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1900 – 1963

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PhD; MEd; BEd; BBus(Dist); GradDipEdAdmin; TPTC

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirements for

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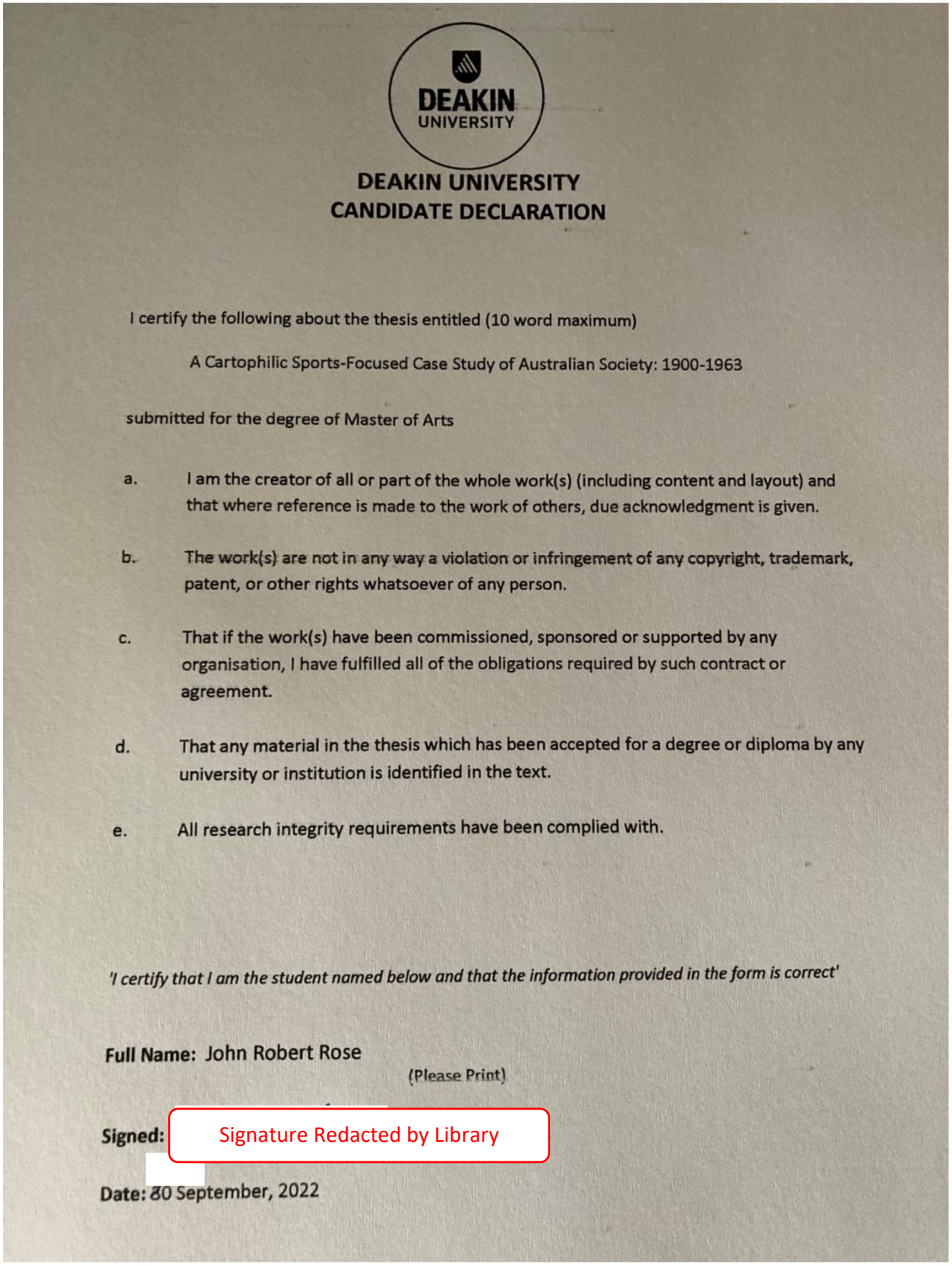
DECLARATION



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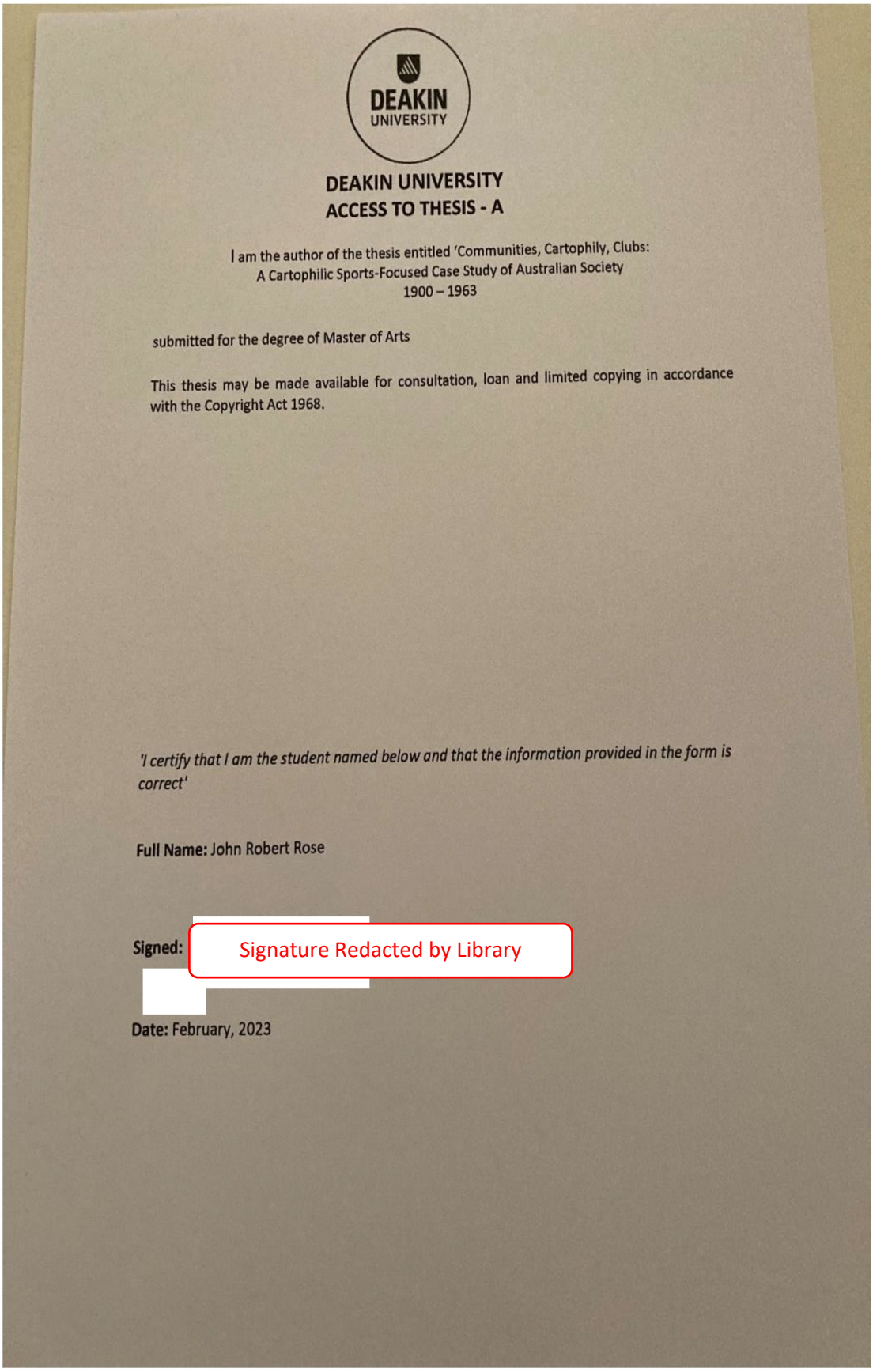

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the nexus between card collecting (cartophily) and Australian society during the period 1900 to 1963 with a particular focus on the celebrity status of Australian Rules footballers and the use of images of footballers in marketing various products. The thesis provides insight into the historical development of this phenomenon, highlighting the phases and the expansion of this industry in Australia over time. In particular, it traces the shift from the early dominance of cards produced by tobacco companies to the emergence of confectionery companies and a stronger focus on children as collectors, and later the entry into the field of a wide range of industries ranging from newspapers, cereal and other food companies, and companies centred around the petroleum industry. A case study approach using footballers from the Geelong Football Club – the only provincial club in the nascent Victorian Football League – helps to expose the ways in which those producers of cards, and how they were used for advertising and marketing, changed over six decades. Moreover, that focus permits an analysis of the cards themselves, and the growing recognition that while star power was important, tribal loyalties were key to the motivations of so many collectors. The thesis concludes its analysis in 1962, when the advent of Scanlens football cards signalled a critical shift in the industry from a printed image of a football celebrity being used to market a product to a stage where the image of the footballer itself became the product.

PROLOGUE

Cards aren't really a hallmark of childhood anymore;

they're a way for collectors to return to it.

Dave Jamieson, 2010

Why would anybody want to spend the time researching and writing a thesis on, of all things, football cards!

Well, like many people, I have fond memories of my early school days. My primary school years occurred in the 1950s, first in an inner-suburban school and later in a newly-established and growing suburb of Melbourne. School was a time of enjoyment and pleasure both in the classroom and in the playground.

When I first started school, each morning began by reciting the Oath of Allegiance (I love God and my country, I honour the flag, I will serve the Queen, and cheerfully obey my parents, teachers and the laws) and after a few brief announcements, marching into school to a drumbeat performed by a Grade 6 student who was much older than the rest of us having repeated a number of grades.

In the classroom, memories are varied. In the junior years I enjoyed books such as the now politically incorrect but widely debated *Little Black Sambo* – a story that fascinated me when the tigers melted into butter. In the later primary years memories survive such as transcribing an extract of the poem *Young Lochinvar* by the Scottish poet Sir Walter Scott followed by the intense competition with the rest of the students in the class to draw the best replica of the illustration from the *Victorian Reader* in Indian ink in our workbooks.

Outside the classroom was just as enjoyable. The school had two shelter sheds – one for boys and one for girls and on rainy days these were our haven at lunchtime when we would play Pussy-in-the-Corner or Hop-O-Bump-O. But it was the various fads and crazes over the years which were so entertaining and competed for our time outside along with kick-to-kick football. Some that I remember well include swap cards which could be bought from Coles and some other stores and swapped with friends. In a strongly sexist era, for the boys they were mainly swap cards about sports or the military along with a few other themes, whereas for the girls, who seemed to take to this fad more than the boys, they were of dogs, cats and other pets, costumes, horses, and reproductions of Gainsborough and Constable paintings. Gyrating with cane hoops and trying to master tricks with yo-yos were two fads that came and went and reappeared at regular intervals, as did marbles (or 'alleys' as we called them) and jacks (knuckle bones).

But for me the highlight of all these fads was the collecting of football cards. Football cards could be found in boxes of cereal, with certain lollies, and you could even get them through the mail from newspaper offices provided you sent in enough vouchers that you had collected. What really hooked me though was a set of football cards that you could get from the Atlantic Service Stations. These were supposed to be given to drivers once they had purchased petrol from the Service Station, but I was lucky enough (brazen enough?) to get a small handful each time by going into the servo after school and asking for the footy cards – at least that happened for the first few times until I was told they didn't have any more! We spent hours each 'playtime' and lunchtime swapping these cards at school. And we all had our favourite players from the teams we supported. Although when I was in Grade 6, the Grade 5 teacher (and my first football coach) was VFL Carlton player, Doug Beasley, and I was desperate to get his Atlantic football card even though I didn't barrack for Carlton. It was a wonderful day when I achieved this. So, for me football cards and childhood went hand-in-hand.

But Dave Jamieson has written that 'cards aren't really a hallmark of childhood anymore; they're a way for collectors to return to it.'[1] And that probably encapsulates the motive behind this research project. My fascination with football cards over the years has intrigued me to the extent of wanting to know more – what stages or trends have the release of sets of football cards gone through; what has been the impact, either positive or negative, of the collection of football cards, particularly by minors, on society over time; what role did football cards play in the development of the VFL and in particular the celebrity status of players; what is the nexus between cartophily (the collection of cards) and consumerism; and so on. From these queries and others, this undertaking began. Being a member of the Geelong Football Club for more than forty years and with an interest in collectible cards of Geelong players, as well as the need to impose some parameters on this research, Geelong is used predominantly as a case study, although comparisons with other clubs are made.

And so, from childhood and the years of primary schooling through to being classed as a 'senior citizen' and in retirement, football cards have retained, for me, their fascination and appeal. This research project has provided me with the opportunity to continue this fascination and add to my knowledge base and understanding at the same time.

Dr John Rose

Geelong

August, 2022

[1] Dave Jamieson. *Mint Condition: How Baseball Cards Became an American Obsession.* Grove Press. New York. 2010. p. 9.

INTRODUCTION

The collectible card hobby transformed in the early to mid-1960s and flourished into a multi-million-dollar industry world-wide.[2] Many major leagues in a variety of sports now have licensing agreements with card manufacturers. Collector Fairs have increased over that time, magazines and newsletters are published regularly and internet platforms such as eBay have categories devoted to sports cards. Collectible cards have become entrenched as a core component of the very lucrative sports memorabilia market.

Two outcomes of this are evidenced in the huge increase in the value of older, vintage cards that are sold, and also the buying price of new cards. To illustrate, first with a vintage card – in 1910 in the USA a set of cigarette cards was produced comprising 524 cards of baseball players from various leagues.[3] One of these players was Honus Wagner who, allegedly, objected to having his photograph associated with a brand of cigarettes.[4] Consequently only between 60-200 Wagner cards were issued. One of these cards that remained in good condition passed through a few owners before being sold in 1991 for US$451,000. This card was then resold three times before passing the million dollars barrier when it sold on eBay in 2000 for US$1.265 million. The last known sale of this card in 2007 netted the owner US$2.8 million[5] demonstrating the enormous gains in value of select vintage cards. Turning to newly-released cards, in Australia towards the end of 2021 the Select card company released as part of a set a signature card featuring four former Australian Football League (AFL) footballers – Gary Ablett Snr, Doug Wade, Tony Lockett and Jason Dunstall – in a limited edition of just twenty-five cards. To date, this card has not been sold on eBay in that short time for less than $10,000. Card collecting has truly progressed from a fleeting hobby to big business.

But where did this all begin? This thesis explores various aspects of collectible cards including the nexus between card collecting (cartophily) and Australian society during the period 1900 to 1963 with a particular focus on the celebrity status of Australian Rules footballers and the use of images of footballers in the marketing of various products. Hardly peculiar to Australia, the phenomenon of producing and collecting cigarette and trading cards has a long history, deeply rooted in the US tobacco industry and its developments in mechanisation and marketing. Picking up on the introduction of cigarette cards to Australia in the late nineteenth century, this thesis utilises a case study approach using footballers from the Geelong Football Club who

[2] Dave Jamieson. *Mint Condition: How Baseball Cards Became an American Obsession.* Grove Press. New York. 2010. p. 6. As an example Jamieson notes that by 1991 the sale of baseball cards alone in the USA had reached $1.2 billion annually.

[3] John Broom. *A History of Cigarette and Trade Cards: The Magic Inside the Packet.* Pen & Sword History. South Yorkshire. 2018. p. 147.

[4] ibid. p. 148.

[5] Dave Jamieson. op. cit. p. 7.

have appeared on either cigarette cards or trade cards since 1900 - the year when Geelong players were first known to be represented on these cards. Who produced these cards and how they were used for advertising and marketing is examined. Which players were chosen for these marketing opportunities and why those players and not others is also investigated as there are very few examples where all players for any particular year have been included in a set of cards. Allied to this is an investigation into what a study of football cards can reveal about the development of the celebrity status of Australian Rules footballers over time. The role of cigarette cards and trade cards in the establishment of Australian Rules footballers as celebrities and personalities is worthy of further investigation as the first cigarette cards pre-dated newspaper photographs of footballers, which did not appear until 1909[6]. Thus, cigarette cards were one of the only ways supporters were able to recognise and identify their football heroes, other than attending the matches, which not all supporters were able to do.

As there have been numerous sets of cigarette cards and trade cards issued since 1900, a time slice approach to history is adopted with significant examples from various eras investigated. The time slices, discussed in greater detail in the Methodology section, are:

1. From 1900 to the commencement of World War I in 1914. The issue of cigarette cards and trade cards featuring Australian Rules footballers temporarily ceased between 1915 and 1919.
2. From 1920 to the commencement of World War II in 1939 during which time there were numerous issues of football cards before war time restrictions again resulted in an absence of football cards.
3. From 1948 to 1962 which was a significant time in that cigarette cards virtually ceased with the void being taken up by the distribution of trade cards by a large range of companies covering several diverse industries.

This research concludes in 1962 as the following year saw a major change in the history of football cards as a marketing strategy. Although the production of cards by industries and/or businesses aimed at promoting their product or service still continued to a reduced extent, from 1963 the era began whereby the cards themselves became the product that was purchased and there commenced a transition from trade cards to trading cards.

The Geelong Football Club is the second oldest club in Australian Rules football and, at the time of the advent of the Victorian Football League (VFL), was the only regional team with the other seven clubs all being suburban Melbourne clubs. Geelong was also a foundation club in the Victorian Football Association (VFA), a foundation club of the Victorian Football League, and a foundation club of the Australian Football League (AFL). Using one club (Geelong) as a case study does not preclude the opportunity to make contrasts and comparisons with other clubs when appropriate, however, it does make the task a more manageable size for a Master's thesis. The choice of the Geelong Football Club also allows the opportunity to unfold the occurrence of celebrity status of footballers in a major league playing for a regional team. In the period under consideration, Geelong was the only regional team in the major competition, thus, to a certain extent, making it a 'marketer's dream' for promotion of products

[6] Leonie Sandercock & Ian Turner. *Up Where, Cazaly?* Granada Publishing. Sydney, NSW. 1981.

and services. This was due to a number of factors such as the local newspapers, particularly the long-established *Geelong Advertiser*, providing a greater coverage of the Geelong Football Club as opposed to the other teams, and the parochial supporter base. Therefore, products could be marketed using Geelong footballers as an incentive to buy. The extent of the impact of football cards on the development of celebrity status of footballers may be more discernible when analysing a regional team with a distinct location, support base and marketing potential as opposed to a number of Melbourne-based suburban teams with overlapping boundaries and more diverse and competing supporter bases and marketing opportunities. Using the Geelong Football Club as a case study and a focus has the potential to expose this impact more clearly.

As the production and distribution of cigarette cards and trade cards is not unique to Australia, it is necessary to provide a context and background for the current research. An understanding of the history and development of these cards from a wider perspective is undertaken to ascertain the uniqueness or otherwise of the Australian experience in general and the application to the Geelong Football Club and its players in particular. Therefore, this study briefly outlines the history of cigarette cards and trade cards as well as a definition and discussion on Cartophily in a conceptual framework.

The Nexus between Cartophily, Consumerism and the Celebrity Status of Australian Rules Footballers

The preeminent focus of this study is the nexus between cartophily, consumerism and the development over time of the celebrity status of Australian Rules footballers. To do this a case study approach is adopted using players from the Geelong Football Club, Australia's second oldest football club affiliated with the Australian Football League (AFL). While Geelong players are the focus, the opportunity will arise throughout for comparisons and contrasts to be made with players from clubs other than Geelong in the VFL/AFL as well as players from other leagues and other sports such as cricket, baseball, soccer, and so on. Thus, the key research questions are:

> What has been the impact, either positive or negative, of the production of football cards and also the collection of football cards, particularly by minors, on society over time?
>
> Which Geelong players appeared on selected sets of football cards, why those players and what does the choice of those players suggest about the priorities of the company that produced the cards? Does this tell us anything about the social values and/or class distinctions of the time?
>
> What can a study of football cards over time tell us about the development of celebrity culture in sport in general and Australian Rules football in particular? What role did cigarette and trade cards play in this developmental process?

The rationale for the above is as follows. Cartophily means the love of cards, as is discussed in the next chapter in greater detail. It is exhibited in one form by the collection of cigarette cards and trade cards on an incredibly wide range of topics and subjects. The educational value of these cards was often commented on particularly during the late 1890s and the early 1900s. For

example, Victorian writer Clifford Hough called cigarette cards 'the working man's encyclopedia;'[7] the novelist Arnold Bennett concurred saying 'some boys [sic] will grow up with cigarette cards as their sole education'[8] while Howsden noted that:

> At a time when the average family could not afford books, and with the technique of reproducing photographs in newspapers still some years away, these cards could inform and amuse, and bring a little bit of colour into what were all too often very drab lives.[9]

However, while the educational benefits of these cards will not be disputed, this research explores an alternative reason for their production, namely the marketing and selling of cigarettes and other products. In doing so, by considering why certain players were selected to appear on the cards ahead of other players, several aspects of social history can be analysed including the place of the Geelong Football Club in the major Australian Rules football league at various times, the evolution of sports people as celebrities in the eyes of the public, the social values of the time especially as seen in response to collecting 'crazes', and the social impact of the collection of the cards.

Benefits and Limitations of Literature Review

It should be noted at this stage that the research foci listed above became evident as a survey of current literature on cigarette and trade cards revealed that many publications either lack any depth or are very subject specific. That is, either they provide a very brief history of card collecting or they tend to be relevant to just the collection of baseball cards or aspects of sports cards such as the representation and number of non-white baseball players in card sets. Therefore, this chapter provides a literature review as follows.

While sometimes giving a concise history of the cards, available publications tend to concentrate on providing a listing of the cards giving details such as the number in the set, the date of issue, the subject on each of the cards and the supplier. These publications primarily are aimed at an audience of collectors. Examples of this include Albert's *Guide to Cigarette Card Collecting*, and similar publications by Genders, Murray, and Rowlands.[10] Thus there are many gaps providing the researcher with opportunities to extend the current knowledge available. A survey of academic publications likewise reveals a gap as the majority of these focus on the production of cigarette cards from a perspective of the history of tobacco production and the transformation from hand-rolled cigarettes to an automated industry.

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[7] Roger Domeneghetti, *From the Back Page to the Front Room: Footballs Journey Through the English Media,* Ockley Books, Glasgow, 2014.

[8] Spartacus Educational, 'Football Cigarette Cards' Spartacus Educational [website], http://spartacus-educational.com/Fcigarette.htm accessed 3 July, 2017.

[9] Gordon Howsden, *Collecting Cigarette and Trade Cards,* New Cavendish Books, London, 1998.

[10] Albert's Cigarette Cards. *The Guide to Cigarette Card Collecting.* Albert's Cigarette Cards. Twickenham, UK. 1991. Roy Genders. *A Guide to Collecting Trade and Cigarette Cards.* Pelham Books. London, UK. 1975. Martin Murray. *The Story of Cigarette Cards.* Murray Cards International. London, UK. 1987. George A. Rowlands. *The Red Men of Liverpool Football Club: The Tobacco Years.* deCoubertin Books. Liverpool, UK. 2017.

Examples of these would include Alford, Corina, Cox, and Porter.[11] For these reasons, this section of the thesis and Chapter 1 follow the format of a Conceptual Framework, rather than purely a Literature Review per se.

A review of the current literature provides a starting point for the information that is required for this exploration of the nexus between cartophily, Australian Rules footballers, marketing and its contribution to celebrity status. Much of the literature specifically about cards tends to cater to collectors, coming in the form of catalogues and coffee table books. Murray's *The Story of Cigarette Cards* covers the origins of cards, and cards of various regions, but just over sixty per cent of the book is illustrations of various cards.[12] Catalogues of international cigarette cards[13] acknowledge but quickly skate over the history of cards, preferring to concentrate on the cards themselves, and less on what caused their production and the social practices surrounding collecting, trading and preservation.[14] The Australian literature is no different. *Australian Trade and Swap Cards*[15] is predominantly a catalogue showing set title, number in the set, whether the cards are numbered or not, and so on, while Crennan's book[16] does the same with the addition of a brief description of each set.[17] Dion Skinner's *Cigarette Cards: Australian Issues and Values*[18] serves as a handbook for Australian cigarette card collectors who previously had relied on a 1951 publication by the Cartophilic Society of Great Britain, *(The Australasian Miscellaneous Booklet*), but it too lacks an historical understanding of the social aspects of card production and collecting.[19] Huggins and O'Mahony express a confirming view when they state that cigarette cards 'have a substantial Cartophilic following, offering opportunities for … companies… which produce books and catalogues, though their scholarship level is narrow in its focus, lacks a cultural dimension and offers real scope for further research'.[20]

---

[11] Bernard W.E Alford. *W.D. & H.O. Wills and the Development of the UK Tobacco Industry 1786-1965.* Methuen & Co. London. UK. 1973. Maurice Corina. *Trust in Tobacco: The Anglo-American Struggle for Power*. Michael Joseph. London. UK. 1975. Howard Cox. *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of the British American Tobacco, 1880-1945.* Oxford University Press. New York. NY. 2000. Patrick Porter. 'Origins of the American Tobacco Company'. *Business History Review.* Vol 43. No. 1. pp. 59-76. 1969.

[12] op. cit.

[13] London Cigarette Card Company. *The Catalogue of International Cigarette Cards.* Webb & Bower. Exeter, England. 1982.

[14] op. cit.

[15] Sue Waters & Barry Peade. *Australian Trade & Swap Cards.* Crown Castleton Publishers. Bendigo, Victoria. 1996.

[16] John Crennan. *Trading Card Heroes.* BluePrint. Port Melbourne, Vic. 2003.

[17] See for example, Mike Bonner. *Collecting Vintage Football Cards: A Complete Guide with Checklists.* Createspace Publishing. 2013; Grenville Jennings. *Nottingham Forest Football Club: On Old Picture Postcards & Cigarette Cards.* World of Books. Goring-by-Sea, UK. 2002; David Thompson. *Half Time: Football and the Cigarette Card 1890-1940.* Murray Cards. 1987.

[18] Dion Skinner, *Cigarette Cards: Australian Issues and Values,* Renniks Books, Malvern, 1983.

[19] Cartophilic Society of Great Britain, *The Australasian Miscellaneous Booklet,* Cartophilic Society of Great Britain, London, 1951.

[20] Mike Huggins & Mike O'Mahony. 'Extending Study of the Visual in the History of Sport'. *The International Journal of History of Sport.* Vol. 28. Nos. 8-9. May-June 2011. pp. 1089-1104.

On the other hand, a number of academic papers and books are most useful in that they provide not only important templates for the current research on the Geelong Football Club and its players, but have the added bonus of enabling this research to go beyond the scope of the publications, thus enhancing the production of a scholarly analysis with key research findings.

For example, Jackson[21] reminds us that the cigarette cards and other collectible sports cards were in existence in the late 1800s and helped to shape children's notions of sport heroism and culture. Further, a number of papers view trade cards from the perspective of race relations[22]. These provide an insight into celebrity status and cartophily from research findings relevant to non-white baseball players in the USA and as such are useful in providing a social history aspect to be further explored. So, publications such as these, unlike those that serve the interests of the collecting community keen to produce taxonomies of the cards themselves, investigate the social history of cards and shed light on the wider phenomena to which those cards are related.

From a different perspective, as the cartophily industry developed in the USA initially, players became more active in seeking adequate compensation for the use of their images. Hylton[23] explores the legal interpretations around baseball players appearing on trade cards and the issue of players possessing a property right in their own images. Jamieson in his book *Mint Condition: How Baseball Cards Became an American Obsession* also considers the issue of player property rights in their images and how this developed[24]. However, from an Australian Rules football point of view his book is particularly useful in illustrating how the cartophilic industry in Australia closely followed and imitated the USA example, even down to the design of the trading cards.

On the history of card collecting Jamieson states that cigarette cards '…helped to create brand loyalty, and as a bonus, collector-smokers would be advertising the company to anyone they showed their cards to'. He continues: 'it was one of the most ingenious marketing ploys of the nineteenth century.'[25] Giles[26] provides a fascinating account of the development of cigarette cards in Germany and the subsequent use of these collectibles as a propaganda tool

[21] Alexander Jackson. 'The Baines Card and its Place in Boys' Popular Culture 1887-1922.' In *Recording Leisure Lives: Histories, Archives and Memories of Leisure in Twentieth-Century Britain.* Eds Robert Snape and Helen Pussard. Eastbourne. LSA. 2009. Pp 47-72.

[22] See for example, Robert Fitts. 'Baseball Cards and Race Relations'. *Journal of American Culture.* Vol. 17. No. 3. September, 1994. pp. 75-85; Andrew Gill & V. Brajer. 'Baseball Stars and Baseball Cards: A New Look at Monosony in Major League Baseball'. *Social Science Quarterly.* Vol. 75. No. 1. March, 1974. pp. 195-203; Joseph McGarrity, Harvey Palmer & Marc Poitras. 'Consumer Racial Discrimination: A Reassessment of the Market for Baseball Cards'. *Journal of Labor Research.* Vol. XX, No. 2. Spring, 1999. pp. 247-258; Robert Regoli, John Hewitt, Robert Munoz & Adam Regoli. 'Location, Location, Location: The Transmission of Racist Ideology in Baseball Cards'. *Negro Educational Review.* Vol. 55. No. 2-3. April-July, 2004.

[23] J. Gordon Hylton. 'Baseball Cards and the Birth of the Right of Publicity'. *Marquette Sports Law Review.* Vol. 12. 2001. pp. 273-294.

[24] Dave Jamieson. op. cit.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Geoffrey. Giles. 'Popular Education and New Media: The Cigarette Card in Germany.' *Paedagogica Historica.* Vol 36. No. 1 pp 448-469. 2000.

under the Nazi regime.[27] He suggests that card collecting came to the fore as the collecting of stamps was an 'edifying, middle-class pursuit' that was 'rather too serious for many children'.[28] Interestingly, he nominates the year 1928 as the real take-off point for fervent card collecting in Germany coinciding with the promotion of sporting themes by a number of tobacco companies.[29]

Further, when considering the research question related to whether football cards can inform us about the social values and class structure of the time, the work of sociologist John Bloom is of use. In his book, *A House of Cards: Baseball Card Collecting and Popular Culture*, he examines the ways in which baseball card collecting in the USA relates to the construction of what he describes as a white male, middle-class identity, showing how subcultures can serve conservative ends and reinforce rather than reduce social isolation.[30]

Giles likewise addresses the power of cigarette cards to reveal underlying attitudes of the era.[31] In addition to his description of the portrayal of German youth and the achievements of notable German citizens on cigarette cards, he discusses some of the portrayal of non-Germanic races. For example, in one set of cards American Indians are portrayed as 'A Dying People' (with no explanation as to why), while another set on East African women described the men as lazy and 'hanging around the villages' while the women worked.[32] He concludes his paper by stating that the cigarette card offers a poignant insight into the values, which were imparted to German youth in the turbulent twentieth century. It is the intention of this research project to likewise examine the extent to which cigarette cards of early footballers in Australia projected images of manliness and masculinity to the young collectors of the day, and whether there were other values of the day that were projected through the cards. (It should be noted that in the early days of Australian Rules football 'Christian Masculinity' was often espoused as a virtue of the sport).[33]

It has been advocated that postcards can be used by social scientists and historians as indicators of different aspects of culture.[34] Cigarette cards and trade cards, likewise, convey information about a wide range of topics primarily relevant to the early twentieth century, and these documents are a legitimate source of research. Ferguson[35] has stated that:

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[27] Ibid. p. 451.

[28] Ibid. p. 449.

[29] Ibid. p 451.

[30] John Bloom. *A House of Cards: Baseball Card Collecting and Popular Culture.* University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, MN. 1997.

[31] Geoffrey. Giles. op. cit. p. 453.

[32] Ibid. p. 454.

[33] See for example, Geoffrey Blainey. *A Game of Our Own: The Origins of Australian Football.* Black Inc Books. Melbourne. Vic. 2003.

[34] See for example, Steven Dotterrer & Galen Cranz. 'The Picture Postcard: Its Development and Role in American Urbanization. *The Journal of American Culture.* Vol. 5. No. 1. pp. 44-50. 1982, and Sandra Ferguson. 'A Murmur of Small Voices: On the Picture Postcard in Academic Research'.*Archivaria 60.* 2005.

[35] ibid. p. 167.

> In less than one hundred years, the postcard shifted from a ubiquitous part of daily life to an obscure and occasional academic footnote, and is only now beginning to re-emerge as a valuable documentary form for researchers. Reviewing and analyzing this paradox speaks to the nature of this much-neglected but socially important documentary form.

This research project endorses the extension of this viewpoint to cigarette cards and trade cards and considers these documents as a rich and virtually unexplored and under-utilized source of information. Huggins[36] expresses a similar viewpoint stating that historians of sport now increasingly accept that visual inquiry offers another dimension to social and cultural research into sport and its history, adding that 'visual material filters, organizes, and edits past and present, and creates collective memories and cultural ideals.' He lists cigarette cards as amongst the most important source materials that he has used in research.

Research Design and Methodology

Using a slice-history approach, card sets have been selected from three distinct periods of time. The key research questions are addressed at each of these stages. The three periods are as follows:

Period 1: 1900 – 1914. The advent of football cards in sets.

This period was dominated by footballers appearing in the main on cigarette cards, both those produced by nascent Australian companies such as Sniders & Abrahams as well as established overseas companies operating subsidiaries in Australia such as W.D. & H.O. Wills. Confectionery cards were starting to appear at this time in small numbers, although in relation to the Geelong Football Club only the club's flags and colours featured on confectionery cards during this period, with no players represented.

Period 1 in this study concludes in 1914 and Period 2 commences in 1920. The omission of the years 1915 – 1919 is deliberate as no known issue of football cards featuring players from the Geelong Football Club, or from any other club, were produced or issued during World War I.

Period 2: 1920 – 1939. A Golden Era

During this interwar period, both tobacco companies and confectionery companies issued a substantial number of cards featuring footballers. An increasing number of confectionery companies became involved and cards were also issued supporting local suburban small businesses. Cards in boys' magazines also appeared. It was a period that could be considered as 'the golden age' of cigarette and trade card production.

Period 3: 1948 – 1962. A Time of Change.

This period saw the virtual end of cigarette cards as after the Second World War the major tobacco companies agreed not to resume the issuing of cards to any great extent.[37] However,

[36] Mike Huggins. 'The Visual in Sport History: Approaches, Methodologies and Sources'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport.* Vol. 32. No. 15. pp. 1813-1830. 2015.

[37] John Broom. *A History of Cigarette and Trade Cards.* Pen & Sword History. Barnsley. UK. 2018.

the void was taken up by a wide range of industries including various oil companies, newspapers, and cereal producers to name a few, producing trade cards to advertise both their companies and their products.

Again, the gap between Period 2 and Period 3 covering the years 1940 – 1947 is deliberate as mainly due to wartime restrictions on paper usage, there were no football cards issued during that time that featured Geelong players or players from any other club with one exception. The exception was a set of twenty-five cards released in 1947 of the Western Australian players who had participated in the Australian Rules Carnival held in Hobart that year.

The research concludes at 1962 as from that year the production of football cards was mainly carried out by commercial producers catering for a growing market of collectors. Although the major player from 1963 to the early 1990s was the Scanlens company which included football (and other) trade cards in their bubble-gum products, it is widely acknowledged that the product that appealed to the public and became the prime reason for their purchase was in fact the cards themselves and not the gum. Thus, a transition occurred from the collecting of trade cards to the collecting of trading cards.

Document analysis will be the predominant qualitative research method used in this project. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge.[38]

As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies – intensive studies producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organisation, or program.[39] Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation; however, it has also been used as a stand-alone method. Understandably, documents may be the only necessary and viable data source in historical research.

For this study document analysis is applied to newspaper reports and articles, card collections, minutes of various organisations notably the Victorian Football League and the Geelong Football Club, newsletters and other publications from Cartophilic societies, official football records and allied publications and various other newsletters. An analysis of the cards themselves will give a sense of scale and momentum, as well as who produced them, in what numbers, and who was on them. Allied to this will be an analysis of the advertisements for products that appear on the cards. That is, how and in what forum and to what market/consumer did these advertisements appear. Newspapers, on the other hand, will give an insight into the collecting phenomenon and particular marketing efforts, as well as the reporting of player achievements and their role in celebrity making.

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[38] Juliet Corbin & Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3rd edn, Thousand Oaks, California, 2008.

[39] Glenn Bowen, 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method', *Qualitative Research Journal*, Vol 9. Issue 2. 2009, pp. 27-40 https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027 Accessed 27 June 2018.

In the course of the research, a database of extant Geelong-related cards will be created. Limited catalogues and databases are currently available in this field. Those that are accessible tend to cover all Victorian Football League/Australian Football League teams and are limited in scope to listing the player on the card and the source. Further, early research indicates that there are many gaps and omissions, inaccuracies and/or misprints in the current catalogues and databases that are available. There is also a degree of contention and debate on areas such as the actual release date of various cards, particularly those released in the early 1900s. An assessment of the various viewpoints is considered and an argument put forward as to the most reliable interpretation.

The database, which is included as Appendix 1 to this research paper, will be useful in showing, for example, patterns in the expansion of trade cards over time, and the frequency of specific players chosen to appear on the cards due to their marketability and celebrity status. Information on the card producers and any anomalies or special features that occurred in the production of the cards will show diversification of those producing cards and their purposes.

Additionally, no research currently looks specifically at the cigarette companies, confectionery companies, cereal producers, and retailers who provided the cards and the players they chose to feature on this form of advertising/marketing strategy. This also presents the opportunity to consider how local or metropolitan was the reach of these cards. Were the advertisers, for example, local or national? Were they industry based or across a range of industries? Were there discernable changes in this over time? Further, although there are various histories of the Geelong Football Club published, the focus of this research adds to that history by considering it from a new and unique perspective – that of cartophily.

CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

Contextual Background: A Condensed History of Trade Cards

The use of trade cards and cigarette cards as a marketing strategy was not peculiar to Australia. To place this research into a broader context it is advantageous to reflect on the history of trade cards and cigarette cards. This then provides the framework for considering the Australian context in general and the portrayal of sporting celebrities on the cards for marketing purposes in particular.

The first trade cards were probably issued in France around the 1840s. Used in much the same way that business cards are today, trade cards initially contained the name and address of the business, whether that be a shop or a specific service. Many of these were quite elaborate in design.[1] Heal states that:

> The lettering in the early examples is almost uniformly of a high standard of achievement; the design … is dignified and well-spaced, the ornament well drawn and the copper-plate engraving is highly accomplished. To anyone with a liking for old things the Trade Card must make an irresistible appeal.[2]

The cards often contained small sketches relevant to the business. A coloured picture was later included on one side of the card as an incentive for the customer to retain the card with the details of the business on it. Murray makes the point that it soon became apparent that these coloured trade cards were being collected in their own right.[3] What occurred then was a marketing strategy designed to ensure that customers would return regularly to the same business. As Murray states:

> The next logical development was for the cards to be produced in a series. This enabled shops to give away perhaps one card per week to each customer, thereby ensuring that they would have to return regularly in order to complete the set, which normally tended to comprise at least six different pictures.[4]

Most of the shoppers of that era were women and so the trade card sets were very much designed to attract them, unlike the early cigarette cards that catered for a predominantly male market. With this in mind the sets of cards that proliferated from the 1850s to the turn of the century tended to depict children, flowers, scenes from plays and operas, women wearing the

[1] Martin Murray. op. cit.
[2] Ambrose Heal. *London Trademen's Cards of the XVIII Century*. Dover Publications. New York, NY. 1968. p. 4.
[3] Martin Murray. op. cit. p. 17.
[4] ibid.

fashions of the day, and characters from fiction. Again, to quote Murray, 'at one stage [in the latter half of the nineteenth century] there can hardly have been a shop throughout France that did not issue one series or another'.[5] The best-known example of a shop in France which issued cards in these early days is the Parisian store Au Bon Marche which issued over four hundred different series of cards between 1853 and 1912.

Neighbouring countries, including what is today known as Germany and Austria as well as Belgium, quickly adopted the issuing of trade cards. Other European countries gradually came on board, although Britain was very slow in accepting the concept of trade cards.

The next major impetus to the development of trade cards occurred when manufacturers, in addition to retailers, realised the advertising potential of these cards. Thus began the practice by the producers of a wide range of products including soap, coffee, tea, biscuits, confectionery and meat extracts having series of cards mass-produced. On these cards they would advertise their product then pass them on without cost to retailers to hand out to customers. The most prolific manufacturer to issue cards was the producer of the well-known Oxo stock cubes, the Liebig Extract of Meat Company. In a hundred-year period from the mid-1870s this company issued over two thousand different sets of cards, mostly in German, French and Italian but also in English, Dutch, Danish, Spanish and four sets in Russian.[6]

Trade cards soon made their way to the USA where they were used extensively in marketing. Incidentally, the first cards to be issued in the USA were directly imported from France. Browne states that in the USA: -

> The reasons for the increase in the use of trade cards at the end of the nineteenth-century was both commercial and artistic. At the close of the nineteenth-century America was turning more and more into a commercial nation, with many things to sell and many people needed to convince to buy. So the market was present. So was the technology. More cards and more beautiful cards could be cheaply manufactured.[7]

Unlike the cigarette card which had its demise around the time of World War II, trade cards are still used today although they have declined in numbers dramatically, being replaced by trading cards where the card itself is the marketable product.

The exact date of the first Australian trade card is difficult to determine. It seems, however, that it was an issue of two Australian Rules footballers, Arthur Rusden (St. Kilda) and Peter Burns (South Melbourne), in 1891, in a small set of extremely rare cards issued by the American Candy Company. Located in Fitzroy, a Melbourne suburb, this confectionery company was the forerunner to MacRobertsons. F.H. Fauldings and Company, an Adelaide based company that manufactured medicinal toiletries, was also an early contributor to trade

[5] ibid.

[6] John Broom. op. cit.

[7] R. Browne. Book Review. *Journal of American Culture.* Sept. 1989. pp. 99-100.

cards, producing a set of testimonials of seven English cricketers who toured Australia with the 1894-95 test team.

During the twentieth century a vast number of confectionery companies issued trade cards featuring Australian Rules footballers and other sports people. Some used the same card series produced by tobacco companies but with their own advertising on the reverse of the cards. Other topics were also featured on trade cards. Perhaps one of the best-known series was the Birds of Australia set issued by Tuckfields Tea. First issued in the early 1960s, these cards continued to be re-issued until mid-2008. So popular were the cards, the Tuckfields Tea Company even published a book to accompany the series. In total four hundred and eighty different cards were produced and five albums were available, allowing for ninety-six cards per album to be inserted. As the website of the Australian Cartophilic Society states 'I doubt if there is a kitchen drawer in Australia that has not got one or two of these informative and attractive cards floating about in it'.[8] Cereal companies, oil companies, and a range of other manufacturers were prominent in the late 1940s through to the 1950s. Some continued through to today although from the 1960s to early 1990 Scanlens football and cricket cards dominated the scene. This research project ends with the advent of the Scanlens' dominance.

Contextual Background: A Condensed History of Cigarette Cards

Again, while this paper explores the use of cigarette cards and trade cards as a marketing strategy, it needs to be considered that this was not peculiar to Australia. To place this research into a broader context it is advantageous to reflect also on the history of cigarette cards. This then provides the framework for considering the Australian context in general and the portrayal of sporting celebrities on the cards for marketing purposes in particular.

Cigarette Cards in the USA

Cigarette cards originated in North America probably during the 1870s when the mechanised packaging of cigarettes was in its infancy. Originally, the cards were plain cardboard known as 'stiffeners' that were inserted into paper packets that held five or ten cigarettes to prevent the packets from being crushed. This persisted until around 1940 when rigid cardboard packets protected by cellophane wrapping became the norm.[9]

The logical development from inserting plain stiffeners into cigarette packets was to print colourful pictures and advertising on the card as an inducement for consumers to purchase. The precise date of this has not been established although a study of the Burdick Collection of early tobacco advertising that is housed in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, has revealed a card dating from around 1877.[10] By the early 1880s, it was rare for a tobacco company not to include a card in their product. It was the invention of colour printing by offset-lithography which aided the production of colourful and collectible cigarette cards.

[8] Australian Cartophilic Society. 'The Trade Card'. Retrieved from http://australiancartophic.org.au/about-us/trade-card.

[9] Roy Genders. op. cit.

[10] London Cigarette Card Company. op. cit.

The first cards, in the main, had a picture on one side and a list of the company's products on the reverse. The picture was usually of another brand of cigarette manufactured by the same company. The first cards to appear that were not necessarily connected to advertising cigarettes and departed from this format, came in 1882.[11] These cards featured pictures and were singles. That is, the chosen pictures were unrelated in subject matter. From there the tobacco companies began to produce a set or series of cards on popular themes. The aim of this was to encourage consumers to continue to purchase that particular brand of cigarette in order to collect all the cards in the set. This led to a change in the reverse of the cards. While some continued to have a large advertisement of their product on the back of the card, it was not uncommon to see a checklist of the subjects within the series along with a smaller advertisement.

In America there was an enormous spike in the popularity of cigarettes following the Civil War.[12] One of the major tobacco companies in America at that time was W. Duke, Sons & Company. It is this company that must be credited with the growth of the cigarette card as a successful marketing strategy.

Following the American Civil War, Washington Duke became a successful small manufacturer of tobacco in rural America. One son, Brodie, moved to the larger city of Durham in North Carolina in 1869 and began his own tobacco company. In 1874, Washington and his two other sons, James and Benjamin, moved to Durham to jointly build a larger factory with Brodie on a shared basis. To raise capital for the continued growth of their business they formed a new company, W. Duke, Sons & Company, in 1878. This venture was extremely successful and the business continued to grow with the youngest son, James, emerging as the true leader of the enterprise. Brandt describes James Duke as the first successful cigarette entrepreneur and states that he 'had a capricious, even global vision for his industry, and he possessed both the vision and the energy to implement this plan'.[13] Brandt goes further to suggest that James Duke 'led the radical consolidation of the industry, introduced new technologies of production and consumption, and advocated the notion that the tobacco market would know neither cultural nor geographic boundaries'.[14]

It should be noted at this stage that in the early 1880s James Bonsack perfected the earlier machines that enabled the mass production of cigarettes. W. Duke, Sons & Co became one of the first cigarette companies to introduce these reliable cigarette-making machines, and before the end of the decade, James Duke had secured a favourable contract in the form of preferential licences for the Bonsack machine thus contributing to the monopoly they were later to hold on the American cigarette industry. As Brandt points out 'By becoming Bonsack's premier customer, Duke secured essential control over its technology and turned Bonsack's patent into

[11] Roy Genders. op. cit.

[12] Patrick Porter, 'Origins of the American Tobacco Company', *Business History Review*, Vol 43. No. 1. 1969, pp.59-76.

[13] Allan M. Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product that Defined America*, Basic Books, New York, 2007, p.25.

[14] Ibid.

a powerful competitive advantage'.[15] Duke's good fortune was aided by other producers trying Bonsack's machine for a short time but then deciding against using it, with the two main reasons for this being their assumption that there was a strong public prejudice against machine-produced cigarettes, and the early versions of the machines not always working perfectly. As Porter notes 'by the time the other manufacturers saw the error of their ways, Duke had stolen a long and quiet march on them…. His use of the machines had put the Bonsack Company in his debt.'[16]

Prior to the use of machines each cigarette was rolled by hand. Tennant claims that a hand-roller could roll no more than three thousand cigarettes in a ten-hour day whereas the new machines were producing two hundred cigarettes a minute.[17] Further, the labour costs of producing cigarettes had been calculated to be 96.4 cents per thousand of which 86.2 cents was required for the operation of rolling the cigarettes by hand.[18] Factories employing Russian immigrants and women in New York and in Richmond, Virginia, dominated the market, and cigarettes were a relatively expensive upper-class luxury.[19]

Duke, after securing the Bonsack machine, installed a print shop in his Durham factory that employed new colour lithography techniques. As Brandt observes:

> His marketing campaigns centred on premiums, coupons, and collecting cards, freely distributed with each pack… Illustrating themes of sports, adventure, Civil War generals, fashions, and beauty, these cards varied from the educational (flags and stamps of foreign countries) to the exotic (actresses wearing costumes of foreign countries). He encouraged patrons to collect complete sets. Sets of 'actresses', usually not fully clothed, were especially popular with the boys and young men who constituted Duke's main market. Although Washington Duke objected to such 'lascivious photos', his son, knowing the impact on sales, expanded advertising budgets dramatically, forcing his competitors to follow suit. This commodity-connected collection was a lasting innovation that continues today… Duke had discovered important incentives for smoking in the cultural rituals of youth.[20]

Thus was the genesis of cigarette cards, often referred to in America at that time as 'premiums', as a major advertising and marketing tool in the cigarette industry. Porter in a paper on advertising in the early cigarette industry uses Duke as the exemplar.[21] He reinforces how Duke

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[15] Ibid. p.29.

[16] Patrick Porter, 'Advertising in the Early Cigarette Industry: W. Duke, Sons & Company of Durham', *The North Carolina Historical Review,* Vol 48. No. 1. 1971, pp. 31-43.

[17] Richard B. Tennant, *The American Cigarette Industry: A Study in Economic Analysis and Public Policy,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950.

[18] Ibid. p. 17

[19] John Slade, 'The Tobacco Epidemic: Lessons from History', *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs,* Vol 24. No. 2. 1992, pp. 99-109.

[20] Allan Brandt. op. cit. pp. 31-32

[21] Patrick Porter. op. cit.

issued the cards in sets around particular themes encouraging buyers to collect a complete set. He further observes that an analysis of the cards clearly reveals that the most common theme 'was sex appeal, either explicit or implicit' and that additional themes included in the cards were 'foreign or American exotics, the mechanical creations of man, sports, adventure, and humour'.[22] Commenting on the collection now held at Duke University, Porter observes:

> It is hardly surprising to find that the major theme of this advertising was sex appeal. The cigarette was used almost exclusively by a masculine clientele in the nineteenth century, and the cards in the W. Duke, Sons & Co Collection reflect the advertisers' keen awareness of that fact. Many sets of cards featured either photographs or lithographs of buxom young ladies in what must have seemed very daring, if not shocking, costumes. Usually these sets were labelled simply 'Actresses' or bore descriptive phrases such as 'Stars of the Stage', 'American Stars', or 'Gems of Beauty'.[23]

Not that this went without its critics. The *New York Times,* in an article under the headline 'Prizes for Ill-Doing' stated that 'Every possible device has been employed to interest the juvenile mind, notably the lithograph album… many a boy under 12 years is striving for the entire collection [of cigarette cards] which necessitates the consumption of nearly twelve thousand cigarettes. He will become demoralized and possibly dishonest to accomplish his purpose'.[24] This last point is discussed in greater depth in a later section.

Ironically it was partly due to the innovations in the cigarette industry that created the need for Duke's competitiveness and marketing. As Porter explains innovations in production processes caused supply to outrun demand and drove manufacturers into severe competition.[25] Packaging and advertising became the major competitive weapons as producers vied to market relatively undifferentiated products that were saleable only within a narrow price range.[26]

Returning specifically to the cigarette card, James Duke, as stated previously, has been given the most credit for this advertising strategy. In an information sheet from Duke University, Pritcher describes Duke as revealing his marketing talent with this creative strategy.[27] Pritcher continues, 'Duke employed a little imagination and turned these simple work-horses into a powerful marketing tool by printing the brand name of the cigarette along with a picture that was part of a larger series and which was meant to be collected'.[28] Porter agrees adding that

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[22] ibid.

[23] ibid.

[24] Prizes for Ill-Doing, *New York Times,* 25 December 1888.

[25] Patrick Porter. op. cit.

[26] ibid. p. 59.

[27] Lynne Pritcher, 'More About Tobacco Advertising and the Tobacco Collections', *Occasional Information Sheet,* Duke University Library, 2018.

[28] ibid.

Duke's cigarette card sets 'removed the average citizen from his familiar surroundings and transported him to distant lands, or else served to amuse, instruct, and divert him'.[29]

Although Duke is given credit for the uptake of the cigarette card, Slade also recognises the contribution of Major Lewis Ginter from the firm of Allen & Ginter for developing the cigarette card into 'a striking array of puzzles, maps, pictures of boats, flags, actors and actresses in numbered sets'.[30] These, he insists, sit alongside Duke's 'similarly dazzling assortment of series for American Tobacco's brands'.[31] Included in the Allen & Ginter sets were Great Generals, Racing Colours of the World, and Celebrated Indian Chiefs. Surprisingly, there was also a series on American Editors. Another American company, Kinney Tobacco Company, issued a set of four hundred Soldiers of the World while in 1888 the Lone Jack Cigarette Company issued a series called Language of Flowers. At around the same time W.S. Kimball produced and distributed the contentious Savage and Semi-barbarous Chiefs and Rulers series. As Genders points out this set 'included the heads of Indian States, much to the disgust of the British and of those the cards depicted'.[32]

Regardless of the themes or subjects for cigarette cards, it cannot be denied that they existed as a marketing and promotional tool for tobacco companies. Jamieson, in a book about baseball cards, states:

> Baseball cards may well have been just one more piece of forgotten ephemera had it not been for another novel activity made popular by the [American Civil] war: cigarette smoking. Pioneer cigarette manufacturers would soon discover that coupling their smokes with the likeness of ball-players was an exceptional way to move tobacco. The card-collecting hobby had no innocent beginnings. It was the by-product of a marketing technique used to establish the cigarettes in the lives of Americans, particularly young boys.[33]

W. Duke, Sons & Co was so successful that leading up to the 1890s the company had taken over hundreds of very small, independent firms that had been producing cigarettes in the USA. Then in 1890 W. Duke, Sons & Co were the major instigator behind the merger of that company and four other major companies, Kimball, Allen & Ginter, Goodwin, and Kinney, to form a huge virtual monopoly under the name of the American Tobacco Company. The American Tobacco Company now claimed ninety per cent of all cigarette sales in the United States.[34] Heading this conglomerate was James Duke, as President. Economist Richard Tennant writes that the 'fruits of this monopoly were enjoyed'[35] when discussing the growth of the initial capitalization of $25

[29] Patrick. Porter. op cit. p. 43.

[30] John Slade. op. cit. p. 102.

[31] ibid.

[32] Roy Genders. op. cit. p. 38.

[33] Dave Jamieson. *Mint Condition: How Baseball Cards Became an American Obsession.* Grove Press. New York, USA. 2010. pp. 14-15.

[34] Allan M. Brandt. op. cit. p. 34.

[35] Richard Tennant. op. cit.

million in 1890 to $350 million of assets by 1910. In the two decades after its founding, the American Tobacco Company had absorbed approximately two hundred and fifty separate companies.[36]

From a Cartophilic perspective, the creation of the American Tobacco Company had the effect of greatly reducing competition in the US market and 'the incentive for producing cards was stifled, and issues in the USA all but ceased for almost twenty years, bringing to a close the first heyday of American cards'.[37]

Cigarette Cards in Great Britain

In the meantime, due to the successful marketing of their product in the USA through inserting cigarette cards into packets, the American firm of Allen & Ginter, prior to being absorbed by the Duke dynasty, introduced the idea to Great Britain in 1884. British companies were quick to follow and by the early 1890s many were producing cards of their own. Wills took the Allen & Ginter marketing strategy to a new level. In August 1888, Wills introduced two new machine-made brands. These brands, 'Wills Woodbine' and 'Cinderella' were designed to retail at the low price of five for one penny. According to Cox 'the insertion of cigarette cards in the packets … was rapidly popularized in Britain through the medium of Wills' low-priced cigarettes. During 1889, the first full year in production, the penny cigarettes outstripped the sales of all Wills' other cigarette brands combined, ushering Britain into an era of the cheap, mass-produced smokes'.[38] Alford concurs stating that:

> Five cigarettes for 1d, like many brilliant ideas, was basically simple; and the idea to introduce cigarette cards was equally brilliant and just as simple… Whether Wills was the first firm to use this device is not known, but the comparative size of its sales of cigarettes soon ensured its cigarette cards became by far the best known.[39]

He continues to explain how the first cards by this company were copies of Wills' various showcards, but then:

> …came a series of 50 different kinds of ships, with other series to follow. But it was not until 1897, when the very successful issue of "Kings and Queens of England" was printed, that they were regarded as of educational value; and the custom became general to collect them.[40]

A set of the "Kings and Queens of England" cards that Alford refers to was specially printed on satin and presented to Queen Victoria. It is believed that the "Kings and Queens of England" set was the first in Britain to have short notes on the back to give some background of the

[36] Patrick Porter. op. cit. p. 59.

[37] London Cigarette Card Company, op. cit.

[38] Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880-1945*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, p. 49.

[39] Bernard W.E. Alford, *W.D. & H.O. Wills and the Development of the U.K. Tobacco Industry 1786-1965*, Methuen & Co, London, 1973, p. 169.

[40] ibid. p. 170.

featured monarch.[41] The fact that this 1897 set was presented to Queen Victoria suggests that over a fairly short time-span cigarette cards had achieved a level of acceptability and even respectability beyond the initial simple marketing via sex appeal.

Blum asserts that the British have been by far the greatest producers and collectors of cigarette cards.[42] He states that during the first half of the twentieth century 'thousands of series were issued by dozens of tobacco manufacturers on subjects ranging from orchids to chess problems, and Shakespearean characters to military battles'.[43] Corina comments that cigarette cards at this time were collected with enthusiasm, 'a source of encyclopaedic-type information'.[44] He provides the example of Ogden's which during an eleven-year period from 1899 issued twenty-thousand different sets of cards to smokers. The various series became so renowned for their factual reliability that, according to Alford, on one occasion a cigarette card was used in a court case to illustrate the difference between a salmon and a pike.[45] Not that all cigarette card releases were met with enthusiasm. In the same vein that Washington Duke complained to his son, James, about the 'lascivious photos' on cigarette cards; sets produced by British manufacturers caused Victorian readers to write to *The Times* objecting to 'placing licensed sex on a pedestal' and stating that the cards were 'a form of sexual excitement to induce moral degeneration in the male'.[46]

Having sewn up the American market, Duke turned his attention to Britain where the potential market was second only to the USA. At the turn of the twentieth century the British tobacco industry was thriving with about five hundred tobacco manufacturers and more than three hundred thousand retail stores specialising in tobacco products and related wares. It has been written that the American Tobacco Company had set aside $30 million to buy up British tobacco companies one by one at the start of the 20th century.[47] Duke's first purchase was the well-established firm of Ogdens in 1901, one of Britain's leading cigarette manufacturers at the time it was acquired by Duke. The purchase of Ogdens by the American Tobacco Company initiated what Porter has referred to as 'competitive warfare' in the English market.[48]

Ogdens, now under the Duke banner, launched a massive price-cutting campaign which initially had a marked effect. To counter this the thirteen largest British manufacturers led by Wills, Players, and Lambert & Butler, all family-run businesses, pooled their resources and established their own conglomerate known as the Imperial Tobacco Company. This occurred

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[41] B. Johnson, *Cigarette Cards and Cartophily*. Accessed from http://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/Cigarette-Cards-Cartophily/ 12 October, 2017.

[42] Alan Blum, 'Cigarette cards – irony in propaganda', *Tobacco Control*, Vol 4. No. 1. 1995, pp. 117-118.

[43] ibid.

[44] Maurice Corina, *Trust in Tobacco: The Anglo-American Struggle for Power*, Michael Joseph, London, 1975, p. 54.

[45] Bernard W.E. Alford. op. cit. p. 319.

[46] Maurice Corina. op. cit.

[47] Howard Cox. op. cit.

[48] Patrick Porter. op. cit. p. 75.

in December, 1901. Chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company was Sir William Henry Wills from W.D. & H.O Wills.

The Tobacco War

What followed is now commonly referred to as the Tobacco War.[49] The Imperial Tobacco Company's counter-attacking strategy to the American Tobacco Company was based on three fronts. The first two were implemented concurrently, these being to launch a massive 'Buy British' campaign while at the same time offering retailers and wholesalers an attractive bonus scheme based on Imperial Tobacco Company sales. The Imperial Tobacco Company's purchase of Salmon & Gluckstein, a retail tobacconist with 184 branches, for a sum of £400,000, facilitated this. The third strategy was to purchase an American tobacco factory and to compete with the American Tobacco Company on their home ground.

Cigarette cards had a significant role in this battle. Ogden's cigarette cards at the time were particularly popular. Genders maintains that Duke concentrated his sales campaign on issues of cigarette cards and many smokers switched brands initially due to the high quality and the interest in these cards.[50] Imperial responded by employing a company with printing expertise to match Ogden's output. At least two sets of cards issued by Imperial, a series on Footballers and another on the Boer War, had the slogan 'British made by British labour with British capital' on the reverse.[51]

The creation of the Imperial Tobacco Company in effect prevented Duke from obtaining his goal of acquisition of British cigarette manufacturers. Cox summarises this succinctly by stating that '…within a matter of weeks the battle for control of the British tobacco market had effectively been lost by Duke. The war itself continued, however, and Duke now set himself the objective of winning the peace instead'.[52]

The American Tobacco Company experienced huge losses particularly in the first ten months.[53] As they attempted to match the Imperial Tobacco Company's incentive schemes, in part by offering dealers all of Ogden's net profit for four years, by the end of the first year Ogden's had lost more than £350,000 on sales totalling £7.5 million. In the same twelve months the Imperial Tobacco Company recorded a profit of £5 million.

The result of the so-called Tobacco War was a truce that was negotiated in 1902. Under the terms of an agreement the Imperial Tobacco Company withdrew from the American market, except for leaf buying, and the American Tobacco Company undertook to stop trading in Britain.[54] In addition Ogden's was returned to British ownership, however Duke drove a hard

[49] Howard Cox. op. cit. London Cigarette Card Company. op. cit. M. Murray. op. cit.

[50] Roy Genders. op. cit. p. 41.

[51] Maurice Corina. op. cit. p. 94.

[52] Howard Cox. op. cit.

[53] ibid.

[54] ibid.

bargain at this point setting a price of £3 million, almost three times the cost of acquisition.[55] What is relevant with this agreement is that a new enterprise, the British American Tobacco Company, was created to handle the export business of both the Imperial Tobacco Company and the American Tobacco Company, including exports to Australia. As a footnote, by 1911 James Duke had retired from any management of his tobacco interests and turned his attention to other interests, including the generation of hydroelectric power and the creation of Duke University.

Cigarette Cards in Australia

Early issues of cigarette cards in Australia in large numbers accompanied cigarettes manufactured by the American Tobacco Company and the British American Tobacco Company. With no international competitors of comparable size, the British American Tobacco Company was able to develop its activities abroad, and did so with success most notably in Australia, Canada, India, China and South Africa. The only real opposition was to come from domestic manufacturers in the early part of the twentieth century. It was not until the 1920s that British firms such as Carreras, Godfrey Phillips, Ardath, and Gallaher developed, to varying degrees, an export trade to challenge the British American Tobacco Company, while at the same time making direct investments in Australia.

As part of the agreement that created the British American Tobacco Company, manufacturing plants in Australia owned by the American Tobacco Company along with investments of the Wills Company in Sydney, were formally transferred to the British American Tobacco Company.[56] Between 1894 and 1895 Duke had made investments in both Canada and Australia, setting up foreign subsidiaries of the American Tobacco Company to operate directly in those markets. These proved to be successful with the Canadian factories producing 100 million cigarettes a year by 1901 and the Australian factories around double that number.[57] However, despite this investment in local production facilities in Australia, the export trade to Australia and other nations in the early years remained the most important aspect of the British American Tobacco Company's business. From their US factories alone, twenty-seven different brands of cigarettes were exported to Australia between 1903 and 1911.

Cox makes the telling observation:

> The market which had absorbed the most investment from the British American Tobacco Company by 1906 was Australia. Here the events of the tobacco war in Britain were particularly dramatic because by 1901 the American Tobacco Company, Imperial (through Wills), and Ogden had all made significant investments there. In addition, a number of other American firms, such as the Cameron group of companies, T.C. Williams, and David Dunlop, had made substantial progress in the Australian tobacco market. One of Duke's first acts

[55] ibid. p. 77.

[56] Howard Cox. op. cit.

[57] ibid. p. 68.

> following the formation of the British American Tobacco Company, therefore, had been to acquire control of the US-based plants of these American firms before rival Australian manufacturers were able to do so.[58]

Consequently, in Australia the American Tobacco Company and later the British American Tobacco Company were prolific issuers of cigarette cards in the late 1890s and early 1900s although the majority of these were printed overseas. Dion Skinner, author of *Cigarette Cards: Australian Issues and Values*[59] emphasises this overseas domination by devoting the first forty-eight pages of his seminal book to sets of cards produced by the American Tobacco Company and the British American Tobacco Company. (Skinner's book, first published in 1983, was for many years the major handbook for Australian cigarette card collectors who previously had relied on a 1951 publication by the Cartophilic Society of Great Britain, *The Australasian Miscellaneous Booklet*).[60] The usual sets of Actresses, Beauties (some fourteen plus sets including Flower Girls, Fruit Girls, Lantern Girls and Girls in Costumes), and so on, appear in Skinner's book, however there was a set on the Australian Parliament 1901. These cards were of Edmund Barton, the first Prime Minister of Australia, George Reid, Leader of the Opposition, six Cabinet Ministers and all the Senators from the six states. Another set, issued in 1900 under the title of Celebrities included Edmund Barton, Henry Parkes, and Alfred Deakin among other celebrities both British and Australian. A further set featured Boer War identities.

In the period up to 1919, Wills' brands of cigarettes, while distributed by the British American Tobacco Company, included cigarette card series such as Melbourne Cup Winners, Prominent Australian and English Cricketers, Victorian Football League, and Birds of Australasia, to name a few. However, many of the sets were still those that were produced predominantly for the American or British market but inserted into packets of cigarettes sold in Australia; Fish from American Waters (1910) being one example of this. However, it is noticeable at this point that while the foreign entities came to dominate the Australian market, and had brought with them tried and tested cards from other markets, they were now beginning to develop a closer relationship with Australian consumers.

Australian Footballers and Cigarette Cards

The first cigarette cards featuring Australian Rules footballers were probably issued by Goodwin & Co. in their Old Judge cigarettes around 1887-1890. Goodwin & Co was an old American tobacco company founded before the American Civil War. Charles Goodwin had been treasurer of the American Tobacco Company after that company acquired Goodwin & Co. Photographs of eleven Australian Rules footballers were featured on these cards. As such, it is now extremely difficult to find any of these cards that have not faded substantially. There were two different styles to these cards. Some had an advertisement for Old Judge cigarettes

[58] ibid. p. 104.

[59] Dion Skinner, *Cigarette Cards: Australian Issues and Values*, Renniks Books, Malvern, 1983.

[60] Cartophilic Society of Great Britain, *The Australasian Miscellaneous Booklet*, Cartophilic Society of Great Britain, London, 1951.

on the reverse but not on the front. Others had the advertisement at the base of the front of the card and had a blank reverse.

The players featured on this first set of Australian Rules footballer cards were Norman Richards and George Rowley from the Adelaide Football Club, George McKenzie (Ballarat), Tommy Allen and Tommy Leydin (Carlton), John Daly (Norwood), Dick Houston and Joey Tankard (North Melbourne), William Hannysee (Port Melbourne), and Peter Burns and H. (Sonny) Elms from South Melbourne. The caption on the Hannysee card describes that player as the captain of the Port Melbourne Football Club and this enables us to pinpoint the year of issue to between 1886 and 1890.

In 1893-94 the American Tobacco Company released a set of cards that featured a combination of actors and actresses, celebrities and politicians, cricketers (one from Victoria, one from New South Wales and four from England) and what was believed to be one footballer, J. McGaffin from the South Adelaide Football Club. However, since the publication of Skinner's book three other football cards from the same series have been uncovered, these being of J. Metherall (Norwood Football Club), E. Fox (Melbourne Football Club) and W. Crebbin (Essendon Football Club). The last-mentioned card only became widely known to collectors in 2018 when one was sold on eBay for $10,110.[61] Crebbin had played only one game for Essendon in the Victorian Football League (VFL) in 1900 although he had an outstanding career in the Victorian Football Association (VFA) at the time of the production of this card, having played in the winning premiership teams for Essendon in 1891-94.

Local cigarette manufacturers likewise included cigarette cards in their products. The first local cigarette cards were probably a set of thirteen cards that featured the touring English cricket team of 1897-98. These cards were found in packets of Tally Ho cigarettes that were manufactured by The National Cigarette Company of Australia Proprietary Limited. From 1904 to 1920 Sniders & Abrahams issued a large number of cards in their 'Milo', 'Peter Pan' and 'Standard' cigarettes. Many of these cards had a distinctly Australian focus. Eleven sets were of Australian Rules footballers, five of Australian horses or jockeys, and one of the Australian cricket team. A series of forty-eight cards on Melbourne buildings and a thirty-two-card set on Views of Victoria are other examples of the Australian focus.

Other companies that issued cigarette cards in Australia in the first decade of the twentieth century include De Beer and Company in their packets of Opal cigarettes and Eden cigarettes, and Dixsons, who traded under the name of Robert Dixson & Co (and later had the library at the New England University College in Armidale named after them). Dungey Ralph cigarettes also issued cigarette cards around that time including a set of forty-nine unnumbered cards in their Sweet Nell cigarettes of South Australian footballers.

J.J. Schuh, a Melbourne-based independent company, produced some interesting series in the 1920s including four sets of Australian Rules footballers, two of Australian jockeys and one of official war photographs. J.J. Schuh then became a part of Carreras which issued cards

[61] Rick Milne, 'Rick's Rarities', *AFL Football Record*, May, 2018.

featuring Australian footballers and other personalities. Another local manufacturer, Dudgeon & Arnell, produced a set of cigarette cards on the 1934 Australian cricket team. Skinner claims that this was the last series of cards issued by a truly Australian firm.[62] While the 1920s and 1930s were recognised as the golden age of cigarette cards, production, in the main, ceased in the mid-1940s towards the end of the Second World War. The end of hostilities did not usher in the resumption of cigarette card issues and for many collectors this void was filled by an increase in the availability of trade cards. It is within this historical context of trade cards and cigarette cards that this research project is situated.

Cartophily and the Collection of Cards

Cartophily is the accepted name for the hobby of collecting cards, particularly cigarette cards and trade cards, while a cartophilist is the collector of these cards. The etymological derivation of cartophily is from the French *carte* meaning card and *–phily* from the Greek *philos* loving, although often the Italian *carta* (card) is offered as an alternative. While many people include the collection of post cards in cartophily – the Australian Cartophilic Society, for example, regularly includes articles on post cards in its bi-monthly newsletter – this is, strictly speaking, catered for by deltiology, from the Greek *deltion* , diminutive of *deltes* (writing tablet) plus *logy*.

Colonel Charles Bagnall, who founded the London Cigarette Card Company in 1927, coined the word 'Cartophily'.[63] It means 'a lover of cards'. However, Murray states that the name given to the collecting of cigarette cards and trading cards, that is, cartophily is 'a snob name for the hobby'.[64] He opines that cartophily, with cigarette cards being the mainstay, was most prominent in Britain and other countries between the two World Wars. Murray further contends that for many years cigarette cards, as distinct from trade cards, were considered as 'la crème de la crème'.[65] He argues that one of the prime reasons for the fascination for cigarette card collecting is that they were actually produced in order to be collected. Here he has a valid argument. Stamps were initially produced as a revenue raiser to cover the costs of postage and post cards primarily for written communication. Cigarette cards, however, were an inducement to purchase packets of cigarettes and to encourage repeat business for cigarette manufacturers. As Murray states:

> … cigarette cards were actually produced in order to be collected. Since they bore the name of the issuer they became his [sic] representatives, and the quality of the card became vaguely connected with the quality of the product. Moreover, one of the main functions of the cigarette card was to be of sufficient quality and interest to persuade the customer to try to complete the set, and that standard had to be maintained on every single card in order to retain such enthusiasm. Every card bears an attractive picture, and the majority also have a

[62] Dion Skinner. op. cit.

[63] Roy Genders. op. cit.

[64] Martin Murray. op cit. p. 5.

[65] ibid.

> printed back describing the picture. A modest collection of them is therefore a pictorial encyclopaedia…[66]

The largest cigarette card collection on record is that of Edward Wharton-Tigar. His collection, bequeathed to the British Museum following his death in 1995, is recognised by the Guinness Book of Records as the largest of its kind. It is reported to be a collection in excess of one million cards from forty-five thousand sets.[67] For many years the President of the British Cartophilic Society, Wharton-Tigar's autobiography, *Burning Bright*, details both his obsession with collecting cigarette cards, as well as his business life as a mining executive and his war experiences in espionage.[68]

Footballers as Celebrities

This thesis also explores the notion of football stardom. Joyce Woodridge has claimed that the study of stars is one of the most neglected, but also potentially one of the richest areas of football history.[69] The concept of the consumption of the football star through knowledge of his personal life, thus enabling a closer identification between spectator and player, is explored.

The early connotation of the footballer as an 'ordinary bloke'[70] because of his working-class origins is also explored within the context of how cigarette cards, and later trade cards, along with magazines, football records, newspaper articles and a variety of other football ephemera, have been instrumental in identifying and promoting star status for certain footballers. Using players from the Geelong Football Club as a case study, an analysis is presented to ascertain the congruence or otherwise of players who appeared on cigarette cards and those who were given prominence in the early publications such as the *Football Record* and the local *Geelong Advertiser* newspaper, as well as state newspapers. This includes players endorsing products in advertisements as well as being the subject of journalistic articles. As the early newspaper reports of players occurred at a time prior to the publication of press photographs, the relationship between the reporting of players for their sporting ability on the one hand, and the featuring of the same players on cigarette cards on the other, will be explored.

It is argued in this thesis that the Australian Rules footballers appearing on cigarette and trading cards prior to the creation of the AFL in the mid-1990s were chosen, in the main, due to their skills, achievements and prowess as players, and that individual player recognition was consolidated as cigarette cards with player images made their appearance. Evidence will be presented to support this argument by examining aspects such as players who were in media

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[66] Ibid.

[67] M. Kennedy, 'Museum cannot afford to display treasures', *The Guardian*, 22 August, 2002.

[68] Edward Wharton-Tigar, *Burning Bright: The Autobiography of Edward Wharton-Tigar*, Metal Bulletin Books, London, 1987.

[69] Joyce Woodridge. 'Mapping the Stars: Stardom in English Professional Football 1890-1946'. *Soccer and Society*. Vol 3. No 2. 2002, pp 51-69.

[70] ibid. p. 54

reports for their sporting achievements and featured on cards, and those who had played a substantial number of games and either did or did not feature on cards.

It is further argued that the modern football celebrity, including those predominantly chosen as the subject of modern trade cards, is a product of the commercialisation of the sport and not necessarily of the player's talents and achievements. To explore this a bit further, Cashmore[71] suggests that the nature of the sports celebrity today is quite different to that of earlier times due to the extent and nature of media portrayal and the use of sportspeople in marketing. In fact, Cashmore and Parker present a compelling argument that sportsmen of the twentieth century, who operated largely before the advent of multimedia, were certainly famous and may well have been icons of sport, but they were not celebrities in the contemporary sense of the word.[72] Applying Cashmore's theory to Australian Rules footballers who appeared on cigarette cards and trading cards, it is argued that Geelong players such as Henry Young who played between 1893 and 1910, Edward 'Carji' Greeves (1923-1933) and Fred Flanagan (1946-1955) were icons due in large part to their football skills, deeds and achievements. However, as, according to Cashmore, contemporary celebrity is only partially achieved through success, but primarily constructed by the mass media, AFL player examples today might place Nic Naitanui (West Coast Eagles), Jake Stringer (Essendon) and Mitch Robinson (Brisbane), for example, within that definition. That is, they are 'turned into things to be adored, respected, worshipped, idolised, but perhaps more importantly, things which are themselves produced and consumed'.[73] Cashmore's comment that soccer player David Beckham is 'as much a [media] construction as Bob the Builder'[74] emphasises this theory of present day sports people being 'a product of imagination and industry, rather than exploits'.[75] East puts a somewhat different but supporting viewpoint stating that 'player status has shifted from that of elite athlete to entertainer and highly-paid sports celebrity'.[76]

Thesis Synopsis

The remainder of this thesis will be presented using the following chapter guidelines.

Chapter 2 considers the period from 1900 – 1914. This period was dominated by footballers appearing in the main on cigarette cards, both those produced by nascent Australian companies such as Sniders & Abrahams as well as established overseas companies operating subsidiaries in Australia such as W.D. & H.O. Wills. Confectionery cards were starting to appear at this time, although in relation to the Geelong Football Club no players were represented on confectionery cards during this period, although Geelong flags and club colours were. The research questions are applied to this period with comparisons and

[71] Ellis Cashmore. *Beckham.* Polity Press. London, UK. 2002.

[72] Ellis Cashmore & Andrew Parker. 'One David Beckham? Celebrity, Masculinity, and the Soccerati'. *Sociology of Sport Journal.* No. 20. pp. 214-231. 2003.

[73] ibid. p.215.

[74] Ellis Cashmore op. cit. p. 192.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Bernard East. *Australian Rules Football in a Commercial Era: Catering for Theatregoers and Tribals.* Walla Walla Press. Petersham, NSW. 2012.

contrasts noted between players from the Geelong Football Club and other VFL clubs of the day.

The celebrity status of players is considered within the context of their appearance on cigarette cards, the first occurrence of photographs of football players in newspapers, and the launch of the official Victorian Football League publication, the *Football Record.*

As smoking was predominantly a male activity during this period, the strategy of producing silk cigarette cards with a view to encouraging women to persuade males to purchase a particular brand of cigarette, is briefly examined.

Also of significant importance during this era is the impact of cigarette card collecting on minors. In the case of minors, the soliciting of cigarette cards from adult smokers is predominantly presented in publications in a context that has positive, almost romantic, connotations – the young boy (it was never a girl) standing outside a tobacconists' shop politely asking exiting customers for the cigarette card from their newly purchased packet of cigarettes. This study examines past newspaper reports and other documentation to explore the authenticity or otherwise of this positive, sanitised and widely portrayed viewpoint.

Chapter 3 examines the period 1920 – 1939. During this period following the end of World War I and continuing until the commencement of World War II, both tobacco companies and confectionery companies issued a substantial number of cards featuring footballers. An increasing number of confectionery companies became involved and cards were also issued supporting local suburban small businesses. Cards in boys' magazines also appeared. It was a period that could be considered as 'the golden age' of cigarette and trading card production. Again, the research questions are applied to this period with comparisons and contrasts noted between players from the Geelong Football Club and other VFL clubs of the day. The practice of issuing identical sets of cards by both a tobacco company and a confectionery company is explored as is the extension of past smaller successful sets into larger sets.

Chapter 4 examines the period 1948 – 1962. This was an era of significant change in cartophily as this period saw the demise of cigarette cards. However, the void was taken up by a wide range of industries including various oil companies, newspapers, cereal producers to name a few, producing trade cards to advertise both their companies and their products. One of the first to do this was the breakfast cereal company Kornies which issued seven sets of football cards between 1948 and 1954, and a further two sets in 1957 and 1959. The production of albums to house the cards became prominent during this era and this marketing strategy is examined. Many of these card producers maintained the size and the format of the previous cigarette cards initially but there were many variations along the way.

Of importance here was the production and sale of cards by the Coles Department stores in 1954-55. These did not advertise a product but were sold solely to make a profit and were the forerunner of the current era where the vast majority of cards are produced for that purpose.

For this era the celebrity status of footballers is examined and the hypothesis that this was a transition period from football celebrities being admired due to their skills, abilities and attributes to a time when football celebrities became, in part, a creation of the media, is discussed.

A conclusion of the research project along with recommendations for further research then follows Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 2

PERIOD 1: 1900 – 1914. IN THE BEGINNING…

Introduction

In the rise of cigarette and trade cards in Australia, sports had always been popular subjects. Though Australian Rules footballers featured on cigarette cards or trade cards intermittently before 1900, after the turn of the century they emerged as among the most popular cards. The fervour with which young boys especially collected football cards both reflected and amplified the 'star' status of those who featured on them. Beyond that, these cards also played a role in creating star status particularly as less known players appeared on the cards. As fans, especially young boys, collected the cards, the reputations of these players grew. That fervour, however, also resulted, as we will see, in moral anxieties about children's behaviour, and determined efforts to limit the availability of cigarette cards altogether.

This chapter, therefore, has a number of foci. One focus is to examine briefly two popular theories around the collecting phenomenon, while the examination of the impact of the distribution of cigarette cards on society in the early 1900s, with particular reference to minors, is another major focus. In the case of minors, the soliciting of cigarette cards from adult smokers is predominantly presented in publications in a context that has positive, almost romantic, connotations – the young boy standing outside a tobacconist's shop politely asking exiting customers for the cigarette card from their newly purchased packet of cigarettes. This study examines past newspaper reports and other documentation to explore the authenticity or otherwise of this positive, sanitised and widely portrayed viewpoint.

Another focus also considers the effects of cigarette card promotions on society in the early 1900s. As smoking was predominantly a male activity during this period, the strategy of producing silk cigarette cards with a view to encouraging women to persuade males to purchase a particular brand of cigarette, or indeed to take up smoking themselves, is briefly examined.

A final focus is to examine the sets of cards that included Geelong footballers and the players selected to appear on those cards. In doing so an argument will be presented that the players on the cards were, in the main, the football celebrities of that era as defined in terms of their 'visibility' to the public at a time when the media reporting of the sport was, compared to today, less prominent. This argument is supported in terms of media coverage of the footballers and the esteem held for these players due to their skills and attributes. An argument will also be presented to demonstrate that the appearance of footballers on cigarette and trade cards played a role in creating celebrities from amongst the footballing fraternity.

Two Theories of the Collecting Phenomenon

A question that arises from this research is why the collecting of cigarette cards became such a popular pursuit. Indeed, it has been stated that, as a hobby, cigarette card collecting in the early 1900s was second only to stamp collecting as a world-wide phenomenon. Two theories are presented in this chapter to account for the popularity of collecting cigarette cards depicting footballers and a further theory related to exchanging tokens on the cards for prizes is discussed later in Chapter 3.

Theory 1: Tribal Identity

One plausible explanation for the popularity of football identities on cigarette cards in the early 1900s centres on spectator mores of the time and is connected to the genesis of the commodification of Australian Rules football.

For anyone attending an AFL match today it is easy to determine which team the various spectators are supporting. It is not uncommon for spectators to be wearing one or a combination of the following in their club colours – scarves, football jumpers, caps, beanies, rugby tops, rain jackets etc. Even in corporate areas the obligatory tie in club colours is worn as the norm. This, today, adds greatly to the spectacle and atmosphere of the game as loyal fans proudly wear their club colours. But this is not confined to clothing. Many accessories such as hair ribbons, ear-rings, badges, etc. are worn with the clothing. Many younger supporters wave flags in club colours and older supporters take their own seat cushions, again in club colours, to the football. In short, today's spectators leave no doubt as to the 'tribe' to which they belong.

This, however, was not as prominent in the early days of Australian Rules football – even up to the late 1930s and beyond. Geelong supporter Professor Geoffrey Blainey in his memoir *Before I Forget* recalls football spectators dressing for the occasion in their Sunday suit, 'their only suit', and wearing 'that wide-brimmed grey felt hat without which a man in those days was considered ill dressed'.[1] In fact, the early football matches began in mid-afternoon to allow workers to go home after their Saturday morning work and to change. Blainey writes:

> Before the Second World War, however, virtually nobody except the footballers wore the team's colours. I did not once see a Geelong flag or banner carried by a spectator to the football ground. I knew no child who owned even a scarf in Geelong's colours of navy blue and white.[2]

While Blainey's recollections are, to a degree, contestable – many supporters did, in fact, wear club colours particularly as ribbons (see below) - in this era of limited supporter identity, it is feasible that football cards became a way in which supporters, particularly younger male supporters, could show their allegiance. It was not uncommon for a boy to swap two cards of players from other teams to gain just one card of a player from his favourite team[3]. Cigarette cards featuring footballers allowed supporters to collect, not only players from their team, but

[1] Geoffrey Blainey. *Before I Forget: An Early Memoir.* Hamish Hamilton. Aust. 2019. p. 35.

[2] ibid.

[3] Ibid.

also the football celebrities of the day from other teams, and indeed, other leagues. To quote Blainey again he recalls that:

> The team mementos that I did possess were precious. Small cards, larger than the present credit card, they displayed on one side the photo of a footballer, either in black and white or full colour, while the other side provided details of his footballing skills.[4]

The wearing of ribbons in club colours, however, was reported by the journalists of the day decades before Blainey's attendance at VFL matches. For example, in *The Federal Australian* on 1 June 1882 it was noted that 'at the Carlton v South Melbourne match on May 27 barrackers proudly displayed the colours of their favourite club.' The sale of three-inch pieces of ribbon which supporters stuck onto the side of their hats or wore in their lapels had the journalist reporting that the seller 'reaped a very fair harvest'.

The major tobacco companies of the day, as well as other businesses, saw this void in tribal identification as an opportunity to market their products, and so the early phases of the commodification of Australian Rules football began. In addition to the cigarette cards which were immensely popular, other small items depicting team allegiance began to emerge. One of the first to do this was Cohn's Brewery in Bendigo. This company in 1907 began distributing with their various beer products small die-cut cards with a tab at the bottom of the card which allowed it to be slotted into a hatband. The cards depicted two beer bottles on a rounded back with a panel coloured for each of the various teams playing in the Bendigo district at that time – teams such as Kamarooka, Epsom United, Long Gully, and so on. Also, on each card was the club's initials. Spectators attending any of the Bendigo district games could wear the card in their hatband showing their allegiance to their club.

Other companies adopted this marketing ploy including the Prahran Ice and Aerated Water O.T. Company in 1910 which distributed similar hatband cards with their cordial products. Commonly known just as O.T. Beverages, this company had a wider appeal producing cards for all VFL and VFA teams. Additionally, hatband cards from this company are known to exist for Kalgoorlie City Football Club in Western Australia and the Port Adelaide Magpies in South Australia[5].

The National Candy Company followed suit around 1912 distributing hatband cards of VFL and VFA teams in their products. O.T. Beverages then brought out a second series of hatband cards in club colours in 1930, this time in the novel design of bowler hats and trilbies.

Around 1912-13 Skylark Flour produced a set of cards in club colours which were of the standard cigarette card size and actually called the set 'Wear Your Colours'. These cards were inserted in boxes and packets of flour and were designed to be pinned to clothing.

Thus, in the absence of the plethora of club merchandise that exists today, cigarette cards, along with lapel pins, hatband cards and the like were popular supporter items from the early 1900s onwards. While popular with football supporters, these items were a valuable marketing

[4] Ibid.

[5] *aussierulescollectibles* website

strategy for both tobacco companies and other industries and as such are early examples of the commodification of Australian Rules football.

Theory 2: Possessions and the Extended Self

The second theory on the popularity of cigarette cards is embedded in the notion of collecting as part of the wider theory of possessions reflecting an extension of self. Belk provides a starting point for this discussion when he states:

> We cannot hope to understand consumer behaviour without first gaining some understanding of the meanings that consumers attach to possessions. A key to understanding what possessions mean is recognising that, knowingly or unknowingly, intentionally or unintentionally, we regard our possessions as parts of ourselves.[6]

Other academics have concurred with Belk.[7] However it is not within the scope of this paper to fully examine and justify the notion of possessions and the extended self, but rather examine the nexus of this theory in general to the act of collecting and collections.

So why have countless children and adults over many years collected cigarette cards – in particular in this context, cigarette (and trade) cards depicting footballers? Beck[8] turns to the work of Sartre who suggests in his major work *Being and Nothingness* that the only reason we want to have something is to enlarge our sense of self. Further we know who we are by observing what we have. In a nutshell, having and being are distinct, and yet they are inseparable.

Within this theory of extended self, collections are classified as a special case and a unique area of consumer behaviour. Collections are, in most cases, specialised as in the collection of Disney pins, cigarette cards depicting footballers, ornamental owls, beer cans or whatever. Specialisation allows the collector the ability to gain control within self-prescribed boundaries. As Belk[9] points out both the items included and the order imposed on them are expressive of one's identity. Stewart[10] adds to this by observing that creating one's extended self through devoted development of a collection is the ultimate in self-definition by means of having. Rigby and Rigby concur noting:

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[6] Russell W. Belk. Possessions and the Extended Self. *Journal of Consumer Research.* Vol. 15. September, 1988. pp. 139-168.

[7] See for example Eugene Sivadas & Karen Machlett. 'A scale to determine the extent of object incorporated in the Extended Self' in Whan Park & Daniel Smith (Eds). *Marketing Theory and Applications.* Vol. 5. 1994. Yi-Fu Tuan. 'The Significance of the Artifact'. *Geographical Review.* Vol. 70. No. 4. pp. 462-472. 1980.

[8] op. cit. p. 146.

[9] op. cit. p. 154.

[10] Susan Stewart. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Collection.* John Hopkins. Baltimore MD. 1984.

> From the small boy to the connoisseur, the joy of standing before one's accumulated pile and being able to say 'this belongs to me' is the culmination of that feeling that begins with ownership of the first item… they become us.[11]

Thus, when cigarette cards were produced in their hundreds of thousands in the late 1890s up until the Second World War many people, mostly males, had the opportunity to become collectors. Further, for many of these collectors – such as the boy outside the tobacconist – the only cost was in time. Collecting player cigarette cards perhaps gave the collector a sense of attachment and 'closeness' to the football celebrities of the day. In the consumer society of the time, tobacco companies and others were quick to realise that collecting became a significant activity and much effort was put into making football cards high in quality. Collections of football cards, for many, reflected the extended self-theory. Such a collection is highly visible and as Stewart[12] points out 'undeniably represents the collector's judgements and taste'. So as Australian Rules football developed and grew in popularity gaining more and more supporters as it did so, so did the advent of the card collector. As pointed out earlier, to Blainey these football cards were 'precious'.

Thus, it is contended here that one of the factors attributed to the immense popularity of card collecting in the early part of the twentieth century, is attributed to the theory of collection being an extension of self.

Cigarette Cards, Marketing and Women in the Early 1900s

The majority of smokers at the time when cigarette cards were first inserted into packets were male, therefore the common themes for pictures were, as mentioned previously, female actors, beautiful women, sports, military, pioneering and politics.

While smokers were almost exclusively men, it should be noted that women were also targeted as a potential market, particularly from around 1906. Tobacco companies were astute enough to realise that women could be targeted to influence male smokers in their choice of cigarette brands, and, failing this, possibly encourage women to take up smoking themselves. This was at a time when, according to Mary Bush, 'social mores restricted women's conduct as rigidly as corsets constrained their bodies (and) smoking by women, especially in public, was considered improper if not downright indecent'.[13] Blainey[14] when writing of early union demands for smoking time during a working day states that in 1900 a total ban on smoking was more likely in a woman's place of work than a man's, partly because so few women smoked. He also draws our attention to an 1885 publication, *Australian Etiquette,* which decrees that no man 'should smoke in a room which ladies are in the habit of frequenting'.[15] Of course even earlier in our history when Lola Montez visited Ballarat in the 1850s and smoked, that was

[11] Douglas Rigby and Elizabeth Rigby. *Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting.* Philadelphia, PA. J.B. Lippincott. 1949. p. 35.

[12] op. cit.

[13] M.P. Bush. 'The Allure of Cigarette Silks'. *Piecework.* Vol 15. No 2. pp. 30-33. 2007.

[14] Geoffrey Blainey. *Black Kettle and Full Moon.* Viking Press. Camberwell, Vic. 2003. p. 316.

[15] ibid p. 320.

seen as a sign of her depravity.[16] By the start of the twentieth century Blainey[17] observes that cigarettes were rarely smoked by women but he contends that 'it was not necessarily that women were unliberated rather, their liberation took the powerful form of banning male tobacco smoke from their home'. An interesting interpretation.

However, by 1906 tobacco companies began inserting cigarette cards into their packets that had pictures printed on or woven into silk or a silk-like fabric. These silk cards were openly targeted at women. Images on these cards were usually of flowers, birds, butterflies, reproductions of famous paintings, animals, and fruit and so on, although silk cards of actresses and baseball players are also known to exist. The reasoning behind this use of silk rather than cardboard cards by the tobacco companies was two-fold. In the first instance, they hoped that women would encourage the men they knew to buy the brands of cigarettes that featured the silk cards. Alternatively, the women themselves might even be lured into smoking despite it being frowned upon in that era. (It was not until the 1920s that it became more socially acceptable for women to smoke.) Cigarette silks peaked between 1910 and 1917 but by 1920 in North America and 1930 in England had virtually discontinued.

Early Cigarette Card Releases and the Impact on Minors in Society

The extent and intensity of the craze of collecting cigarette cards in the early twentieth century is easily detailed in the efforts of civic leaders to moderate it or stamp it out altogether. Their efforts give us a strong sense of the power that those images could have in increasing the celebrity status of footballers.

'Can I have your cigarette card please Mister?'

This well-known phrase appears in literally dozens of books and articles dealing with the early days of cigarette cards and the collecting craze that ensued with young boys. More often than not the boys' entreaties are presented in a context that has positive, almost romantic, connotations – the young boy (it was never a girl) standing outside a tobacconist's politely asking customers leaving the shop for the cigarette card from their newly purchased packet of cigarettes. Roy Genders in his book *A Guide to Collecting Trade and Cigarette Cards* writes that the familiar request of 'Got a cigarette card, mister?' was almost always rewarded with a kind 'Aye, lad, I think so'[18]. Albert's *Guide to Cigarette Card Collecting* also describes youngsters outside shops with the same request hoping to supplement the cards they would get from 'Dad, an older brother, or even an older sister's boyfriend'[19]; while Murray[20] refers to the

[16] ibid p. 321.

[17] ibid p. 324.

[18] Roy Genders. op. cit.

[19] Alberts. op. cit.

[20] Martin Murray. op. cit.

youngsters as urchins. From an Australian context, Lyngcoln[21] writes about early cigarette cards and the 'freckled-faced Aussie children congregating outside tobacco retailers.'

Despite the positivity and some-what romanticism of these later reflections, the reality was not always that of a harmless pursuit by the minors of the day as the following reports demonstrate. Rather boys were often depicted as a ubiquitous and persistent menace.

The *Leader*, published in the Orange district of New South Wales, reported in 1913[22] that boys pestering men for cigarette cards had joined 'the spitting atrocity, the wearer of the projecting hatpin, and the person in a great hurry on the wrong side of the footpath' as the unendurable pests which afflict society in public streets. The article continued to describe these boys as 'anathema maranatha' and lamented that in Orange the police had not stamped out this pest. It continued 'everywhere one goes there bobs up a dirty little emissary, who pipes up "Gottanycardsmistah" in a money-or-your-life tone'. With a final message to parents, the newspaper tells them they should recognise that the begging involved was degrading to the child.

In a similar scathing report, the *Western Champion,* also a New South Wales newspaper of the early 1900s, published this:

> The 'got any cigarette cards mister' boy must go. He has developed into a pest. He pervades every town in the State, and with inhuman persistence accosts everyone he meets with his request. He is the most recent form of street nuisance, and is worse than bad drainage and dusty or muddy streets. Also he is more nerve-racking than banana skin or orange peel thrown on the sidewalk. He is a baleful person and a noxious weed, and should be warned off like the strike bookmakers… He is the worst pest that has appeared since "Yip-I-Addy" held the floor and filled the lunatic asylums. The cigarette card boy is a great growing institution… and we have a dark suspicion that he is descendant of one of the plagues of ancient Egypt.[23]

Likewise, many newspapers and magazines in the early 1900s published cartoons around this theme. One example of this is a drawing of a man hanging by the fingertips to the top of a cliff he has just fallen off with a young boy peering over the edge of the cliff asking if he has any cigarette cards.[24] A humorous postcard of the time shows an ocean liner passenger being violently ill over the ship's railing while a youngster unaffected by seasickness makes the same request for cards (see Figure 2.1).

The collecting craze inevitably found its way into the courts, as the desire for cards invited theft, and in turn fuelled moral panic about young male behaviour. Thus, *The Ballarat Star* in

[21] Jamie Lyngcoln. *A Guide to Collecting Old Australian Rules Football Cards: Scanlens.* Lulu.com publishing. 2014, p. 2.

[22] *Leader,* 19 Dec, 1913, p. 2.

[23] *Western Champion,* 4 July, 1912, p. 31.

[24] *The Argus*, 24 May, 1939, p. 12.

1905 reported that an eleven-year-old boy had been charged with stealing cigarette cards.[25] He had broken into a shop and stolen the cards from fifty packets of cigarettes. He was severely lectured by the Bench and allowed to go free on providing a surety of £10 to be of good behaviour for twelve months.

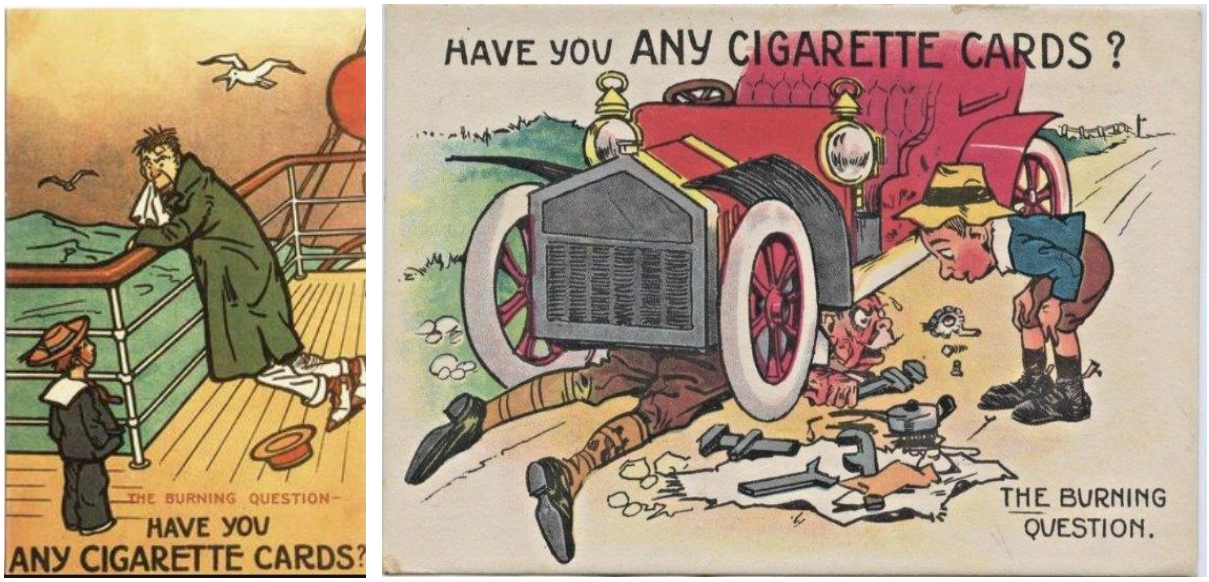

Figure 2.1 Postcards depicting young card-collectors as a public nuisance. Source: The Australian Card Collector. February 2019

One enterprising shopkeeper found that when selling cigarettes, the customers often opened the packet in the shop and threw away the cigarette card. He then salvaged these – particularly those of footballers, which were in strong demand – and sold them to boys who were collecting the cards at the rate of two cards for a penny. This led to a report in *The Age* in 1905 of a schoolboy accused of stealing money from his teacher's purse to purchase these cards from that shopkeeper[26]. The accused boy was found guilty and the Bench committed him to the care of a Miss Walker from the Gordon Institute for Boys, who was present in court and willing to take him. A further condition was imposed on the boy's father who had to pay the school teacher the difference between the amount she had lost and the amount recovered.

In another case of stealing money for cigarette cards an eight-year-old boy was placed in the care of the Neglected Children's Department following an application to the Collingwood court by the Salvation Army[27]. The child's foster mother said she had adopted him when he was thirteen months old but she could not control him as 'his craze for cigarette cards was so keen that he stole money to procure them'.

[25] *The Ballarat Star*, 17 Oct, 1905, p. 6.

[26] *The Age*, 5 Aug, 1905, p. 12.

[27] *The Herald*, 25 Nov, 1905, p. 4.

Under the headline 'Gaming with Cigarette Cards' it was reported that three 'young lads' were charged at the South Melbourne Court with 'having played a game to the annoyance of persons'. About twenty youths had congregated at a street corner playing two-up with cigarette cards. The three youths, who had been detained while running away, were each fined 2/6d in default four hours imprisonment. The magistrate enquired as to the time when the offence took place. On hearing that it was about half past twelve his comment was, 'Well, if you had gone to church you would have just been coming out, and would have been as safe as houses'.[28]

Cards came to be seen as less a symptom than a cause of youth misconduct, and so attracted determined efforts at repression. The extent of the reaction against these cards can be seen in the following. An attempt by a Parents and Citizens' Association to have it punishable by law to insert any other cigarette cards in packets except those giving the name, trade mark and address of the manufacturer, was reported in the *Nepean Times* in 1914[29]. The argument put forward was that the attractive cigarette card that young boys collected was, more than anything else, responsible for the early uptake of smoking. The reporter termed this action as 'a tribute to the power of advertising'.

The attraction of cigarette cards featuring footballers was commented on by the *Geelong Advertiser* in 1909, showing that Geelong was no less affected than anywhere else.

> The method of advertising adopted by cigarette makers of inserting in each package a photo of a prominent footballer has led to an extraordinary craze amongst schoolboys for collecting the pictures. Smokers are pestered by youngsters who wait around the doors of tobacconists' shops and the fever has a further objectionable phase in the system of gambling practised with the cards. In front of shop windows at night the boys use the cards for a game much akin to 'buttons' and annoyance is caused to shopkeepers. In Geelong West the nuisance is very marked, and the police should certainly be directed to intervene to prevent the obstruction of the footpaths.[30]

At the 1909 annual conference of the Australasian Women's Association, it was moved 'that in order to supress the gambling evil in boys, all cards be prohibited in cigarette packets'. The *Argus,* in reporting on the conference quoted one speaker as saying that she had seen children in the street throwing cigarette cards for lollies and other things, and men at a picnic throwing them for drinks. Another speaker was reported to have said that she knew boys gambled with the cards 'till they lost money, and then begged for more'. She added that 'these dirty cards also disseminated disease'[31]. Therefore, there were three parts to the reaction against the cards. One was the concern over children (boys) becoming a nuisance in the streets and other public places, another was the belief that the collection of the cards encouraged gambling and

[28] *The Argus,* 12 July, 1906, p. 6.

[29] *Nepean Times,* 25 April, 1914, p. 2.

[30] *Geelong Advertiser,* 24 August, 1909, p. 3.

[31] *The Argus,* 4 March, 1909, p. 4.

smoking. The third, which lacked the substance of the other two, was the potential spread of disease from the cards themselves.

To put these criticisms into context this was, according to MacIntyre[32], a period when so-called 'wowserism' had taken on a special force, although he does point out that the influence of wowserism was episodic. Their influence at this stage, however, was so strong that Clark opined that Melbourne had a reputation as 'a city of moral rectitude'.[33] Wowsers strongly encouraged boys to solemnly vow never to smoke tobacco or to allow a drop of intoxicating fluid to pass their lips.[34] So it is reasonable to suggest that the underlying negative reaction to the cigarette cards was not the card collecting *per se* but the social ills of smoking, drinking and gambling that so concerned the wowsers; thus their attempts to try to prevent the degradation they saw in adult men being passed onto boys.

The reports continued in numerous newspapers from all areas around Australia in the early 1900s, all with similar themes. However, in a lighter vein, the South Australian *Saturday Mail* in 1913 carried a story of a couple whose engagement had ended[35]. The male claimed in court that he had given his former fiancée a small number of items to keep until they were married. He now wanted them back but they were not being returned. Included in the items was a cigarette album and cards. The court found in the complainant's favour. On a more tragic note, the Melbourne newspaper *The Herald* reported on the death of a schoolboy in London following a fight over cigarette cards[36] while *The Advertiser* in South Australia[37] reported that a thirteen-year-old boy had stumbled and fallen into a river at Birkenhead Wharf while reaching to catch cigarette cards being thrown to him by Chinese crew members of a ship. He had been rescued by the third engineer and fortunately only suffered from shock.

So, the various writers of books on Cartophily, mainly from the 1970s onwards when the hobby of collecting cards was, once again, gaining traction, have tended to ignore the very real social issues that existed in the early 1900s. Instead, they have portrayed the young collector in glowing terms – as many of them would have been – overlooking the concerns that were raised at the time. Despite this, the newspaper reports discussed above, which are only a selected representation from the many available, demonstrate clearly that the phenomenon of cigarette cards, especially of football cards, was extraordinarily popular.

The Currency of the Footballer as Celebrity

The first footballers to appear on cigarette cards in Australia were eleven individuals included in a set of at least seventy cards issued by Goodwin & Co in their Old Judge cigarettes in the

[32] Stuart MacIntyre. *The Oxford History of Australia. Vol. 4. 1901-1942. The Succeeding Age.* OUP. Melbourne. 1986. pp. 112-113.

[33] C. Manning H. Clark. *A History of Australia. Vol. V. 1888-1915.* MUP. Melbourne. 1981. p. 272.

[34] ibid. p. 43.

[35] *Saturday Mail*, 17 May, 1913, p. 3.

[36] *The Herald*, 2 Feb, 1925, p. 5.

[37] *The Advertiser*, 29 Aug, 1932, p. 8.

late 1880s. Goodwin & Co was an old American tobacco company founded before the American Civil War. Charles Goodwin had been treasurer of the American Tobacco Company after that company acquired Goodwin & Co. These cards were produced in New York, USA for release in Australia. Eight of the eleven players were from Victorian teams, namely George McKenzie (Ballarat), Tommy Leydin and Tommy Allen (Carlton), Dick Houston and Joey Tankard (North Melbourne), Sonny Elms and Peter Burns (South Melbourne) and William Hannaysee (Port Melbourne). The remaining three footballers were from South Australian clubs – John Daly (Norwood) and Norm Richards and George Rowley (Adelaide).

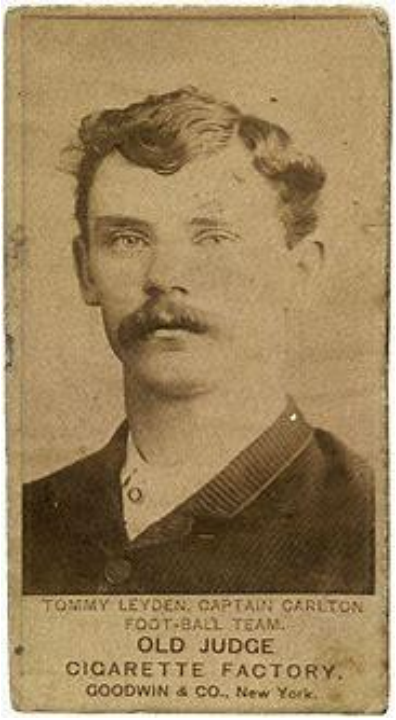

Figure 2.2 Tommy Leydin of Carlton, one of the first Australian footballers to appear on a cigarette card. Note misspelling of surname on card. Source: The Australian Card Collector. February, 2022

Also in this set of cards were five athletes, eight boxing related cards including one of a stadium manager, fifteen cricketers, seven jockeys and horse trainers, seven rowers and scullers, ten politicians and a further thirteen of various known people of the day.

In 1891, the American Candy Company issued football trade cards with their products. How many may have been issued is open to conjecture although at this stage only two are known to exist and are extremely rare. One featured St Kilda footballer, Arthur Rusden, who captained that club in 1890, while Peter Burns from South Melbourne was on the other card. The American Tobacco Company then issued a set of cards around 1893-94 which contained many early Australian celebrities including cricketers, politicians, actors and five footballers. The footballers were again a mixture of Victorians and South Australians – E. Fox (Melbourne) and W. Crebbin (Essendon) being the Victorians, while the South Australian players were J. Metherall (Norwood), Jack McGaffin (South Adelaide) and Alex McKenzie (Port Adelaide). There were also six cricketers in this set, one from NSW (S. Gregory) and one from Victoria (A.E. Trott) with the remainder being English cricketers; eight politicians and statesmen

including Sir Henry Parkes and a number of non-Australians such as Prince Bismark and Lord Salisbury and thirteen actors and actresses popular at that time.

The choice of footballers appearing on these first issues of cigarette cards in Australia is revealing as they were varied in respect to their locations. A case could be mounted though to support the argument that these players were arguably amongst the most celebrated and well-known pioneering footballers of the early days of Australian Rules football. Without going into their footballing history in detail and due to the scarcity of information on some of these past champions, Table 2.1 provides a thumbnail sketch of these men.

Table 2.1 The footballers appearing on the first of Australia's cigarette cards

Old Judge Cigarettes **Late 1880s**	
George McKenzie – Ballarat	Described as a player 'resembling Peter Burns' then recognised as the champion footballer of the era. Between 1933 and 1936 the Best & Fairest medal in the Ballarat League was called the George McKenzie Medal.
Tommy Leydin – Carlton	A premiership player with Carlton in 1887 and represented Victoria in 1886 and 1887
Tommy Allen – Carlton	The exception to the rule. Little is known about this player although it appears that he played just one senior game for Carlton in 1889. It is possible that he was a very well-known and respected player in some other league.
Dick Houston – North Melbourne	Victoria's leading goalkicker in 1885. Represented Victoria in 1886-87, 1889-90
Joey Tankard – North Melbourne	Played over 140 games in the VFA in the nineteenth century. Represented Victoria in 1886
Henry (Sonny) Elms – South Melbourne	One of the nineteenth century's best defenders. Captained South Melbourne to four premierships. Was the longest serving captain in the VFA (11 seasons). Played more VFA senior games than any other player in the nineteenth century. Captained Victoria in 1890[38]
Peter Burns – South Melbourne	'Probably the code's first super-star'[39] 'Arguably the best player of the [nineteenth] century'[40] Represented Victoria 1889 (captain), 1890, 1892-93. Only Elms played more VFA games than Burns in the nineteenth century.

[38] Mark Pennings. *Origins of Australian Football: Victoria's Early History.* Vol. 5. Grumpy Monks Publishing. 2016. p. 371.

[39] Russell Holmesby & Jim Main. *The Encyclopedia of AFL Footballers.* Crown Content. Melb. 2002. p. 78.

[40] Mark Pennings. op. cit. p. 366.

William Hannaysee – Port Melbourne	Played over 100 VFA matches and represented Victoria in 1889. Peter Burns described Hannaysee as the best little man he ever saw play football. Was Port Melbourne's first captain when that club was admitted to the VFA.[41]
John Daly – Norwood	Four-time premiership player, best and fairest winner and leading goalkicker for Norwood. Played his first match as a 17-year-old. Played 175 South Australian Football Association games and represented the state on seven occasions. 'Was considered by many as one of the greatest ever to play the game in South Australia'.[42]
Norm Richards - Adelaide	?
George Rowley – Adelaide	Played 12 seasons of SA football.
American Candy Co. **1891**	
Peter Burns – South Melbourne	*See above*
Arthur Rusden – St. Kilda	?
American Tobacco Co. **c1893-94**	
E. Fox – Melbourne	Played over 170 VFA games in the nineteenth century. Played every match for seven years in a row before missing a game in August 1893. Captain of Melbourne in 1889 and again from 1891 to 1895. Represented Victoria in 1890-91.
William Crebbin – Essendon	Represented Victoria in 1891 and 1893.
James Metherall – Norwood	A premiership player with Norwood in 1894. In that year *The South Australian Register* rated him the best ruckman of the year.[43] Later played in the West Australian goldfields.

[41] ibid. p. 374.

[42] Norwood Football Club website 'past player of the week'.

[43] redlegsmuseum.com.au/ON_FIELD_PLAYERS_METHERALLJames.aspx.

Jack McGaffin – South Adelaide	A five-time premiership player including the first SAFA Grand Final in 1889.[44] Three premierships were with Norwood, two with South Adelaide. Had one season with Fitzroy in the VFA. 'One of the great pioneering footballers of the early days'.[45]
Alex McKenzie – Port Adelaide	Played 108 games with Port Adelaide. Later went to the goldfields in West Australia to play.

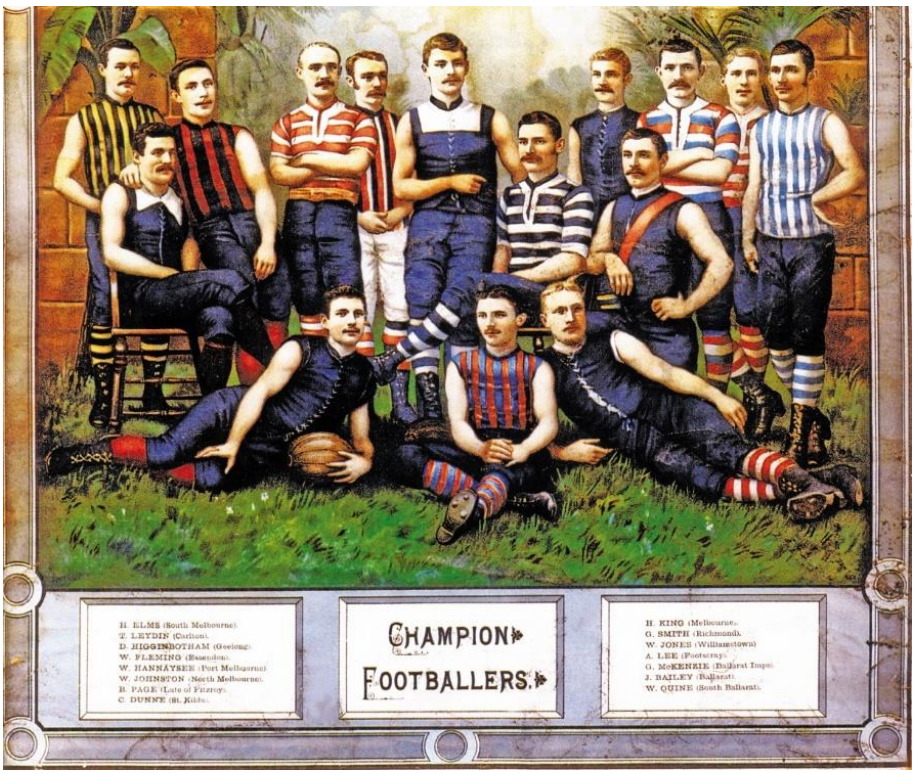

Figure 2.3 The illustration above is from an 1888 lithograph in the MCC Library. It is titled 'Champion Footballers' and a number of the players discussed above are pictured in this lithograph including Henry (Sonny) Elms, William Hannaysee, Tommy Leydin and Ballarat's George McKenzie – all players featured on the cigarette cards listed above. Source: https://www.blueseum.org/1889

An Entrepreneurial Beginning

The first known appearance of Geelong footballers in a set of cards occurred in 1900. An enterprising Geelong photographer, W.H. Watts, was a prominent photographer of local footballers and football teams around that time and many of his photographs were sold as postcards. In 1900, however, he produced a small football guide for that season which contained twenty small cigarette-sized cards of Geelong footballers. In the *Geelong Advertiser* on 27 June 1900, he placed an advertisement for the football guide which could be purchased from his studio for 6d.

[44] Robert Laidlaw. *South Australian Football Cards.* Glenelg Press.SA. 1995.

[45] Ibid.

Fifteen pages of the guide listed a match to be played during the year and the date of the match with a further five pages with blanks that could be filled in for other matches. Each of the twenty pages carried an advertisement for W.H. Watts and a photograph card of a Geelong player. None of the players, however, was named although no doubt many collectors of the day would have pencilled in the players' names as is done in the example below. The players who appeared in this first set of Geelong football cards were Peter Burns (who had transferred from South Melbourne), Henry Young, Ted and George Lockwood, Jim and Joe McShane, Firth McCallum, Ted Rankin, Eddy James, Billy Pincott, Ted Holligan, Paddy Leahy, Jim Palmer, Tom Buchan, Les Bailiff, Mike Donaghy, James 'Hector' Horman, Jack Parkin, Jack Hardiman, and Fred White. And so, this was one of the early examples of a business enterprise using images of footballers portrayed on cards in the marketing of their product or service. But it was not until 1904 that the first cigarette cards of Geelong footballers were produced and this began the era of regular sets of football cards being produced and distributed.

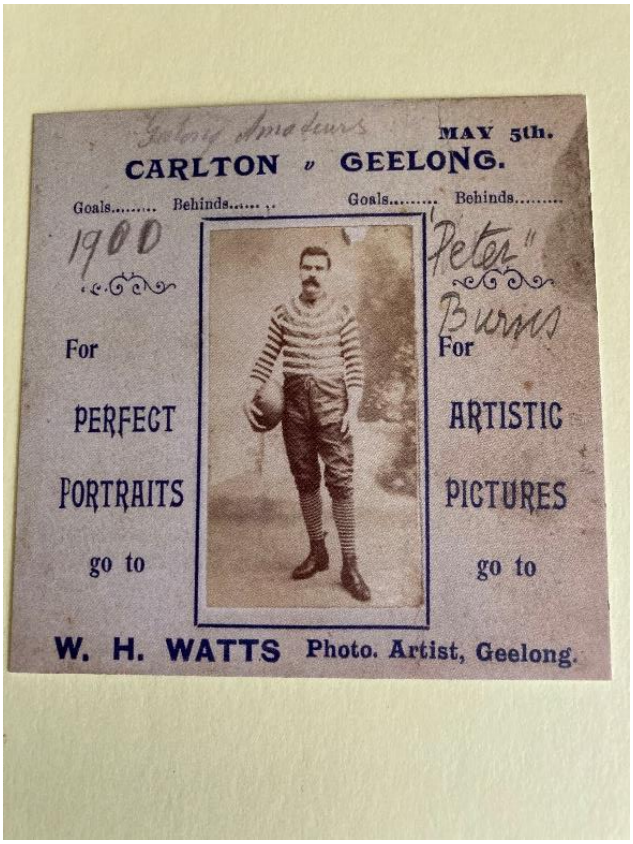

Figure 2.4 The legendary Peter Burns featuring on a page from the WH Watts Football Guide in 1900. Source: John Rose Private Collection

Setting the Scene

The advent of footballers appearing on trade and cigarette cards had the effect of both reflecting and amplifying the 'star' status of certain players while at the same time helping to create celebrity status of other players and increasing their visibility. Using players from Geelong Football Club as a case study, thirty-nine players appeared on cards between 1900 and 1914. Of these twenty footballers, approximately 51 per cent appeared on just one card. A further seven players appeared on two cards only. Therefore, only one-third of the players appeared

on multiple cards. Table 2.2 lists the footballers who appeared on multiple cards and it will be argued that these players were the established 'super-stars' of the era, while the other players gained a greater profile in part due to their appearance on various cards. The majority of football-related cards issued in this era were those distributed in the various brands of Sniders & Abrahams cigarettes.

Table 2.2 Geelong footballers appearing in multiple card sets 1900-1914

Henry YOUNG	1900	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Ted RANKIN	1900	1904	1905	1905*	1906	1909	
Bill EASON	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	
Dick GRIGG	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	
Alex McKENZIE	1905	1906	1907	1908			
Peter STEPHENS	1905	1906	1907	1908			
Ike WOODS	1905	1905*	1906	1907			
George HEINZ	1910	1911	1912	1913			
Percy MARTINI	1910	1911	1912	1913			
Billy ORCHARD	1910	1911	1912	1913			

* These were a second set of cards released in the same year.

The Sniders & Abrahams Cigarette Cards

International tobacco firms were already recognising the need for local specificity in producing cards, but it was a Melbourne manufacturer that established itself as the main provider of football cards in this period. The early years of the twentieth century showed a large increase in the portrayal of Australian Rules footballers on cards. One of the pioneering companies behind this was the tobacco firm of Sniders & Abrahams.

Sniders & Abrahams was a local Melbourne-based tobacco manufacturer that issued cards between 1904 and 1922 in three brands, Milo, Peter Pan and Standard cigarettes, before being taken over by G.G. Goode in 1923.[46] Panther, in providing the foreword to Skinner, states:

> Their cards were issued over a sixteen-year period from 1904 to 1920 and it needs to be highlighted that it was no mean feat to continue to produce their product against the might of the giant British American Tobacco Ltd whose member firms included Wills who was a prolific issuer of cards with cigarettes in Australia.[47]

By 1919 the firm was in decline and was taken over by G.G. Goode in 1923. While Panther states that Sniders & Abrahams produced cards up until 1920, the last set they produced that featured Australian Rules footballers was in 1913-14.[48] That Sniders & Abrahams ceased to produce football cards during the period 1914-1920 is revealing, particularly as at least eighteen other sets of cards on various subjects were distributed by the company during that time. During World War I the debate around whether VFL football, and other sports, should continue or be abandoned became a divisive issue in Victoria. The 1914 football season was coming to a close when war was declared, and there was at the time a general expectation that the war would not last long. Richardson[49] however, notes that the outbreak of war 'guaranteed the debate about the morality of playing a game at a time of national emergency' and that this 'would only build in volume through the spring and summer'. Various commentators and notable persons of the day argued in favour of abandoning sporting events, in particular, football. One of the most outspoken of these initially was L.A. Adamson, the headmaster of Wesley College. Just prior to the 1915 season he was to state:

> Does a game or competition offer any inducement to men to abstain from enlisting? If so, then it should cease during the war… All that patriotic Germans need to do is subscribe to the funds of our professional football clubs and so support our paid gladiators to perform in the League…instead of joining the colours. Why not Iron Crosses for the premiers instead of medals.[50]

The VFL considered suspending the 1915 season, but at a committee meeting the proposal was defeated with thirteen in favour of continuing and only four delegates voting to suspend play. Round one was played on 24 April on the eve of the Gallipoli landings which heralded further

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[46] Edward Wharton-Tigar (Ed). *The Australian and New Zealand Index.* The Cartophilic Society of Great Britain. London, UK. 1983. p. 188.

[47] Dion Skinner. *Cigarette Cards: Australian Issues and Values.* Renniks Books. Malvern, SA. 1983. p. 1.

[48] A cautionary note on the dating of the Sniders & Abrahams sets. The release date of the Sniders & Abrahams cards discussed in this paper is accurate up to a certain point. There is widespread agreement on the release dates and a common assumption that in the main, cards released in one year were actually produced in the preceding year. It is also widely accepted that some card sets were released over more than one calendar year. However, with some sets of cards the appearance of a player adds some degree of confusion as to the actual date of release.

[49] Nick Richardson. *The Game of Their Lives.* Macmillan. Aust. 2016. p. 67.

[50] Lawrence Adamson. Address to students at Wesley College. 20 April 1915. Quoted in Nick Richardson. Ibid.

outbursts and criticisms. R.W.E. Wilmot[51] wrote in *The Argus* 'Who is the hero, the man who followed for four quarters or the soldier, who leaping into the sea from the boat, dashed for the Turkish shore and stormed the foothills of Gallipoli?' On the same day the editorial in *The Australian*[52] wrote of the days' youth stating that 'the unhappy fact [is] that the professional footballer… and not the patriotic and gallant Australian soldier lavishing his life on Turkish ridges, is still their idol'.

Football also became a central focus in recruiting programs. The Victorian Parliamentary Recruiting Committee produced a large poster which was circulated to every town and shire council in Victoria, with another four hundred posted on hoardings throughout Melbourne and two hundred and fifty at railway stations[53]. The poster featured the image of a wounded Australian soldier standing over a dead comrade with the slogan 'Will They Never Come?' But significantly, in the top right-hand corner of the poster was the MCG packed with football fans.

Figure 2.5 Victorian Parliamentary Recruiting Committee poster during the First World War. Source: https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C102805

[51] Reginald W.E. Wilmot. Quoted in Nick Richardson. op. cit.

[52] Editorial. *The Australian.* Quoted in Nick Richardson. op. cit.

[53] Nick Richardson. op. cit. p. 89.

The poster proved to be so effective it was soon being used in many interstate towns and cities, attracting commentary. The *Hobart Mercury*[54] for example highlighted the intention of the poster, writing 'This is intended as a reproof of the "slackers" who were wasting time over sports, when their help is needed to save the Empire from disaster.'

As the war progressed, the VFL competition fluctuated from year to year. The University club withdrew from the competition, followed by five clubs going into recess during 1916. Two of these clubs, Geelong and South Melbourne resumed in 1917, as did St Kilda and Essendon in 1918. Melbourne then returned in 1919. The 1916 season was shortened as only four teams participated in the competition.

Considering all of the above it is feasible to speculate that Sniders & Abrahams ceased producing and issuing cigarette cards featuring footballers from 1914 as a result of the divisiveness of football within the public domain as well as the fluctuations in the number of teams playing each season during the war years. As a public spectacle, attendances at VFL matches were certainly reduced during this time of conflict. It is also a reasonable conjecture to put forward that Sniders & Abrahams supported the war effort and thus supported the abandonment of football matches, as the company substituted player cards from 1914 with sets of cards that could be considered more patriotic. Among the card sets they did release between 1914 and 1920 were Great War Leaders & Warships, Medals & Decorations, Crests of British Warships, Signalling – Semaphore and Morse, and four sets of Australian VCs & Officers.

Sniders & Abrahams 1904-1913 Australian Football Card Series – Reflecting and Amplifying 'Star' Status

The first set of football cigarette cards for the century occurred in 1904 when Sniders & Abrahams produced a series of seventy-four cards under the title of 'Australian Footballers – Series A'. This set heralded the beginning of a consistent release of sets of football cards. The only other tobacco company to distribute cigarette cards featuring Australian Rules footballers between 1900 and the commencement of the First World War was W.D. & H.O. Wills who put out one set of 'Past and Present Champions' in 1905. Consequently, the focus for this era is on the Sniders & Abrahams releases.

The selection of players to appear on these cards reflects the proposition that some of the players were the established 'super-stars' of the era, while other players gained a greater profile in part due to their appearance on various cards. Table 2.2 indicates that four players appeared on six or more cards, namely Henry Young, Ted Rankin, Bill Eason and Dick Grigg. Henry Young was probably the highest profile player at Geelong during the early releases of the Sniders & Abrahams football cards. Recruited from Wellington in the Geelong district in 1897, Young was elected by the playing group to be vice-captain to the legendary Peter Burns in 1900 and then club captain for nine consecutive seasons from 1901 to 1909. He retired at the end of the 1910 season. Young represented Victoria on seven occasions in 1900-02, 1904 and 1908, the latter year as captain of the Victorian team. He played 167 games for Geelong despite missing most of 1898 and 1899 due to a serious knee injury. In his fourteen seasons at Geelong

[54] *Hobart Mercury.* Quoted in Nick Richardson. op. cit.

a Best and Fairest award was presented on only five occasions with Young winning twice in 1905 and 1906. Additionally, Young had a profile as an all-round sportsman of the era. He was an amateur boxer and sparred with world champion Bob Fitzsimmons, the British-born fighter who made boxing history as the sport's first world champion in three divisions – middleweight, light-weight and heavyweight. Young was also a competitor in the Warrnambool to Melbourne cycling race and a rower of some note.[55]

Combining all of these achievements, but most noticeably his profile in football, it would be logical to argue that Young's appearance on football cards enhanced his celebrity status rather than creating it, and further, that cigarette manufacturers, and others, would see the commercial advantage of including Young in numerous sets of cards.

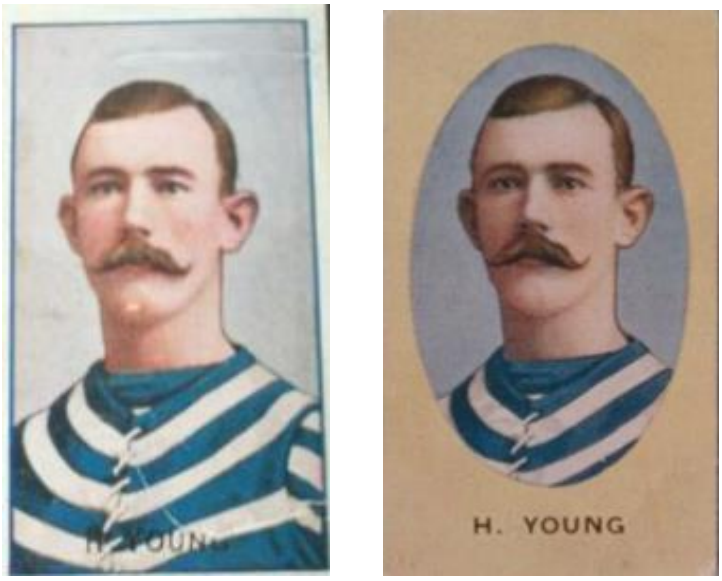

Figure 2.6 Henry "Tracker" Young appeared on more football cards than any other Geelong player in the period 1900-1914. Source: John Rose Private Collection

The same argument could be used for the inclusion of Ted Rankin, Bill Eason and Dick Grigg on cards featuring Australian Rules footballers. The following thumb-nail accounts demonstrate this. Ted Rankin played for Geelong in 1897 and again from 1899-1910, missing the entire 1898 season after contracting typhoid. He played 181 games for the club and became the first Geelong footballer to play one hundred VFL games, an achievement reached in the 1903 semi-final. Rankin was Geelong's vice-captain for six seasons; 1901-2, 1904, 1907-9. He represented Victoria in 1901-2 and again in 1905 and was Geelong's Best and Fairest winner in 1903 in an era when that award was only made sporadically. Bill Eason played 220 games for Geelong between 1902-15. He was the first player from the club to play two hundred VFL games and captained the team in 1910-13. He also took on the coaching role in 1912. Eason represented Victoria in 1911 when he captained the state team. Finally, Dick Grigg was recruited to Geelong while still attending school. He went on to play 194 games for the club

[55] Russell Stephens. *The Road to Kardinia: The Story of the Geelong Football Club.* Playright Publishing. Sydney. 1996. p. 63.

between 1904 and 1914. During that time he played 130 consecutive games, won three Best & Fairest awards, was vice-captain in 1910 (with Ernest Newling) and 1911 and represented Victoria on nine occasions. So, all three players were considered stars of their respective eras and their inclusion on football cards reinforced their celebrity status.

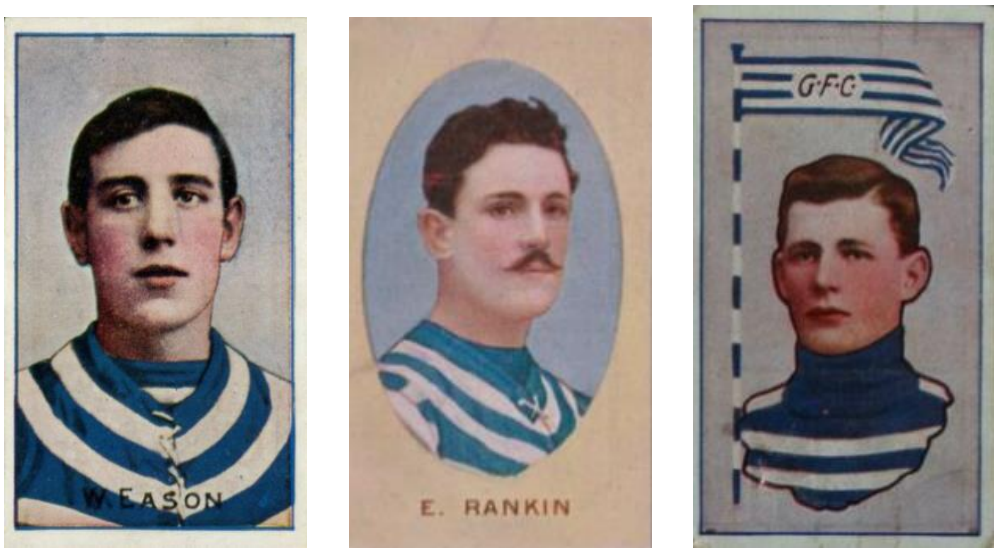

Figure 2.7 Bill Eason, 1908 Sniders &Abrahams "Australian Footballers" series; Ted Rankin, 1910 Sniders & Abrahams "Australian Footballers" series; and Dick Grigg, 1912 Sniders & Abrahams "Australian Footballers" series. Source: John Rose Private Collection

Some players who were considered sporting celebrities of their day were not included in the sets of football cards that were produced. Some did not appear at all, others on just a few sets, while others were regulars but omitted just occasionally. There are several possible reasons for the non-inclusion of 'star' players on cards in certain years. One is that a player may not have been available on the day that the photographs for the cigarette cards were taken. Henry Young, for example, did not appear in the 1905 set of Sniders & Abrahams cards yet he was arguably better known than any other Geelong player of that era with the possible exception of Ted Rankin. This was the year Young won the Best and Fairest award and was the club captain. It is part of the Geelong folklore that after a match Young would catch the ferry from Geelong to Portarlington and then walk a further twenty miles to get home. It is not hard to imagine that, in the early 1900s, it was not always feasible or possible to make trips to photographers' studios for photographs to appear on football cards, particularly as motor cars in Australia were at a very early stage. (It was not until 1908 that knocked-down versions of Ford's Model T motor car began arriving on Australian shores to be assembled by dealers[56]). A further example of this can be evidenced in the absence of two of Geelong's early star players from the Sniders & Abrahams releases. Teddy Holligan and Firth McCallum were two noticeable omissions from these card sets. Both were champion players for Geelong and had been included in the 1900 release of football cards by the photographer W.H. Watts discussed earlier. Holligan was a veteran of ninety matches and McCallum seventy-four and both had been representatives in the Victorian team. McCallum, in particular, was regarded as 'one of the best half dozen players

[56] Josh Alston. *The Story of Australia's First Car.* Retrieved from drive.com.au/news/the_story_of_australia_s_first_car_121670 25 February 2021.

of that era'[57] and 'as a centreman had few peers'[58]. McCallum, however, was a resident of Birregurra in the Western District near Colac while Holligan was based with the Geelong Artillery at Queenscliff so, again, it is feasible that neither was available when the photographs were taken for the first set of Sniders & Abrahams cards that were released in 1904.

However, there is a possible alternative explanation as to why these two champion players were not included in the 1904 set of cards. Holligan's omission may have been due to his missing ten matches in 1903 and not playing at all in 1902. Likewise for McCallum who, due to ill health, played only one game in 1903 and four in 1902. Therefore, both Holligan and McCallum were not regular players in the 1902 and 1903 seasons, and certainly were absent from the team for long periods at a time before the first Sniders & Abrahams release in 1904. It is possible, then, to speculate that the absence of these two players for much of the two seasons prior to the release of the cards was sufficient reason to omit them from the series.

Before our attention is turned to the proposition that some players gained celebrity status through their inclusion in a set of football cards, one final example to illustrate the argument that football cards reflected the existing celebrity status of some Geelong players is worth noting. In the 1908 Sniders & Abrahams release one of the players included in the set was Jack Hassett. This was the first time Jack 'Paddy' Hassett had appeared on a card as a Geelong player, and it was also his last of three seasons with the club. For a number of years, the VFL had been trying, without any success, to woo Sydney away from rugby and over to Australian football. In 1905 a demonstration game had been played in Sydney between South Melbourne and Fitzroy. Hassett was then a South Melbourne player, and a rather successful one having been a state representative the previous year. However, he was sacked by that club following the Sydney trip for his behaviour and was without a club until Geelong picked him up in 1907.

Hassett's appearance on a card is not surprising even though he had only played eleven games with Geelong. He was a recognised 'star' in the VFL and had previously appeared on the Sniders & Abrahams 'Australian Footballers – Series B' when a player with South Melbourne. The scribe 'Follower' in one of the newspapers in 1904[59] had reviewed the players that stood out that season and wrote that 'for the man who throughout the season has shown consistent form for hard work, skill, judgment, staying power and fairness, I give my vote in favour of the South Melbourne champion, Jack Hassett'. Earlier, reporting on the final match of the 1904 season, the same scribe had noted that:

> …a pleasant experience awaited South Melbourne's champion, Hassett, whose magnificent game was so keenly appreciated by his comrades that when they left the ground, they carried him with them on their shoulders! It was a unique compliment by experts most interested and best able to estimate the merits of Hassett's play… Jack Hassett is certainly a star of remarkable brilliancy.[60]

[57] Russell Holmesby & Jim Main. *The Encyclopedia of AFL Footballers.* Crown Content. 2002. p. 415.

[58] Russell Stephens. op. cit.

[59] Football Gossip. *The Leader.* 24th September 1904. p. 16.

[60] Football Gossip. *The Leader.* 10th September, 1904, p. 17.

Figure 2.8 Jack Hassett, a recognised champion with South Melbourne who also appeared on Geelong cards after just eleven games with the club. Source: John Rose Private Collection

There can be little argument regarding the celebrity status of Hassett as a player but his appearance on card as a Geelong player went against the trend of choosing star players with longevity at the club. It also suggests that spectator recognition was already a key consideration in choosing players to appear on the cards.

Sniders & Abrahams 1904-1913 Australian Football Card Series – Creating 'Star' Status

Just as cigarette cards reflected and amplified the existing star status of some players, for other footballers the popularity of these cards with the general public assisted in generating or creating these men into celebrities. While there is some logic in ascertaining why star players were chosen to appear on cards, the justification for players who appeared in minimal sets is problematic. As a starting point, however, the approach used here is to dismiss an argument put forward by one prominent writer on cigarette cards that 'obscure players are included, [as] sets which include the same star players tend to become rather monotonous'[61] This argument seems hard to justify. Tobacco companies, for example, were no doubt aware of the potential to produce monotonous sets year after year but overcame this by constantly changing the design of the cards that they distributed. Confectionery companies were to do this also in the 1930s. Between 1904 and 1913 Sniders and Abrahams produced ten sets of cards featuring Australian Rules footballers. Within these ten sets the cards feature eight different designs and backgrounds. Additionally, some sets depicted full-length photographs of players, some portrait shots and others half-length photographs. Some had footballers in their playing uniforms; others in civilian clothes. So, it appears that an attempt was being made to ensure monotony among consumers was not an issue.

[61] Tony Ambrose. *The Illustrated Footballer*. Breedon Books Sports. Derby, UK 1989. p. 6.

Figure 2.9 Sniders & Abrahams were constantly changing the design of their cards to maintain consumer interest and prevent monotony as some of these examples indicate. Source: John Rose Private Collection

Some examples of how football cards assisted in creating celebrity status for some players and bringing them into the public eye is now considered. Geelong player Tom Rankin was probably one of the first Australian Rules football players to be featured on a cigarette card in just his second season of VFL football. Rankin was included in the 1905 Sniders & Abrahams 'Australian Footballers Series B' after being recruited by Geelong in 1904. Being the brother

of the games record holder, Teddy Rankin, may have been a factor in Sniders & Abrahams choosing him for this series. Stephens[62], however, has noted that 'while the team struggled, Tom Rankin showed that there was more than one good footballer in the Rankin family'. This suggests that his performances during the 1904 season were 'eye-catching' and it is noted that he was selected for every Geelong match during that year.

Two other footballers who played a limited number of games for Geelong yet were featured on cigarette cards were George McNeilage and Frank Stodart. Both appeared in the 'Australian Footballers – Series E' set distributed by Sniders & Abrahams. They will be considered together due to some similarities in their cases. McNeilage played for Geelong for one season only – 1907 – where he managed only five games. He then played one game for Melbourne in 1909 before his VFL playing days ended. Stodart played only four games in 1908, bringing his total to thirty games. Stodart's career ended when he turned up late for a game and was dropped from the team.

The inclusion of these two players, however, opens up a conjecture worth pursuing. Both players were students of Geelong College and both were outstanding all-round sportsmen of their day. The public schools in Geelong had strong links to the Geelong Football Club over many years. Between the club's formation in 1859 and the commencement of the First World War no fewer than 142 senior players were former Geelong Grammarians (see Appendix 2) while at least 171 former Geelong College students also played senior football for the Geelong Football Club (see Appendix 3). Mark Pennings[63] in his exhaustive five-volume history of the origins of Australian Rules football between 1858 and 1896 makes a number of references to this, for example stating that in 1877 in Geelong the game had never been so popular with about twenty clubs in the district that were, along with the local private schools, excellent recruiting grounds for Geelong Football Club. Later he writes:

> Numerous theories were offered to explain Geelong's phenomenal success over the ensuing decade [1878-1888]. These included better air, an absence of the distractions of big city life…*the exceptional football nurseries of Geelong Grammar and Geelong College*… [and] the development of systematic team play.[64] (emphasis added)

In another instance the correspondent 'Potts'[65] writing in 1921 in the Geelong College yearly magazine *Pegasus* recalls that in 1889 there were no fewer than eight Old Collegians playing in the Geelong team at the one time. Mancini and Hibbins[66] endorse this past public-school link stating that 'it was observed that many of the school players from Geelong Grammar and

[62] Russell Stephens. op. cit. p.59.

[63] Mark Pennings *Origins of Australian Football: Victoria's Early History: Vol 2.* Grumpy Monks Publishing. Australia. 2014. p. 19.

[64] Ibid. p. 37.

[65] 'Potts'. Potts Reminisces. *Pegasus.* December 1911. p. 21-28.

[66] Anne Mancini & Gillian Hibbins (Eds). *Running with the Ball.* Lynedoch Publications. Melbourne, Vic. 1987. p. 36.

Geelong College were also members of the Geelong [Football] Club. The school involvement also augmented the gentleman status that football had assumed'.

So, the conjecture is that players such as Frank Stodart and George McNeilage may have been chosen to appear on the football cards due to their wider community visibility and profile in addition to their representing the Geelong Football Club in (limited) VFL games.

To expand on this, McNeilage was a champion schoolboy athlete. The Geelong College Archives website states:

> He was a strong all-round sportsman, being in the First Football XVIII 1905-1908, First Cricket XI 1905-1908, and First Rowing VIII for four years 1905-1908, and captain of Boats the last two years 1907-1908. In a cricket match against Wesley College in 1908 he scored 112.[67]

What this account does is that it brings to our attention that the five games McNeilage played for Geelong took place while he was still at school. In fact, after playing for Geelong in 1907, he completed his final year of schooling at Geelong College in 1908. As he did not play VFL football again until 1909 when he went to Melbourne his inclusion in the set of VFL football cards seems hard to justify on a VFL football celebrity or ability basis alone.

Obviously from the above report rowing was a major love for McNeilage. As mentioned previously he went to Melbourne in 1909 playing in only the first game of the year for that club. By June of 1909 he had transferred to VFA club Williamstown. He played for Williamstown through 1910 having a late start to the season due to rowing commitments, and finished his first-class football career with Norwood in the South Australian Football League in 1912-13.

Frank Stodart, likewise, was a talented sportsman playing his first game for Geelong at the age of 18 in 1903 while still a student. Stodart attended Geelong Grammar from 1898 but was enrolled at Geelong College in 1901. The Geelong College website writes of him:

> A talented sportsman he was a member of the First Cricket XI for three years in 1901, 1902 and 1903, the First Football XVIII for four years in 1901, 1902, 1903 and 1904 and won the College's foremost Athletics Award, the Geelong College Cup in 1902.[68]

Stodart, apart from his sporting prowess, was well-known in the Geelong district. A search of local newspapers of that time, particularly the *Geelong Advertiser*, the *Colac Herald* and the social pages of *Table Talk* contain a variety of references to Stodart's involvement in polo matches, golf tournaments as well as his attendance at Mayoral Balls and the weddings of various noted Geelong and district families such as the Armytage's, Strachan's and Henty's.

Stodart's record as a Geelong footballer could not be considered outstanding. He played in five games in his first season, 1903, followed by another five games in 1904. 1905 was his most

[67] gnet.geelongcollege.vic.edu.au:8080/wiki/McNEILAGE-George-Campbell-1890-1967.ashx.

[68] gnet.geelongcollege.vic.edu.au:8080/wiki/STODART-Frank-Lindsay-1884-1944.ashx.

consistent year at the club and he was chosen to play in sixteen matches. He was not at Geelong in 1906-07 but returned in 1908 to play just four games.

So, with reference to the 1909 cigarette card release, with the inclusion of McNeilage who had played just one season with Geelong for five games, and Stodart who played just four games in 1908 for a total of thirty (and not having played at all in 1906 and 1907), a case could be put forward that they did not enjoy VFL footballing celebrity status to the extent that this ensured their inclusion in the card set. Rather, the inclusion on the football cards created another avenue for their 'celebrity' status and degree of public recognition.

Summary

The period 1900-1914 heralded the beginning of footballers being featured in sets of cards that were exclusively of players whereas previously they had been included sporadically in larger more general sets of personalities from a range of occupations, positions and/or achievements. Two main themes have emerged from this chapter. The first is that sets of cards featuring footballers had the effect of enhancing the celebrity status that some well-known players were already enjoying while at the same time a degree of celebrity and recognition was created for lesser-known players who appeared on the cards. The second is that we can see that reflection and amplification in the extraordinary popularity of cigarette cards, to the extent that it drew efforts at censure from both civic and judicial authorities. Finally, two reasons are suggested for the popularity of cigarette and trade cards featuring Australian Rules footballers. One is to tap into the tribal, and indeed code, loyalty of the collector and the second is that it is a reflection of the theory of possessions and the extended self.

This was a period where the dominant source of football cards were the various tobacco companies, and in the main the Australian company of Sniders & Abrahams. It was not until the end of World War I that this virtual monopoly by the tobacco companies was challenged with the major competitor being a range of confectionery companies. This becomes the focus for Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

PERIOD 2: 1920 – 1939. A GOLDEN ERA

Introduction

Following World War I, cards depicting footballers were not seen until 1921 and the first of these was a series issued by McIntyre Bros, a confectionery company that issued the cards in their tartan brand chocolate. This set by a confectionery company set the scene for the production of cards featuring Australian Rules footballers between the two World Wars, and was the forerunner of a marked change in the retailers and traders who were to use footballers in their marketing with the previous dominance by tobacco companies subsiding. This trend is one of the foci of this chapter.

Further, it is also noticeable that during this interwar era the number of VFL players on cards increased considerably on the pre-World War I era indicating that the popularity and marketability of these people was recognised and being extended. At the commencement of the 1920 season the VFL was made up of nine teams; Carlton, Collingwood, Essendon, Fitzroy, Geelong, Melbourne, Richmond, South Melbourne and St Kilda. Over the next two decades 563 players from these clubs were featured on cigarette and trade cards from thirty-three different series (see Table 3.1 for a summary). North Melbourne, Hawthorn and Footscray all were admitted to the VFL in 1925 and between them added a further 157 players to be featured on cigarette and trade cards during that 1920s-1930s era[1]. This trend in the growing celebrity of footballers and the use of them in marketing is explored in this chapter, both in terms of VFL players and in comparative terms in a world context with other sports people.

During these two decades it will be argued that the players who appeared on the cards were predominantly those who were the recognised celebrities of the day on one hand, although some players who were establishing their football identities with the public were also featured.

Before these card issues are analysed, however, it is necessary to briefly consider the nexus between the changes occurring in Australian society in general during the 1920-1939 era and the role of sport, particularly Australian Rules football at that time.

Australia in the 1920s

While this paper does not intend to examine Australian society in the 1920s in any minute or exacting form, a brief overview of the decade would indicate that prosperity for Australian families was on the increase in the 1920s following the austerity of the war years that preceded that decade. Scott[2] in his ground breaking *A Short History of Australia* describes this decade as a time that was:

[1] Cigarette cards of players from these three teams were in existence prior to 1925 when each team competed in the VFA.

[2] Ernest Scott. *A Short History of Australia.* 7th Edition. OUP. Melbourne. Vic. 1961. pp.373-4.

> …marked on the whole by prosperity and economic progress in Australia…on the whole people were busy making money and enjoying themselves… The world outside was prepared to buy our wool, wheat, butter, fruit and metals, and to pay good prices for them, so Australian production expanded.

It was also a time of mass migration to Australia, particularly by British migrants, large infrastructure spending, a substantial investment in the soldier settlement scheme and an array of subsidies, tariffs and bounties to protect Australia's produce and products. On this latter point Manning Clark[3] states:

> A retail price for sugar was fixed by the government, and the producer was protected from foreign competition. A bounty was paid to grape-growers when the price fell below a certain amount. The canned-fruits industry was given a subsidy to enable it to compete in overseas markets. The home consumption price of butter was raised, and the difference between the agreed price and the natural price was used to pay a bounty again to enable the exporters to sell in London in competition with New Zealand, European and American dairy farmers.

Hess et al.[4] provide a precis of these times in their chapter 'Making the game national' and they note in part that:

> There was… a gradual rise in wage levels, and by 1927 the 44-hour week was standard. Signs of materialism became evident as people began to spend more on motorcycles, motor cars, radio sets and women's fashion-wear. For example, whereas only 9,000 motor cars were registered in 1920, the number had increased to 57,000 by 1929.

However, what is significant in the context of this study is that Hess et al. continue by asserting that Australia's economic progress at the time led to a growing demand for recreational activities including sport, and that football in particular was the perfect vehicle for 'providing people with leisure activities that took them away from the drudgery of the workplace.'[5] Pascoe[6] claims that while this demand for sport and recreation was happening, Melbourne newspapers began to vastly increase the coverage they were giving to VFL matches. He comments on this when he states:

> It was not until the 1920s that newspaper accounts of Australian Rules began to take over the pages of Melbourne's dailies. A page somewhere in the middle of the *Herald* or the *Argus* would be given over to a summary of the previous Saturday's VFL and VFA matches. The *Sun News-Pictorial* burst onto the scene

[3] Manning Clark. *A Short History of Australia.* 4th Edition. Penguin Books. Ringwood. Vic. 1995. p. 242.

[4] Rob Hess, Matthew Nicholson, Bob Stewart, Gregory De Moore. *A National Game: The History of Australian Rules Football.* Viking Books. Camberwell. Vic. 2008. p. 161.

[5] ibid. p. 161.

[6] Robert Pascoe. *The Winter Game.* Text Publishing. Melbourne. 1995 p. 92.

> in 1925 with glorious photographs of the 'action'. Suburban weeklies such as the Richmond *Guardian* … also devoted considerable space to football goings-on.[7]

However, while Pascoe alerts us to the extent of the media coverage of football in the 1920s, his contention that there was a vast increase in football reporting in the 1920s is not valid. Melbourne newspapers were reporting on football decades before the 1920s. In the early 1900s various newspapers and magazines, including *The Leader, The Argus, The Geelong Advertiser, The Australasian* to name a few, provided an extensive coverage of football. This included the growing use of photographs replacing sketches. Such photographs showed action shots from the game, the crowd in attendance and portrait shots of team captains and key players. Pascoe does, however, remind us of the popularity of Australian Rules football in the 1920s and that the newspapers were one avenue in satisfying the people's demand for sport and recreation in a time of prosperity.

Radio was also having an impact. Radio broadcasting officially commenced in Australia in 1923 and sports broadcasting quickly became an integral part of this new communications industry.[8] Cricket was first broadcast live in 1924 and horseracing in 1925 as was football when former Geelong player Wally (Jumbo) Sharland covered the first VFL game broadcast live-and-direct on Melbourne radio station 3AR. By 1930 more than forty radio stations were broadcasting sport to over 300,000 households across Australia.[9]

Pascoe[10] maintains that during the interwar period due to daily newspaper photographs, the introduction of the radio broadcast and the publication of the first coaching manuals, the players were 'more accessible to a wider audience' and that they had reached the status of becoming 'public figures'.

So as the public increased their demand for sport, sportspeople became celebrities in their own right. This was not confined to Australia but was the case internationally and it was not uncommon to read comments such as 'the 1920s is considered the golden age of sports'[11] and 'athletes became national heroes and were revered by sports and nonsports fans alike'.[12] In the American context, for example, sporting celebrities in the 1920s included Babe Ruth (baseball), Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney (boxing), Bobby Jones (golf), Bill Tilden and Helen Wills (tennis) and the first woman to swim the English Channel, Gertrude Ederle. In the Australian context, the Sport Australia Hall of Fame recognises many champions from the 1920s with legend status, among them jockeys Frank Dempsey and Frank Bullock, cyclist Robert Spears, Rugby League legend Frank Burge and tennis player Gerald Leighton to name a few. So, on a

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[7] ibid.

[8] Rob Hess et al. op. cit. p. 178.

[9] Homer Smith. *Radios Changing Relationship with Australian Cricket.* Retrieved from silo.tips/downloads/radios-changing-relationship-with-Australian-cricket 26 May, 2021.

[10] Robert Pascoe. 'Local Heroes – How they played' in John Ross (Ed). *100 Years of Australian Football.* Penguin Books. Ringwood, Vic. 1996 p. 103.

[11] Encyclopedia.com *The 1920s Sports.* Retrieved from https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/culture-magazines/1920s-sports-overview 26 May, 2021.

[12] Ibid.

global stage a new phenomenon of 'mass sport' was growing and this passion that sport brought to people's life was being exploited.[13]

So, within this context it was not surprising that VFL footballers would likewise become household names in that state. VFL football was becoming a bigger and more popular spectacle in the 1920s, and the administration of the game introduced a few innovations that helped to bolster this interest. These included the growth in popularity of the Reserves competition (introduced in 1919) which also provided more opportunities for local players to be involved in their clubs; the awarding of the first Brownlow Medal in 1924 and the removal of the bye in 1925, which had been created by the withdrawal of University during World War I, through the admission of three new teams formerly part of the VFA. The style of play at that time also added to the spectacle so much so that in 1922 all competing clubs in the VFL kicked 1,000 or more points for the season – the first time this had been achieved. This feat was repeated in 1924 and 1926. This no doubt improved the spectacle of the game and the excitement for the paying public and in 1929 Collingwood went one further being the first team to kick 2,000 points in a season with star player Gordon Coventry being a major celebrity of the day and eagerly sought after to endorse products. Overall, it is little wonder that the media was now giving football and footballers greater attention. And with this increased exposure of footballers came increased recognition of them in a celebrity sense and this in turn resulted in, what could almost be called a boon in the production of cigarette and trade cards featuring footballers in the 1920s and 1930s.

Australia in the 1930s

Australia was one of the hardest hit western democracies during the Great Depression and consequently Australian society, including the role of sport, witnessed enormous changes. Men were the primary income earners of most families in Australia in the 1930s and by early in the decade the unemployment rate among men was at a record thirty per cent. Those who were fortunate enough to retain their employment did so with significant reductions in pay. Janet McCalman[14] in her book *Struggletown: Public and Private Life in Richmond 1900-1965* which articulates her research into the inner-city industrial working-class suburb of Richmond, states that although some people had a moratorium on their mortgage repayments 'a lot of people lost their houses as they couldn't pay rates. Councils re-possessed their homes and sold them off cheaply'. At the same time government benefits, which varied from state to state, were meagre or non-existent. Consequently, tent cities sprung up in metropolitan and regional centres across Australia.

However, sport in Australia continued unabated during the Great Depression. Parker[15] maintains that:

[13] People's Century: Sporting Fever. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wzmOmc4ivE.

[14] Janet McCalman. *Struggletown: Public and Private Life in Richmond 1900-1965*. MUP. Melbourne. 1984.

[15] Christine Parker. 'An Investigation of the Australian Passion for Sport'. *Australian Studies*. 28-11-96. Retrieved from http://people.hws.edu/mitchell/oz/papers/ParkerOz.html 19 August 2020.

> …sport was seen as an escape…from harsh economic realities. Extensive Australian success in all levels of sporting competition, from local to Olympic, expanded the importance and significance of sport in Australian life.

With the VFL there was an endorsement of this observation. The 1930 season began on 3 May amid concerns that crowd numbers would be greatly diminished. However, this was not the case. In the second edition of *The Football Record*[16] published on 10 May regular correspondent 'Chatterer' wrote, in what would be regarded as the editorial, a reflection of the previous round stating:

> What a glorious opening day!
>
> Hard times, it was said, would have a most marked effect on the attendances, but the crowds were there just the same, as in the years when unemployment and taxation did not occupy such prominence as is now the case. It shows that people want to get away from their worries and troubles for at least one afternoon of the week. And they find in football that opportunity of forgetting for the time being their cares and worries.

'Chatterer' was proven correct in his pronouncement of crowd numbers. While the average crowd attendance during the 1929 home-and-away season was 15,537 for the 1930 season the figure showed little difference at 15,759. These figures remained fairly constant for the remainder of the decade with the lowest average attendance being 14,338 in 1937.[17]

Journalist Gerald Stone[18] also states that during this time Australia's passion for competitive sport never skipped a beat citing world-record attendances in rugby league and cricket in 1932 as an example. As for Australian Rules football, Stone claims that although Richmond had one of the heaviest areas of unemployment, the football club looks back on the Great Depression era as 'its proudest time'[19]. McCalman[20] who interviewed many people who lived through the 1930s as part of her research into the inner-city industrial working-class suburb of Richmond, is more expansive in her assessment of sport in general and Australian Rules in particular during the Great Depression. She maintains:

> People played sport and watched sport and would sneak into the footy at half-time and go for free. Football was very important in Melbourne and a number of working-class teams were going very well. This gave people an anchor and their whole week would revolve around football, for women as well as men, even if they couldn't afford to go to the match, they would hang outside for a score so they could talk about it. It gave the days and weeks and months a

[16] "Chatterer" Who Said the Game is Slipping? *The Football Record.* 10 May 1930. p. 3.

[17] AFL Tables. Attendances 1921-2021. Afltables.com/afl/crowds/summary.htm.l

[18] Gerald Stone. *1932. A Hell of a Year.* Macmillian. Sydney. 2005. p. 77.

[19] Ibid.

[20] op. cit.

> structure. It gives you something to think about and people would talk of their teams like your own sons, as our boys.

So, it is not surprising that during the 1930s there was a surge in the popularity of cigarette cards and trade cards featuring sports people, particularly Australian Rules Footballers in Victoria. This renewed interest began in the 1920s and consolidated in the 1930s. Using footballers from the Geelong Football Club as an indication of this it is noted that in the two decades prior to World War I there were eleven releases of cards featuring Geelong players. This more than doubled in the 1920s and 1930s with twenty-nine sets featuring Geelong players.

The Football Cards of the 1920s

The focus of this section, using players/cards of Geelong footballers as the case study, centres around four main questions. These are firstly, why was there an absence of footballers on cigarette/trade cards with the ending of World War I and why the gap until 1921 before they again appeared? Second, why did the tobacco companies, who had dominated in this field in the pre-War era, become less prominent as confectionery companies and others came to prominence? Third, how were cigarette/trade cards featuring footballers used for marketing and as incentives for consumers to buy products during this period? And finally, to what extent did these cards enhance the celebrity status of some footballers and help to create an identity and celebrity status of others?

With the joy of the end of the First World War in 1918 – the war to end all wars – and the expectation of a new era of peace and prosperity, it would not be unreasonable to assume that, in Australia at least, life would quickly return to pre-war ways, including sport and the public's fascination with football and footballers. Although in the general scheme of things the collecting of football cards is extremely minor, it was noticeable that no such cards were produced between the end of the war in 1918 and 1921. In answering why this was so there are three main reasons.

The first is a resource issue. The production of cigarette cards during World War I was greatly reduced due to the scarcity of paper and cardboard as the need for these products in other war-related areas took greater precedence. It took some time for supplies to reach their pre-war levels before becoming available for such a use. This is arguably the major reason for the dearth of cigarette cards between 1918 and 1921 as it appears that only five sets of cards on any subject were released during that period and even this number is disputed. For example, Skinner[21] states that tobacco company J.J. Schuh released a set of cards titled 'Official War Photographs' in 1918. The Australian War Memorial[22] however, which has a number of these cards on display, give the date of these cards as c1922. Sniders & Abrahams likewise are credited by Skinner[23] with producing a set of cigarette cards entitled 'Australian VCs & Officers' in a coloured format in 1919. However, these cards were a coloured version of an earlier release of mono-coloured cards. So, it is possible that these cards were produced some years previously.

[21] Dion Skinner. *Cigarette Cards Australia: Issues and Values.* Renniks Books. Malvern. SA. 1983. P.82.

[22] Australian War Memorial official website.

[23] Op. cit. p. 110.

Three other sets of cards are attributed to Sniders & Abrahams in the period up to 1920. Two were very topical for that era being 'Medals and Decorations' and 'Signalling – Semaphore and Morse Code'. Both of these are listed by Skinner[24] as being produced and distributed between 1914 and 1920. There are two distinct possibilities here. One is that the cards were produced in bulk prior to 1914 before the paper shortage occurred as it was not uncommon for tobacco companies to produce sets of cards at one time but then release the cards over a number of years, thus enticing customers to stay with their brand to complete the ever-expanding set. The other possibility is that these sets were considered part of the war effort in terms of positive publicity and propaganda, and thus paper was available for their manufacture.

The second possible explanation for the absence of cards prior to 1921 relates to the Spanish Flu pandemic. After World War I this pandemic, which began in 1918 and killed tens of millions of people globally, had an effect on all walks of life including football. Australia suffered two million casualties including 15,000 deaths and among the sick and dead were League football identities.[25] *The Argus* reported that 'teams were hit hard' by the infection which 'whittled the strength of most of them'.[26] One example was champion St Kilda player Roy Cazaly who contracted the Spanish Flu early in the season and was sidelined for several games. Recruiting of players was also affected. West Australian star Norm McIntosh, for example, was to play with Richmond in 1919 but was unable to do so due to travel restrictions and so did not join the club until the following year.[27] Local competitions were put on hold and many sports venues were converted into quarantine camps. This pandemic, coupled with the third possible reason for the absence of cards – the repatriation of service personnel, including footballers, from overseas – may have swayed companies away from using footballers on cards as many former champions, due to either the pandemic or the repatriation process (or both) had not returned to the playing arena. To expand briefly, the repatriation from Europe was a slow process. Further, many returned personnel were injured or psychologically scarred, with a return to football not being a priority. As Joel[28] points out in reference to VFL football 'It was not really until the 1920s that things gradually started to return to normal.' Thus between 1918 and 1920-21 VFL football was at a relatively low ebb in terms of football personalities and celebrities.

Geelong players are represented on thirteen sets of cards that appeared from 1921 to 1929, yet only four of these were issued by tobacco companies – with the absence of Sniders & Abrahams being noticeable as this once-dominant company was in decline by around 1919 and was taken over by G.G. Goode & Co in 1924[29]. Six sets were issued by confectionery companies and

[24] ibid. p. 132.

[25] Ben Collins. *What happened the last time footy faced a pandemic?* Retrieved from afl.com.au/news/387127/what_happened_the_last_time_footy_faced_a_pandemic 27 May 2021.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Rhett Bartlett. *How the Spanish Flu affected the 1919 Tigers.* Retrieved from richmondfc.com.au/news/582800/how_the_spanish_flu_affected_the_1919_tigers. 27 May 2021.

[28] Tony Joel. Historical Survey Part III. From Deakin University. AST250 *A History of Australian Football 1858-2020.* Retrieved from studyhistory.deakin.au/week-3-historical-survey-part-iii-1919-to-1969/.

[29] Cartophilic Society of Great Britain. *The Australasian Miscellaneous Booklet.* 1951. p. 6.

three by other retailers. It was becoming apparent that other retailers, confectionery companies in particular, were seeing the marketing value of celebrity footballers and thus were including football cards with their products. Table 3.1 lists all the card series featuring footballers that were issued in the 1920s and 1930s and this highlights the growth of non-tobacco companies in their distribution.

Table 3.1 Card Series Featuring VFL Footballers: 1920-1939

Year	Series Title	Issuer	Category	No of Cards
1921	Football Champions Series 1	McIntyre Bros	Confectionery	18
1921-25	Suburban Premium Issues	-	Other Retailers	162
1921	Victorian League Footballers	Magpie Cigarettes	Tobacco Company	40
1922	Football Champions Series 2	McIntyre Bros	Confectionery	15
1922	League & Association Captains	Thorpe's Factory	Confectionery	20
1922	Victorian League Footballers	Magpie Cigarettes	Tobacco Company	60
1923	Portraits of Leading Footballers	Magpie Cigarettes	Tobacco Company	106
1924	Australian Sportsmen	PALS Boys' Magazine	Other Retailers	15 footballers 27 total 15/27
1925	Australian Footballers	Magpie Cigarettes	Tobacco Company	60
1926	Collingwood & Fitzroy League Players	Cains Sweets	Confectionery	36
1926	Sportsmen & Racehorses	Craig & Hales	Confectionery	30/60
1926-28	Suburban Premium Issues	-	Other Retailers	106
1929	Black Crow Football Series	Griffiths	Confectionery	218

1932	VFL Footballers	Clarke-Ellis Confectionery	Confectionery	112
1932	Victorian League & Association Footballers	Godfrey Phillips	Tobacco Company	50
1932	Victorian League Footballers	Hoadleys	Confectionery	108
1933	League Footballers	Allen's	Confectionery	148
1933	Football Series – Bob Miriam's Caricatures	Carreras Tobacco Company	Tobacco Company	72
1933	Personality Series	Carreras Tobacco Company	Tobacco Company	74
1933	League & Association Footballers	Giant Brand Australian Licorice	Confectionery	110
1933	Victorian Footballers (set of 50)	Godfrey Phillips	Tobacco Company	50
1933	Victorian Footballers (set of 75)	Godfrey Phillips	Tobacco Company	75
1933	Who's Who in Australian Sport	Godfrey Phillips	Tobacco Company	7/100
1933	Victorian Footballers	Hoadleys	Confectionery	100
1933	Victorian Footballers	W.D.&H.O Wills	Tobacco Company	200
1933	Victorian Footballers – larger size	W.D.&H.O Wills	Tobacco Company	200
1933	Portraits and Club Colours	W.D.&H.O Wills	Tobacco Company	6
1934	League Footballers	Allen's	Confectionery	218
1934	Victorian League Footballers	Hoadleys	Confectionery	50
1934	Halfpenny Champions	MacRobertsons	Confectionery	17/72
1934	Halfpenny Footballers	MacRobertsons	Confectionery	216

1935	League Footballers	Hoadleys	Confectionery	100
1938	League Footballers	Hoadleys	Confectionery	72
1939	League Footballers	Allen's	Confectionery	50

From Table 3.1 the first striking observation is that the dominance in football cards pre-World War I held by the tobacco companies had been reduced, with confectionery companies now starting to become a major player in this area. Tobacco companies in the interwar years accounted for 38 per cent of the sets of football cards featuring VFL footballers compared to almost 100 per cent pre-1920. Filling the void were confectionery companies with 53 per cent of the sets produced. An analysis of the stand-out information contained in this table is now discussed in a number of discrete sections including the decline in dominance of the tobacco companies in this arena and the production of poor-quality cards in large numbers for mass marketing schemes.

A More Diversified Field – The Contribution of Confectionery Companies

It is noticeable that the first release of football cards after World War I occurred in 1921 and was a series of trade cards issued by McIntyre Bros, a confectionery company that issued the cards in their tartan brand chocolate. This set by a confectionery company set the scene for the production of cards featuring Australian Rules footballers between the two World Wars, and was the forerunner of a marked change in the retailers and traders who were to use footballers in their marketing. The 1921 McIntyre set, titled 'Football Champions Series 1', had slightly larger cards than the standard cigarette card. Two players from each of the nine VFL teams of that era were featured on the cards. These trade cards were found in both tins and packets of the McIntyre Bros Tartan cake chocolate. This company also issued card sets depicting cricketers and actors, and then in 1922 issued a second football series, 'Football Champions Series 2'. This second series of trade cards were identical in size and format to the first series, only the wording on the reverse differentiated them. The second series again depicted eighteen VFL players. However, their marketing intent was clear. On the reverse was stated that an enlargement of the premiership team could be redeemed by handing in a complete set of the football cards. This was to be the forerunner of a number of confectionery companies offering a prize or incentive to consumers who collected the cards in their products and it was a marketing strategy encouraging consumers to engage in repeat business with further purchases. Doherty[30] a cartophilic researcher and author, describes McIntyre Brothers as a small but respected operation dwarfed by local rivals such as Allens, Hoadleys and MacRobertsons and thus relied on effective marketing to survive in a crowded marketplace – thus the give-away football card inserted into their product became a popular marketing strategy, and an innovative one for that industry.

[30] Francis Doherty. 'McIntyre Brothers' Tartan Cake Chocolate' Football Champions 1921 & 1922'. *The Australian Card Collector.* Vol. 1. Issue 1. February, 2019. pp. 31-33.

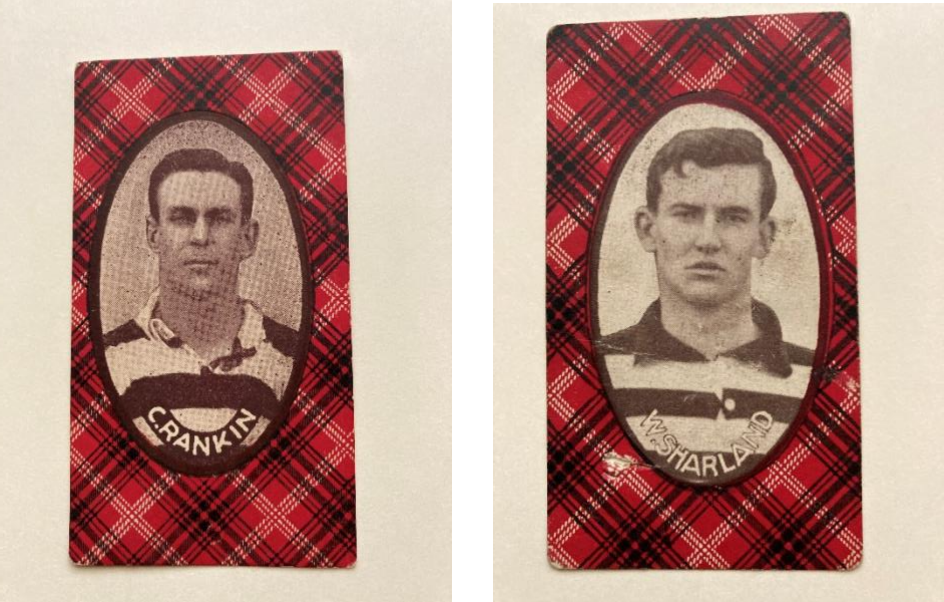

Figure 3.1 McIntyre Bros. Football Champions Cards series 1, Cliff Rankin of Geelong, and Series 2, Wally Sharland of Geelong. Source: John Rose Private Collection

Other confectionery companies such as Thorp's, Craig & Hales, Griffiths, Hoadleys, Clarke-Ellis, Giant Brand Licorice, MacRobertsons and Allen's soon followed the lead by McIntyre Bros. The release of these football cards by confectionery companies suggests three connected factors associated with this industry during the 1920s and 1930s. One is that intense competition among these companies, particularly during the Depression, resulted in each company trying to find a competitive edge and one way of doing this was through the distribution of football cards (and cards on other subjects) with their product. This strategy was, at times, coupled with the incentive of winning prizes or receiving gifts by collecting a given number of cards. It could also suggest, however, that the commercial success of the insertion of cigarette cards into cigarette packets in Australia between approximately 1904 and the commencement of World War I had been noted and was now taken up by the confectionery companies as a marketing strategy. The third plausible explanation, and the three are not mutually exclusive, is that many of these confectionery companies began as small enterprises, in some cases as home industries, catering for a local market; grew and expanded in the early decades of the twentieth century, and by the 1920s and 1930s needed to market their confectionery more broadly as production increased. Allen's, for example, began in a small confectionery shop in Fitzroy in 1891[31], but by 1917 had merged with five other companies[32] and by 1922 had launched as a public company.[33] Likewise, MacRobertsons' genesis was in 1878 when the owner, Macpherson Robertson, began manufacturing confectionery in his home

[31] Amy Hall. 'The Melbourne history of Australian icon Allen's'. *Herald Sun.* 24 May, 2018.

[32] Gerard Verstoep. 'Allen's Steam Rollers: A Macabre Picture'. *The Australian Card Collector.* Vol 3. No. 3. June, 2021. p.19.

[33] Alfred Weaver Allen. *Australian Dictionary of Biography.* Retrieved 27 July 2021.

and selling his produce door-to-door to private homes and businesses around Melbourne.[34] Doherty,[35] states that 'promotion and marketing were key to MacRobertsons success' which was demonstrated with his football cards. As a final example, Hoadley's was originally a jam factory which diversified in 1901 to include confectionery production as a strategy to overcome the seasonal nature of fruit availability for jam making.[36]

However, probably the most prominent feature of the slowly emerging dominance of confectionery companies over tobacco companies in the use of sets of cards as a marketing tool was the change of emphasis from the adult male as the targeted market to an increased focus on children. Although it was predominantly women who purchased the confectionery, the market focus was clearly children. Whereas in the previous period from 1900-1920 tobacco companies had openly used sport along with other themes such as glamour to entice adult smokers, now the confectionery companies turned the emphasis more to the young collector and the football card was one means of doing this. An outcome of this was that the 'pestering' by collectors outside tobacconists that occurred in the previous era did not occur with the confectionery cards and thus, from a societal point of view, was not a problem that had to be dealt with – and consequently not reported in newspapers. The 'pestering', no doubt, continued but was now in the home with children pleading with parents to buy the confectionery that contained the cards they were collecting!

Returning to the cards themselves, to cite one last example of confectionery companies producing cards with their products, the release by Griffiths focusses on some features of this practice at that time. Griffiths Black Crows throat pastilles were well known in the 1920s and were regularly featured in advertisements in *The Football Record*. In 1929 they issued a large set of football cards. These cards were issued in tins of Black Crows pastilles and the series was numbered to 216 cards but only 210 of the cards are known to exist. This was the largest set of football cards ever to be released in Australia at that time and was the forerunner of a number of large sets. These small, almost square cards showed black and white head and shoulder photographs of VFL players. This again was unusual as virtually all cigarette and trade cards were colour productions to that point of time.

Further, the photos of the players came from team photos that were published in the *Weekly Times* newspaper of the same year. This highlights that a major source of photographs for football cards was newspapers and magazines as *The Argus* was also a major contributor to the photographs used on cards. Also, it was not uncommon for the same image of a footballer to be used in a number of sets by various companies. For example, some of the images used in the McIntyre Bros sets also appear in the early 1920s Suburban Premium sets, while many of the images used in the Magpie Cigarettes 1923 'Portraits of Leading Footballers' were reproduced in the Don postcard series of 1924 – infamously used as SP Bookie tokens. In 1933

[34] Francis Doherty. 'MacRobertsons 1934 1/2d Footballers & 1/2d Champions. *The Australian Card Collector*. Vol. 1. No. 4. August, 2019. pp. 31-33.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Jan O'Connell. '1921 – Violet Crumble first advertised'. Retrieved from Australian Food Industry Timeline. 28 July 2021.

the Carreras Tobacco Company issued a set of cards known as 'Personality Series'. This set showed an identical front format as the cards in a set released by Allens in the same year but with different advertising on the reverse. This was the first time that identical photographs of players and card design were used on both cigarette cards and trade cards.

Figure 3.2 1929 Griffiths Football Series featuring Reg Hickey and Ewen Bumpstead of Geelong, and the reverse of these cards. Source: John Rose Private Collection

The footballers often received confectionery for appearing on the various sets of cards. Eddy[37] in his unpublished MA thesis on Essendon champion Dick Reynolds quotes an interview he held with Reynolds' youngest sister and she recounts Reynolds receiving big blocks of chocolate from the companies that used his photograph on a football card.

The Suburban Premium Cards – Mass Marketing in Practice

A stand-out example of how footballers were used for promotion and marketing in this era occurred in 1921 with the release of a large series of trade cards known as 'Suburban Premium Issues – Victorian Footballers'. These were poorly produced cards showing black and white images of VFL players but Table 3.1 reveals that this was the first card set with in excess of one hundred player cards being produced. They were issued in a scheme by many small businesses around suburban Melbourne and certainly highlighted a change in direction from the tobacco company released cards of pre-1914. The cards were issued with coupons at the base designed for cutting off; customers would then get a gift from the store for redeeming a defined number of the coupons. The most common gifts offered by traders were free tickets to a picture theatre in exchange for fifty coupons or a box of chocolates for sixty coupons. These prize offerings were no doubt intended to encourage repeat business. Cutting off the coupon at the base of the card in no way damaged the photograph of the footballer on the card. Thus, footballing identities were being used as a collectible item in a mass marketing scheme.

The addition of Footscray, Hawthorn and North Melbourne cards, all three teams being admitted to the VFL in 1925, suggests that the cards were still being added to and released up to that latter year. As these cards were first released around 1921 and were still being issued by traders beyond 1925, this also suggests that during that era as a marketing strategy it was

[37] Daniel Eddy. 'Our Champion and Gentleman: Dick Reynolds and the Essendon Football Club, 1933-1951.' Unpublished MA thesis. Victoria University. 2013.

very successful. The reverse of each card had a number of details including details of the store issuing the card. This is also insightful as traders from a wide cross-section of inner-Melbourne suburbs were using these cards to advertise their businesses. Locations of such businesses that have been sighted by this researcher are shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Location of Traders Using the Suburban Premium Issue – Victorian Footballers Cards

Port Melbourne	Camberwell	Richmond	Newmarket
Northcote	St Kilda	Moonee Ponds	Auburn
Armadale	Elsternwick	Williamstown	Windsor
Fitzroy	Essendon	Footscray	Malvern

The businesses advertised on the back of the cards were all small, independent traders as shown in Figure 3.3. Almost exclusively, the ones sighted by this researcher were butchers, confectionery and other produce stores, and grocers. Some examples were Brett's Quality Butchery (Auburn), Fleetwood Confectionery – also selling fishing tackle etc (Port Melbourne), S. Avison – fresh fish, rabbits, poultry, oysters etc (Northcote), W & M McNabb – fruit, confectionery and pastry (St. Kilda), P.A. Blumfield – cash grocer (Ascot Vale) to name a few.

It is thought that approximately ninety different player cards were released in this series of 162 cards. Some players were included more than once but on different cards. The difference may have been prominent such as a player being on one card in a head and shoulders portrait and on another card in a full-length photograph. Others were more subtle differences such as a player being photographed half-length but with arms folded on one card and arms by his side on another. Whatever the difference, they became yet another, different card for the enthusiastic collector to gain.

A Geelong team card was part of the series and three individual players were depicted on the cards. The low representation of Geelong, however, is probably due to it being the only team in the VFL that was not a suburb of Melbourne. While this scheme was successful in the suburbs around Melbourne, it was not extended to the provincial city of Geelong and no cards are known to exist that advertise a Geelong business on the reverse.

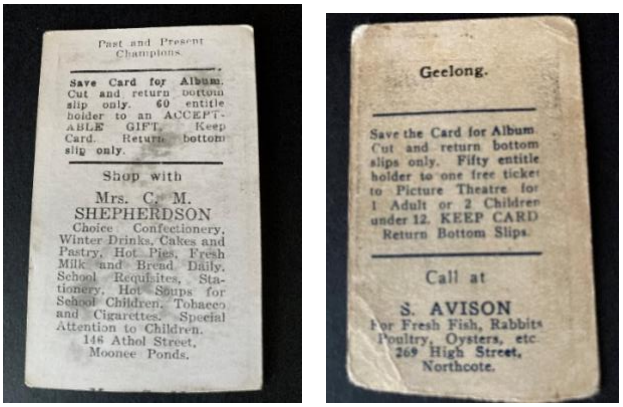

Figure 3.3 Examples of small trader advertising on reverse of Suburban Premium Issue football cards. Note the incentive to purchase from that trader by redeeming coupons for prizes. Source: John Rose Private Collection

The second series of 'Suburban Premium Issues', again with over one hundred player cards, came out in 1926 and continued through to around 1928. This endorsed the marketing success of the earlier release despite the poor quality of the cards. The obvious difference in these cards from the previous series is that the player's name was written on the front of the card. The photos used in this second series are all posed portraits of players rather than action shots. As with the first series they were issued with coupons at the base for cutting off and using in a prize scheme. The cards are again poorly printed possibly to keep the cost for the small traders involved in the scheme at a minimum. The cards were issued over a number of years as Charles Tyson appears twice in the series, once for Collingwood and once for North Melbourne, and some of the players listed did not begin playing VFL football until 1927. The provincial status of Geelong was again underscored in this series with only one player, the club captain and leading goal-kicker of the era, featured on a card. This opens up another dimension concerning the representation of Geelong players in the card releases in the 1920s and 1930s.

Geelong Player Representation in Card Sets – The Interwar Era

The number of players who appeared on football cards during the interwar era was not even among the clubs. It ranged from South Melbourne which had seventy-nine players featured, down to Geelong with forty-four. Table 3.3 shows player representation for the nine clubs that made up the VFL in 1920, while Table 3.4 tabulates that information for the three clubs admitted in 1925.

Table 3.3 Number of Footballers on Cards by Club: 1920-1939

Club	Players on Cards	Number of Sets
South Melbourne	79	32
Carlton	74	31
Fitzroy	70	32
Collingwood	67	33
Richmond	64	31
St. Kilda	61	28
Melbourne	52	27
Essendon	52	26
Geelong	44	29

Table 3.4 Number of Footballers on Cards by Newly-Admitted Clubs to VFL: 1925-1939

Club	Players on Cards	Number of Sets
Footscray	63	22
Hawthorn	50	20
North Melbourne	44	19

From a Geelong perspective Table 3.3 has two points worth noting and analysing. The first is that Geelong had fewer players than any other club portrayed on football cards in the period

1920-1939. The second point is that despite this, they are represented in the fourth highest number of card sets.

To deal with the second point first. In the two decades of the 1920s and 1930s Collingwood players appeared in 33 different sets of cards. They were followed by South Melbourne and Fitzroy players in 32 sets, Carlton and Richmond players in 31 sets, and then Geelong in 29. Making up the bottom three were Essendon (26), Melbourne (27) and St. Kilda (28). A partial explanation for why certain teams had a greater number of football card sets with their players in them would be the success of the teams over those two decades. One measure of success is the number of times the team played in the Grand Final. Between 1920 and 1939 Collingwood played in thirteen Grand Finals, winning six and losing seven. They were followed by Richmond with ten Grand Final appearances (4 and 6), Geelong in four (3 and 1) and South Melbourne and Carlton in three each (1 and 2, and, 0 and 3 respectively). The least successful teams using this measure during that period were St Kilda with no Grand Final appearances and Melbourne and Essendon both with two successful appearances. So far this indicates some degree of correlation between Grand Final appearances and the number of times a team appeared in a set of cards.

In addition to Grand Final appearances, teams in the finals (or at least in the top five spots) were more likely to feature on the cards than the teams struggling down at the bottom of the ladder. The main audience for these football cards were minors, particularly with the confectionery cards. For generations young people when they start to show an interest in football have been known to show their allegiance to successful teams, particularly the current reigning premiers, unless there is a very strong family tradition of following a certain club. Geelong's relative success in this era ensured that Geelong players were included in a large percentage of the card sets produced.

The anomaly is the low number of Geelong players appearing on cards in the 1920s and 1930s. As Geelong was the only provincial club, location looms as a likely explanation for this, at least in part. Presumably, it would have been so much easier for photographers and others involved in the production of football cards to access the Melbourne metropolitan teams rather than the provincial Geelong team. A good case in point is the work of prominent photographer of the era, Chas Boyles. Boyles was a Melbourne-based photographer who started in the 1920s. He took VFL team photographs on match day and individual photographs of players at training. He then sold these photographs directly to clubs, players (at a time when players had to pay for their own team photos) and the general public. It is noticeable that every Boyles photograph of the Geelong team over many years had been taken before Geelong's away match, that is, at a Melbourne metropolitan ground. No photos are known to exist of the Geelong team taken by Boyles at Corio Oval. Further although there are numerous individual photographs of VFL players taken at training, many now in a collection at the State Library of Victoria and others on the Boyles Football website, none exist of Geelong players. The simple fact was that Boyles was not prepared to travel to Geelong to take photographs.

Further, in 1906 a set of trade cards – Greathead's Mixture Victorian Football Cards – was released. Greathead's Mixture was an 1875 invention by Melbourne chemist Robert Greathead which, he claimed, could cure a wide range of illnesses including typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria, bronchitis,

influenza and many others. With the exception of the American Candy Company release of 1891, these cards are the oldest football-related trade cards in existence. Only eight teams made up the VFL when these cards were produced, however only six clubs were represented on the cards. One of the non-inclusions was Geelong, which begs the question again as to whether location, being the only provincial team in the league, was a contributing factor to the omission. (The other club not included for some inexplicable reason was Collingwood).

As a postscript, an eminent surgeon from the Alfred Hospital, Melbourne, wrote a paper in 1874 on a Chinese practitioner whom he described as an 'ignorant pretender' and likened his remedies to 'the Greathead cures'[38]

The Relative Decline of Cigarette Cards

As discussed earlier, just under 38 per cent of the sets of cards released in the 1920s and 1930s were those distributed by tobacco companies, a marked change from the pre-war years. Only four sets of cards were released in the 1920s and all of these were by Magpie Cigarettes in 1921, 1922, 1923 and 1925. Magpie Cigarettes were produced by J.J. Schuh, one of the tobacco companies of this era. Schuh had been at various times a factory manager at Sniders & Abrahams and later the Managing Director of the firm. In 1920 he founded J.J. Schuh Tobacco Co Pty Ltd.[39] Doherty[40] states that 'realising the importance of cigarette cards as a marketing tool, J.J. Schuh released ten different sets during the early part of the 1920s covering a variety of subjects including football, horseracing, jockeys, war scenes [and] cinema stars.' Two of the football sets had designs that were very similar to some of the cards Sniders & Abrahams had produced pre-war. However, in 1926 Schuh sold the business to another tobacco manufacturer G.G. Goode and according to Doherty[41] Goode 'was not a dedicated card manufacturer thus spelling the end of an era for a golden age of cigarette cards.'

In the 1930s Godfrey Phillips released one set of fifty football cards in 1932. But 1933 was to be an exceptional year for card releases by tobacco companies. Godfrey Phillips released a set of 50 cards, repeated those cards in an expanded set of 75, and in the same year put out a set of 100 Australian sportspeople which included seven footballers. The Carreras Company issued two sets in 1933, both of around 70 cards. W.D.&H.O. Wills also released three sets in 1933 – one of 200 cards, a second which repeated the set of 200 but in a larger size, and a very small set of just five completely unique 'stand-up' cards. (These five cards were only of players from five of the six teams that were in contention for the 1933 Premiership – Richmond, South Melbourne, Carlton, Collingwood and Fitzroy with no representatives from the other seven clubs. Geelong, despite being third on the ladder, was not included which adds to the location argument presented above. It has also been suggested that these cards may have been issued as

[38] John Blair. 'The Chinese Specifics for Dipththeria'. *The Australian Medical Journal.* October, 1874. pp. 292-296.

[39] Bob Ferris. 'J.J. Schuh – Maxims of Success'. *The Australian Card Collector.* Vol 2. Issue 1. February 2020.

[40] Francis Doherty. 'After the War the Resumption of the Victorian Football Card Industry: J.J.Schuh Tobacco 1921-1925. *The Australian Card Collector.* Vol. 3. Issue 4. August 2021. pp 26-29.

[41] Ibid.

a subset of the larger 200 card set, which if so, would make them the original 'insert' cards in an Australian release[42]).

These final attempts at using cigarette cards to entice smokers to their brands coincides with a decline in smoking during the 1930s. Average annual consumption of tobacco per head of population rose, in Australia, from 1.19 kilograms in 1903 to 1.59 in 1930, an increase of about one-third.[43] But during the Depression consumption of cigarettes, particularly imported cigarettes, fell. The fall between 1926-9 and 1930-31 of imported cigarettes was 26.1 per cent as the Scullin government increased import duties on cigarettes by 33 per cent.[44] The paradox of the Depression was that tobacco prices rose as prices in general fell. Consumption of tobacco per head of population dropped by about one-fifth between 1930 and 1934.[45] Four major tobacco companies operating in Australia at this time – Carreras, Dudgeon & Arnell, Godfrey Phillips (Australia), and W.D.&H.O. Wills – all issued their final sets of cigarette cards (non-football cards) in 1934 while Ardath Tobacco Company did likewise in 1935.[46]

Player Prominence

A case can be mounted to argue that the majority of players who appeared on the cigarette and trade cards of the 1920s and 1930s were the celebrities and stars of the game in that era with a few anomalies. Using the players from Geelong Football Club as a case in point, Table 3.5 lists the players who were featured on cards.

Table 3.5 Geelong Players appearing on football cards 1920s/1930s

Number of Card Sets	Player
16	Reg Hickey
15	George Todd
14	Len Metherell
12	George Moloney
11	Tom Quinn
8	Harold Hardiman
6	Harold Craven, Cliff Rankin, Jack (G) Collins, Jack Carney, Edward Greeves, Arthur Coghlan, Jack Evans, Fred Hawking, Rupe McDonald
5	Lloyd Hagger, Wally Sharland
4	Bert Rankin, Jack Walker
2	Billy McCarter, Edward Baker, Arthur Rayson, Bob Troughton, Jack Williams

[42] Francis Doherty. '1933 W.D.&H.O. Wills Portraits and Club Colours Stand Up Cards. *The Australian Card Collector*. Vol. 3. Issue 1. February 2021.

[43] Robin Walker. *Under Fire: A History of Tobacco Smoking in Australia.* MUP. Melbourne. Vic. 1984. pp. 53-54.

[44] ibid. p. 59.

[45] ibid. p. 61.

[46] Statistics compiled from Dion Skinner. op. cit.

1	Vic Gross, Alex Eason, John Jones, Stan Thomas, Eric Fleming, Frank Keppel, George Jerram, G. Llewellen, Frank Mockridge, Edward Stevenson, Les Smith, Ralph Lancaster, Ewen Bumpstead, Eric Orr, Joe Sellwood, Les Hardiman, Jack Metherell, Bill Kuhlken, Clyde Helmer, Angie Muller.

Right through this list it can be argued that the majority of these players were amongst the footballing celebrities of their era. Those at the top end of the list were household names and champions within the VFL. It is not surprising that during the 1920s and 1930s the majority of Geelong players who appeared on football cards were already some of the better-known footballing celebrities. This would be partly due to the success of Geelong teams during those two decades. In the 1920s Geelong competed in the finals in five seasons winning the Premiership in 1925. Having been runners-up to Collingwood in 1930, Geelong won the premiership in 1931 and 1937 and were third in the VFL competition in 1933, 1934 and 1938. Thus, the profile of Geelong players, despite their provincial location, was high at a time when the production of football cards was booming.

Even when considering those players who only appeared on one card during their careers, their football CVs are impressive. Of the twenty Geelong players who only appeared on one football card during their career, usually in a set of 100 plus cards, eleven of those players not only played for Geelong but were selected to represent Victoria in interstate matches. Eric Fleming even represented Victoria six times and played 105 games for Geelong yet only appeared on one football card. Of the others, Edward Stevenson and Les Smith were both 100 game plus players.

The two anomalies in the one-card player list are Ewen Bumpstead and Eric Orr, more so the former. Bumpstead played just five games for Geelong; four in 1929 and one in 1930. Eric Orr was recruited to Geelong in 1933 and played eleven games in that season. Orr was touted as a prize recruit for Geelong however. Both *The Argus*[47]and *The Age*[48] announced his recruitment while *The Sporting Globe*[49] went further to say he had been sought after by a number of clubs and was one of the two best recruits Geelong had succeeded in signing. They did, however, state that Geelong was a very strong team inferring, perhaps, that only a top player would break into the team. So, it is probably not surprising that he was included in a 1933 set of football cards. As mentioned before, he played eleven games in 1933 and was injured in July resulting in him missing the last four games of the season.

Ewen Bumpstead, however, presents a different set of circumstances. Similar to George McNeilage who also played just five games for Geelong yet was featured on a football card, (discussed in Chapter 2), Bumpstead was a champion schoolboy player with Geelong College. As well as being an outstanding cricketer it has been noted that Bumpstead was Vice Captain of the College XVIII in 'the most successful team of all' in 1927 which was undefeated for the

[47] 'Centre Man for Geelong' *The Argus.* 10 March, 1933. p.9.

[48] 'Champion Centre Player' *The Age.* 7 March, 1933. p. 12.

[49] Football. *The Sporting Globe.* 22 April, 1933. p. 8.

season, 'a record that has not been equalled since.'[50] Despite his ability at Geelong College his daughter, Erril McGibbon, has revealed that when he played with Geelong, at a time when the senior team was very strong, her father was just not good enough to cement a place in the first eighteen.[51] (He was to become a vital part of the Reserves 1930 Championship team – the first instance of a championship team in VFL history – thus emulating his Geelong College success). To Ms McGibbon's knowledge, her father did not play football at any level after leaving Geelong. (She also established that, despite most of the records listing her father as 'Ewan' the correct spelling of his name was 'Ewen').

Bumpstead appeared on a football card produced by Griffith's Black Crow lozenges in 1929. There are a few related possibilities as to why a 5-gamer was included in this set. The first is that it was a large set of cards, some 218 cards in total with eighteen of those being of Geelong players. Coupled with that is Bumpstead's four games for that season were played close together in a block commencing in Round 5. Possibly that coincided when the card set was being produced and the assumption was that Bumpstead would continue to be a regular player. Or perhaps he was just there at the right time!

Summary

To conclude, the 1920s was a period of post-war prosperity but during the Depression many footballers had to continue to perform on the field and also to be 'marketable' in terms of enticing patrons to matches, as football provided them with an income at a time when unemployment was high. In Wendy Lowenstein's[52] oral record of the Depression a sportsman identified only as 'Ern' noted that 'during the depression time you could earn a bob out of sport if you were good enough and there were a lot of people trying to do it because they couldn't earn a bob anywhere else'[53] VFL clubs echoed a similar sentiment. Richmond's 1932 Annual Report stated that 'no greater service can be done than that of securing employment for players'.[54] Carlton espoused a similar stance reporting that 'In these times, players are not so much concerned about the pay they receive for playing football as they are about securing regular work… if we are to prosper, then, we must be able to find work for prospective players, but before doing so we will have to place our regular players in employment first.'[55] It is not beyond the realm of possibility, then, to suggest that players appearing on football cards as sporting celebrities in the 1930s would be considered favourably by clubs due to their ability to bring crowds to the game – and thus help to keep the clubs financially viable; in much the

[50] Geelong College Archives. Retrieved from gnet.geelongcollege.vic.edu.au/wiki/FOOTBALL-Centenary%20Histroty.ashx?HL=Bumpstead.

[51] Phone conversation between the researcher and Erril McGibbon. 29 October, 2021.

[52] Wendy Lowenstein. *Weevils in the Flour: An Oral Record of the 1930s Depression in Australia.* Hyland House Publishing. South Yarra. 1979.

[53] ibid p. 31.6

[54] Paul Daffey. 'Tough at the Top' in Ashley Browne (ed.), *Grand Finals: Volume 1, 1897-1938.* Slattery Media Group. Docklands. 2011. p. 361.

[55] Carlton Football Club Annual Report, 1932. Quoted in Daniel Eddy. 'Our Champion and Gentleman: Dick Reynolds and the Essendon Football Club, 1933-1951.' Unpublished MA thesis. Victoria University. 2013.

same way as modern-day players of the calibre of Buddy Franklin and Dustin Martin have as a crowd-drawing capacity.

And so, the most noticeable change in the businesses producing and distributing cards of prominent footballers with their products as a marketing strategy was from a market dominated by tobacco companies pre-World War I to one in which other industries, particularly confectionery, played a major role in the 1920s and 1930s. This was to herald another era post-World War II until around 1962 when oil companies, cereal producers, newspapers, and other national and multi-national companies saw the value in producing cards, including those of football celebrities, as a valid and profitable exercise.

CHAPTER 4

PERIOD 3: 1948 – 1962. A TIME OF CHANGE

Introduction

The devastation caused by World War II had a flow-on cartophilic effect with a virtual absence of cigarette and trade cards in the early 1940s, both in Australia and overseas. This was due in a large part to the rationing of paper and cardboard with those industries being classified as essential services during the conflict. But by 1948 a marked change in this field was about to unfold. From an Australian Rules football perspective in Victoria two major factors had a synergising effect on the production and distribution of trade cards featuring footballers. One was the growing consumerism of the post-war period evidenced by mass migration to Australia, a large and increasing demand for consumer goods and housing, the growth of motor car ownership, and various other related factors.[1] The second concurrent factor was the rapid resurgence of football, particularly the VFL, as a spectator sport, and its continued growth abetted by the consolidation of radio broadcasts of the game, the advent of televised broadcasts, and the increased patronage by spectators.[2]

Thus, this chapter has two main foci. The first is to briefly examine the hiatus in cartophily in the early 1940s to around 1948. The second is to examine the rapid growth of VFL football in the period from 1948 to 1962, while connecting this to the rise in consumerism during the same period, the resultant use of footballers in marketing promotions via trade cards, and the choice of players appearing on these cards.

The chapter's main finding is that the rejuvenation of VFL football, coupled with the expansion of consumer society and its more intensive marketing towards children, produced an extraordinary diversity of football-related marketing from the late 1940s. This explosion of football-related marketing was characterised by an array of cards featuring footballers' images. While the 'stars' remained important drawcards, marketers were increasingly attuned to the tribal impulses of football followers, resulting in a much more even club representation in card sets. In Geelong, the Coca Cola company acknowledged the power of local sentiment as it engaged in exclusive promotion of Geelong players. If the desire of businesses to associate their product with Australian football testifies to the popularity and commercial potential of the game and its players, it also heralded the key shift that would occur in the marketing of the game, as the card bearing the players' image became the product itself.

[1] See for example Manning Clark. *A Short History of Australia.* 4th Ed. Penguin Books. Ringwood. Vic. 1995.

[2] Bob Stewart 'Boom-time Football, 1946-1975' in Rob Hess and Bob Stewart (Eds) *More Than A Game: An Unauthorised History of Australian Rules Football.* MUP. Melbourne. Vic. 1998. p. 166.

The Lean Years

One minor consequence of the devastating Second World War was that the production of cigarette and trade cards, often attributed to the shortage of cardboard, virtually dried up. This was a world-wide occurrence. Mark Fricke remarks, on the USA experience, that 'rationing of paper began quickly, leaving precious resources to create such trivial items as baseball cards. It might not have mattered if they were produced, as mothers around the country were saving their pennies for more critical needs than allowing their kids to by [sic] baseball cards.'[3] Fricke continues that most of the producers of cards 'didn't rekindle the card craze for America's youth until 1948-49'.[4] In addition to paper shortages Murray suggests that an unofficial rationing of the supply of cigarettes through allocations by the manufacturers meant there was no need to promote sales.[5]

The same applied to Australia. The last pre-war football cards produced in Australia were in 1939, as discussed in the previous chapter, and it was not until 1948 that production recommenced.[6] The commencement of card production in the late 1940s heralded a major change with one outstanding feature being the demise of cigarette cards. John Broom remarks that after the Second World War the major tobacco companies agreed not to issue cards to any great extent and the practice virtually vanished.[7] That some companies had pre-war stock on hand resulted in some minor releases, but none in Australia. Broom notes the withdrawal by cigarette companies from the practice of providing cards with their product, as do other writers, but fails to fully explain why. Murray suggests that cost was partly a factor as was an unsolved problem from pre-war years of the presence of cards in the packets dating the stock.[8] It has been noted in previous chapters that cigarette packs sometimes contained cards of footballers who had retired twelve months, even two years, previously suggesting that this proposition by Murray may have some validity. In addition, from the previous chapter it has been observed that manufacturers such as Hoadleys, Thorps, MacRobertsons, Allens and others had raised the bar on the confectionery industry in effect leaving behind the tobacco age of marketing to adults and bringing the confectionery card market to a younger generation. It can be speculated that this was also one reason behind the decision by tobacco companies, along with the rather astonishing industry consensus, to not produce cards in the future. Of course, what must also be considered is that the early 1950s saw the introduction of the flip-top box,[9] and thus the original purpose of cigarette cards - preventing cigarettes from being crushed - was no longer

[3] Mark Fricke. 'The Lean Years. Baseball Cards and World War II'. *Sports Collectors Daily.* 19 December, 2016.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Martin Murray. *The Story of Cigarette Cards.* Murray Cards International. 1987. p. 73.

[6] There is, however, a small set of cards of Western Australian footballers who competed in the 1947 Carnival at Hobart but very little is known about these cards or their producer.

[7] John Broom. *A History of Cigarette and Trade Cards: The Magic Inside the Packet.* Pen and Sword History. South Yorkshire. UK. 2008. p. 10.

[8] op. cit.

[9] Stella Lees and June Senyard. *The 1950s: How Australia Became a Modern Society and Everyone Got a House and Car*. Hyland House. 1987. pp. 56-57.

relevant. Savings could be made by manufacturers by eliminating the 'stiffener' as it was, to an extent, redundant.

Another factor to consider with the marketing target moving from adults to children is that the 1950s experienced a time when, in effect, childhood was being extended, due in the main to post-war economic prosperity. Children were staying longer at school and as a result, entering the workforce at a later age. A new market category, the 'teenager', was developing. While the 1930s evidenced a move in the production of cards from an adult audience, increasingly skewing to children, the 1950s provided evidence of a consolidation of football cards as a product for children. Advertising clearly indicates this, for example, a newspaper advertisement for Kornies breakfast cereal begins with the words "Boys and Girls – now you can collect pictures of your favourite footballers". Obviously there remained the relationship between children as the collectors of cards from various products, and their parents as the purchasers of the products. Perhaps the producers were relying, to some extent, on the 'pestering power' of the youngsters, not unlike the cigarette cards in earlier decades.

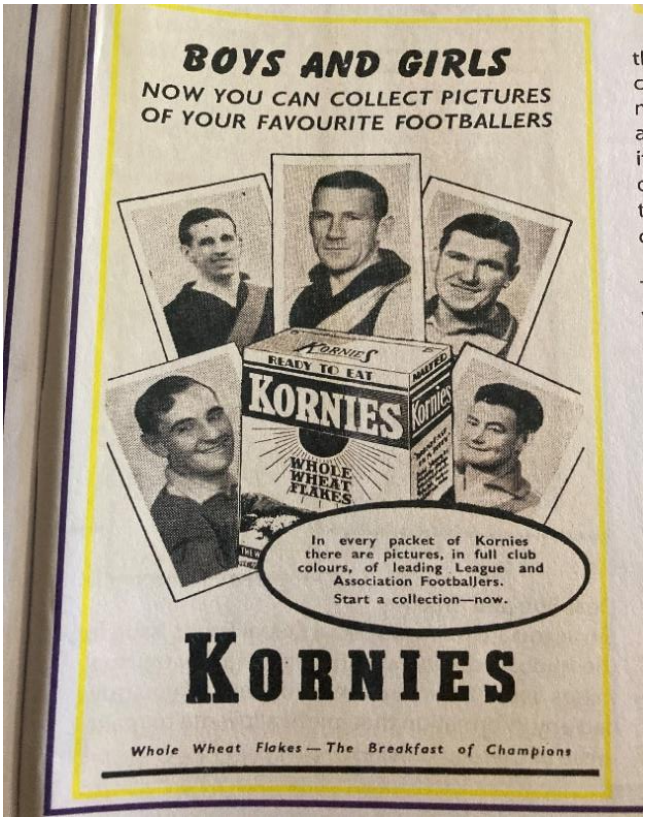

Figure 4.1 Kornies newspaper advertisements directed at a younger market. Source: https://www.footycardguide.com.au/kornies/1948-kornies-vfl-cards

The void created by the absence of cigarette cards was taken up by trade cards and by 1948 a resurgence had begun with new companies emerging onto the scene. The cereal company Kornies was the first company to release a set of football cards in Victoria post-war and continued to do so every year until 1954, before re-emerging in 1957 and 1959[10]. Kornies

[10] John Crennan. *Trading Card Heroes*. Trading Card Heroes. 2003.

were a part of the USA multinational group Nabisco which had been distributing sports trade cards in their products in the USA for some years. This may explain Kornies venture into this form of marketing. Other cereal companies such as Harper's Easi-Oats soon joined Kornies along with petrol companies such as Atlantic and Golden Fleece, newspapers such as the *Argus,* retailers including Coles and the Melbourne Sports Depot, and even lesser-known companies such as Victorian Nut Supplies[11]. What attracted these companies to use images of footballers as a marketing promotion was, amongst other factors, the post-war resurgence of VFL football.[12]

The Victorian Football League Resurgence

During the Second World War the enlistment of many players eroded the pool of talent from which to choose a team. The Secretary of the Richmond Football Club, for example, reported in 1942 that fifteen regular players from the 1941 team would not be available because of enlistment or work in essential services[13]. In the same year Geelong, due to road and rail transport restrictions, the use of their ground as a military base and being the only provincial team in the VFL, was forced to withdraw from the competition, returning in 1944 when they ended the season in last place. Like other clubs, they had also been experiencing a shortage of players due to enlistment. Further, during World War II many of the grounds used by the VFL were commandeered by the military. Among the changes were the relocation of St. Kilda to Toorak Park, Melbourne to Punt Road, South Melbourne to Princes Park, and Geelong, in the years that they did field a team, from Corio Oval to Kardinia Park. These factors had an obvious effect on the patronage of VFL games. Even during the Depression years of the 1930s annual attendances were around 1.7 to 1.8 million spectators, but this figure had dropped to around 1.5 million in 1940 and 1941 before dropping further to around 791,000 in 1942 and 971,000 in 1943.[14]

Following the war, however, the original VFL grounds became available again for football, although Geelong never returned to Corio Oval opting instead to use Kardinia Park for the post-war era. The opening round of football in 1946 - a split round due to Easter - achieved a record round one attendance of 146,000. This prompted one correspondent to write that 'in the first postwar season, it's king football again in Melbourne'.[15] The VFL final series returned to the Melbourne Cricket Ground in 1946 after a four-year absence and the aggregate final attendance of 336,000 was a record with 74,000 spectators attending the Grand Final match between Essendon and Melbourne.[16] In the same year more than two million patrons attended the home-and-away matches creating yet another record for the VFL.

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Stella Lees &June Senyard. *The 1950s: How Australia Became a Modern Society and Everyone Got a House and Car*. Hyland House. South Yarra. 1987.

[13] John Ross (Ed). *100 Years of Australian Football.* Penguin Books. Vic. 1996. p. 166.

[14] afltables.com/afl/crowds,summary.html. Retrieved 27 January, 2022.

[15] John Ross. op. cit. p. 175.

[16] Bob Stewart. op. cit.

The radio broadcast of games, discussed in the previous chapter, grew in the late 1940s and 1950s and was a major influence in the popularity of VFL football. In 1946 the Melbourne Cricket Ground Trustees finally permitted the finals matches to be broadcast live on radio.[17] Stewart maintains that 'by the early 1950s radio had consolidated its position as a great promoter of Australian football in Melbourne'[18] going on to state that there were numerous football talk and panel shows going to air each week. He further claims that:

> Indeed, the print and broadcasting media were kind to Australian football in general and the VFL in particular, offering the game a level of support that other sports could only dream about.[19]

By the 1950s as many as seven radio stations were broadcasting VFL matches live. Stewart goes on to assert that 'the saturation coverage of football in newspapers and on radio was instrumental in consolidating the VFL's pivotal place in Melbourne life.'[20] And because football was pivotal to Melburnians, companies were quick to use football and footballers as a means to promote their products. The same could be said for the provincial team of Geelong as the local radio station 3GL had been broadcasting Geelong VFL matches from as early as 1930.[21] Geelong footballers were also in demand for promotions. For instance, Bernie Smith featured on a card promoting Homecraft Bicycles, while Fred Flanagan appeared on a card attached to Loyalty Football Shorts. The Smith card is a prime example of an extremely competitive market using a local football identity to promote their business. At the time there were at least a dozen bicycle sales and repair shops in Geelong as petrol was rationed and bicycle transport was paramount (see Appendix 4).

However, radio and the print media were not to be the sole promoters of VFL football in this era. The introduction of television to Melbourne in 1956 produced another avenue for increasing the popularity of VFL football although initially in 1957, from fear of reduced attendances, only the last quarter of a match could be televised. Initially Geelong was not to be included in the televising of matches with the distance involved being given as the reason. However, a breakdown of arrangements between the Grounds Management Association and the television channels occurred early in the season resulting in the hastily-arranged televised broadcast of the Geelong game against Footscray at Kardinia Park on April 22.[22] The game ended in a draw with the scores being Geelong 11.11 (57) to Footscray 10.17 (77) – an exciting, if not rewarding start, for the televised broadcast of Geelong matches.

Added to the media coverage of VFL football through newspapers, radio and television, a vital component in the increased patronage of games was undoubtedly the capacity of supporters to

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[17] Bob Stewart. op. cit. p. 172.

[18] ibid.

[19] ibid.

[20] ibid.

[21] *Geelong Advertiser*. 'Lock it on the footy'. Tuesday, May 21st, 2002.

[22] *Geelong Advertiser*. April 22nd, 1957. Quoted in Col Hutchinson. *Cats' Tales*. Geelong Advertiser. Geelong 1984.

attend matches, both from a financial perspective and a time perspective. Our attention is now directed to this aspect.

Growth and prosperity in the 1950s

The 1930s were characterised by deprivation and hardship; the early and mid-1940s by rationing and anxiety. The key markers of the late 1940s and 1950s, however, were optimism, prosperity and growth. Boom economic conditions allowed for the continued growth of the Australian economy. David Day notes that 'Australians enjoyed unparalleled prosperity during the 1950s as full employment and easy credit allowed for the purchase of consumer and other goods'.[23] Unemployment by the late 1940s was less than three per cent of the workforce and between 1947 and 1961 the population of Australian cities had increased by 50 per cent.[24]

An ambitious post-war immigration program resulted in more than 400,000 migrants landing in Australia in the five years after the end of World War II.[25] Many were non-British, post-war displaced persons and for those who settled in Victoria many, as part of their assimilation into Australian society, soon took up following a VFL football team. As Stewart points out from a football perspective, by the end of the 1940s most people had a half-holiday on Saturday and that Melbourne's economic and social reconstruction, with many of the post-war immigrants embracing Australian Rules football, was reflected in 'the successful [post-war] reconstruction of Australian football's flagship competition, the VFL'.[26]

The *Financial Review* columnist Trevor Sykes observes that the 1950s saw retail chains enjoying 'mushroom growth'[27]. The consumption era was facilitated by lay-by schemes and hire purchase plans. And with these boom times, coupled with the increasing popularity of VFL football, many companies integrated the growing recognition of footballers into their marketing promotions through trade cards given freely with their products.

Sport Trade Cards as a Male Domain

The sporting stars who appeared on cards in the late 1940s and 1950s were predominantly male. Lees and Senyard in a discussion of the dominance of male sporting stars during this era have noted that 'in cricket, new stars such as Miller, Benaud, Simpson or MacKay joined Australian Rules Footballers on breakfast cereal swap cards in every kitchen'.[28] It was only when Melbourne hosted the Olympic Games in 1956 that sportswomen featured more often on cards, and then, at times, as generic drawings. Even when Betty Cuthbert, for example, came

[23] David Day. *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia.* Harper Collins. 2001. p. 258.

[24] ibid.

[25] Andrew Clark. 'How the 1950s paved the way for modern Australia'. Retrieved from afr.com/policy/economy/how-the-1950s-paved-the-way-for-modern-australia-20210809-p58heg. 15 January 2022.

[26] Bob Stewart. 'Boom-time Football, 1946-1975 in Rob Hess and Bob Stewart (Eds) *More Than A Game: An Unauthorised History of Australian Rules Football*. MUP. Melbourne. Vic. 1998. p. 166.

[27] Trevor Sykes. Quoted in Andrew Clark. op. cit.

[28] op. cit. Stella Lees and June Senyard opine that other factors included the dominance of the male in Australian society in that era and that Australia had an image of 'a man's country' thus males were predominant on items such as sporting collectible cards. (Lees & Senyard. *The 1950s: How Australia Became a Modern Society and Everyone Got a House and Car*. Hyland House. 1987. p. 82).

to fame at those games, although some cards of the day featured her, many cards depicting her did not appear until the late 1970s and 1980s in sets featuring past champions.

Figure 4.2 Kellogg's Cereal card of Betty Cuthbert, late 1950s; a Woolworths swap card of Cuthbert, late 1950s; and a generic card of female athletes released by Coles to coincide with the 1956 Melbourne Olympics. Source: https://www.collection.australiansportsmusuem.org.au

Australian society during the post-war years was, in many respects, male dominated and much of the imbalance in gender relationships can be attributed to the 'breadwinner model' which became pervasive in that era. Gilding described the post-war years as 'the high-water mark' of the family model of a male breadwinner, a housewife/mother, and dependent children.[29] While women held various jobs and positions during the Second World War, Stephen Garton refers to the 'bolstering' of the manhood of returned servicemen in terms of women stepping down from the employment they held during the war, servicing the needs of men and recognising the role of the male as the breadwinner.[30] Murphy explains further that while the concept of breadwinner is important for the understanding of the culture of work:

> …the breadwinner model was also a gender relationship, for the other half of the breadwinner was a model of motherhood and family. By definition, breadwinners have dependents. The breadwinner model meant that women were largely reliant on private transfers of income for their sustenance, and as a result of this dependency the model came to be associated with *imbalances of opportunity and power* within the family.[31] (Emphasis added)

It was within this culture that sports trading cards of males dominated.

[29] Michael Gilding. *The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family.* Sydney. Allen & Unwin. 1991. p. 121.

[30] Stephen Garton. *The Cost of War: Australians Return.* Melbourne. OUP. 1996. p. 207.

[31] John Murphy. 'Breadwinning: accounts of work and family life in the 1950s.' *Labour and Industry.* Vol. 12. No. 3. 2002. p. 60.

Figure 4.3 1953 Kornies card of Geelong's Bruce Morrison; 1957 Kornies card of Peter Pianto (note the larger size of this card); and 1954 Kornies card of Bernie Smith. Source: John Rose Private Collection

The Trade Cards of the Era

The first company to use trade cards featuring VFL players in their product post-war was indeed the manufacturer of the cereal Kornies in 1948. Kornies was involved in distributing nine different sets of football cards over the next eleven years, indicating how successful the venture was.[32] Not only was this a change in companies producing cards, but the cards changed from year to year in both size and style.

The initial 1948 series of Kornies cards included both VFL and VFA footballers – in total 64 players appeared on the cards. The representation of players from the various clubs on the cards, however, seems to have been haphazard or, at least, random. One can only speculate as to whether this was a result of a new venture for the cereal company, a lack of production time, or some other reason, but a number of observations are worth noting. Of the VFA teams four clubs had four players represented while the remaining eight teams had just two players each. From a VFL perspective, Essendon and Richmond both had five players, Collingwood, Fitzroy and Footscray four, and three each from Geelong, Hawthorn, Melbourne, North Melbourne, St. Kilda and South Melbourne. What is noticeable here is that there were no players from the Carlton Football Club, despite Carlton being the premiership team of 1947. Of the six teams that had three players featured, five of those teams, including Geelong, filled the final five positions on the league ladder that year. Melbourne, however, also with just three representatives, played in the 1948 Grand Final. Essendon and Richmond had the greatest representation. Essendon were premiers that year; Richmond did not make the finals, so position on the league ladder was not a determining factor as to the number of players from each team. Further, although the pre-war

[32] Francis Doherty. '1948 Kornies Cereal Victorian Footballers.' *Australian Cartophilic Newsletter.* August, 2017. pp. 32-33.

cards, in the main, featured the footballing greats of the era, it needs to be noted that the number of players whose careers straddled the inter-war and post-war period was relatively few in number. Of those that did the footballing celebrities were featured on the cards. Geelong's Lindsay White, the VFL's leading goalkicker for 1948 appears in the series as does the Brownlow Medallist, Bill Morris from Richmond. Other players included VFL all-time greats such as Phonse Kyne (Collingwood), Fred Fanning (Melbourne)[33], Dick Reynolds (Essendon), Jack Dyer (Richmond) and Arthur Olliver (Footscray) to name a few.

Kornies were instrumental in adding a new dimension to the cartophilic scene when they began to print and sell special albums designed to hold the cards children would collect from the cereal packets. This was, arguably, again a marketing coup as a collector would be more aware of 'missing' cards which still needed to be collected when looking through the cards that were stored in an album rather than those housed in a shoe box or simply held together with an elastic band. Thus, collectors needed to purchase more cereal to add the missing cards to their collection. Additionally, the cards were better protected by being housed in an album. Tobacco companies had done this prior to World War I but since then this had been largely replaced by card supply companies selling generic albums. Kornies, with their specific football album, had reintroduced an album that emphasised and advertised on the cover their branding and product. And prominent on every cover over the years was a VFL star player.

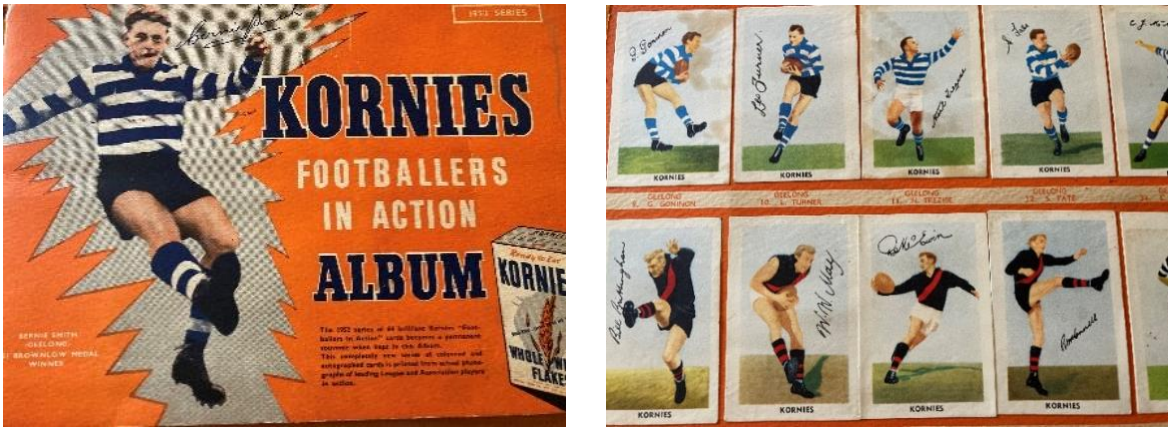

Figure 4.4 1952 Kornies album with 1951 Brownlow medallist Bernie Smith of Geelong on the front cover; and a sample of an inside page of the album. Source: John Rose Private Collection

The discrepancy in club representation continued in the 1949 Kornies set as shown in Table 4.1. This set had increased from 64 cards to 108. While the number of VFA players in the set was constant at two players from each club, the number for the VFL teams varied between five and ten. A previous year's finalist, Footscray, for example, had ten players featured on the cards while the teams that played in the 1949 Grand Final, Carlton and Essendon, had six and eight players respectively. Geelong was in the lowest category with five players along with Hawthorn and St. Kilda. In Geelong's case it is feasible to contemplate that obtaining photographs of players outside of Melbourne may have been more difficult due to petrol

[33] Fred Fanning, although on the 1948 Kornies cards, did not play VFL football in that year. In the last round of 1947 he kicked 18 goals against St. Kilda, but left Melbourne to coach Hamilton in 1948. Oddly, he is also featured in the 1949 Kornies VFL football card series.

rationing which only came to an end in February 1950.[34] Further, this was a period of limited success for the Geelong Football Club and, as is discussed below, was a time when the cards that appeared in products emphasised the stars and celebrities of the day regardless of the team they played for leading to an unequal representation. In that time-frame Geelong waivered between the bottom and mid sections of the VFL ladder. In 1945, for example they won two games, lost eighteen and finished eleventh on the League ladder (out of twelve teams). From 1946 to 1949 they finished 10th, 7th, 9th, and 8th respectively, so were still building and recovering from the time the club could not field a team during the war.

Table 4.1 Club Representation in the 1949 Kornies Football Cards

10 Players	Footscray		
9 Players	Collingwood	Fitzroy	Richmond
8 Players	Essendon		
7 Players	South Melbourne		
6 Players	Carlton	Melbourne	North Melbourne
5 Players	Geelong	Hawthorn	St. Kilda

By 1950 club representation was beginning to even up in the Kornies football cards. In 1950 the range was from six players (Richmond) to three players (Footscray). Geelong was one of seven teams that had four of their champion footballers featured on the cards. The VFA component of the set had dropped to just one player per club reflecting the relative popularity and strength of the VFL compared to the VFA. This limit of one player per VFA team was to continue until 1954 when Kornies no longer included VFA players in their sets. In 1951 the range for VFL teams had narrowed from three to five with Geelong being one of six teams with four representatives. 1952 and 1953 were noticeable in that both Geelong and Richmond had five players each featured in the sets while all other teams had four. Although Geelong played in the Grand Final in 1951, 52 and 53 it is hard to justify club success as a reason for the discrepancy in representative numbers as in the same years Richmond finished 6th, 9th and 10th respectively. From a celebrity perspective, however, Geelong's George Goninon was the VFL's leading goal-kicker in 1951 while Bernie Smith (Geelong) and Roy Wright (Richmond) were Brownlow medal winners in 1951 and 1952 respectively. From 1954 onwards, however, the Kornies sets featured an equal number of players from each of the twelve VFL teams and it is reasonable to speculate that collectors – naturally often focussed on their own team - found this a more desirable mix.

The success of Kornies using trade cards featuring footballers led to other food companies using the same strategy. Harper's Easi Oats were the first to follow in 1951 when the company issued a set of VFL footballers in their product sold in Victoria and a separate set of South Australian players in the products sold in that state.[35] This highlights that there was competitive marketing within an industry and is reminiscent of the cigarette and confectionery industries discussed in earlier chapters. Like the Kornies cards of that year, there was no uniformity in regard to the number of cards for each team in the Easi-Oats set. Only two South Melbourne

[34] On this day. https:www.robertmenziesinstitute.org.au Retrieved 27 April 2022.

[35] John Crennan. op. cit.

players were included in this set while Essendon had five, Carlton, Collingwood and Richmond four and the remaining teams, including Geelong, three players each. However, the players chosen to be on the cards were, once again, the champions of the day. The Geelong cards, for example, were of Bernie Smith who was to win the Brownlow Medal that year, the club captain Fred Flanagan and an exciting player known as the Geelong Flyer, Bob Davis. Harper's Easi Oats were to continue to produce and distribute trade cards of South Australian players in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1960 and 1964, but only one other set of Victorian footballers in 1964. In both states the first set of cards were caricatures of players, with the remaining sets being photographs. From the above it is reasonable to conclude that the use of footballers in marketing was more profitable for the Harper's Easi Oats company in South Australia than it was in Victoria, possibly due to the dominance of Kornies.

Fyna Foods also issued a set of football trade cards in 1954 depicting caricatures of VFL players drawn by William Ellis Green (WEG), a well-known cartoonist from the *Herald and Weekly Times*.[36] Due to a number of acquisitions Fyna Foods is today a large company based in Hallam, Victoria, but in 1954 was in its infancy having been established only seven years earlier in 1947. In its early years its flagship product was a sherbet confectionery item known as Wizz Fizz which was hand-produced and packaged by just twelve employees.[37] But it was in lollipops that the football cards were inserted and this, along with some timely licencing agreements with Disney, helped establish Fyna as a market leader.[38] The super-stars of Australian Rules football were the subjects on these cards. With the exception of Fred Goldsmith (1955) every past and future Brownlow Medallist from 1949 to 1956 was included. With two players from each club being featured, the names sound like a roll call of the VFL legends of that era. Geelong's representatives were Fred Flanagan who captained the 1951 and 1952 premiership teams, and Bernie Smith who played in both those teams and, as stated earlier, won the Brownlow Medal in 1951.

Victorian Nut Supplies, however, took a slightly different approach by including incentives other than just the card itself in their product. In 1949 this Essendon-based company produced a card set of 36 prominent sportspeople of which fifteen were VFL footballers and distributed these cards in bags of nuts (of the edible not bolt variety). The cards were caricatures drawn by Bob Mirams, a well-known cartoonist of that time whose work is now displayed at the Australian Sports Museum in Melbourne. Also in the bag was a single jig-saw piece. The back of the card advertised weekly prizes that could be won by collecting all 36 cards and completing a 15-piece jigsaw puzzle. Each week there were 26 prizes made up of one bicycle, five footballs and twenty pens. This was to be the only year that Victorian Nut Supplies issued trade cards with their product indicating that it was likely to have been considered not successful enough in increasing sales to warrant continuing. The fifteen VFL footballers included in this promotion came from just nine of the twelve VFL clubs. There was no player representation from Carlton, St. Kilda or Hawthorn. Geelong had one representative – Lindsay White - who

[36] ibid.

[37] Francis Doherty. '1954 Fyna Foods Victorian Football Caricatures'. *The Australian Card Collector*. Vol. 3. Issue 3. June 2021.

[38] Fyna Foods website. History. https://www.fyna.com.au/history Retrieved 18 February 2022.

was one of the league's star forwards of that era. Three other clubs had just one player included in the set; four had two players while Collingwood had three.

The unevenness in the representation of players from the VFL clubs in the early Kornies sets, the Harper's Easi Oats sets and the Victorian Nut Supplies series needs clarification. It is reasonable to suggest that in this early post-war stage the companies had a belief that young VFL fans who were collectors would appreciate the better teams and star players of the league regardless of the teams they played for, but that this strategy gave way to a realisation that fans were strongly attached to their teams. That is, the tribal affinity had a greater pull than the promoting companies had accounted for. If a set of cards contained just one player from Geelong for example, once a Geelong supporter had that card, they would not necessarily continue to purchase the product seeking other cards of footballers from other clubs. Hence the companies began to produce equal numbers of players from each club in the cards they included with their products.

The confectionery company Besters produced a set of cards in 1959 that typified the trend of producing cards, not to a standard size, but with variety in both size and format. This was an era when the producers of the cards were selling products of different sizes, unlike the previous cigarette card era, and so often the card size was determined first by the size of the packaging and second by the creativity of the producer to make their card different and attractive. The Besters cards were long and narrow and in a black and white newspaper-type format. The text included details of how collectors could win their own football by collecting the cards. By the time Besters produced these cards, the practice of having equal representation of players from each club was standard practice. Thus, this set contained two players from each club with one inexplicable exception; that being Melbourne which had only one player included. Geelong was represented by Bob Davis and Neil Trezise who had been the club's captain and vice-captain respectively over the preceding years.

Figure 4.5 A feature of this era was the production of football trade cards in a variety of sizes and formats unlike the previous standard size of cigarette cards. Source: John Rose Private Collection

The Jewel in the Crown for Geelong

Trade cards of Geelong players were commonly found in sets comprising footballers from all VFL teams. It was not common for a 'stand-alone' set of just Geelong players despite the fact that Geelong was the only provincial team in the VFL and had a substantial local and regional market. So it was notable when the giant Coca Cola enterprise produced sets of football cards featuring only Geelong players in 1957, 1958 and 1962. This coincided with the establishment of a Coca Cola bottling factory in Geelong. Geelong, along with Melbourne, was prospering in this era. At about the same time as the Shell Oil Company refinery began production in Corio in 1956, Coca Cola Bottlers, along with Pilkington Glass and Ryland Brothers (later BHP) were all newly-established in the North Shore-Corio region, joining the already established Ford Motor Company and Corio Distillery.[39]

The Coca Cola release in 1957 was a very imaginative marketing ploy. Under the cork disc of the Coca Cola bottle tops was a generic picture of a Geelong footballer. Four of these tops when collected could then be exchanged for any one of 24 cards of Geelong players. Additionally, Coca Cola produced folders to contain the 24 cards which collectors could purchase at retailers for sixpence. To add to the incentive to purchase the soft-drink, the first fifty people to present a filled folder of all 24 cards at the Coca Cola Bottling Plant in Geelong had a choice of prizes including free admission and transport to the VFL Grand Final, a Geelong football jumper, or football boots, amongst other prizes. That Australia was a growing market in the 1950s and marketing was an increasingly important aspect for companies is partly evidenced by Coca Cola's advertising agency, McCann-Erickson, opening an Australian office in 1959.

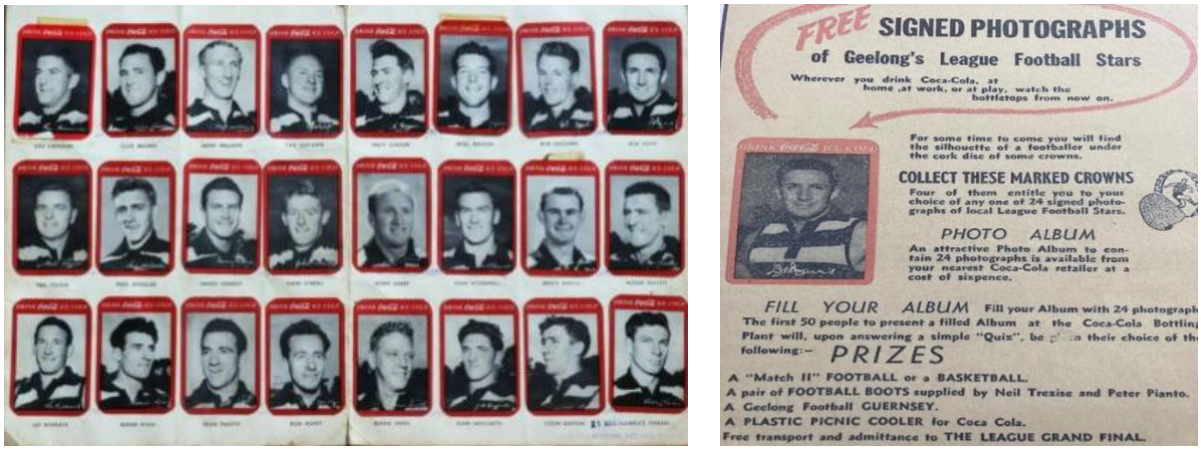

Figure 4.6 The 1957 Coca Cola cards; and advertising for this unique set of Geelong players. Source: John Rose Private Collection

From a Geelong perspective the release of these three sets of cards indicated that the provincial team in the major league was now being recognised as a market worth pursuing and embracing. It is worth emphasising again that Coca Cola produced these football cards for players of the Geelong Football Club only. No other VFL team was included in this release. Further, the first set in 1957 included 24 players, extending to 32 players in 1958 and 1962, so many players

[39] Ian Wynd. *So Fine a Country: A History of the Shire of Corio.* 1981. Shire of Corio. North Geelong.

who would not normally be included on a football card, were featured on these. Not only was this release of the Geelong cards of public relations value to Coca Cola but it also heralded that Geelong was a genuine individual market to be tapped.

The choice of Geelong players to appear on these cards appear to have been random. In all probability the photographs of the players were obtained, in the main, from a source other than the Geelong Football Club itself, which was a common practice in that era. The choice of 24 cards (1957) and 32 cards (1958 and 1962) was no doubt due to the symmetry of placement in the folders as they are both even numbers and multiples of eight. The apparent randomness in the choice of the players is based on the following. In 1957 Geelong had 41 players who played at the senior level with fifteen of these being first year recruits. None of the recruits were included in this set, but also omitted were senior players John Helmer, Fred Le Deux, Eric Nicholls and Bob Wiltshire. However, both Ken Cameron and Max Sutcliffe were included yet neither of these players were at Geelong in 1957 having played their last games for the club the previous season.

For the 1958 and 1962 seasons the Coca-Cola company produced a larger folder to accommodate the extra cards, but the randomness in player selection continued. Forty players were selected at the senior level in 1958 including fourteen recruits. That year eight of the recruits appeared on the cards, while six were not included. Also omitted was champion player, Bernie Smith, a 180 plus game veteran at that stage although he only played one game in 1958 due to injuries. The other player not included was Ron Smith who played two games that season bringing his total for the club to six appearances at the senior level. The final set in 1962 likewise displayed a random selection of Geelong footballers. Only 33 players were used at the senior level that year including four recruits. Three of the recruits were included in the set but Bill Hoskin was not included. Three other senior players from that year were omitted: Stan Harrison, Brian Lowe and Denis Zanoni. Surprisingly Dale Mathers was included although he had last played in 1961, as was Terry Tate whose only season at Geelong was the previous year when he played just two games. But the biggest surprise was the inclusion of Kevin Leske. Leske tried out with Geelong in the early 1960s and although being a champion country footballer – he holds the record for the number of games played at Port Fairy (309) – he never played a senior game for Geelong. Therefore neither years at Geelong, games played, or celebrity status appear to have been criterion for inclusion in these sets of cards resulting in many players being featured on just the one card during their VFL careers. These sets did, however, have a wide appeal to Geelong supporters as so many of the team were featured.

The Motoring Industry Enters the Market

A further significant factor in this era was car ownership which soared during the 1950s. This led to rapid expansion of suburbs away from the inner-city and the building of many homes on quarter-acre blocks in newly-opened areas. Simpson has noted that:

> Whereas bicycles and motorcycles gave personal freedom in the early 1900s, car ownership in the 1950s provided mobility and flexibility for the whole family. It enabled families to visit relatives or friends, go to church, the beach, sporting events, local pools, country picnics and Sunday afternoon drives. For

the first time, the family breadwinner didn't have to live near his workplace, providing a division between work and home.[40]

The Holden virtually became a national icon and Ford and General Motors established local automobile manufacturing plants in Melbourne and Adelaide after World War II. With this surge in car ownership came a rapid increase in roadside cafes, motels, shopping centres, car parks, drive-ins and service stations. Of these, it was the service stations that faced intense competition and turned to using the popularity of the VFL and footballers on trade cards and on transfers/stickers as a means of attracting customers and competing for market position. One of the first to do this was the Atlantic petrol company which issued, in 1958, a set of 128 VFL footballers on cards which were given away each time petrol was purchased. Between 1958 and 1964 Atlantic issued nine sets of trade cards with only the one being of footballers. With the football set twelve cards were issued for each of the teams competing in the 1957 VFL finals series and ten for all the other teams including Geelong. Mobil was to follow but not until the 1960s when larger cards featuring VFL footballers were issued with petrol purchases in 1964, 1965 and 1966. But it was the production of transfers that was most favoured by the service stations as these could be placed on the car's back window showing the family's support for a particular team and providing constant exposure for the petrol company. Between 1955 and 1965 multiple transfers with a VFL theme were produced and distributed by Mobil, Shell, Golden Fleece, Kangaroo and Ampol service stations, thus riding on the popularity of the VFL. The study of transfers is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is worth reflecting on the capacity to use football teams to sell a product and the attraction of the VFL in marketing terms.

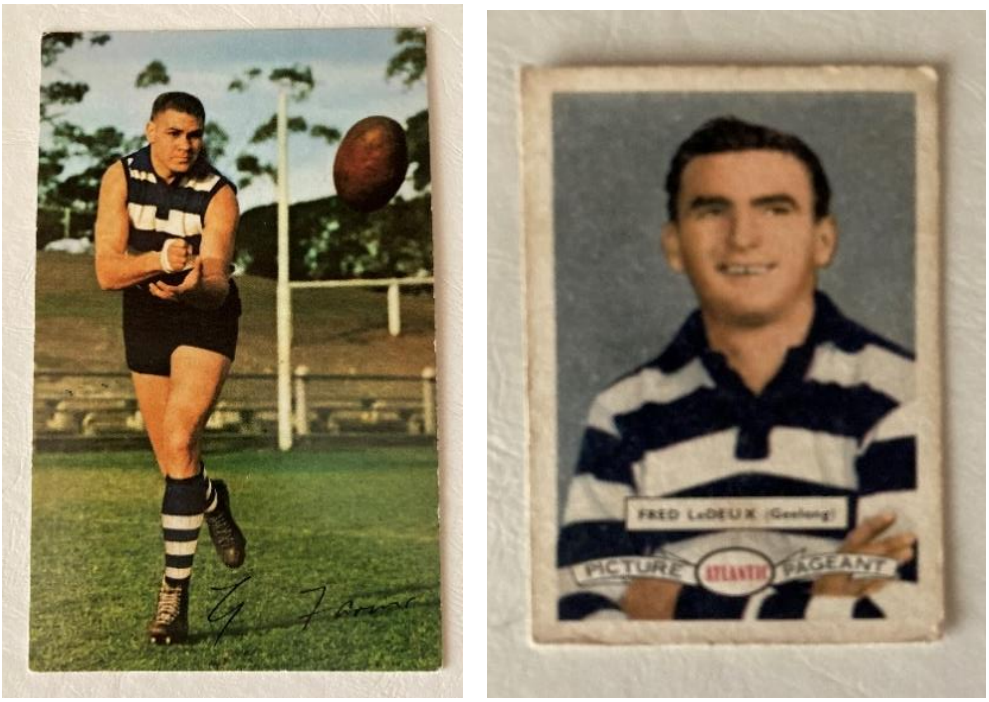

Figure 4.7 Trading cards of Graham "Polly" Farmer, from Mobil Service Station, and Fred LeDeux, Atlantic Service Station. Source: John Rose Private Collection

[40] Margaret Simpson. op. cit.

Figure 4.8 One of the many advertisements for football transfers from service stations in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Source: The Australian Card Collector. October, 2021

Newspapers Join the Trend

A major promoter of the VFL in the 1950s was the Melbourne newspaper the *Argus*. In 1947 this paper began to publish coloured images of prominent VFL players in a weekend supplement to the paper. Team photographs of VFL clubs first appeared in the publication in 1949, and in 1951 the *Argus* released an incredible 152 football-related badge collection. Doherty observes that 'following the success of the badges and recognising that the city of Melbourne had an insatiable need for all things football, in 1953 the *Argus* issued their Football Pin-Up set of 72 cards which was amongst the most striking set of football cards ever seen'.[41] Again, the marketing of the paper underscoring this promotion, like the Coca Cola promotion discussed above, was well thought out. Readers had to collect numbered vouchers that were printed in the newspaper. Once four consecutive numbered vouchers had been collected these could be exchanged for one card either by posting to the *Argus* or by collecting from their office in Collins Street, Melbourne. Four different cards were available each week and the promotion ran for eighteen weeks to make up the 72 cards, featuring six players from each of the VFL teams including the provincial Geelong team. These large cards (195 x 113 mm) proved to be very popular.

[41] Francis Doherty. '1953 Argus Football Portrait Pin-Ups'. *The Australian Card Collector*. Vol. 2. Issue 6. December 2020. pp. 34-37.

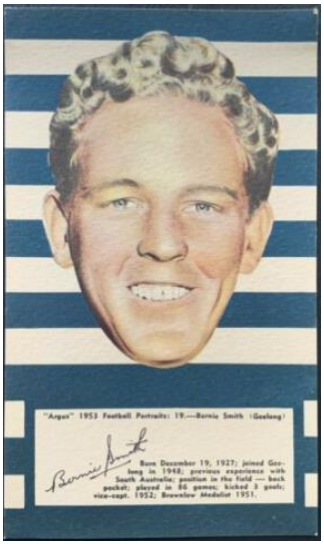

Figure 4.9 The 1953 *Argus* football pin-up cards – a marketing success. Source: John Rose Private Collection

Figure 4.10 *The Argus* advertising its football cards on the front page of its Monday 13 April 1953 edition. Source: The Australian Card Collector. December, 2020.

Following the success of this promotion the *Argus* issued a second set of cards, much smaller in size, in 1954 and a set of extremely small cards (25mm x 25mm) as part of a board game in 1956. The 1954 set was extremely popular with children as each card showed a coloured caricature of the player's body with an actual photo head along with a facsimile signature. Twelve players from each of the twelve VFL clubs were included in this set. In 1956 the *Argus* was in its last full year of production and a board game called 'Fireside Footballers' which contained a board and a scoreboard was issued via the newspaper's head office. Small cards the size of postage stamps to be used with the game could be obtained by collecting coupons from the newspaper and then redeeming them in person at the *Argus* distribution outlet in Melbourne. Twenty-four cards per team were issued in sheets which had to be cut into the individual cards to play the game. Although the *Argus* folded, other newspapers, particularly the *Herald* and *The Sun* were to issue a plethora of football-related marketing gimmicks particularly in the 1960s.

Figure 4.11 The popular 1954 VFL football cards produced and distributed by *The Argus*. Source: John Rose Private Collection

An Indication of a New Era

A watershed moment in cartophily in Australia occurred in the early 1950s when the G.J. Coles retail company began to sell swap cards with blank reverse sides, printed by Hudson Industries (Melbourne). These differed from trade cards in that they did not advertise a product – the card itself became the product. These cards were relatively cheap at just a few pennies per card and cards in a set could be purchased individually at any time exclusively from any of the 168 Coles stores, unlike many other trade cards that were randomly inserted into packages and only available by buying a product.[42] Therefore, it was easier for collectors to complete their sets as they chose the cards they wanted instead of receiving a random card with a product. Around 2,300 different cards were produced by Coles stores with a trio of favourite sporting images being the VFL cards produced in 1954 (two sets) and 1955, the cricket cards produced around the same time, and the 1956 Melbourne Olympics sporting cards.[43]

Figure 4.12 Coles football cards in 1954 (top) and 1955 (below). Source: John Rose Private Collection

[42] Francis Doherty. 'Coles Victorian Footballers – Series 1, 2 & 3.' *The Australian Card Collector*. Vol 1. No. 6. December 2019. pp. 33-35.

[43] ibid.

The Coles VFL cards came out in three sets. The first set comprised 56 cards with each of the twelve VFL teams having either four or five players represented. The second set, however, was quite different. Only one Hawthorn player and one Melbourne player were included in the set while Collingwood had eight and Geelong and Essendon seven each. This probably reflected the sales of the cards from various teams in the first set indicating which teams were more popular with collectors than others and emphasised the difference from the randomness of trade cards unseen until a product was opened. To expand on this, the outstanding football celebrity of the mid-1950s was Essendon's full-forward, John Coleman. Coleman is the only player to appear in all three series of Coles cards. He actually appeared on four cards with two separate cards of Coleman being included in Series 2. As both Series 1 and Series 2 were produced in 1954, all the players in Series 2, with the exception of Coleman, were players not included in Series 1. But by the time the 1955 set was produced the company would have had a better knowledge of sales per player and per team. Consequently, it is noticeable that only the star football celebrities of the day featured in more than one set and the names would be well known to followers of football – players such as Bob Rose and Bill Twomey from Collingwood, Bill Hutchinson (Essendon), Des Rowe and Roy Wright (Richmond), Jack Collins and Charlie Sutton (Footscray) and from Geelong, Bernie Smith and Peter Pianto. From the reverse perspective no player from Hawthorn, Melbourne, North Melbourne, St. Kilda or South Melbourne appeared in more than one set. It is also noted, as mentioned above, that in Series 1 all teams had either four or five players featured, but in the subsequent series Collingwood, for example, had eight players while St. Kilda and South Melbourne had been reduced to two each and Hawthorn and Melbourne just one. The cards were sturdy, colourful and attractive to collectors. But to reiterate, the defining aspect of these cards, however, was that the product was the card itself – not the card promoting a product. This concept was to herald the demise over a number of years of the trade card, first with the advent of the Scanlens cards and decades later again the complete takeover of the football card scene by the Select company.

This research considers the production and distribution of cigarette and trade cards prior to the release of the first of the Scanlens cards in 1963. Scanlens started manufacturing confectionery in Sydney in 1911 and produced its first VFL football cards in 1963, the same year they produced cards of players from the New South Wales Rugby League and the Queensland Rugby League, many of which have become valuable collectors' items.

Scanlens was synonymous with footy cards for three decades and tens of thousands of Australians still have fond memories of collecting these cards as young children and swapping them with their friends in the school playgrounds. The designs of the Scanlens cards, however, were not their own; the company actually paid an American company, Topps, to license their designs. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Scanlens football card designs were based on a USA Topps release from the year before, either baseball, American football or even ice hockey.

However, the point of difference between Scanlens and the confectionery manufacturers who distributed football cards in their products from the 1930s is that with Scanlens the product was the card itself that attracted buyers, not the stick of bubble gum with the card. Scanlens' advertising actually included the words "Football Cards – plus 1 stick of Bubble Gum" with the emphasis being on the football cards. James Lyngcoln in his book *Collecting Scanlens: A*

Guide to Collecting Old Australian Rules Football Cards features this wording on the front cover design. So, the release of the Scanlens cards was a transitional and highly influential stage in the history of cartophily in Australia, particularly in reference to Australian Rules footballers appearing as the subject of collectible cards. When Scanlens released their last set of collectible cards in 1989, the void was taken up by a company producing cards only with no other product involved and a new era in collectible cards had begun. From 1963 to 1989 various companies issued trade cards but during this period the number declined each year and gradually came to the point where the release of a trade card featuring footballers during a year was the exception rather than the rule.

Summary

The period from the end of the Second World War to 1963 saw huge changes in the cartophilic arena particularly with the use of images of footballers as a marketing strategy. The distribution of cigarette cards, which prior to World War II had been produced in the millions, ceased. But with a strong and growing economy during the reconstruction years, more individual leisure time and greater individual wealth, personal consumption in Australia was at an all-time high. At the same time football, in particular the VFL, surged in popularity no doubt helped along by the various media outlets of radio, television and newspapers. Many companies saw the increased demand for consumer spending on one hand, the popularity of the VFL on the other and married the two by appealing to the buying public through the marketing of images of VFL players on trade cards.

The trade cards themselves came in an assortment of formats and sizes ranging from the size of postage stamps to slightly larger than postcard size. This was a departure from earlier periods when the size of cigarette cards was standard and the variation in the size of various trade cards was minimal. The end of this era and the heralding of the Scanlens era from 1963 to 1989 was to see a return of a standard size for collectible cards, one could assume much to the relief of the serious collector. It was also to herald a new era in collectible cards whereby the card itself became the product. In effect, the very success of producing cards featuring footballers as a marketing strategy to sell a product gave birth to the footballer on the card becoming the product in its own right. The era of trade cards was coming to a close being replaced by the commercial production and sale of trading cards more akin to the swap cards of the fifties.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored various aspects of collectible cards including the nexus between card collecting (cartophily) and Australian society during the period 1900 to 1962 with a particular focus on the celebrity status of Australian Rules footballers and the use of images of footballers in the marketing of various products. Hardly peculiar to Australia, the phenomenon of producing and collecting cigarette and trade cards has a long history, deeply rooted in the US tobacco industry and its developments in mechanisation and marketing. Thus, a conceptual framework of the history of both cigarette cards and trade cards from a global perspective set the scene early in the thesis for what followed.

Picking up on the introduction of cigarette cards to Australia in the late nineteenth century, this thesis utilised a case study approach using footballers from the Geelong Football Club who had appeared on either cigarette cards or trade cards since 1900; the year when Geelong players were first known to be represented on these cards. The Geelong Football Club was chosen for the case study due to its uniqueness in being the only provincial club in the nascent Victorian Football League, competing against other teams which all had a Melbourne suburban base and supporter following. Possessions and the Extended Self and Tribal Identity were two theories that were presented and discussed on why people collect memorabilia and mementoes, in this case cigarette and trade cards featuring footballers. The impact on society, either positive or negative, of the production of football cards and also the collection of football cards, particularly by minors, was also considered and it was found that the children's mania for collecting cigarette cards produced a strong reaction against this practice. Numerous examples of the negative effects on minors were particularly noted with boys often depicted as a ubiquitous and persistent menace. This resulted in various societal groups such as the Australasian Women's Association and various Parent and Citizens groups attempting to have the images on cigarette cards outlawed.

Cigarette marketing to women, either to encourage them to smoke or to influence males in their choice of brands was also considered. The short-lived practice of producing silk cigarette cards was one example of this as well as the choice of subjects appearing on the cards. It was noted, however, that the subject choice on trade cards was more skewed to a female audience than cigarette cards, reflecting the marketing strategies of various traders in the early 1900s. Cards which featured sports, however, tended to be male dominated even post-World War II with footballers, cricketers, jockeys, boxers and other male sports celebrities dominating. This reflected the 'breadwinner' model of gender relationships of the late 1940s and 1950s although the advent of the Melbourne Olympic Games in 1956 did provide an avenue for featuring female athletes and sportswomen on trade cards albeit in a limited scope.

In examining who produced these football cards over six decades and how they were used for advertising and marketing, this thesis has tracked the move from an early dominance of cards produced by tobacco companies, the emergence of confectionery companies, and later the entry

into the field of a wide range of industries ranging from newspapers, cereal and other food companies, as well as companies centred around the motoring/oil industry. Other changes occurred in the size and format of the cards prior to a standard size being adopted. Which players were chosen for these marketing opportunities and why those players and not others was also investigated as there are very few examples where all players from a team for any particular year have been included in a set of cards. While the featured players were predominantly the 'star' players of their era, a number of somewhat obscure examples were conspicuous. These included footballers appearing on cards although their football careers lasted only five or so games, or former well-known players appearing in card sets some two years after they had retired alongside current players.

What was also noted in relation to this and the marketing strategies of various businesses was that initially there was a tendency to produce sets of cards with unequal representation of players from the VFL teams, as some clubs had more 'stars' and celebrities than others – often the more successful teams at the time the cards were released. However, it was later realized by the manufacturers that supporters/collectors were more intent on collecting cards of players from the team they supported rather than the league overall, and this tribal loyalty resulted in an equalization of club representation on sets of cards that were distributed to promote products.

As there had been numerous sets of cigarette cards and trade cards issued since 1900, a time slice approach to history was adopted with significant examples from various eras investigated. These phases were not arbitrary but were chosen to reflect stages as identified in the research of footballers appearing on cigarette and trade cards. The time slices were: -

1. From 1900 to the commencement of World War I in 1914. In this period cigarette cards dominated and foremost amongst the distributors was the nascent Australian tobacco company Sniders & Abrahams. The issue of cigarette cards and trade cards featuring Australian Rules footballers temporarily ceased between 1915 and 1919.
2. From 1920 to the commencement of World War II in 1939 during which time there were numerous issues of football cards before war time restrictions again resulted in an absence of football cards. This was an era when confectionery companies began to distribute football trade cards in increasing numbers to rival the dominance of the tobacco industry.
3. From 1948 to 1962 which was a significant time in that cigarette cards virtually ceased with the void being taken up by the distribution of trade cards by a large range of companies covering several diverse industries.

This research concluded in 1962 as the following year saw a major change in the history of football cards as a marketing strategy. Although the production of cards by industries and/or businesses aimed at promoting their product or service still continued to a reduced extent, from 1963 the era began whereby the cards themselves became the product that was purchased and there commenced a transition from trade cards to trading cards. It was the Scanlens confectionery company that provided the turning point. Scanlens began selling football cards in 1963 with a stick of bubble gum but the product that the thousands of young buyers sought was the card in each wrapper and not the gum. This was the forerunner of football cards being

sold in packets without any other product. The industry had moved from a printed image of a football celebrity being used to market a product to a stage where the image of the footballer itself became the product.

The collection of cards featuring footballers is now a multimillion-dollar industry. This thesis has provided insight into the historical development of this phenomenon, the development and growth to date, and has highlighted and explored aspects surrounding the phases and the expansion of this industry over time in Australian society. This thesis has explored a new pathway in the limited literature of cartophily and footballers in that it has tracked the development from the beginning of the twentieth century through to the early 1960s demonstrating the trajectory of the commercialisation of football cards. Further, it provided not only a history of the VFL footballers appearing on cards, but also an insight into the collectors of cigarette cards and trade cards. On reflection, the Prologue began with a quote by Dave Jamieson that opined that cards are not the hallmark of childhood anymore but a way for collectors to return to it. To a large extent this opinion has been validated. Today many cards of footballers are produced annually with prices exceeding $1,000; some exceeding $10,000 each. These are clearly for an adult collector market and to a large extent the 'age of innocence' of the child collector has diminished. However, it has not disappeared entirely as children are still a critical market being able to buy packets of cards – usually for less than four dollars a packet – containing cards of AFL footballers. So today there exists two levels of collectors – the serious, some would say obsessive, adult collectors, and the children seeking cards of their current football heroes.

It is suggested that future research into Australian Rules footballers and the use of their images on trading cards be considered, thus building on the foundational platform this thesis has provided. The era from 1963 to 1991 is one area for further research. The first release of the Scanlens cards was in 1963 and there is much to explore there including the licensing arrangement with card producers from the USA and the subsequent replica of American designs on Australian cards during the Scanlens era; the choice of footballers by Scanlens to appear on the cards; the arrangements with the VFL to obtain the photographs for the cards, and the growth and later decline of the business and its transition to Stimorol. Another suggested area for research is an understanding of today's modern era of footballers on cards including the dominance of the Select company in Australia, issues around the legal ownership of photographic images and the subsequent licensing arrangements between companies such as Select, the (now) Australian Football League, the AFL Players' Association, and the individual players themselves, as well as the move from paper images of players to digital images now in its infancy. This, and other research, would add to the continuing story and knowledge of footballers, celebrity, marketing and cartophily presented in this thesis.

APPENDIX 1

Data base of Geelong Players on Cigarette and Trade Cards: 1900 - 1962

PLAYER	CARD SERIES
A	
B	
Bailiff, Les	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900 Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904
Baker, Edward	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 Victorian League & Association Footballers - 1932
Bartle, Bruce	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Barton, Colin	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Bauer, Don	Kornies Victorian Footballers - 1949
Beardsley, Ken	Argus Fireside Footballers - 1956
Bennion, Bill	Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906
Borrack, Les	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Jonco Football Shorts Victorian Footballers - 1958
Bow, Glenn	Argus Fireside Footballers - 1956
Bowey, Frank	Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904 Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906
Brown, John	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Brown, Clive	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Brushfield, Brian	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Buchan, Tom	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Bullen, Roger	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars - 1957
Bumpstead, Ewen	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series - 1929
Burns, Peter	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Byron, Alan	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
C	
Callan, Terry	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Cameron, Ken	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars - 1957

Carney, Jack	Victorian League & Association Footballers – 1932 VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Carreras Personality Series – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers - 1933
Coghlan, Arthur	Portraits of our Leading Footballers – 1923 Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) - 1933
Cole, Charles	Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904
Collins, Jack	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Carreras Bob Miram's Caricatures – 1933 Carreras Personality Series - 1933
Craven, Harold	Victorian League Footballers – 1920 Suburban Premium Issues – 1921-25 Victorian League Footballers – 1921 McIntyre Football Champions Series 2 – 1922 League and Association Captains - 1922
D	
Davis, Bob	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1950 Harper's Easi Oats Famous Footballers – 1951 Kornies Footballers in Action – 1951 Argus Football Portraits – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 1 – 1954 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Kornies VFL Mascots – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Jonco Football Shorts Victorian Footballers – 1958 Besters Sweets Victorian Footballers - 1959
Devine, John	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Dibbs, Charlie	The Football Exercise Book - 1936
Donaghy, Mick	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900 Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904

	Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907
E	
Eason, Alec	Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912 Australian Footballers – Series I, Shield Series, 1914 Victorian League Footballers - 1920
Eason, Bill	Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1909 Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910 Australian Footballers – Series F, Head in Rays Series, 1911 Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912 Australian Footballers – Series H, Star Series, 1913
Evans, Jack	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian League Footballers – 1933 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
F	
Farmer, Graham	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Ferrari, Bruce	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Jonco Football Shorts Victorian Footballers - 1958
Finegan, George	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Fitzpatrick, Frank	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Flanagan, Fred	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1948 Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1949 Harper's Easi Oats Famous Footballers – 1951 Kornies Footballers in Action – 1951 Argus Football Portraits – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 1 – 1954 Fyna Foods Victorian Football Caricatures - 1954
Fleming, Eric	Portraits of our Leading Footballers - 1923
Fox, John	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Fulton, Terry	Kornies Footballers in Action - 1953
G	
Gazzard, Bob	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Goggin, Bill	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958

	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Goggin, Matt	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Goninon, George	Kornies Footballers in Action – 1952 Argus Football Portraits - 1953
Goodland, Ken	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Gough, Alf	Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908
Greeves, Edward	Sportsmen and Racehorses – 1926 Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 Giant Brand Licorice League & Association Footballers - 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) - 1933
Grigg, Dick	Australian Footballers – Series D, 1909 Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910 Australian Footballers – Series F, Head in Rays Series, 1911 Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912 Australian Footballers – Series H, Star Series, 1913 Australian Footballers – Series I, Shield Series, 1914
Gross, Vic	Victorian League Footballers - 1921
H	
Hagger, Lloyd	Suburban Premium Issues – 1921-25 Portraits of our Leading Footballers – 1923 Australian Sportsmen (Pals) - 1924 Suburban Premium Issues – 1926-28 Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series - 1929
Haines, George	*see Heinz, George*
Hamer, Gary	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Hardiman, Harold	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Allen's League Footballers – 1934 Hoadleys Victorian League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Hardiman, Jack	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Hardiman, Les	MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Hassett, Jack	Australian Footballers – Series D, 1909 Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910
Hawking, Fred	Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933

	Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Allen's League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Hawking, Howard	Argus Fireside Footballers - 1956
Haygarth, John	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Heinz, George	Australian Footballers – Series F, Head in Rays Series, 1911 Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912 Australian Footballers – Series H, Star Series, 1913 Australian Footballers – Series I, Shield Series, 1914
Helmer, Clyde	Allen's League Footballers - 1939
Helmer, John	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Herbert, Harry	Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 – 1954 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars - 1957
Hetherington, Max	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Hickey, Reg	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 Victorian League & Association Footballers – 1932 VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Carreras Bob Miram's Caricatures – 1933 Carreras Personality Series – 1933 Giant Brand Licorice League & Association Footballers - 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 50) – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Allen's League Footballers – 1934 Hoadleys Victorian League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers – 1934 The Football Exercise Book - 1935
Holligan, Ted	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Horman, James	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Hovey, Ron	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Hyde, John	Kornies Footballers in Action – 1951

	Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 – 1954 Kornies Champion Footballers - 1954
I	
J	
James, Eddy	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Jerram, George	Griffiths “Black Crow” Football Series - 1929
Jones, John	Victorian League Footballers - 1920
K	
Keppel, Frank	Griffiths “Black Crow” Football Series - 1929
Kuhlken, Bill	MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
L	
Lancaster, Ralph	Griffiths “Black Crow” Football Series - 1929
Leahy, Paddy	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Le Deux, Fred	Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Leske, Kevin	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Lleweyllen, Edward	Griffiths “Black Crow” Football Series - 1929
Lockwood, George	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Lockwood, Ted	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Long, Doug	Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Lord, Alistair	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Lord, Stewart	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
M	
McCallum, Firth	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
McCarter, Billy	Suburban Premium Issues – 1921-25 Australian Footballers - 1925
McDonald, Rupe	VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
McGrath, George	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
McKenzie, Alex	Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906 Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908

	Australian Footballers – Series D, 1909
McMaster, Bill	Kornies Footballers in Action – 1952 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 - 1954
McNeilage, George	Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910
McShane, Jim	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
McShane, Joe	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900 Past and Present Champions, 1905
Marshman, Harry	Australian Footballers – Series H, Star Series, 1913 Australian Footballers – Series I, Shield Series, 1914
Mather, Dale	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Martin, Neville	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Martini, Percy	Australian Footballers – Series F, Head in Rays Series, 1911 Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912 Australian Footballers – Series H, Star Series, 1913 Australian Footballers – Series I, Shield Series, 1914
Metherell, Jack	MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Metherell, Len	Victorian League & Association Footballers – 1932 VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Carreras Bob Miram's Caricatures – 1933 Carreras Personality Series – 1933 Giant Brand Licorice League & Association Footballers - 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 50) – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Allen's League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Middlemiss, Russell	Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 - 1954
Miller, Bill	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Mockridge, Frank	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series - 1929
Moloney, George	Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Carreras Bob Miram's Caricatures – 1933 Carreras Personality Series – 1933 Giant Brand Licorice League & Association Footballers - 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 50) – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933

	Allen's League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Champions – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Morrison, Bruce	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1950 Kornies Footballers in Action – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 - 1954
Morrow, Tom	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1950 Kornies Footballers in Action - 1953
Muller, Angie	Allen's League Footballers - 1939
N	
Newling, Ernest	Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904
Nicholls, Eric	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
O	
O'Connell, John	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
O'Donnell, Graeme	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
O'Neill, John	Coles Victorian Footballers Series 3 – 1955 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Kornies Footballer Swap Cards – 1959 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Orchard, Billy	Australian Footballers – Series F, Head in Rays Series, 1911 Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912 Australian Footballers – Series H, Star Series, 1913 Australian Footballers – Series I, Shield Series, 1914
Orr, Eric	Allen's League Footballers - 1933
P	
Palmer, Cliff	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Palmer, Jim	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Parkin, Jack	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Peake, Bruce	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Pianto, Peter	Kornies Footballers in Action – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 1 – 1954 Kornies Champion Footballers – 1954

	Coles Victorian Footballers Series 3 – 1955 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Kornies VFL Mascots - 1957
Pincott, Billy	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
Pomeroy, Frank	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Q	
Quinn, Tommy	VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 50) – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Allen's League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers – 1934 Allen's League Footballers - 1939
R	
Rankin, Bert	Victorian League Footballers – 1920 McIntyre Football Champions Series 1 – 1921 Suburban Premium Issues – 1921-25 Victorian League Footballers – 1921 Portraits of our Leading Footballers - 1923
Rankin, Cliff	Victorian League Footballers – 1920 McIntyre Football Champions Series 1 – 1921 Victorian League Footballers – 1921 Portraits of our Leading Footballers – 1923 Australian Footballers – 1925 Sportsmen and Racehorses - 1926
Rankin, Edward (Ted)	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900 Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904 Past and Present Champions, 1905 Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906 Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907 Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910
Rankin, Tom	Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906
Rayson, Arthur	VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers - 1932
Rayson, Noel	Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 – 1954 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956

	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Renfrey, Russell	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1948 Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1949 Kornies Footballers in Action – 1953 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 1 – 1954 Argus Fireside Footballers - 1956
Rice, Colin	Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Rosenow, Geoff	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Routley, Hugh	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Ryan, Bernie	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars - 1957
S	
Scown, Percy	Australian Footballers – Series F, Head in Rays Series, 1911 Australian Footballers – Series G, Pennant Series, 1912
Sellwood, Joe	MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Sharland, Wally	Victorian League Footballers – 1920 McIntyre Football Champions Series 2 – 1922 Portraits of our Leading Footballers – 1923 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) - 1933
Sharp, Norman	Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 3 – 1955 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars - 1957
Smith, Bernie	Harper's Easi Oats Famous Footballers – 1951 Kornies Footballers in Action – 1951 Argus Football Portraits – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 1 – 1954 Fyna Foods Victorian Football Caricatures – 1954 Kornies Champion Footballers – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 3 – 1955 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Kornies VFL Mascots – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars - 1958
Smith, Les	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series - 1929
Stephens, Daryl	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Stephens, Peter	Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906 Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907

	Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1909
Stevenson, Edward	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series - 1929
Stodart, Frank	Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908 Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910
Sutcliffe, Max	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars - 1957
Sutherland, Neil	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Sutherland, Ross	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
T	
Tate, Syd	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1950 Kornies Footballers in Action - 1952
Tate, Terry	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Thomas, John	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958
Thomas, Stan	Victorian League Footballers - 1920
Todd, George	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 Victorian League & Association Footballers – 1932 VFL Footballers – 1932 Victorian League Footballers – 1932 Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Carreras Bob Miram's Caricatures – 1933 Carreras Personality Series – 1933 Giant Brand Licorice League & Association Footballers - 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) – 1933 Allen's League Footballers – 1934 Hoadleys Victorian League Footballers – 1934 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Tresize, Neil	Kornies Footballers in Action – 1952 Argus Football Portraits – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 2 – 1954 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Jonco Football Shorts Victorian Footballers – 1958 Besters Sweets Victorian Footballers – 1959 Kornies Footballer Swap Cards - 1959

Troughton, Bob	Hoadleys Victorian Footballers – 1933 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Turner, Leo	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1949 Kornies Footballers in Action – 1952 Argus Football Swap Cards - 1954
U	
Umbers, Geoff	Argus Fireside Footballers - 1956
V	
Vinar, Paul	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
W	
Wade, Doug	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Walker, Jack	Allen's League Footballers – 1933 Godfrey Phillips Victorian Footballers (Set of 75) – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers – 1933 Wills Victorian Footballers (Larger Size) - 1933
Walker, Peter	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
West, Roy	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
White, Fred	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900
White, Lindsay	Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1948 Kornies Victorian Footballers – 1949 Bob Miriams' Caricatures (Victorian Nut Supplies) - 1950
Williams, Jack	Griffiths "Black Crow" Football Series – 1929 MacRobertsons 1/2d Footballers - 1934
Williams, Geoff	Argus Football Portraits – 1953 Argus Football Swap Cards – 1954 Kornies Champion Footballers – 1954 Coles Victorian Footballers Series 3 – 1955 Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Kornies Footballer Swap Cards - 1959
Wiltshire, Bob	Argus Fireside Footballers - 1956
Wooller, Fred	Argus Fireside Footballers – 1956 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1957 Atlantic Victorian League Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1958 Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Worner, Bert	Argus Football Swap Cards - 1954
Woods, Ike	Past and Present Champions, 1905 Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906

	Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908
Wright, Jack	Australian Footballers – Series B, 1906 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908
X	
Y	
Yeates, John	Coca-Cola Geelong League Football Stars – 1962
Young, Henry	W.H. Watts Cards - 1900 Australian Footballers – Series A, 1904 Past and Present Champions, 1905 Australian Footballers – Series C, 1907 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1908 Australian Footballers – Series D, 1909 Australian Footballers – Series E, Head in Oval Series, 1910
Z	

APPENDIX 2

Data base of Geelong Football Club Players from Geelong Grammar 1859-1914

Player Name	Seasons Played with Geelong
Adams, Jack	1864-66?
Adams, William	1864-67
Armstrong, Robert	1883-84
Armytage, William	1875
Armytage, Felix	1861-63; 1865
Austin, Tom	1873; 1875-78; 1880-81
Austin, William	1877
Bailey, Jim	1885-86; 1889
Bailey, Steven	1888
Bartlett, John	1860-61
Bell, John	1906; 1908
Birdsey, Bill	1867-68
Blackmore, Phillip	1893
Blair, William	1873-76
Blunden, Godfrey	1870
Board, Tom	1861-62
Bolton, John	1883-84
Booth, Bob	1876-79
Brewer, Arthur	1867-68
Brewer, Charles	1871
Brewer, Frank	1871
Brewer, Henry	1867
Broughton, Dick	1880-82
Brush, Joe	1882-83
Cahill, Tom	1882-85
Caldwell, Harry	1880
Calvert, Ossie	1898
Carfrae, Edward	1874
Champion, Percy	1860-63; 1867
Clarke, Fred	1890
Cobham, John	1873-74
Collins, Bert	1881-81; 1884-85
Cornish, Robert	1867-68
Crossley, Len	1888
Cullen, Dick	1871-75
Cullen, George	1873
Curdie, Don	1881-82; 1884
Davies, Joe	1860-63
Davison, Norman	1906
De Little, Win	1879-82
Deasey, Denis	1896
Dore, Jack	1898
Douglass, Montie	1880-82; 1885-87

Douglass, Percy	1877-81; 1883
Down, Charlie	1871-73; 1875-76
Down, Fred	1875
Down, George	1871-75; 1877-78
Elkington, Albert	1861-62
Fairbairn, Les	1906; 1910-1914
Fairbairn, Charles	1875
Fairbairn, Fred	1883
Fairbairn, James	1872
Fairbairn, Steven	1878-80
Fitzgerald, J	1868
Fletcher, George	1877
Furnell, Fred	1884-86; 1889
Fyans, Foster	1867
Gates, Alfred	1862
Gates, Charles	1863-64
Gillett, Francis	1886-87; 1889
Green, Bert	1891-93
Greenfield, Angie	1892-94
Guthrie, William	1871
Hall, Ben	1873-84; 1887
Henty, Edward (George)	1870
Highett, Frank	1871-73
Hood, William	1862
Hope, Tom	1865; 1869; 1874
Hopkins, Walter	1873
James, Eddy	1889; 1892-96
James, Fred	1886
James, Jack	1893
Jamieson, Robert	1881; 1883
Kerley, Jack	1883-87
Kirk, Arthur	1878-79; 1881
Kirk, Rupert	1876; 1879-80; 1882
Lascelles, Edward	1862; 1865
Linehan, Michael	1884-85
Mack, Joseph	1866; 1868-69; 1871
MacLeod, Frank	1871
Manifold, Tom	1880-81
Manifold, Willie	1879
Mann, Barney	1885
Matson, Henry	1884-85
McCormick, Harry	1891
McKenzie, Arthur	1898
Meek, Gus	1888-90
Moffatt, John	1873
Moffatt, Bill	1880-81
Moore, John	1883
Morrow, George	1868-69

Murphy, Barney	1891; 1895-96
Nicholls, Ted	1860-66; 1872-73
Noble, Bob	1877-82
Noble, James	1873
Parker, Jack	1888-89; 1891
Parkin, Jack	1895-96
Parkin, Tom	1887-92
Payne, Fred	1878
Pincott, Billy	1894
Price, Charlie	1875; 1877-78
Raven, Nicholas	1867
Reed, Arthur	1902
Reeves, Thomas	1883-84
Riddle, Henry	1863
Riddle, Thomas	1860; 1867-68
Robertson, Alex	1885-90
Rose, A	1864-65; 1867
Rose, William	1869
Satchwell, John	1875
Scott, Ernest	1887-88; 1891
Selleck, George	1861
Sherren, John	1881
Sibley, Robert	1877
Smith, George	1878-79
Smith, Jack	1874
Steedman, George	1876-77; 1880
Stephen, George (Jnr)	1873-76; 1878-81
Stephen, George (Snr)	1862
Stiffe, Billy	1878-81
Stodart, David	1863-65; 1867
Stretch, John	1863
Strickland, Fred	1868; 1871-73
Strickland, Sam	1871
Synnot, George	1867-69; 1871-73; 1875-77
Tait, George	1861-63
Tait, James	1861-62
Tait, John	1861-62
Tait, William	1860-63
Thompson, William	1887-88
Thomson, Fred	1879-82
Thomson, Robert	1882-84
Timms, Harry	1860-64
Timms, William	1860-64
Towle, Edwin	1876-77
Tyson, Walter	1885
Ulbrich, Fred	1881
Whyte, Thomas	1867-71
Wiggins, Charles	1880

Wills, Cedric	1862; 1868; 1871
Wills, Egbert	1864; 1867-69; 1871-73; 1875
Wills, Horace	1865; 1872; 1875
Wilson, Billy	1878-83

APPENDIX 3

Data base of Geelong Football Club Players from Geelong College 1859-1914

Player Name	Seasons Played with Geelong
Adams, Hopkins	1866
Adams, Jack	1864-66
Adams, Robert	1867
Adams, William	1864-67
Armstrong, Mac	1889; 1891-95
Baker, Jack	1889-92
Baker, Jack E	1913-14
Bell, Alex	1878
Bell, Billy	1891; 1893
Bowden, Jack	1862-65; 1867-69; 1871-72
Boyd, Alex	1885-89; 1891-92
Boyd, Billy	1877-78
Boyd, James	1880; 1882-83
Boynton, Frank	1907
Brockwell, Sam	1894-96
Calder, Thomas	1886-87
Cameron, Charlie	1908-10
Campbell, Archie	1878
Campbell, Neil	1878
Carfrae, Edward	1874
Carmichael, John	1872
Carmichael, William	1869; 1871-72
Clarke, Angus	1881-82
Collins, Basil	1910-12; 1914
Collocott, Harold	1900
Connor, George	1893-95
Craig, Donald	1862-63
Creelman, John	1873-74
Cullen, Dick	1871-75
Cullen, Robert	1868
Cumming, John	1868-69
Curle, Walter	1873-74
Curnow, John	1866-69; 1872
D'Helin, Jim	1896
Dear, Alf	1896
Dennis, Hamilton	1873-74
Dickenson, Sam	1867-69; 1871-74; 1877
Dickson, Tom	1908
Dougharty, John	1873-74
Dowling, Charles	1863-65
Dowling, Jack	1874-75
Dowling, Joseph	1868-69
Dyer, Peter (Jnr)	1874-78

Edols, John	1882
Fender, Thomas	1871; 1874
Forbes, George	1870
Freeman, Neil	1911-14
Furnell, Fred	1884-86; 1889
Garbutt, John	1868-69
Gatehouse, James	1900
Gibb, Alex	1876
Giblin, John	1867
Glover, Bert	1910
Greenwood, Arthur	1865-66; 1868
Greeves, Ted	1897-99
Grigg, Dick	1904-14
Gullan, Bob	1891
Guthrie, William	1871
Haines (Heinz), George	1910-1914
Hope, George	1878
Hope, Tom	1865; 1869; 1874
Hope, William	1878
Houston, Dick	1891-94
Inglis, Robert	1868-69
Jarrett, Alfred	1887
Kearney, Gordon	1903
Kearney, Gus	1890
Kearney, Mick	1889-90; 1892
Knott, Benjamin	1865
Landon, Arthur	1868-69
Landon, Edward	1868-69
Landon, Harrop	1872
Le Neveu, Philip	1874-76
Leon, Sam	1868
Longden, Edward	1873-74
Longden, Walter	1874
MacMullen, William	1878
Macoboy, Frank	1869
Macpherson, Willie	1881-83
McArthur, Cammie	1882
McArthur, Ernest	1886
McArthur, Norman	1886
McArthur, Stewart	1879
McCormick, Charles	1878
McDermott, Peter	1879
McIntosh, Jim	1893
McLaughlin, James	1873-74
McLean, Charles	1875
McLean, Hughie	1882-89; 1892
McNeilage, George	1917
McRae, John	1896

Meek, Gus	1888-90
Millar, Alf	1905
Mitchell, Thomas	1874
Montgomery, Henry	1868; 1871
Moodie, Bill	1901
Morrison, Arthur	1885-86; 1888-89; 1894
Morrison, Clive	1890
Morrison, Norman	1883-84
Morrison, Reg	1879-81
Noble, John	1864-65; 1867-68; 1871
O'Farrell, Vin	1889-90; 1893-94
O'Hara, Henry	1870
Oliver, William	1876; 1878
Osborne, Jim	1874-75
Palmer, Charlie	1881-84
Parker, W	1875
Parker, William	1865; 1867-69; 1871
Pearson, Fred	1873
Piper, Jim	1905
Powell, David	1873
Quinton, Horrie	1900; 1903-05
Rankin, Teddy	1897; 1899-1910
Raven, Nicholas	1867
Rayner, James	1867-68
Read, George	1884
Reid, Alec	1885
Reid, Bob	1887-91
Reid, Jim	1889-93
Reid, Peter	1883
Reid, Walter	1884-85
Reid, Will	1879-80
Ritchie, Charles	1883
Robertson, Arthur	1878-81
Robertson, Bill	1898
Robertson, James	1866-68
Robertson, Lewis	1878
Rock, William	1885
Roebuck, Les	1905-08
Rose, James	1871
Rout, Frank	1873
Rout, George	1873-74
Rylah, George	1876
Sandford, Cecil	1897-98
Sandford, George	1893; 1895
Scott, Albert	1864; 1867-68
Sibley, Robert	1877
Simson, Andrew	1883-84
Simson, Murray	1869; 1871; 1874-75

Slater, Joe	1906-14
Smith, Sid N	1911
Sommers, John	1877-80
Sparrow, Ned	1867-69; 1972-74
Stanlake, Robert	1900
Stewart, A	1861
Stewart, James	1864-65
Stodart, Frank	1903-05; 1908
Stodart, David	1863-65; 1867
Strachan, ?	1864
Strachan, Hugh M	1871-74
Strickland, Len	1900
Strickland, Fred	1868; 1871-73
Thompson, Archie	1896
Thomson, Thomas	1873
Timms, Alec	1889-92
Timms, Harry	1860-64
Upton, Harry	1872-78
Upton, William	1874
Vivian, Harry	1878
Ware, George	1867-69; 1871
Ware, William	1867-68
Watt, Jack	1909; 1911-12
Watt, Ernie	1875-77
Waugh, Henry	1889
Webber, Edmund	1912-13
Wheatland, Charles F	1878
Whitelaw, Dave	1879; 1881-83
Whyte, Thomas	1867-71
Wilson, Bill	1878-83
Wilton, Bill	1908-09; 1914

APPENDIX 4

The competitive bicycle market in Geelong Post World War II

Pedal-pushing heroes of post-war Geelong

Picture the past

GEELONG Amateur Cycling Club's strong membership in the post-war years reflected the important role the humble bike played in daily affairs.

According to veteran cyclist Jack Griffin (pictured fourth from right in this 1946 photograph), cycling champions were household names and youngsters dreamt of emulating the feats of Russell Mockridge or Eddie Smith.

"When they knocked off work at Ford's, hundreds of riders would be racing each other into Geelong," Jack said.

"Everyone rode bikes. Petrol was scarce because of rationing and cars were too expensive anyway."

Bicycle retail and repair shops were more common than car yards today and Jack recalls almost a dozen in the central city area. Bike sellers included Elsworthy's, Bernie Diamond, Malvern Star, Fred Foster, Mick Hede, Homecraft Cycles, Gene Cowley, Athol Eagle, Gerald Tate, George De Grandi and Bill Pilgrim.

Bill Hehir of Belair Cycles and Radford Star were prominent retailers in Geelong West.

Jack said the picture was taken in McKillop St, outside the club's headquarters. In the background is the Elephant and Castle Hotel, which has changed little over the decades.

About half the club's 40-odd members were about to set off on a weekly race down the Bellarine Peninsula.

Two weeks later, a new member entered his first race, astonishing old-timers with his speed, strength and endurance.

The rookie cyclist was the legendary Russell Mockridge — considered the world's best until tragically killed in a road race in 1958. Although Mockridge won his first race with the club — starting off the generous mark of 12 minutes — his time was unrecorded.

Usually the timekeeper and club president Alex McPherson would follow the backmarkers by car until three-quarters of the race was run, then drive around the field to be back at the finishing point to time the placegetters.

"By the time the timekeeper got back, Mockridge was well and truly finished," Jack said.

"His co-marker Tom Ivory realised Mockridge was holding back. Tom told him he was not compelled to stay with him, so Mockridge said 'thank you' and off he went.

"He would have won by a greater margin if he hadn't been concerned about doing the right thing."

Jack regarded Mockridge and the recently-deceased Sir Hubert Opperman as cycling freaks.

"Blokes like Opperman and Mockridge usually come along only once in a lifetime."

Other great Australian cyclists of the era included Billy Guyatt and Jack Hoobi well as Alf Strom and Roger Arnold were Australian cycling's most succes ambassadors in the late 1940s, domina six-day events in Europe.

Now 72, and still racing at veteran l Jack first competed at Wangaratta in l

The same year he rode from Wanga to Melbourne — 233 kilometres — in hours, 55 minutes. "Including stops," Jack.

Now, he's about to join the cyc promotion circuit. And what a circuit

With another ex-serviceman, Doughty from Wollongong, Jack head on July 3 on his third ride arc Australia.

The ride has been sponsored by Department of Veterans Affairs w wants Jack and Eric to spread the mes among older Australians that it's "N Too Late".

"We'll be telling people that altho they're 75 or 80 the best years of their could still be ahead.

"That instead of sitting around in G waiting room, they should get out exercise."

After leaving the Geelong-Hawt football match at Kardinia Park, Jack Eric will ride anti-clockwise around country, aiming at covering about 1000 a week, arriving home in mid-October

In the meantime, Jack urges any for athletes or cyclists who feel they need e exercise to consider cycling.

"It doesn't put as much strain on joints as running, but it's a great car vascular activity," he said.

The Geelong Veteran Cycling C stages a weekly race over a circui Paraparap.

— BERNIE SLATTE

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