy Demel	Orsay, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Sol Bamba	Ivry-sur-Seine, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Patrice Evra	Dakar, SEN	France
	Steve Mandanda	Kinshasa, ZAI	France
	Miroslav Klose	Opole, POL	Germany
	Lukas Podolski	Gliwice, POL	Germany
	Piotr Trochowski	Tczew, POL	Germany
	Cacau	Santo André, BRA	Germany
	Marko Marin	Bosanska Gradiska, YUG	Germany
	André Ayew	Seclin, FRA	Ghana
	Quincy Owusu-Abeyie	Amsterdam, NED	Ghana
	Kevin-Prince Boateng	Berlin, GER	Ghana
	Sotiris Ninis	Himara, ALB	Greece
	Loukas Vyntra	Město Albrechtice, CZE	Greece
	Avraam Papadopoulos	Melbourne, AUS	Greece
	Mauro Camoranesi	Tandil, ARG	Italy
	Marcus Tulio Tanaka	Palmeira d'Oeste, BRA	Japan
	Guillermo Franco	Corrientes, ARG	Mexico
	Edson Braafheid	Paramaribo, SUR	Netherlands
	Tim Brown	Congleton, ENG	New Zealand
	Shane Smeltz	Göppingen, GER	New Zealand
	David Mulligan	Liverpool, ENG	New Zealand
	Tommy Smith	Macclesfield, ENG	New Zealand
	Peter Odemwingie	Tashkent, UZB	Nigeria
	Jong Tae-Se	Nagoya, JPN	North Korea
	An Yong-Hak	Kurashiki, JPN	North Korea
	Jonathan Santana	Buenos Aires, ARG	Paraguay
	Lucas Barrios	San Fernando, ARG	Paraguay
	Néstor Ortigoza	San Antonio de Padua, ARG	Paraguay
	Rolando	São Vicente, CPV	Portugal

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
2010	Liédson	Cairu, BRA	Portugal
	Danny	Caracas, VEN	Portugal
	Pepe	Maceió, BRA	Portugal
	Deco	São Bernardo do Campo, BRA	Portugal
	Daniel Fernandes	Edmonton, CAN	Portugal
	Milos Krasic	Mitrovica, KOS	Serbia
	Neven Subotic	Banja Luka, BIH	Serbia
	Zdravko Kuzmanovic	Thun, SUI	Serbia
	Zlatko Dedic	Bihac, BIH	Slovenia
	Bongani Khumalo	Manzini, SWZ	South Africa
	Cha Du-Ri	Frankfurt am Main, GER	South Korea
	Xherdan Shaqiri	Gjilan, KOS	Switzerland
	Albert Bunjaku	Gjilan, KOS	Switzerland
	Gélson Fernandes	Praia, CPV	Switzerland
	Valon Behrami	Mitrovica, KOS	Switzerland
	Blaise Nkufo	Kinshasa, ZAI	Switzerland
	Stuart Holden	Cults, SCO	United States
	Benny Feilhaber	Rio de Janeiro, BRA	United States
	Fernando Muslera	Buenos Aires, ARG	Uruguay
2014	Cédric Si Mohamed	Roanne, FRA	Algeria
	Madjid Bougherra	Longvic, FRA	Algeria
	Faouzi Ghoulam	Saint-Priest-en-Jarez, FRA	Algeria
	Hassan Yebda	Saint-Maurice, FRA	Algeria
	Medhi Lacen	Paris, FRA	Algeria
	Nabil Ghilas	Marseille, FRA	Algeria
	Sofiane Feghouli	Levallois-Perret, FRA	Algeria
	Yacine Brahimi	Paris, FRA	Algeria
	Carl Medjani	Lyon, FRA	Algeria
	Nabil Bentaleb	Lille, FRA	Algeria
	Liassine Cadamuro-	Toulouse, FRA	Algeria
	Saphir Taïder	Castres, FRA	Algeria
	Aïssa Mandi	Châlons-en-Champagne, FRA	Algeria
	Riyad Mahrez	Sarcelles, FRA	Algeria
	Mehdi Mostefa	Dijon, FRA	Algeria
	Raïs M'Bolhi	Paris, FRA	Algeria
	Gonzalo Higuaín	Brest, FRA	Argentina
	Dario Vidosic	Osijek, CRO	Australia
	Anthony Vanden Borre	Likasi, ZAI	Belgium
	Emir Spahic	Dubrovnik, CRO	Bosnia &
	Sead Kolasinac	Karlsruhe, GER	Bosnia &
	Muhamed Besic	Berlin, GER	Bosnia &
	Zvjezdan Misimovic	Munich, GER	Bosnia &
	Mensur Mujdza	Zagreb, CRO	Bosnia &
	Izet Hajrovic	Brugg, SUI	Bosnia &

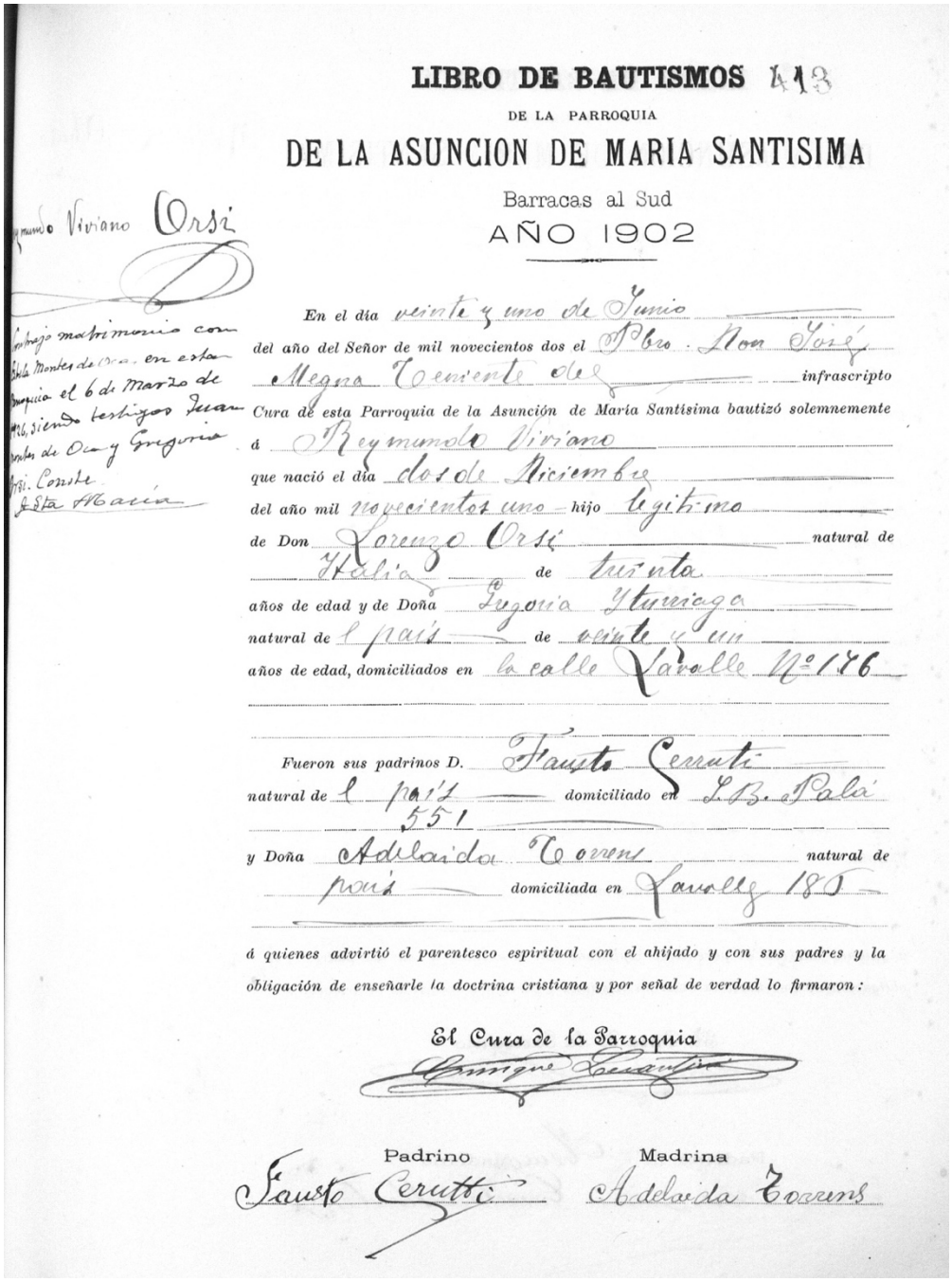
YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
2014	Allan Nyom	Neuilly-sur-Seine, FRA	Cameroon
	Joël Matip	Bochum, GER	Cameroon
	Charles Itandje	Bobigny, FRA	Cameroon
	Benoît Assou-Ekotto	Arras, FRA	Cameroon
	Eric Maxim Choupo-	Hamburg, GER	Cameroon
	Jorge Valdivia	Maracay, VEN	Chile
	Miiko Albornoz	Stockholm, SWE	Chile
	Óscar Duarte	Catarina, NCA	Costa Rica
	Sol Bamba	Ivry-sur-Seine, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Giovanni Sio	Saint-Sébastien-sur-Loire,	Côte d'Ivoire
	Jean-Daniel Akpa-	Toulouse, FRA	Côte d'Ivoire
	Mathis Bolly	Oslo, NOR	Côte d'Ivoire
	Eduardo da Silva	Rio de Janeiro, BRA	Croatia
	Mateo Kovacic	Linz, AUT	Croatia
	Sammir	Itabuna, BRA	Croatia
	Nikica Jelavic	Capljina, BIH	Croatia
	Ivan Rakitic	Möhlin, SUI	Croatia
	Dejan Lovren	Zenica, BIH	Croatia
	Vedran Corluka	Derventa, BIH	Croatia
	Raheem Sterling	Kingston, JAM	England
	Rio Mavuba	[born at sea off Angola coast]	France
	Patrice Evra	Dakar, SEN	France
	Miroslav Klose	Opole, POL	Germany
	Lukas Podolski	Gliwice, POL	Germany
	Albert Adomah	London, ENG	Ghana
	Jordan Ayew	Marseille, FRA	Ghana
	André Ayew	Seclin, FRA	Ghana
	Adam Kwarasey	Oslo, NOR	Ghana
	Kevin-Prince Boateng	Berlin, GER	Ghana
	Panagiotis Kone	Tirana, ALB	Greece
	Loukas Vyntra	Město Albrechtice, CZE	Greece
	José Holebas	Aschaffenburg, GER	Greece
	Daniel Davari	Giessen, GER	Iran
	Steven Beitashour	San Jose, CA, USA	Iran
	Gabriel Paletta	Buenos Aires, ARG	Italy
	Thiago Motta	São Bernardo do Campo,	Italy
	Gotoku Sakai	New York, NY, USA	Japan
	Isaác Brizuela	San Jose, CA, USA	Mexico
	Miguel Ángel Ponce	Sacramento, CA, USA	Mexico
	Jonathan de Guzmán	Scarborough, CAN	Netherlands
	Bruno Martins Indi	Barreiro, POR	Netherlands
	Terence Kongolo	Fribourg, SUI	Netherlands
	Peter Odemwingie	Tashkent, UZB	Nigeria
	Nani	Praia, CPV	Portugal
	Éder	Bissau, GNB	Portugal
	William Carvalho	Luanda, ANG	Portugal

YEAR	PLAYER	BIRTHPLACE	REPRESENTED
	Pepe	Maceió, BRA	Portugal
	Diego Costa	Lagarto, BRA	Spain
	Xherdan Shaqiri	Gjilan, KOS	Switzerland
	Johan Djourou	Abidjan, CIV	Switzerland
	Gélson Fernandes	Praia, CPV	Switzerland
	Valon Behrami	Mitrovica, KOS	Switzerland
	Admir Mehmedi	Gostivar, MKD	Switzerland
	Blerim Dzemaili	Tetovo, MKD	Switzerland
	Fabian Johnson	Munich, GER	United States
	Timmy Chandler	Frankfurt, GER	United States
	Jermaine Jones	Frankfurt am Main, GER	United States
	Mix Diskerud	Oslo, NOR	United States
	John Brooks	Berlin, GER	United States
	Fernando Muslera	Buenos Aires, ARG	Uruguay

SOURCE: This list was compiled from World Cup rosters as listed on the FIFA website, and cross-checked against newspaper sources from each period. FIFA World Cup rosters can be accessed through "World Cup Index," *FIFA.com*, accessed February 23, 2017, http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/index.html.

APPENDIX C

BAPTISMAL RECORD OF RAIMUNDO ORSI



LIBRO DE BAUTISMOS 413

DE LA PARROQUIA

DE LA ASUNCION DE MARIA SANTISIMA

Barracas al Sud

AÑO 1902

Raymundo Viviano Orsi

Contrajo matrimonio con Adela Montes de Oca en esta Parroquia el 6 de Marzo de 1926, siendo testigos Juan Montes de Oca y Gregoria Orsi. Conste

Sta María

En el dia veinte y uno de Junio del año del Señor de mil novecientos dos el Pbro. Don José Megno Teniente de infrascripto Cura de esta Parroquia de la Asunción de María Santísima bautizó solemnemente á Reymundo Viviano que nació el dia dos de Diciembre del año mil novecientos uno hijo legitimo de Don Lorenzo Orsi natural de Italia de treinta años de edad y de Doña Eugenia Yturriaga natural de l país de veinte y un años de edad, domiciliados en la calle Lavalle Nº 186

Fueron sus padrinos D. Fausto Cerutti natural de l país domiciliado en Lls. Palá 551 y Doña Adelaida Torrens natural de país domiciliada en Lavalle 185

á quienes advirtió el parentesco espiritual con el ahijado y con sus padres y la obligación de enseñarle la doctrina cristiana y por señal de verdad lo firmaron:

El Cura de la Parroquia

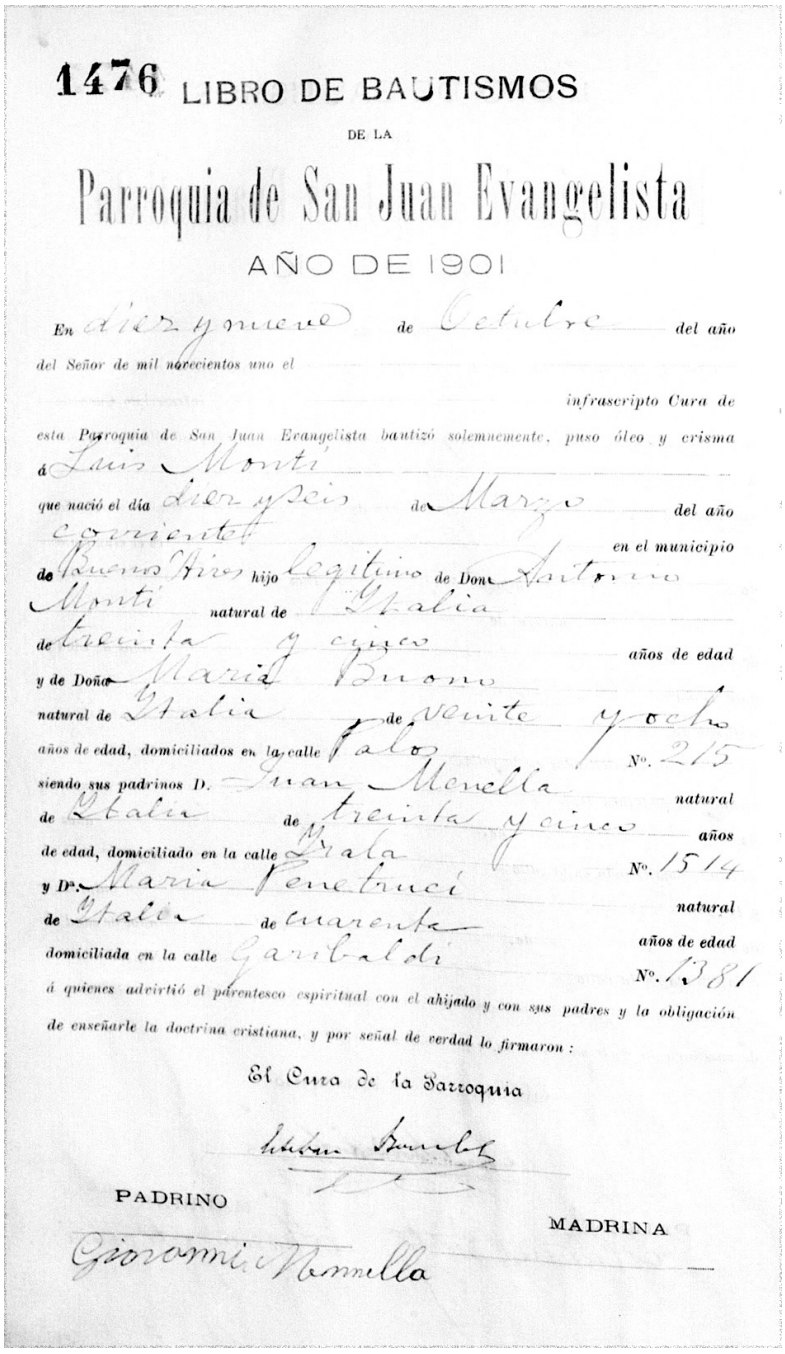
Padrino Fausto Cerutti

Madrina Adelaida Torrens

SOURCE: "Bautismos 1901-1902," *Parroquia Nuestra Señora de la Asunción* (Avellaneda), 550 of 815. Via *FamilySearch*, digitized June 4, 2014, accessed March 9, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-G6DP-D?mode=g&i=549.

APPENDIX D

BAPTISMAL RECORD OF LUIS MONTI



1476 LIBRO DE BAUTISMOS

DE LA

Parroquia de San Juan Evangelista

AÑO DE 1901

En diez y nueve de Octubre del año del Señor de mil novecientos uno el infrascripto Cura de esta Parroquia de San Juan Evangelista bautizó solemnemente, puso óleo y crisma á Luis Monti que nació el día diez y seis de Marzo del año corriente en el municipio de Buenos Aires hijo legítimo de Don Antonio Monti natural de Italia de treinta y cinco años de edad y de Doña María Bruno natural de Italia de veinte y ocho años de edad, domiciliados en la calle Palo Nº. 215 siendo sus padrinos D. Juan Morella natural de Italia de treinta y cinco años de edad, domiciliado en la calle Viala Nº. 1514 y Dª. María Penetrucí natural de Italia de cuarenta años de edad domiciliada en la calle Garibaldi Nº. 1381 á quienes advirtió el parentesco espiritual con el ahijado y con sus padres y la obligación de enseñarle la doctrina cristiana, y por señal de verdad lo firmaron:

El Cura de la Parroquia

PADRINO

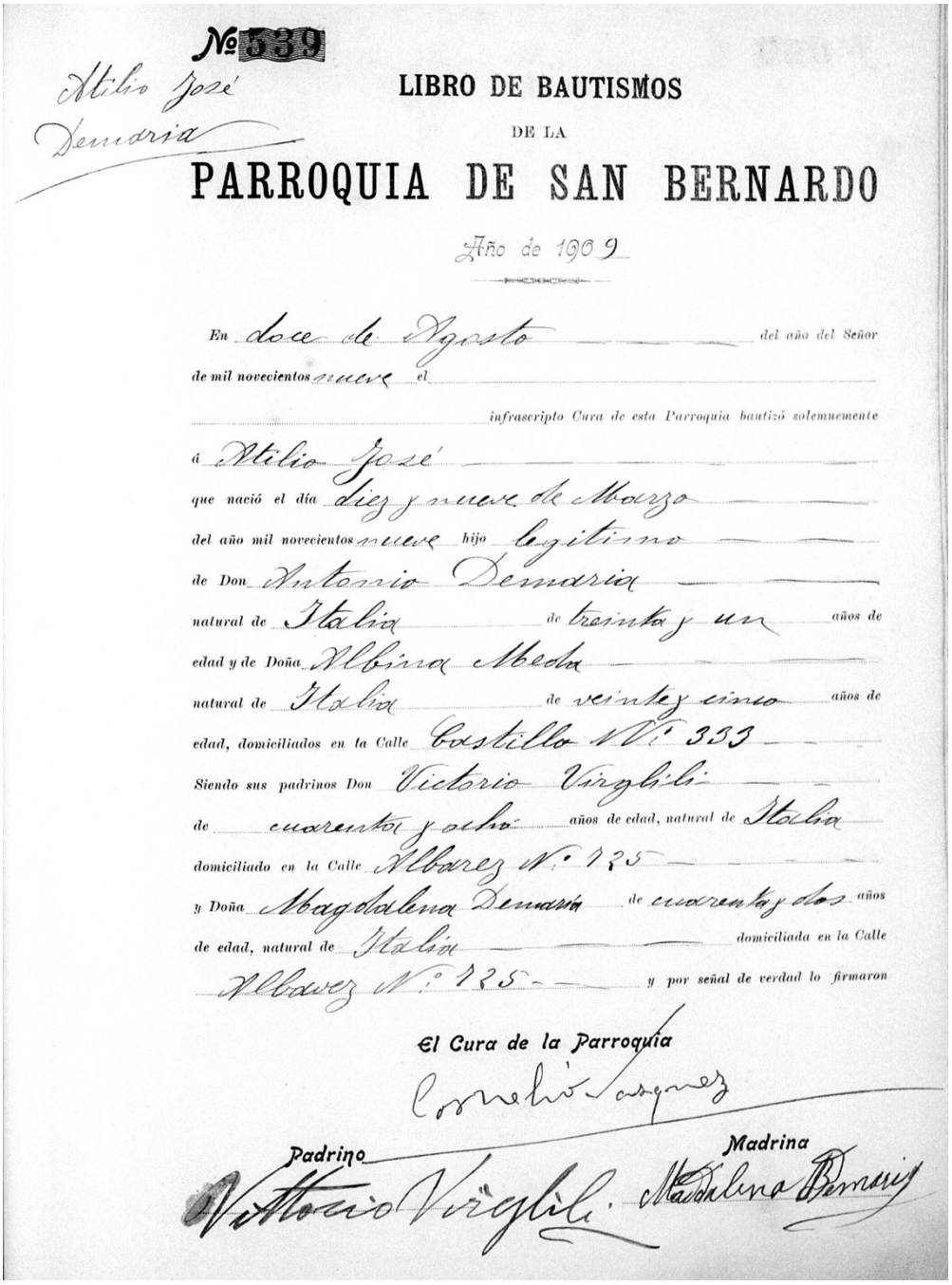
MADRINA

Gerónimo Morella

SOURCE: "Bautismos 1901-1902," *Parroquia San Juan Evangelista* (Buenos Aires), 257 of 1012, Via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 14, 2016, accessed April 16, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-GZTZ-H?i=256&wc=MDBG-8NL%3A311514201%2C321662601%2C314274101&cc=1974184.

APPENDIX E

BAPTISMAL RECORD OF ATILIO DEMARIA



№ 539

Atilio José Demaria

LIBRO DE BAUTISMOS

DE LA

PARROQUIA DE SAN BERNARDO

Año de 1909

En doce de Agosto del año del Señor de mil novecientos nueve el infrascripto Cura de esta Parroquia bautizó solemnemente á Atilio José que nació el día diez y nueve de Marzo del año mil novecientos nueve hijo legítimo de Don Antonio Demaria natural de Italia de treinta y un años de edad y de Doña Albina Meda natural de Italia de veinte y cinco años de edad, domiciliados en la Calle Castillo N°. 333 Siendo sus padrinos Don Victorio Virgilii de cuarenta y ocho años de edad, natural de Italia domiciliado en la Calle Alvarez N°. 735 y Doña Magdalena Demaría de cuarenta y dos años de edad, natural de Italia domiciliada en la Calle Alvarez N°. 735 y por señal de verdad lo firmaron

El Cura de la Parroquia

Cornelio Vasquez

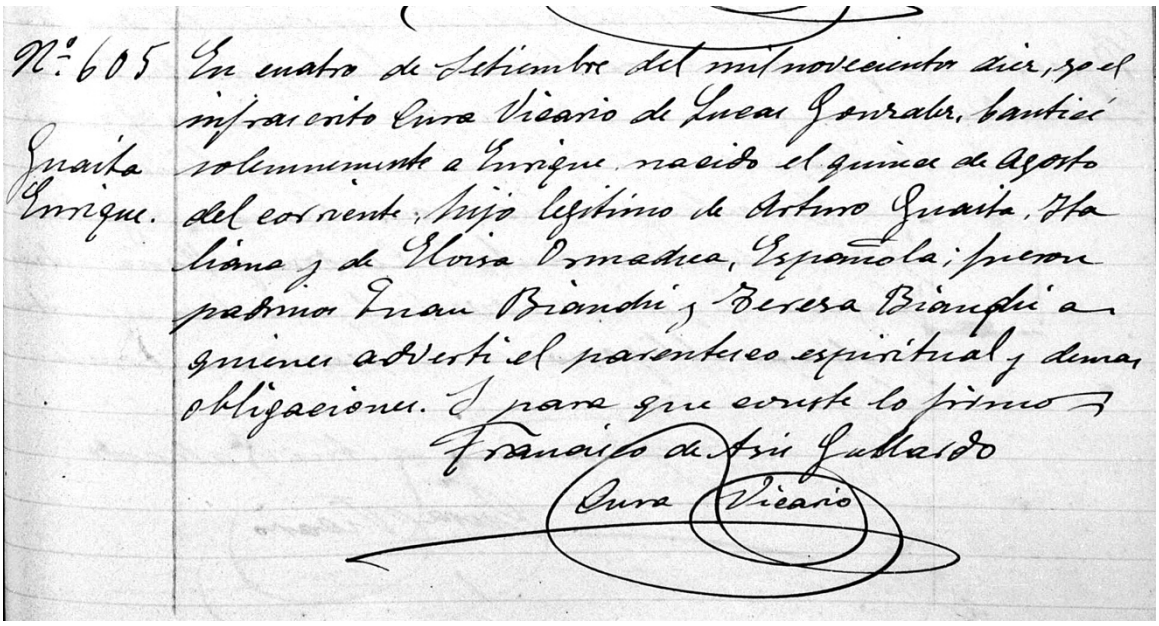
Padrino Victorio Virgilii

Madrina Magdalena Demaría

SOURCE: "Bautismos 1909-1911," *Parroquia San Lucas Evangelista* (Lucas González), 105 of 158. Via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 19, 2014, accessed March 11, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9396-8M96-M?i=104&wc=M8JT-568%3A256498101%2C256498102%2C256508001&cc=1974185.

APPENDIX F

BAPTISMAL RECORD OF ENRIQUE GUAITA



Nº 605 En cuatro de Setiembre del mil novecientos diez, yo el infrascripto Cura Vicario de Lucas González, bauticé solemnemente a Enrique, nacido el quince de Agosto Guaita Enrique. del corriente, hijo legítimo de Arturo Guaita, Italiano y de Eloisa Ormaetxea, Española; fueron padrinos Juan Biandri y Teresa Bianchi a quienes advertí el parentesco espiritual y demas obligaciones. Y para que conste lo firmo

Francisco de Asis Gallardo

Cura Vicario

SOURCE: "Bautismos 1909-1910," *Parroquia de San Bernardo* (Buenos Aires), 286 of 800. Via *FamilySearch*, digitized May 19, 2014, accessed April 19, 2017, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939D-G6X6-3?mode=g&i=285&wc=MDBL-ZM3%3A311514201%2C319904101%2C312964801&cc=1974184.

APPENDIX G

NOTES ON PRIMARY SOURCES

The central issue in writing this thesis was how to balance two levels of narrative. At once this is a story about the high-level structural factors that were taking place within two national soccer federations and two national governments, and it is also an individual narrative encompassing four biographies of the players at the heart of the thesis. At first the lack of extant materials caused me to favor the structural approach, and that story is still critical in advancing the narrative. But after receiving comments on an earlier draft paper regarding this line of inquiry, I realized that the story could not be effectively told without being able to weave in more biographical detail to help reveal the anecdotal impact of the broader multinational dynamics at play. Without being able to ground this research at a granular level, the underpinnings of the research would remain theoretical.

Working in sport history engages with figures who were publicly well-known, yet there is often scant ephemera from individual players to be found in archives. Finding a journal or a cache of correspondence from even one of the Argentine-born players who went to Italy between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s might have eased the effort, but the search for such material proved fruitless. Because no primary documentation of this nature was accessible, if it indeed even exists at all, a different approach was needed to piece together the stories of the four *oriundi*. Thus, finding a way to answer the questions at the heart of the thesis required greater creativity and a willingness to incorporate a variety of sources into the list of research materials.

This project could never have been completed without digital access to several important primary source collections. For a group of players whose backgrounds have been

largely glossed over in the histories of both Argentine and Italian soccer, the FamilySearch website has been indispensable in providing access to multiple sources of Argentine documents. Parish records (see Appendices C-F) provided the first clues as to each player's genealogical history; hunting down the baptismal record for each of the four players provided the names and nationalities of their respective parents, something which had not turned up in any of the secondary research already conducted on the subject. Using this information, I was then able to cross-check each player's parents (and where relevant grandparents) in the records of both the 1869 and 1895 Argentine national census, offering a chance to learn more about their employment background and better understand the family dynamics within each household.

From that basic genealogical work, I could then put into better perspective the extensive Italian-language newspaper and sports magazine resources available from the Fascist period via the digital archives of the Italian National Olympic Committee (Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano, henceforth CONI). This archive offers a searchable database that provides access to Fascist periodicals such as *Il Littoriale* and *Lo Sport Fascista* as well as independent publications including *Tutti gli Sports* and *Corriere dello Sport*. Coupled with the digital database of *La Stampa*, the Torino-based newspaper that is among the oldest continuously-published periodicals in the country, the Italian-language source material presents a window into the period when South American players were playing an integral role in the growth of Italian soccer.

The combination of genealogical information and media portrayals also allowed each player to serve as a test case. Their stories allow for an evaluation as to how their families fit into the demographic patterns revealed in the research of Baily and others. In

this way, the thesis builds upon these models to help further extrapolate what possible motivations might have existed to inspire *oriundi* to represent Italy. This material helps reveal not only the ways in which Argentine players were received in Italy and sold to the public, but they also help illuminate the fact that contemporary audiences had a very real understanding that the system was predicated on Italy's Serie A maintaining a privileged professional status vis-à-vis South American soccer leagues.

The one place where the primary research might ultimately be strengthened further is in terms of incorporating more Argentine media resources into the analysis. The main digital database for Latin American periodicals only contains material through 1922, which predates the beginning of the period in which players signed professional contracts with Italian clubs. A cache of periodicals from Rosario offered nothing in terms of relevant material with which to formulate any better understanding. Hoping that this collection would allow for an examination of how the movement of soccer players across the Atlantic was perceived outside of Buenos Aires, its limitations in terms of search functionality, discontinuity of volumes available, and periodicity instead prevented it from serving any use in this thesis.

Time limitations precluded the possibility of obtaining microfilm of Argentine periodicals. A further look through Spanish- and Italian-language newspapers from Argentina, especially sports publications such as *El Gráfico*, could offer yet another perspective on the perception of this talent shift. Without the direct evidence that this class of sources might provide, though, secondary scholarship has helped to fill in those gaps and buffer the impact of the material limitations that arose over the course of researching and writing this thesis.

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"Bautismos 1909-1911." *Parroquia San Lucas Evangelista* (Lucas González). 105 of 158. Via *FamilySearch*. Digitized May 19, 2014. Accessed March 11, 2017. https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9396-8M96-M?i=104&wc=M8JT-568%3A256498101%2C256498102%2C256508001&cc=1974185.

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