

**British Football, Wogball or the World Game?  
Towards a social history of Victorian Soccer  
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**1 Introduction**

Football, or soccer as it has been known from the Second World War until 1992, has always been a minority game and an immigrants game in Australia.<sup>1</sup> Its history remains to be written and many questions still have to be answered.<sup>2</sup> Why did football not become the dominant code in this area of British settlement?<sup>3</sup> When so many other British institutions took root in Australia, why did football struggle? What part did football play in the lives of immigrants to Australia, and what contribution, if any, did it make to Australian society? What follows is primarily concerned with aspects of the last two of these questions.

The strong hypothesis presented is as follows. If the Australian absorption of a historically unprecedented proportion of migrants relative to its domestic population has been tolerably successful this century, particularly since the Second World War, then this vilified and denigrated minority sport has been one of the most important single influences, for good and ill, in that process.

If Stephen Castles and his colleagues are accurate in their analysis, *Mistaken Identity, Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*,<sup>4</sup> that Australia has gone a long way to creating a community without a nation, a nation without nationalism and that this is on balance a good thing, then what helped to make assimilation, integration and multiculturalism - the successive phases of Australian public policy on immigration - work was soccer. At a time when systematic denigration and discrimination was practised, qualifications and experience among migrants were devalued, xenophobia was rampant, and the cold war was at its height, this minority sport enabled some working class new Australians to survive and retain pride in something they could do better than the natives.

Soccer was, and remains, an extremely conservative social institution.<sup>5</sup> It represents no threat to the establishment in Australia, even if it briefly was to other codes of football, despite the enmity which it has often attracted. Soccer provided both an entry to some Australian social practices and a subtle diffusion of forces making for the ghettoisation of the immigrant community.

Other contributors to this volume are concerned with the role of immigrants in perpetrating violence associated with soccer in the years after the Second World War, but I would assert that despite accusations of violence and alien behaviour, soccer actually reduced social tensions even at the height of the troubles of the 1960s and 1970s. The expulsion of Croatia (Melbourne) and North Geelong Croatia soccer clubs in 1972 from the Victorian State League and the Provisional League respectively was as significant in its way for Australian society as the election of a Labor government under Gough Whitlam that year. When groups within the former Yugoslavia are killing each other in barbarous fashion in 1993, it is remarkable that the communities in Australia have so far managed to show an incredible restraint. The influence of soccer on these communities in the interim is one of the reasons why that has come about.

This contribution to Australian society was achieved at a price. The price included the reinforcement of stereotypes, the persistence of male chauvinism, sub-cultural racism, cheating and the illusion of violence, and little or no change in the class structure among the immigrant communities, though in some of these respects the immigrant communities mirrored the wider Australian society.

To understand the basis these claims it is necessary to go back in time to the origins of the game in Australia and its historical development prior to the Second World War, and also to come right up to date to appreciate the impact of changes in the game and society which are occurring today, but the main emphasis is on the critical years between 1945 and 1974, from the end of the Second World War to Australia's first participation in the World Cup. The three elements of the title, 'British Football, Wogball or the World Game' comprehend the three phases of the development of soccer in Australian society.<sup>6</sup>

## 2 Origins

When and where association football or soccer began in Australia is still a mystery.<sup>7</sup> There are reports of football in the *Sydney Monitor* in 1829 and a few years later. The Queen's Birthday was marked by 'a game of football which gave rise to sundry scuffles and broken shins to boot'.<sup>8</sup> In his recent sponsored history of the origins of Australian Rules Football, Geoffrey Blainey argues that the Australian game was invented locally and only gradually distinguished from other forms of football being played in the colonies.<sup>9</sup> He says that early Australian Rules was probably played on a rectangular pitch and that there was strong influence from soccer in initial stages.<sup>10</sup> The evidence for this is not specifically cited, and it is rather shaky ground on which to assert that football using feet only was being played in Australia in the 1850s and 1860s. Ball games were played on the goldfields and no doubt many immigrants arrived off ships carrying a ball to play with, but hard evidence on the existence of something recognisable as soccer has not been turned up yet.<sup>11</sup> In the most recent article on the early history of the game Phil Mosely sticks to the traditional story of the first matches being played in New South Wales in 1880.<sup>12</sup> Interstate matches between Victoria and New South Wales commenced in 1883, and while Mosely emphasises the northern connection, there must have been some base in Victoria for the game.<sup>13</sup> Two matches were played in August that year, at the East Melbourne and South Melbourne Cricket Grounds, both ending in draws.<sup>14</sup>

The British Association game was not received with overwhelming enthusiasm by the media.

'The English game bears about the same relation to the Victorian game that bowls does to cricket. It is not nearly so rough as the Victorian pastime, nor so exciting to the spectator; but on the other hand, the tactics are far less likely to provoke ill-feeling and deliberate ill-usage', said the *Argus*.<sup>15</sup>

The *Age* was more blunt: 'The one recommendation the British Association game, as played yesterday, has over the Victorian game is that it is not so rough. It is mild to the extent of implying physical degeneracy on the part of a community which plays it, and it is altogether unlikely to become popular here'.<sup>16</sup>

The *Argus* probed more deeply: 'If the game is apparently less rough to an observer, the element of danger is not wanting, and when a number of players come together, all kicking at the ball, some nasty bruises are received. A spiteful player has also a chance of seriously injuring an opponent without his motives being suspected - a thing which could scarcely happen under the Victorian rules'.<sup>17</sup> The game was described as boring, and only about 200 people turned up.

So the soccer players are not only degenerate but sneaky. They would not involve themselves in the manly violence of Australian Rules, but resorted instead to surreptitious and underhand mayhem. These charges being laid against the 'imported men' who played the game in 1883 were to resurface in almost identical terms in the 1950s and 1960s directed against another generation of immigrants.

The current somewhat inconclusive debate about the origins of soccer in Australia fits into a wider one about the origins of soccer generally, with the majority view still being a top-down cultural diffusion model, in which the founding public school educated Britons gradually exported their game to the lesser breeds without the law, within and beyond the United Kingdom.<sup>18</sup> There is a growing minority perception which seizes on new interpretations of the industrial revolution and the advance of capitalism which suggests that these phenomena did not result, as was once thought, in the total destruction of folk football and similar rough games.<sup>19</sup> Hence, there was a continuity in lower or working class sports and pursuits out of which modern association football grew. The rules and the codification may have come from the scions of the upper classes and from Great Britain, but the explosion of popularity of the game from around the 1880s, in which Australia shared, owed more to the way it was grafted on to existing patterns of activity and transformed by lower orders, colonials and foreigners who already had their football games embedded in their social lives.<sup>20</sup>

As Richard Holt puts it: ‘How far should we see football not as an invention but rather as a form of cultural continuity, especially as far as the traditions of male youth are concerned? Perhaps we have taken on board too eagerly the heroic accounts of the public school men, who founded the Football Association in 1863, and assumed in consequence that traditional football was suppressed lock, stock and barrel during the first half of the nineteenth century to be re-invented and re-popularised in the second’.<sup>21</sup>

The connection with the industrial revolution and its impact on society is an important pointer to the experience of migrants to Australia. Migrants to Australia, particularly those who came from south and east Europe after the Second World War, must have undergone an experience not unlike that of the first generation of people who passed from rural or semi-urban communities into the factory towns of the industrial revolution in Britain, France and Germany.<sup>22</sup> For the newcomers the disruption of traditional linkages and patterns posed similar problems of re-establishing identity and social reference points in the new society. A good model for this process might be Michael Anderson’s study of Preston (Lancashire) which stresses the importance of kinship and other relationships often deriving from the original place of migration.<sup>23</sup> Holt goes on to argue that the industrial city was not an undifferentiated mass, but rather a collection of urban villages with their own complicated hierarchies of rank and respectability. Organised team sports were thoroughly ‘integrated into this close-knit pattern of collective life’.<sup>24</sup> When the Macedonians hold their picnics in Geelong today, the soccer games are organised between villages, though allegiances are loose and some of those whose village lost in the first round, would then bail out and join another for the later stage of the competition. ‘They not only cheat everyone else, they cheat themselves’, as a somewhat cynical Maltese observer remarked on one occasion.

Holt argues that football clubs were part of a process of male socialisation and suggests that it would be interesting to know how sport overlapped with other male institutions. To get direct and detailed answers to such questions an oral history project would be required. The information would have to be linked with data from local census and other demographic material in a detailed ethnography’. He concludes the relevant section of his article, with the claim, ‘This kind of urban historical anthropology may be the new frontier of sports history’.<sup>25</sup>

Such an anthropology would point to the early establishment and codification of Australian Rules in Victoria as, at the very least, a serious obstacle to the growth of soccer as the dominant code. It will not be sufficient to point to any anti-English elements to explain the success of Australian Rules, for the natives quickly adopted cricket, the quintessentially English game.<sup>26</sup> Mandle argues that cricket was able to be taken over as a going concern, while football was still uncoded and in some

flux at the time the first Australian Rules were drawn up.<sup>27</sup> If Blainey is correct in his assessment that Gaelic football had no influence whatsoever on the formation of the Australian game, and was the last thing that an Anglican-Protestant community was likely to adopt in any case, then the association of soccer with Scotland and professionalism may have been an inhibiting factor, too.

### 3 British football

Large-scale immigration resumed in the 1880s. The rate of net inflow relative to the domestic population was the highest it had been since the gold rush days. Between the 1880s and the early 1900s, soccer or British football had established itself in all the mainland colonies of Australia.<sup>28</sup> It was very much a migrants game in these years, with strong Scottish influence in many areas.<sup>29</sup> Relationships with other codes varied from cool to co-operative, with some sharing of facilities and a fair amount of mutual slanging.<sup>30</sup> Regular club matches were underway for a variety of trophies, some played on a league basis, others as knock-out cup competitions. The rules adopted were those of the Football Association in England, and the sport was totally amateur. It found itself competing for popular support with three other codes of football, Australian Rules, Rugby Union and Rugby League. In no area was soccer able to establish itself as the dominant code, and hence it found itself fighting for support, participants and media attention in every colony. Even in coalmining areas around Newcastle, Ipswich and later the Latrobe Valley, where the concentration of British migrants was high, soccer was strong but not pre-eminent.

In Victoria the game rose somewhat in the social scale if not in popular support, with the Governor Sir H. B. Loch acting as patron of a series of three interstate matches in 1887 and attending one game in the company of Lord Carrington and the Mayor of Sydney.<sup>31</sup> Two of the matches were played at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, the other at East Melbourne. At the dinner after the drawn game between the two state sides, the New South Wales captain, William Baillie, stated that 'had it not been for bad trade and other circumstances he would have been able to have brought a much stronger team with him to Victoria'.<sup>32</sup> Demonstrations by the unemployed were reported in Melbourne as the soccer matches were being played.<sup>33</sup> This is 1887, in the era of Marvellous Melbourne, long before the crash of the 1890s.

Like most other sports soccer suffered from the depression of the 1890s, but revived immigration in the years just prior to the First World War accompanied a resurgence. In 1909, the doyen of Victorian soccer, Harry Dockerty presented the Cup which bears his name, which is still competed for today, and which was being mooted as the basis for an all-Australian competition in the 1990s. The Victorian League was reorganised and won by Carlton United in 1909-10. Williamstown, Yarraville and Melbourne Thistle were the other champions before the competition was abandoned in 1916. The same clubs with the addition of St Kilda won the Dockerty Cup.<sup>34</sup> By 1913 there was an eight team league, with six reserve teams.<sup>35</sup> The interstate series continued.<sup>36</sup> In 1914 and 1915, competition continued despite the outbreak of the First World War, but then was abandoned for the duration.

### 4 Soccer between the Wars

The First World War had interrupted a sharp rise in immigration into Australia. In the aftermath of war thousands of migrants from Britain and some from other parts of Europe arrived. Between 1921 and 1925, 36,700 immigrants landed, the largest increase in a five-year period since gold rush days. Victoria benefited from this influx, and several new industries were created.<sup>37</sup>

Soccer matches in Victoria resumed in 1919 with a new record attendance being established in a second-round Dockerty Cup match between Northumberland and Durhams and Melbourne Thistle at Middle Park on 3 July 1920. The First Division

of the League now had twelve teams with matches being played at Middle Park and reserve games at Spotswood.<sup>38</sup> A host of new clubs was formed including Box Hill (1922), Yallourn (1923), Coburg (1918), Heidelberg (1925), Brighton (1924), South Yarra (1928) and Hakoah (1927).<sup>39</sup> Most of these were Anglo clubs, though Hakoah was to maintain a strong Jewish presence off the field until well after the Second World War. Victorian soccer players remained overwhelmingly Anglo, though there one or two continental players began to appear, including Schaufelberger of St Kilda, a member of the Swiss Consular Staff in Melbourne, while Melbourne Welsh signed Lorenzo, a new arrival from Italy.<sup>40</sup>

Australian-born junior players were now beginning to come through, opening up the possibility of a domestic dimension to this immigrant game. A club for those who considered themselves Australian, Austral, was formed and played for several seasons in the lower leagues. The game was expanding in non-Metropolitan centres. Country Leagues and Cup competitions were being held in Wangaratta and Benalla District, Wonthaggi, Yallourn, Bendigo and Colac by 1926.<sup>41</sup> Mildura brought a representative team to Melbourne in 1927.<sup>42</sup> The Dockerty Cup was now attracting teams from Wonthaggi, Bendigo and Geelong.

A demonstration charity match was played in Geelong on Monday, 26 April 1920, between a team from the crews of the visiting warship HMAS *Platypus* and its accompanying submarines and the Victorian Amateur British Football Association team, Windsor. It was played on Geelong Oval and the *Geelong Advertiser* noted, 'This will probably be the first demonstration of the game ever given in Geelong.'<sup>43</sup> The crowd was given as 'some two thousand people' and the Navy won four-nil with the proceeds going to the Geelong Hospital.<sup>44</sup>

The Geelong United Soccer Club was formed in 1923 and entered Division Two of the Metropolitan competition in 1924.<sup>45</sup> Relationships with Australian Rules remained fraught: a Mr C. Ensby remarked on 'the feeling that appeared to exist among a certain section of the public that the 'Soccer' club was there to oust the Australian game'. The Secretary, A. D. Ive disclaimed any such notion, pointing out that every week people accustomed to see 'Soccer' were coming out from the old country.<sup>46</sup> I must confess that I have treated these and other suggestions that soccer might take over from Australian Rules as faintly ludicrous, representing paranoia on the part of devotees of Australian Rules, and over-optimism by the soccer followers. However, when immersed in a search for instances of violent behaviour in the 1950s, I found quite by accident a reference by J. Owen Wilshaw, the soccer correspondent of the Melbourne paper the *Sporting Globe*, to a meeting in 1933 between himself and an official of the Victorian Soccer Football Association and John James Liston, President of the Victorian Football Association (an Australian Rules body, to be distinguished from the Victorian Football League, which ran the premier competition), to discuss the amalgamation of the two bodies.

Liston eventually became President of the soccer body as well as the VFA and because the former had no funds, approached the English Football Association in the 1937 for financial assistance to convert some footy grounds to soccer fields. It seems without success.<sup>47</sup> Liston remained President of the Soccer Association until his death in 1944. While he is remembered in the VFA by the award of the Liston Trophy to the best and fairest player each year, his only soccer recognition appears to have been the J. J. Liston Cup which was competed for by the Under-15s in the 1950s.<sup>48</sup>

The attempted links with soccer in the 1930s came out of shared financial problems at the depths of the depression. They were also in part a reaction to another development which does not appear to be well known, the search for a unified code for an Australian football game. Just before the First World War and again in 1933 proposals for the development of a unified set of rules were under discussion.

Proponents argued that only the outbreak of war stymied the move in 1914, but the 1933 venture did not make much headway, though it got a good run in the press. The *Globe* carried a diagram of the composite pitch, and an outline of the rules, which would have allowed for Rugby League within the twenty-fives and Australian Rules play between the twenty-fives and the half-way line. The pitch was to be rectangular.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, soccer continued to make inroads in non-metropolitan centres in Victoria. The *Geelong Advertiser* carried quite extensive reports on Geelong United's matches, and on 21 July 1924 at a general meeting of the club a proposal to form a local soccer league was floated.<sup>50</sup> In August, when United had no league game a match between the club's Scottish and English players was arranged, but prior to kick-off a number of scholars from the Geelong Church of England Grammar Preparatory School were given their first lesson in the game.<sup>51</sup> Grammar still plays soccer in 2004.

As noted above, the rise in immigration contributed to or underpinned the growth of new industries in Australia in the 1920s. For example, in Geelong, the Ford Motor Company began operations in 1926, the Valley Mills Worsted Mill was formed as a private company in 1924, and the highly profitable Commonwealth Woollen Mills were sold off to a local consortium in somewhat suspicious circumstances in 1923.<sup>52</sup> Each of these three firms had teams associated with them playing soccer in Geelong by the mid-1920s. Valley Mills and Ford took part in the inaugural league in 1926 and Federal Mills joined in 1929. It was the recreation clubs, rather than the firms themselves, which were responsible, certainly in the case of Fords. The other clubs playing in Geelong reflect the immigrant groups even more directly - Union Jack, Caledonians, Overseas. Each of these was probably the offshoot of an existing Geelong social club.

Two other groups were involved. The navy and the military were represented by the Queenscliff Garrison and HMAS *Brisbane* and *Melbourne*. The appellation of the Geelong and Western Districts League was sustained by the entry of Colac into the Madden Cup, which it won in 1926, and the League from 1927 onwards. Ballarat was the other outsider, making a winning appearance in the Madden Cup in 1928. The Ballarat connection was to be re-established in 1964 when the Victorian Soccer Federation withdrew all the Geelong teams from metropolitan competition and sent them to take part in the Ballarat and Geelong Districts Soccer Association.

Whatever its later image, soccer was an extremely convivial game between the wars. Hardly a match which involved travelling for one of the teams passed without a meal or a dance or both, interrupted by numerous toasts and self-congratulatory speeches by participants, which were reported at length in the local press. The predominantly British migrants probably had less of a cultural gap to bridge than many who came later, but there is no doubt that soccer helped them on their way — providing contacts, support networks, boosting business, helping support local industries, including the domestic manufacture of soccer boots and balls.

Just when it seemed that soccer might take off as a major sport, it shot itself in the foot by a major split in both New South Wales and Victoria.<sup>53</sup> In the North, the top clubs broke away to form a State League to concentrate the top players and revenue in the hands of an elite. In Victoria, a proposal to organise the competition on a district or suburban basis led to some clubs breaking away to form their own organisation. To participants in the game, these moves made sense, but to outsiders they meant little but confusion. The only way of distinguishing the rival factions in Victoria was a conjunction, as the Melbourne District Association struggled with the Melbourne and District Association for the loyalty of supporters, players, and referees, who split themselves with half going to one body and half to the other.

The Victorian schism had just been mended in March 1929 when economic depression was to compound the problems the game was making for itself. Attendances remained small, though they tested the limits of the facilities available, and clubs struggled to establish bases in their local communities.<sup>54</sup> In Geelong in 1930 the league was in decline, with only four teams taking part, and it folded in 1931. The Geelong Association did revive by 1934, however, and entered a Geelong United team in the metropolitan competition.

By 1936, there were eight teams in the Victorian Division One and nine in Division Two, with at least a couple in a Third Division and also two reserve divisions, a junior competition and a schools competition for the Dunkling Cup. The 'international' and interstate matches continued, and international touring teams arrived at irregular intervals. Even juniors were travelling interstate to play matches. A South Australian schools team played four matches in Victoria for one win, one loss and two draws, while a Victorian junior team played in Adelaide.<sup>55</sup> In that year too, the Australian senior team went to New Zealand to play a series of three test matches.<sup>56</sup> In contrast to small crowds in New Zealand, there was a claimed attendance of 45,000 (of whom 36,690 paid) to see England defeat New South Wales by three goals to one.<sup>57</sup> Soccer continued to be played during the Second World War, with an attenuated league of eight clubs. Junior leagues at Under-20, Under-17 and Under-15 were also played.<sup>58</sup>

## 5 The transformation of Soccer

Between the end of the war and 1960 the face of soccer in Australia was completely transformed. In Victoria the composition of the top league switched from being overwhelmingly Anglo to being dominated by European migrants. See table 1

The same pattern appears at the local level. Senior soccer was being played in Geelong in 1950.<sup>59</sup> At least four clubs or teams are known to have existed: Geelong United, Geelong Celtic, International Harvester and Industrial Service Engineers Pty Ltd.<sup>60</sup> International Harvester and Geelong Celtic played in the Third Division North of the Metropolitan League, finishing 6th and 5th respectively.<sup>61</sup> Geelong Celtic was based at the Geelong Teachers' College and its team was very Anglo-Australian, judging by the players' names.<sup>62</sup> Celtic only lasted for a season and a bit, since the teachers concerned were all sent their separate ways, and their replacements the next year were largely Australians who were not interested in soccer.<sup>63</sup> International Harvester also had a high proportion of Anglos at this stage, though Frank Hegyesi, one of the first Croatian migrants, played for the team soon after arrival and was known as Frank Harvester for many years.<sup>64</sup> Geelong United was referred to as a newly formed team in July 1950.

Before the war and until the early 1950s the immigrants involved were primarily Anglo-Celtic (If this term can still be used) as names of players and teams makes clear. In Geelong, the change in the composition of the dominant immigrant groups comes with great speed between 1954 and 1956. In these two years, perhaps less, the balance of numbers switches very rapidly from the traditional British groups to newcomers from south and east Europe - Italians, Croatians, Hungarians - and to the Dutch. The indicators are various. Between 1954 and 1955 the Geelong Soccer Club is taken over by the Italian community and even renamed IAMA, the Italian Australian Migrants Association. Billy Dorris, Norman Haigh and others instituted the New World Cup in 1955, which allowed ethnic groups to enter teams in a knock-out competition in the local area for the first time.<sup>65</sup> Holland, Italy, Hungary, Scotland, Croatia, Germany, England, Macedonia, and Ukraine took part.<sup>66</sup> The Western Districts Association was formed with seven clubs in 1955, reflecting the broadening of the local interest beyond the clubs which were competing in the Melbourne-based competition.<sup>67</sup> In 1956 soccer disappeared from the sports pages of the *Geelong Advertiser* and reappeared in the New Australian column, with

reports on IAMA and the Dutch clubs like Olympia and the DSG (Dutch Society of Geelong).

The reasons for the change are interesting and quite complex. First there is the increase in the number of immigrants from these parts of Europe in the years following the Second World War. This is connected intimately with the demand for labour by existing employers like Ford and International Harvester and by new firms like the Hume Pipe Company and Shell, whose major refinery project in Corio began in 1953.<sup>68</sup> The communities had to grow to a certain size before organised sport could begin. According to one report, there were only eight Croatian families and six single Croatian men in Geelong in 1952.<sup>69</sup> A Croatian began to name the families who were here when she arrived in 1954. She says the first Croatians arrived in Geelong in 1949.<sup>70</sup>

Immigrants' needs for a roof over their heads and employment, probably took precedence over soccer for most people, though some new arrivals used the game as an introduction to the local community and the facilities it offered. One Scot claims that on his first day in Geelong he went down to the International Harvester's ground to watch a few players training and was invited to come along for the game on the Saturday. When only ten turned up he was straight into the team. He broke his collarbone in the match and was cared for by the club until he was able to fend for himself.<sup>71</sup> A Dutchman told me that his leg was swollen to twice its normal size within a week of arriving in Australia as a result of his first soccer match.<sup>72</sup> A Hungarian arrived in Melbourne on a Wednesday with only a few words of English but made his way to Box Hill by public transport on Saturday to see his first match and very quickly became involved in soccer administration.<sup>73</sup> Another immigrant recounts that when he arrived from Austria he went looking for a German-speaking team and on being told there was none joined Croatia. By chance, the first game was against Corio and he found himself understanding his opponents fluently, while he could not converse with his team mates. He scored the winning goal in that game for Croatia. Needless to say at the first opportunity he moved to Corio and was still involved with the club in the 1990s.<sup>74</sup> An inspirational Croatian made a practice of meeting boats arriving in Geelong and Melbourne in the company of a local Slovenian priest and selecting Croatians who could play soccer to join his team.<sup>75</sup> In all he brought over 350 players to Geelong, whom he billeted with local families and relatives. Many turned out not to be very good soccer players, but he brought them nevertheless.

Soccer clubs or teams may have preceded formal community organisations for at least some migrant groups. Ian Wynd suggests that the Ukrainians were the first group to set up a national organisation in the Northern Suburbs in 1956, by which time soccer clubs for Ukrainians, Croatians, Macedonians, Italians, Greeks and Hungarians had already come into existence, and some had already folded.<sup>76</sup> It appears that the same is true of Footscray, though it is difficult to relate the precise starting dates of local clubs and community organisations.<sup>77</sup> In some cases soccer clubs were to provide integrating facilities when political concerns threatened to divide immigrant communities.<sup>78</sup> This was not always the case, and the Dutch in Geelong had two separate soccer organisations - Olympia and the Dutch Society of Geelong - reflecting existing differences, probably religious, which could not be reconciled through soccer.<sup>79</sup>

While a couple of bricks or jackets and virtually any round ball would suffice to get a scratch soccer game under way, organised games required pitches, markings, goalposts, playing equipment, referees and later some rudimentary changing facilities.<sup>80</sup> The open spaces around Separation Street in Bell Park saw several hundred people from the various communities playing soccer and practising on Sundays.<sup>81</sup> Pitches were vital, and here the local authorities, particularly the Shire of Corio, where the bulk of the immigrants settled, had an important role. The Shire's

immediate post-war concerns were housing and employment, but by 1956 it was in a position to look at the recreational needs of its new citizens. Local businessmen became Shire Councillors and needed little persuasion to provide the basic facilities for soccer.<sup>82</sup> Hamlyn Park was developed by the Shire and the Geelong Scottish club out of waste ground and scrub as a multi-sport facility with soccer as the first activity. Similarly, the Shire provided two pitches at the site of Norlane Waterworld, two at Stead Park and two at Separation Street. These supplemented and later replaced the works pitches at International Harvester and the Federal Woollen Mills.

At a deeper, psychological level soccer met a need for many migrants. It was a game with which they were familiar from early youth, unlike Australian Rules which caused great amusement to some immigrants. One Croatian (who arrived in Australia under an assumed name, having been fingered, he says, by a Serbian immigration official as a member of the Ustashe when he applied under his own name) recalls nearly being beaten up by a female Collingwood supporter for laughing at what went on when he attended his first VFL game.<sup>83</sup> Pre-eminently English sports like cricket and tennis were equally outside the perceptions of most new migrants, whereas soccer was in the blood. Migrants were good at soccer. It was a sport and an activity at which they could excel and gain recognition, within their communities and later outside them even if to a limited extent. This was the time when the insular English were having their soccer prejudices overturned by the famous Hungarian golden team of Puskas, Sandor, Hidekuti, and so on.

Some illumination of the significance of soccer in Australia may be gained from Banfield's study of an area in Southern Italy where poverty and backwardness is seen to result from the inability of villagers to act collectively for the common good. He attributes this to adherence to a philosophy which he characterises as amoral familialism. 'In a society of amoral familialists, no one will further the interests of the group or community except as it is to his private advantage to do so.'<sup>84</sup>

'In a society of amoral familialists, organisation will be very difficult to achieve and maintain. The inducements which lead people to contribute to organisations are in an important degree selfish and they are often non-material (the intrinsic interest of the activity as a game) Moreover, it is a condition of successful organisation that members have some trust in each other and some loyalty to the organisation. In an organisation with high morale it is taken for granted that they will make small sacrifices, and perhaps even large ones for the sake of the organisation.'

It is fascinating that in his programme for state induced change to bring about the decline of amoral familialism, Banfield advocates education, the decentralisation of public administration, the development of a local press, and says that teachers and other local leaders should assist the villagers to undertake simple ventures in co-operation and community action. 'Perhaps the best place to start would be the organisation of village soccer teams.'<sup>85</sup> It would give people experience, without overtaxing their ability to co-operate.

Without wishing to suggest that all immigrants to Australia in the years after 1945 fitted Banfield's notion of amoral familialists, there is no doubt that for the young adult male arriving in Australia a cultural transformation had to take place if he was to survive in this new society. Having lived on his wits and the support of refugee organisations to get to Australia, he then had to begin to function in a society with very different sets of norms and goals and organisations. Soccer, about which he knew a great deal, unlike the language and customs of the new country, was often the means by which that transformation was effected. The road was rocky and collisions occurred, notably in the 1950s and 1960s within the game, when many matches were abandoned or truncated because of violence, usually taking the form of attacks on referees. If you could not get the result you wanted within the rules, then attack the person who was supposed to be applying the rules. Or you might

carry the competition into a battle with opposing supporters. The test case for this in extreme form was the experience of the Croatian teams up to and after 1972.<sup>86</sup>

For survival in a new world, in an alien environment, which often had not been chosen—several immigrants sought to go to Canada or the United States of America and only finished in Australia as a last resort<sup>87</sup>—where the language and customs were almost incomprehensible, where discrimination and worse was rife, and qualifications and skills were systematically devalued, networks of support were vital. Soccer and soccer clubs provided some of these networks which extended through all areas of social life. Even today contacts within the soccer world provide a whole range of services and mutual support systems. There is no pretence that soccer is the only such focus (church, cultural and folkloric groups, political organisations and other sporting groups, like bocce and handball/volleyball, play a similar role) in immigrant communities in Geelong, or even that it is the most important at all times and in all places, but it is highly significant nevertheless. In the late fifties and early sixties there was a dearth of community organisations for the migrants and soccer clubs often filled the breach.

Soccer provided an entry into local and national politics for both indigenous minorities and migrants.<sup>88</sup> At the national level, Charles Perkins owed some of his early public profile to his soccer career.<sup>89</sup> At the local level in Geelong, a substantial number of councillors in the Shire of Corio have been closely involved with soccer, including Norman Haigh, a Scottish businessman who, along with Billy Dorris, instituted the inter-ethnic competition which led to the New World Cup in 1956, Michael Parks, Polish co-founder of Bell Park, Gerry Smith, a Liverpoolian who was instrumental in the setting up of the Geelong Association of Soccer Clubs in 1981-2 and held office in Geelong Soccer Club in 1993, Mario Grgic and Vinko Ljubanovic, who are Croatians involved with North Geelong.

But when politics is mentioned in connection with soccer it is usually with the implication that soccer is being used as a vehicle for introducing matters relating to the internal affairs of the migrant's homeland into Australian life, which is better off without such eruptions.<sup>90</sup> There is no doubt that soccer has been used in this way. At times when some other avenues of political expression were closed off soccer clubs have provided symbols of national identity for migrant groups.

Soccer acted as a vehicle for political activities particularly for those communities whose homeland was perceived as threatened. One could almost argue that there is a direct relationship between the importance of soccer to a community in Australia and the depth of the 'national problem' in the former homeland. Hence Croatia, Macedonia, Hungary, Ukraine, Greece and Italy were enormously influential in Australian soccer as their European compatriots fought to establish or maintain independence or democratic systems. The Dutch and English, after an initial post-war flourish, declined quickly in relative importance. Australian society and political systems often provided little legitimate outlet for migrants' political concerns and hence soccer often formed a substitute system. In the 1970s both forms were under attack when Croatian independence fighters and the Croatian soccer clubs were pilloried.

Remember that Croatia was not recognised as an independent unit. Croatian separatists were active in Australia. Lionel Murphy was carrying out his celebrated attack on the ASIO offices. Rumours abounded about Australian military involvement in training Croatian freedom fighters. Fire bombing of the houses of leading figures on both sides occurred. Legitimate avenues for the expression of political nationalism in Australia were being inhibited by the prevailing assimilationist ideology of the day.

For Croatians, soccer was one of the few outlets they had to express their sense of national and collective identity.<sup>91</sup> The promotion of a soccer team to the highest levels in Victorian soccer was seen as a key goal by many. Winning and the promotion of the Croatian identity justified virtually anything, even the buying of success. For example, when faced with a tight struggle for promotion in 1959, Croatia (Geelong) recorded one of the highest scores I have ever found in senior Australian soccer match, 29 goals to 1 against Brunswick.<sup>92</sup> It turns out that the head of the club had bought the match by agreeing to pay the almost bankrupt Brunswick £2 per goal on condition that they turned up. The ploy nearly went wrong when Brunswick took the lead. By half time with his team about thirteen goals up and the bill rising higher, the Secretary was running around trying to get his players to stop scoring. Then he had the great worry whether the Association would accept the result or smell a rat. The referee, innocent that he was, told Stuart Beaton, Secretary of the Association, that Brunswick had been trying. Croatia won the league, and was presented with the pennant, which was still hanging in Melbourne Croatia's clubroom in 1993.<sup>93</sup> But the Preston club protested against Lions, won the protest, got two points after the end of the season and jumped over Croatia into the State League. Later a deal was struck between Preston and Croatia to amalgamate and play in Melbourne. The Secretary hoped to sell the place in Division One to the Macedonians. However, a split in the club occurred, with some members wishing to retain the Croatian name and identity and achieve promotion without a compromising amalgamation. More promotions and relegations and amalgamations were to follow, but Croatia was established in the State League, when crisis occurred in 1972.

The expulsion of Croatia (Melbourne) and two North Geelong teams, one from the Provisional League and one from the local Geelong competition was very significant. Croatia was involved in a match with Hakoah, which resulted in a spectator invasion of the pitch and an attack on the referee. Though the incident did not appear worse than several others which occurred that season, Croatia was expelled from the State League and lost the court case when it tried to regain its position at the end of the season. Croatia had been in trouble earlier in the season, and there were those within the VSF who believed that it was cumulative transgressions rather than a single incident which led to the expulsion of Croatia.<sup>94</sup>

North Geelong was ousted from the Provisional League after an altercation during a match with Werribee.<sup>95</sup> North Geelong was accepted back into the Geelong competition in 1973, but did not re-enter the Victorian Provisional League until 1979. Since that date both clubs have operated strictly within the rules of the Australian Soccer Federation, the Victorian Soccer Federation and the Western Victoria Soccer Association. This does not mean they have not cheated occasionally, or sailed very close to the wind, but in critical situations they have not pushed their opposition to the relevant governing body to the point where their participation was threatened. A good test of this was the ASF's decision to ban the use of certain 'ethnic' names in 1992, which Melbourne Croatia, like its counterpart in Sydney, accepted, albeit reluctantly.

Whatever the outcome of the expulsion, many people connected with the clubs were convinced that Croatia had been victimised. Martin Groher of North Geelong believes that Croatia was set up, particularly by Tony Kovac, who was associated with the Footscray JUST club, and the fact that the match was against Hakoah, and hence seen by some as Nazi sympathisers (Ustashe) versus Jews, was significant.<sup>96</sup> The former Executive Director of the VSF, George Wallace, denies it and says that the matter was handled by the book by the VSF as was proved in the subsequent court case. Both may be right. It seems that there were equivalent incidents that year which did not result in expulsion or comparable penalties, for example Sunshine George Cross versus Footscray JUST on 7 May 1972.<sup>97</sup> It is at least arguable that Croatia was treated with disproportionate severity in 1972. The Croatian community

had a big meeting to decide whether to fight the case in court. Subsequently, however, Croatia changed tack and came back into soccer through Essendon Lions which was gradually taken over by the Croatian community.<sup>98</sup> Eventually it evolved into Essendon Croatia and then Melbourne Croatia, Melbourne CSC and now Melbourne Knights, which played in the National Soccer League until the league was wound up in 2004.

There are people who claim to be former members of the Ustashe associated with the Croatian community in Victoria and with the soccer clubs. Young Australian-Croatians were in Croatia involved in one capacity or another in the tragedy which took place in the 1990s. Large sums of money were being remitted by Croatians and Serbians and other groups to families, relief and political organisations in their respective homelands. The soccer clubs argued that they would be in a much stronger financial position were not so much of the local community's resources being directed overseas at this time. The 1992 tour by the Croatian national team produced an overwhelming security operation in Melbourne, which along with extortionate prices, deterred virtually all but Croatians from attending the matches. Even so, there were around 12,000 at Olympic Park for the game. That game produced few or no arrests, and a couple of people were ejected from the ground. A fairly provocative counter protest in the centre of Melbourne created a little media stir but nothing more. Several senior and junior matches between Serbian and Croatian supported sides have been quietly treated as scoreless draws, or played behind closed doors, but others have gone ahead with minimal disturbance, despite the atrocities overseas. How is such restraint possible? This is the question we should be asking, not why is there violence associated with soccer.?

In a pre-television age soccer clubs were the centre of entertainment networks. The Geelong Scottish club began running bucks nights, which were so successful that the women demanded a chance to attend, and so fortnightly dances were run throughout the soccer season as a means of fund-raising and as a community activity. The Croatian and later North Geelong soccer clubs provided neutral grounds where the various factions - nationalist, democratic, religious and labour movement - could meet for recreation. Bell Park Sports Club opened one of the largest function centres in Geelong, built almost entirely by voluntary labour in the 1970s.

Soccer did provide a form of upward social mobility for aspiring community leaders and businessmen in the immigrant communities. As the Executive Director of the VSF pointed out, the people who rose to the top in soccer in the post war period in Victoria were the biggest egotists. They saw soccer as a pleasure, they wanted to put something into the game, but they didn't know how to go about it. They saw soccer as part of their image. They came into the game to do something for the businesses with which they were involved. Businessmen, bank managers, insurance agents, lawyers, commercial people were associated with the game in an honorary capacity, and they tried to use soccer to further their business interests, by raising their status in their communities. They relied on the pull which soccer had over these communities.<sup>99</sup> Some established their status within soccer then branched out into the wider community, others had a community position, which they tried to enhance through soccer. The route followed has to be established in each case.

As the clubs with which these individuals were involved rose to the top ranks in their respective State competitions they posed problems for the essentially amateur and Anglo administrations which governed the game. Top players from Europe came to Australia and found themselves in an amateur set up riven by class distinctions and prejudice. Soccer had no projected image in Australia at this stage. The Olympic Games in 1956 put the game on the map, with the top players from around the world taking part, including Russians like the legendary Lev Yashin. There were huge

crowds for the soccer tournament, and the use of Melbourne Cricket Ground for the competition gave the game a focal point.

The Victorian Amateur Soccer Football Association instituted the State League in 1958 as a premier division to head off a breakaway move by some of the leading clubs.<sup>100</sup> By the end of the year the State League clubs were demanding self-government. They were particularly exercised about penalties awarded by the disciplinary committee and wanted the State League Committee to handle all transfers. The clubs also wanted to have a major say in the allocation of games at Olympic Park, and the controversial issue of national teams was also raised. A suggestion was to be put to the State League Management Committee that only one club of each nationality be permitted in the State League, the issue having arisen because there were to be three Italian teams in the State League in 1959, Juventus, Geelong and Footscray. Owen Howard in the *Sporting Globe* noted sardonically that this might well cause problems if only one Australian team were allowed in the league. Finally, the clubs wanted district representatives dropped from the Victorian Soccer Council to be replaced by more independent members and greater representation from the State League clubs.<sup>101</sup> Most State League soccer clubs finished in the red in 1958 because of player payments. One club was paying £5 per week to 16 first teamers and £3 a week to reserves. There was an open market for players, who could dictate terms. 'Surely this must be another reason why the Victorian Soccer Association must recognise professionalism and not sit smugly under the mantle of so-called amateurism'.<sup>102</sup> The language could be paralleled in England and Scotland in the 1880s.

In an interesting article in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Sport* on Soccer Phil Mosely suggests that: 'Ever since the 1890s, the game's indigenous elements has always gained control of the game when depression or war has stanchied the flow of migration. However on every occasion that large-scale migration has recommenced, conflict has eventually developed. Administrative splits were regular features in the two most prominent states for soccer, Queensland and New South Wales. Grounds, gate receipts and player payments were the specific grievances cited but the general issue in question centred around the sovereignty of clubs. Migrant groups were opposed to the district system favoured by local born officials, a system common to all codes of football in Australia but not to British football.'<sup>103</sup>

There is a lot of truth in this thesis but it is in need of some modification. The conflict between the successful leading clubs and the associations which represent all the clubs in a country is endemic. It underlay the breakaway by the Football League from the Football Association in England in the 1888 and the similar breakaway from the Football League by the Premier League clubs in 1992, this time with the added element of television. The proposals for European Super Leagues and the modifications of the rules of the European Champions Trophy reflect similar tensions. In Victoria there is no doubt that the attitude of the Anglos, the persistent demeaning of the behaviour and aspirations of the migrant clubs and their representatives, did have a large part to play in exacerbating tensions which existed, but it is inadequate to characterise the breakaway of the VSF clubs as simply a struggle to escape from Anglo control.<sup>104</sup>

The move was led by people like Michael Weinstein representing Hakoah, one of the oldest of migrant clubs and almost part of the Victorian establishment by 1961, while some of the Anglo clubs were also part of the breakaway, including Moreland (A Scottish club) and all the Geelong clubs.<sup>105</sup> Stuart Beaton was eventually installed as Secretary of the Federation, though he was a pillar of the Anglo-connection, and after an initial refusal he finished up as an influential figure in the Federation in the next few years. Harry Dockerty became President of the VSF, while all but two of the State Federations in Australia had Anglo Secretaries.

So the split was not a matter of migrants versus Anglos, but rather perhaps between different generations of migrants. Those who had been established were now brought to share power with the relative newcomers. It is noticeable that many of the migrant clubs still had a strong Anglo presence in their committees, particularly Secretaries, who often wielded considerable influence - Stan Stacey at George Cross, D. Drake at Moreland and F. Hutchison at Wilhelmina.<sup>106</sup> **On the other hand, at the Polonia club, the Anglo, Dr. Charles Walker was replaced in 1962 by Henry Dressler.<sup>107</sup> (This is incorrect, Charles Walker was actually a Polish ex-cavalry officer who had changed his name.)** The NSW Federation Management Committee and all its sub-committees were very largely Anglos.<sup>108</sup> The ASF and the VSF agreed as early as December 1961 that 'throughout Australian Federation circles there would be no more games played between sides bearing national titles, such as in the World Cup Series played here in Melbourne'.<sup>109</sup>

## 6 Post-War Violence in Australian Soccer

Then there is the problem of violence on the part of the post-war immigrants. That there were violent incidents in this period is beyond question. The papers carry reports on it, participants remember it, tribunals sat in judgment on it and attitudes were formed in relation to it. Academics have written articles about it.<sup>110</sup>

Many questions need to be asked, however, about the events of this period. How much violence was there? Was it greater than in other periods, greater than in other sports at the same period? Was it perpetrated by spectators or players? How serious was it? How was it interpreted by the media, the soccer authorities, the police and the public, the players and the spectators themselves? What caused violence in Australian soccer in this period? Against whom was the violence directed and with what effects?<sup>111</sup> All these questions assume, in an empiricist way, that violence is something separable and measurable and a discrete social problem. We ought, as well, to look more deeply at the way notions of violence were created and interpreted, not just in this period and place, but in others. Without wishing to become involved in the fruitless analysis of discourses in a post-structural miasma, we have to ask why violence in soccer took on such cultural significance as it did?

Let us begin with the simple empirical questions. How much violence was there? Statistical evidence is totally non-existent. To my knowledge we do not have any police or soccer authority evidence on numbers of incidents for Victoria, nor I believe for any other state in Australia. The records of the Amateur Associations controlling the game have yet to be found, if they exist. From the late 1950s and 1960s the Federations which took over do maintain some sketchy records, but these require very careful handling. Not all cases of violence were reported to the soccer authorities, and many which were have left no apparent trace. The media seized on spectacular examples and treated them with a mixture of prurience and horror. Very often minor incidents, or those in lower leagues, passed unnoticed. Even where one can collect all the reported cases for a season, it is hard to make a consistent series that would satisfy any but the credulous.

Yet violence there was. Geelong participants recount with relish or with distaste the battles which went on, on the field and in the Committee rooms, verbal and physical. A former boxer recalls refereeing a match in which it was obvious that the participants were spoiling for a fight. 'Right', he said, picking on two likely fellows who were pawing the turf, 'Have your fight and then we can get on with the soccer'.<sup>112</sup>

There were incidents in other sports, which received somewhat different treatment. For example, violence in football was treated more as local incidents or manly

aggression.<sup>113</sup> Incidents at Footscray and Williamstown made newspaper headlines. Also the *Sporting Globe* was worried about viciousness in cricket in the 1950s.

Poor umpiring was seen as a problem in all sports, not just soccer. It certainly contributed to incidents which occurred in football and soccer. Given the emphasis on fair play and accepting the decision of the arbiter, which was such a feature of the amateur British ethos, apparent inconsistencies or breaches of the rules by officials had a disorientating effect.<sup>114</sup>

Overcrowding was a major problem as it was in the 1930s.<sup>115</sup> In the 1950s and 1960s soccer crowds were larger than ever before, but facilities for soccer were poor, cramped and unsanitary. The VASFA had to refuse entries to ten teams in 1955 because of a shortage of soccer grounds.<sup>116</sup> Crowd control was limited, often taking the form of post-incident intervention, rather than pre-game planning.

Clashes of styles and expectations were as important as political or racial or temperamental differences. Some teams and spectators wanted the 'British' style, with its emphasis on hard running and physical contact, but no shirt pulling, ankle tapping or spitting, and the game allowed to flow by referees who did not blow for minor infringements. Others wanted a skilful, slower game, with little body contact, no brutality, especially directed against goalkeepers, and incidents immediately penalised. Players who had come from the top standards in Europe found Australian tolerance of the use of brawn to overcome skill unacceptable.

The context within which soccer violence would be reported and the tone of the reporting was set as early as 1950. J. O. Wilshaw's columns in the *Sporting Globe* for that year appeared under such headlines as 'New Arrivals in Fisticuff Soccer', 'Foreign Element Causing Trouble', and 'Demonstrations a Blot on Soccer'. The first of these headed an article on a game between George Cross and South Melbourne during which the referee was knocked out.<sup>117</sup> Wilshaw reported that George Cross had been banned the previous year by the referees for interfering with officials, but then went on to say: 'The whole question of these new Australians being allowed to form National clubs should be the subject of special investigation and although one does not advocate a boycott of these recent arrivals from the playing fields it certainly would be much better if they were assimilated into the ranks of teams mainly of British stock and thus become better 'mixers' instead of keeping to themselves and in some cases endeavoring to settle political differences on the football field'. Wilshaw went on to complain about poaching by national teams and cheating by using ring-ins under the names of signed players. Here in essence is the whole of the subsequent criticism of the European element in soccer in the 1950s.<sup>118</sup>

According to Andrew Dettre and Laurie Schwab, however, many immigrants were refused access to Anglo clubs and so were forced to form their own organisations and then were damned for doing so.<sup>119</sup> In New South Wales the early members of the Federation of New South Wales soccer clubs set themselves a strongly integrationist and assimilationist agenda, claiming that they would teach the migrants to become better Australians, through language classes and the dispersion of migrants through clubs of mixed nationalities.<sup>120</sup> What they were up against is captured in an account by a young Greek migrant about the reaction of the headmaster of Paddington Junior Technical High School to a suggestion that soccer be included in the school's sporting curriculum:

'That is not a game, it's foreign, it's un-Australian to play soccer. It was just not on. And the shock was that the captain of the school, ... a Russian boy, wanted to play soccer and he [the headmaster] said that that would be the end of the tradition of this school, that the school had built its name on [Rugby] Union. That the captain would dare to play this un-Australian game'.<sup>121</sup>

To understand the interpretation of soccer and soccer violence we have to remember the world context of the time. This is when English crowds are at an all-time high, when it is said, there is little violence in the English game, and that it is Scots, Continentals and South Americans who are the violent people in the game. Fifteen years later, the boot has changed foot and it is the English who are becoming notorious for soccer violence.

The Victorian context needs to be considered, too. Violence associated with Australian Rules was just as rife in the 1950s and 1960s but was reported without all the overtones of xenophobia. Fights at the main VFA game between Port Melbourne and Yarraville were continued outside the ground after police had intervened in June 1952.<sup>122</sup> For every soccer incident I find in this period I can trace something associated with football, which is reported in a very different manner. The violence in both may be condemned, but there is no racist or xenophobic content in the latter.<sup>123</sup>

This is deliberately not a statistical paper for reasons already mentioned. I have traced 11 violent incidents reported in Victorian soccer in 1952. Given that there were over 1060 first team league games played, plus nearly as many reserve matches, plus Cup games one wonders at the interest generated. I could only find 4 incidents in 1953, and in 1954 the number was down to 3. Yet in 1952 one match and its aftermath received 102 column inches at a minimum over six weeks, at a time when the normal soccer report ran to around 10 column inches.<sup>124</sup>

The focus on soccer violence was very quickly directed at so-called Jugoslavs. Wilshaw again, under the headline 'Will Soccer 'Incidents' never Cease?' reported that 'On successive Saturdays referees have been assaulted and in each case a Yugoslav player has been involved.'<sup>125</sup> Notice that as far as the press is concerned the reference is to Jugoslavs versus the rest, not to troubles between Croatians and Serbians.

My argument here is that the focus on violence associated with soccer, while it did have an evidential base, was shaped by the cultural attitudes of the early 1950s and much of what followed has to be seen as the fitting of subsequent events into a predetermined pattern. It is far too simplistic to account for the violence related to soccer in terms of the politics of war-time and post-war Europe or the characteristics of the migrants, without taking account of the peculiar features of the host society and its interpreters.

## 7 Conclusions

Soccer in Australia has been a significant influence in the socialisation of generations of migrants to this country, quite out of proportion to the share of the total population involved or even of the proportion of migrants involved. This has come about in part:

By attracting and moulding appreciable proportions of the young adult males in the early stages of their sojourn in Australia.

By giving an avenue for ambitious and egotistical potential leaders among the migrants to fulfill some of their potential within a circumscribed but to them manageable context.

By reinforcing the work of other bridging community organisations which encouraged the migrants to interact with those outside the ethnic group at an important early stage in their stay in Australia.

By diverting political tensions derived from overseas experience into channels which proved capable in the end of absorbing the disruptive elements involved.

By providing support networks for individuals who experienced temporary or long term inability to function effectively in Australian society.

By absorbing such violence which occurred and channeling energies into forms in which violence was relatively limited in international or domestic comparisons. By helping to contribute to the creation of what Castles et al call a community without a nation, a nation without nationalism.

Table 1<sup>126</sup>

Victorian Senior Soccer Clubs						
1948		1961		1992		
First Division	Nationality	State League	Nationality	Premier League	Nationality	
Box Hill	All clubs	Box Hill	English	North Geelong	Croatian	
Brighton	primarily	Polonia	Polish	Bulleen	Italian	
Moreland	of British	Moreland	Scottish	Croydon City	English	
Park Rangers	extraction	George Cross	Maltese	Fawkner	Italian	
Prahran		Wilhelmina	Dutch	Green Gully	Maltese	
Sunshine United		Hakoah	Jewish	Sunshine George Cross	Maltese	
Western Suburbs		South Melbourne Hellas	Greek	Thomastown	Italian	
Yallourn		Slavia	Czechoslovak	Albion	Turkish	
		JUST	Serbian	St Albans	Croatian	
		Melbourne	Hungarian	Oakleigh	Greek	
		Juventus	Italian	Brunswick United Juventus	Italian	
		Richmond	German	Knox City	English	
				Morwell Falcons	Italian	
				Altona Gate	Macedonian	

<sup>1</sup> 27.10.05 Terminology can be very confusing to an observer. Association Football for much of the twentieth century referred to Australian Rules Football as played by the Victorian Football Association, not to be confused with the Victorian Football League, now the Australian Football League, which controls the major professional Australian Rules competition. The game now administered by FIFA has been successively known in Australia as Football, British Association Football, Soccer Football and Soccer and in 2005 the Football Federation of Australia reverted to football. 'Wogball' came into use to describe the game in the 1950s and 1960s when a high proportion of the players were recent immigrants from South and East Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Bill Murray and Roy Hay are currently working on a history of the game in Australia. The best account to date is Philip Mosely's Ph. D. thesis, *A social history of soccer in New South Wales, 1880-1956*, University of Sydney, 1987.

<sup>3</sup> Roy Hay, "'Our wicked foreign game': Why has Association Football (soccer) not become the main code of football in Australia?" *Soccer and Society*, (forthcoming), April 2006, pp. 00-00.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey, *Mistaken Identity, Multiculturalism and the demise of Nationalism in Australia*, Second Edition, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1990.

<sup>5</sup> The days when folk football provided cover for riots against the enclosure movement in Britain seem to be long gone. *Northampton Mercury*, 29 July, 5 August and 10 August 1765, quoted in John Beckett, 'English Rural Society, 1750-1914', *Historian*, 38, 1993, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Following the example of Neil Tranter, much of the evidence for this

discussion is drawn from a detailed study of soccer in one area, Victoria, with particular emphasis on Melbourne and Geelong.

<sup>7</sup> A correspondent in *Australian and British Soccer Weekly*, 29 December 1992, writes 'I am also seeking a copy of a document of which states that soccer was played on Captain Cook's vessel *'The Endeavour'* on the way to Australia. Newcastle and coal were discovered in 1791. Miners from England were brought to Newcastle to mine coal. They played soccer in England before any formation of the game. Hence that is where Newcastle became known as the 'Home of Soccer in Australia'', (sic)

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Mason, *Football*, Hicks Smith, Sydney, (English edition by Temple Smith, London) 1974, p. 86. He probably relies on Bruce Andrew, *Australian Football Handbook*,

<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *A Game of Our Own: The Origins of Australian Football*, Information Australia, Melbourne, 1990, pp. 30, 33-5, 37.

<sup>10</sup> A round ball was used until 1867, Mason, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Bill Mandle skirts around the issue of origins in his illuminating and pioneering article, 'Games people played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies*, 15, 1973, pp. 511-535; Ian Turner quotes *Bell's Life* in 1858 referring to patrons of the Duke of York in Prahran, 'climbing the greasy pole, the pig with the greasy tail, playing football and all the usual Christmas sports', Ian Turner, *Room for Manoeuvre*, Drummond, Melbourne, 1982, p. 313.

<sup>12</sup> Phil Mosely, 'The Game: Early Soccer Scenery in New South Wales', *Sporting Traditions*, 8 (No 2), 1992, pp. 135-151.

<sup>13</sup> *Age*, 17 February 1883, refers to the recently formed Anglo-Australian club in Melbourne and several clubs in Sydney playing the game. *Australasian*, 21 April 1883 also mentions the 'old country enthusiasts' who were intent on introducing the English Association game into Victoria. Regular reports of the Anglo-Australian club's matches follow. The club obtained the Richmond Cricket Ground for the season. *Australasian*, 19 & 26 May, 23 & 30 June 1883. The players on both sides for the first interstate match were all 'imported Men' who had been used to playing the game in the old country. See also *Australasian*, 19 April 1884, for attempts to introduce soccer into Melbourne which were said to be dependent heavily upon Scots migrants and a Collins Street doctor, quoted in Mandle, op. cit. The doctor promised £500 towards the cost of sending an Australian team to Britain.

<sup>14</sup> *Argus*, 17 and 20 August 1883.

<sup>15</sup> *Argus*, 20 August 1883.

<sup>16</sup> *Age*, 17 August 1883.

<sup>17</sup> *Argus*, 17 August 1883

<sup>18</sup> Bill Murray *Football. A history of the world game*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1994; Bill Murray, *The World's Game: A history of soccer*, University of Illinois Press, Champaign, 1996 are the classic histories of world soccer, discussing the diffusion of the game in class and geographic terms. The high priest of the cultural diffusion model is John Mangan whose works on muscular christianity and imperialism have been very influential, see for example, J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1986.

<sup>19</sup> For a social structural analysis which stresses the attempts by the authorities to stamp out rough football, see John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 20-37. Hargreaves concludes that many sports did resist attempted emasculation.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Neil Tranter, 'The Chronology of Organised Sport in Nineteenth Century Scotland: A Regional Study I - Patterns', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 7 (No. 2), 1990, pp. 188-203; and 'II - Causes', 7 (No. 3), pp. 365-387.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Holt, 'Football and the urban way of life in Nineteenth Century

Britain', in J A Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit and Proselytism: Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, Cass, London, 1988, p. 70.

<sup>22</sup> The experience was not identical. See the illuminating discussion in Aidan Southall, 'The density of role-relationships as a Universal Index of Urbanization', in Aidan Southall (ed.) *Urban Anthropology: Cross-Cultural Studies of Urbanization*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1973, pp. 98-103. I owe this reference to Dr Peter Mewett.

<sup>23</sup> Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971.

<sup>24</sup> Holt, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> This is Andrew Dettre's argument. 'Those people [early British settlers in Australia, America, Canada and South Africa] included convicts and others similarly disillusioned and determined to forget what they had left behind. Theirs was a rough, tough life-style and when it came to diversion they preferred a form of blood sport. Hence we saw the development of rugby, Australian football, gridiron and ice hockey', quoted by Laurie Schwab, 'Will we embrace Soccer at last?', *Sunday Age*, 28 February 1993, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Mandle op. cit., pp. 518-522.

<sup>28</sup> The Anglo-Queensland Football Association was formed in 1884 with three clubs, Rangers, Queens Park and St Andrews. It was renamed the Queensland British Football Association in 1889. Max Howell, Reet Howell and David W Brown, *The Sporting Image: A Pictorial History of Queenslanders at Play*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1989, pp. 53-5; Rory Crowe, *100 Years of Queensland Soccer*, Sportslead, 1984, p. 2; *Brisbane Courier*, 25 April, 1887. I owe this last reference to Ms Donna Rae-Szalinski. The first South Australian Association dates from 1902. Denis Harlow, *History of Soccer in South Australia, 1902-2002*, South Australian Soccer Federation, Adelaide, 2003. for Western Australia see Richard Kreider, *A Soccer Century: A chronicle of Western Australian Soccer from 1896 to 1996*, Sports West Media, Perth, WA, 1996.

<sup>29</sup> 'The Scotchmen are evidently determined that their game shall not die a natural death for want of a bit of pushing, and their energy and enthusiasm appear to have kindled a flame of Anglo-Association fire, which has enveloped, and is enveloping, the town and suburbs, as a considerable number of clubs have enrolled themselves under the British Association banner'. *Australasian*, 19 April 1884. The same issue mentioned the formation of the Melbourne and South Melbourne Anglo-Australian Football clubs, the intention to send a team to Ballarat and the formation of several up country clubs, whose entries for the newly presented George and George Cup were expected.

<sup>30</sup> Describing a match between Richmond and Carlton, the *Australasian* noted 'The form of play generally was hardy (sic) up to cup form, although considerable improvement was visible among those who had practised'. *Australasian*, 10 May 1884. In addition to the Melbourne and South Melbourne clubs, Prahran was now taking part in matches.

<sup>31</sup> *Argus*, 19 July 1887.

<sup>32</sup> *Argus*, 18 July 1887.

<sup>33</sup> *Argus*, 19 and 20 July 1887.

<sup>34</sup> *VSF Official Year Book 1992*, Victorian Soccer Federation, St Kilda, 1992, pp. 15-16.

<sup>35</sup> *Argus*, 7 July 1913.

<sup>36</sup> *Argus*, 21 July 1913.

<sup>37</sup> See below, pp. 17-18.

<sup>38</sup> *Argus*, 10 July 1920.

<sup>39</sup> *Victorian Amateur Soccer Football Association Handbook 1984*, p. 155

<sup>40</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 31 March 1926. There was substantial Italian migration to Australia between the wars. Stephen Castles, Caroline Alcorso, Gaetano Rando, Ellie Vasta, (eds) *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*,

Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, 1992, p. 14. 36,000 Italians arrived in the 1920s.

<sup>41</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 17 March 1926, p. 7. Mildura had a representative team which played in Melbourne in 1927. *Sporting Globe*, 17 August 1927.

<sup>42</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 3 August 1927.

<sup>43</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 20 April, 1920. I owe this reference to Peter Begg of the *Geelong Advertiser*.

<sup>44</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 April, 1920.

<sup>45</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 26 November 1923.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> The F A is said to have made a large cash grant for the development of soccer in New South Wales and Queensland in 1931, Angus Cameron (ed.) *The Second Australian Almanac*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1986, p. 207.

<sup>48</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 6 June 1953, p. 7, Howard Whittaker, 'To Cliveden Mansion via Nelson Place', *Newsletter of the Williamstown Historical Society*, 1 July 1980. On Liston, see also Marc Fiddian, *The Pioneers*, Victorian Football Association, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 143-4 which does not mention his soccer activities; *Sporting Globe*, 21 August 1954, p. 11; 28 August 1954, p. 11; David Dunstan notes his presidency of the VASFA in his entry on Liston, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 10, 1891-1939, Lat-Ner, Melbourne University Press, 1986, pp. 117-8. Ray Duplain brought this entry to my attention.

<sup>49</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 31 May 1933, p. 9; 15 July 1933, p. 6; 19 July 1933, front page.

<sup>50</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 21 July 1924.

<sup>51</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 8 August 1924.

<sup>52</sup> Geelong Region, *Industrial Register*, Geelong Regional Planning Authority, n. d.; *Geelong Events in History*, p.28; Ian Wynd, *So Fine a Country*, Shire of Corio, North Geelong, 1981, pp. 99-101, *Geelong Advertiser*, 18 December 1976, *The Bulletin*, 19 July 1975, pp. 35-66. The Valley Mills, (known as the Mill of Mystery) was established on the 'banks of the Barwon' with a capital of £500,000 and a projected employment of 750-1,000, according to a booklet *Corio: Garden Suburb of Geelong*, produced by Melbourne SubDivisions Co. of Melbourne, n. d., but probably 1924-5. Reprinted in Deakin University HU 211 *Regionalism in Australia*, Deakin University, Geelong, 1987 reprint.

<sup>53</sup> The media even began to take notice. The *Sporting Globe* handed the game over to permanent member of staff for the first time in 1928.

<sup>54</sup> Andrew Dettre claims that this remained true of the 1950s prior to large scale European migration. Laurie Schwab, 'Will we embrace Soccer at last?', *Sunday Age*, 28 February 1993, p. 12; see also below p. 43, footnote 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Argus*, 10 August, 1936; 17 August 1936.

<sup>56</sup> *Argus*, 20 July 1936. Australia won the last match by four-one The crowd was put at about 1,000. In the previous test Australia had won by ten goals to nil before 8,000 in Wellington. *Argus*, 13 July 1936.

<sup>57</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 7 July 1937.

<sup>58</sup> *Age*, 5 July 1943; 10 July 1944; 7 May 1945.

<sup>59</sup> So far I have been unable to trace any newspaper references to soccer in Geelong in 1949.

<sup>60</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 2 September 1950, refers to matches between Geelong United and a combined Geelong Celtic and International Harvester team and a friendly between the latter and Industrial Service Engineers.

<sup>61</sup> *Age*, 3 July, 10 and 13 July 1950, *VASFA Handbook*, 1951, p. 24.

<sup>62</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 1 May 1950. The team which beat Woodlands 5-0 on Saturday, 29 April was: Johnson, Dyer, Cooke, Rawlings, Thornely, Stratford, Smith, Sullivan, Atherton, McGarry, Oxley. The referee that day was a Mr Sandford. Other players to take part that year included Baxter, Crosbie, Day and Glenn. *Geelong Advertiser*, 10 July 1950.

<sup>63</sup> Information from Ron Day, former Deputy Librarian of Deakin University who played in that team,

- <sup>64</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 3 July 1950. Among the team which beat Coburg on 1 July 1950 were T McNaught, Morrison, Edbrooke, Burns, Grace, Vaisny and Frew.
- <sup>65</sup> Interview with Billy Dorris, Senior, January 1992, tape recording in possession of the author.
- <sup>66</sup> There was a Greek team also, which did not last long. Interview with Joe Radojevic, 8 July 1991, tape recording in possession of the author.
- <sup>67</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 25 May 1955.
- <sup>68</sup> W R Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, with postscript, *Geelong Advertiser*, 1990, p. 702.
- <sup>69</sup> Interview with Joe Radojevic.
- <sup>70</sup> Interview with Martin and Regina Groher, 13 August 1992, tape recording in the possession of the author.
- <sup>71</sup> Interview with Billy Dorris, Senior, January 1992, tape recording in possession of the author.
- <sup>72</sup> Information at Hume Reserve, Saturday 27 June 1992.
- <sup>73</sup> Interview with Andy Kun, 10 June 1993, tape recording in possession of the author.
- <sup>74</sup> Reconfirmed by Fred Noggler at Hume Reserve, 22 August 1992.
- <sup>75</sup> Interview with Joe Radojevic, 8 July 1991, tape recording in possession of the author.
- <sup>76</sup> W R Brownhill, *op. cit.*, p. 702; Geelong Hellenic Association founded, *Geelong Advertiser*, 11 July 1955; Hellenic Orthodox Community of Geelong constituted Saturday, 14 October 1955, *Geelong Advertiser*, 17 October 1955.
- <sup>77</sup> John Lack, *History of Footscray*, Hargreen Publishing Company, North Melbourne, 1991, pp. 370-373.
- <sup>78</sup> There is a pioneering discussion of the institutions of some of the immigrant communities in Melbourne in Rachel Unikoski, *Communal Endeavours: Migrant Organisations in Melbourne*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1978. This gives weight to the importance of soccer clubs in these communities.
- <sup>79</sup> At least according to Joe Radojevic and Billy Dorris.
- <sup>80</sup> Initially players changed in cars or in the open, according to both Billy Dorris and Joe Radojevic. Chris van Beek got a female friend to write to the *Geelong Advertiser* complaining about naked men changing within sight of young female hockey players at Stead Park. Van Beek had been trying for some time to persuade the Shire to build changing rooms for Geelong Soccer Club. Within a few weeks of the letter appearing in the press, a new tin shed with showers was completed.
- <sup>81</sup> *Geelong Advertiser*, 11 July 1955, in the Northern Suburbs column.
- <sup>82</sup> Norman Haigh, who was deeply involved with Geelong soccer was a Shire Councillor in Corio from 1953 to 1960, Ian Wynd, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- <sup>83</sup> This man was also the father of one of the best full forwards to play in Geelong, for Geelong West in the VFA, and he later became a devotee of the game.
- <sup>84</sup> E. C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, Free Press, New York, 1958, p.164.
- <sup>85</sup> In this context it is interesting that Rob Pascoe stresses the Northern Italians co-operative spirit and activities (What is the source of this? Pascoe *Buongiorno Australia??*).
- <sup>86</sup> See below pp. 32-34.
- <sup>87</sup> Youngsters in Europe saw Australia as a land of snakes, venomous spiders and kangaroos, America as the land of fast cars and consumer goods, Martin Groher, interview 13 August 1992, tape recording in the possession of the author. Among less voluntary migrants, one internee jumped over the side of the *Dunera* when it was announced after ten days at sea that the destination was to be Australia not Canada. When they arrived in Hay, one camp specialised in handball, the other in soccer. K G Loewald, 'A *Dunera* internee at Hay, 1940-41, *Historical Studies*, 17, 1969, pp. 513 and 518.
- <sup>88</sup> The DLP recruited central European refugees from Communist totalitarianism in their campaign against the Labour Party. Janet McCalman, British football, wogball or the world game

*Struggletown*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1984, p. 284.

<sup>89</sup> *Soccer News* (South Australia), Vol 6 No 40, 1 October 1960, Front page; *Soccer News Programme*, Budapest v Croatia, 28 September 1960. Perkins was captain of Croatia when it won the Adelaide Advertiser Cup in 1960.

<sup>90</sup> An interesting reversal apparently occurred in Richmond where the removal of some trees from their new ground by the Wilhelmina Soccer Club resulted in an ugly brawl between factions of the Labor party and the DLP on Richmond Council in 1956. Janet McCalman, *op. cit.*, p. 284 and reference there to the *Richmond News*, 7, 14, 28 March 1956. This time it appears that soccer got caught up in local politics.

<sup>91</sup> Soccer did keep the forbidden name of Croatia regularly in front of the public in a way that no other activity could. Interview with Harry Mrksa, 27 May 1993, tape recording in the possession of the author.

<sup>92</sup> In South Australia, Austria beat Murray Bridge by 33-0 in 1962. Austria had just switched from the Association to the Federation and was placed in a lower division. It won its first two matches by 33-0 and 16-0, *Adelaide Advertiser*, 7 May 1962, p. 18; 14 May 1962, p. 12.

<sup>93</sup> There is a photograph of the Croatia Geelong team in North Geelong clubrooms at Elcho Park. The story is confirmed in all essential elements by Harry Mrksa, who adds that Brunswick only brought seven players to Geelong. The depleted team actually scored first to the disgust of the President. Roy Hay, 'Croatia: Community, conflict and culture: the role of soccer clubs in migrant identity', in Michael Cronin and David Mayall, eds, *Sporting nationalisms: Identity, ethnicity and assimilation*, London, Frank Cass, 1998, pp. 49-66.

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Fred Hutchison, 23 June 1962, tape recording in possession of the author.

<sup>95</sup> Information from Joe Radojevic, Martin Groher, Billy Dorris and Russell Butler. The North Geelong team playing in the local league in Geelong was also suspended in 1972

<sup>96</sup> Harry Mrksa also believes that Kovac, JUST and the Yugoslav authorities were instrumental in putting pressure on the VSF directly and through Jewish members of the Federation, interview 27 May 1993.

<sup>97</sup> *Age*, 8 May 1972.

<sup>98</sup> Tony Vrzina was invited to coach Essendon Lions at the end of the 1974 season. He saved the Ukrainian team from relegation and during the next season he was instrumental in the Croatian players and officials taking over, paying their predecessors \$25,000 for the clubrooms and facilities. Notes on an interview with Tony Vrzina at Hilton Hotel prior to AC Milan press conference, 17 June 1993; See also *Soccer Action*, 19 October 1983, pp. 8-9..

<sup>99</sup> Athanasios Hatzianestis (Sports Editor, Hellenic Herald) 'I would like to tell you a story which to me is what soccer is all about. The story is about a Greek who is very big on the soccer scene in Australia now, and how he came to be involved in the sport. He told me that twenty years ago, he wasn't at all interested in soccer. Then one day, friends took him to watch a game; he was amazed at what he saw. He said he saw Greeks shouting and screaming and it was obvious to him that Greeks went to see a soccer game for other reasons than just to watch the players. They went to the game to release their emotions within the security of a crowd who spoke their own language and understood. He realized then that soccer was a big part in the emotional wellbeing of the Greeks. I remember his words: 'If soccer is so important to the Greeks here in Australia, then I'm going to devote myself to soccer.' He did just that.' Quoted in Josef Vondra, *Hellas Australia*, Widescope, Melbourne, 1979, p. 196.

<sup>100</sup> *VASFA Handbook* 1958.

<sup>101</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 24 September 1958.

<sup>102</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 10 September 1958.

<sup>103</sup> Phil Mosely, 'Soccer in Australia', in Wray Vamplew et al. (eds) *Oxford Companion to Australian Sport*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, pp.

316-23; see also *VASFA Handbook* 1984, p. 157: 'In Victoria many of the new ethnic clubs formed their own organisation, to be known as the Victorian Soccer Federation, the VSF for a time existed side by side with VASFA'.

<sup>104</sup> I deal with this transition in more detail in Roy Hay, 'Marmaras's oyster or Seamonds' baby? The formation of the Victorian Soccer Federation, 1956-1964', *Sporting Traditions*, 10, No 2, 1994, pp. 3-24.

<sup>105</sup> According to Andy Kun, Kurt Defris Secretary of Hakoah was against the formation of the VSF, Laurie Schwab, 'Andy Kun - A True Pioneer', *Soccer Action*, 18 September 1985, p. 4.

<sup>106</sup> *VSF Handbook*, 1962, p.8. It is necessary to be very careful when using names - Sir Arthur George and Joe Brent, the former President of the ASF and the President of the Australian Indoor Federation are both of Greek extraction.

<sup>107</sup> The warning in the last footnote was not enough in my case. After writing this article I was told by Don Sutherland that Charles Walker was a former Polish army officer, who anglicised his name.

<sup>108</sup> *Soccer Year Book* 1962, published by Soccer World, 1962 p. 9.

<sup>109</sup> *Age*, 11 December 1961. 'A national register of players in the Federation will be compiled to prevent illegal transfers and the poaching of talent between the States.'

<sup>110</sup> Roy Hay, 'A new look at soccer violence', Denis Hemphill, ed., *All part of the game: Violence and Australian sport*, Sydney, Walla Walla Press, 1998, pp. 41-62. Rob Lynch, 'Disorder on the sidelines of Australian Sport', *Sporting Traditions*, 8 (1) 1991, pp. 50-75; Wray Vamplew, *Sports Violence in Australia: Its Extent and Control*, Australian Sports Commission, 1991; John O'Hara (ed.), *Crowd Violence at Australian Sport*, Australian Society for Sports History, Studies in Sports History Number 7, Australian Society for Sports History, Campelltown, 1992.

<sup>111</sup> A Greek youngster in Adelaide recalls going down to the soccer club on the morning before a game to earn sixpence by clearing the pitch of broken glass, which had been strewn there to hinder the playing of soccer.

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Billy Dorris, Senior, January 1992, tape recording in possession of the author.

<sup>113</sup> For example the *Geelong Advertiser* reported a brawl between players in the Geelong v Hawthorn match on Saturday, 25 July 1959 in these terms: 'Unruly display in league match at Kardinia Park', 'Four umpires and two policemen had a lively few minutes restoring peace', 'Lively incident stirs players'. 'The incident was the the saving point of what-up til then-had been a very drab and dull game. The standard of football after the incident was more to the crowd's liking'. *Geelong Advertiser*, 27 July 1959, Front and Back Pages.

<sup>114</sup> The only occasions when Ballarat soccer was reported in Geelong in 1959 that I have come across occurred when there were attacks on referees on 11 and 18 July. When the tribunal acquitted an accused player, the referees went on strike. *Geelong Advertiser*, 20 July 1959, p. 11; 3 August 1959, p. 13.

<sup>115</sup> J. O. Wilshaw, 'Soccer crowds need greater control', *Sporting Globe*, 21 June 1933, p. 10.

<sup>116</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 30 March 1955.

<sup>117</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 12 April 1950, p. 13.

<sup>118</sup> Wilshaw returned to the theme under the headling 'New Australians Attack Referee' in July 1952: 'Just when the New Australians had given some evidence of having fallen into line with the ethics of sportsmanship that has prevailed in Victorian soccer for a generation before they came, there was another outburst by spectators at the close of the Brighton v Juventus game at Olympic Park last Saturday'. This incident involved spectators after the game, not players. *Sporting Globe*, 30 July 1952, p. 14.

<sup>119</sup> Laurie Schwab in conversation at Olympic Park on 23 February 1993 and Laurie Schwab, 'Will we embrace Soccer at last?', *Sunday Age*, 28 February 1993, pp. 12-13; For a contemporary statement to that effect, under the headline 'National

Groups Endanger Assimilation' in the New Australian column, the *Geelong Advertiser* wrote, 'Today it would appear that the reason for continuing in national groups is not the same as it was years ago. The first post-war migrants faced an entirely new world of which the majority did not know the language. Now they know this world and speak its language and they know too that they may take part in it if they want to. If they stand apart the reason apparently must be sought in the fact that the individual migrant feels himself refused by the Australian people, that he feels himself barred from organisations and groups he perhaps would like to join'. The *Advertiser* felt that this bar stemmed as much from migrant failure to learn social and conversational English and social differentiation. *Geelong Advertiser*, 4 July 1955.

<sup>120</sup> 'Making Aussies A vital role for soccer', *Sydney Sun-Herald*, Sunday 30 March 1958, p. 76.

<sup>121</sup> Brian Murphy, *The Other Australia: Experiences of Migration*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1993, p. 153, quoting Nick Malaxos. Nick played soccer with other immigrant children.

<sup>122</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 7 June 1952, p. 5.

<sup>123</sup> For a general introduction to the issue, see Roy Hay, 'Violence by Players', in Wray Vamplew et al. (eds) *Oxford Companion to Australian Sport*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 367-8.

<sup>124</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 12 April to 21 May 1953. The game was between Juventus and JUST and involved a penalty incident, followed by the refusal of a player to leave the field when ordered off, and a subsequent brawl.

<sup>125</sup> *Sporting Globe*, 27 August 1952, p. 15; 'Jugoslavs Again in Soccer Limelight', *ibid.*, 24 September 1952, p. 15, reporting that JUST refused to play at Olympic Park against Polonia unless it got one-third of the gate.

<sup>126</sup> I am grateful to Laurie Schwab for help with the attribution of nationality to some of these clubs.