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Citation:

Fletcher, TE (2014) Book review: Anthony Clavane, Does you rabbi know you're here? The story of English football's forgotten tribe. Soccer and Society. ISSN 1743-9590 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.961291>

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Article (Updated Version)

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Anthony Clavane, *Does your rabbi know you're here? The story of English football's forgotten tribe*, London: Quercus, 2010; 269 pp. (with index), £7.99 (paperback), £17.99 (hardback), ISBN: 978-0857388148 (paperback), ISBN: 978-0-85738-812-4 (hardback).

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In *Does your rabbi know you're here?* Anthony Clavane argues that Jewish voices have largely been written out of the history of English sports. He refers to the Jewish diaspora as English football's 'forgotten tribe', to remind us that studies of the Jewish sporting diaspora are few and far between, and those that do exist, portray successful Jewish sportsmen (there is a tendency to talk only of men) as the exception that proves the rule. He argues that this Anglo-Jewish football myth – of absence – is at odds with what is certainly a long and passionate history with(in) football. His arguments are threefold: 1) Jews have been central to the transformation of football from a working-class pursuit to global entertainment industry; 2) for the past century, English football has been a vehicle for Anglicisation; and 3) football is an arena where Jews fought the notion they were invaders who needed to be fended off by Anglophile traditionalists. In order to tell this narrative he centralises the experiences of eleven high profile Jewish figures, alongside a number of "equally intriguing if less important ones" (p.xvii) who have all, in different ways, embodied this trope of absence. Amongst these eleven individuals are players, managers, fans, agents, board members and owners. Each chapter begins with a focus on one of these individuals, though the chapter does not necessarily revolve entirely around them. Instead, Clavane centralises each as a wider representation of Anglo-Jew relations. The chapter names attempt to capture this: *The Outsiders*; *The Disappeared*; *The Europeans*; *The Fans*; *The Showmen*; *The Fighters*; *The Thinkers*; *The Israelis*; *The Revolutionaries*; *The Money Men*; and *The Insiders*. He adopts a loosely diachronic structure, illustrating three phases in Anglo-Jewry over the last century: the *First Age*; the *Golden Age*; and the *New Age*. He describes these rather optimistically as "three stages of integration into English society" (p.xvii).

This book is not just a story about Jews and football. It is a story about how football and ethnic and national identities interact and collide. Central to his three phases is how Jews 'became' English and how the Jewish diaspora negotiated 'becoming' English, whilst also 'staying' (in some aspects at least) Jewish. Clavane's introduction is a brief social history of Jews in the UK. He notes the heterogeneity of the Jewish diaspora; particularly, the circumstances of their migration to the UK – for example, to escape German concentration camps or Russian Pogroms – and their consistently changing class demographic, following the Second World War. Clavane suggests that, during the first waves of migration Anglo-Jewry had a conscious preference for radical assimilation. He repeatedly refers to 'loyalty', 'blending in' and 'keeping schtum'. Thus, British Jews are conceived as being a model minority. Clavane positions the British education system at the heart of this. The 1870 Education Act's formation of state-funded, non-denominational primary schools, for example, helped reshape Jews as English citizens. Central to all diasporic narratives is how elements of 'home' and 'away' are negotiated in everyday experiences. Clavane writes that whilst many (predominantly) younger Jews embraced football as symbolic of their new 'home' culture, many others (mainly 'traditionalists') feared that these younger members of the tribe were becoming secularised. Football, due to it requiring participants and spectators on the Sabbath, was considered to be at the heart of this secularisation.

Clavane begins *The First Age* with a discussion of Lithuanian-Jewish-Irishman, Louis Bookman: the first Jew to play in the English first division. For many young Jews, Bookman was a trailblazer who gave them hope, whilst for others, his championing of football, particularly on the *Sabbath*, desecrated his faith. Clavane describes Bookman's experiences at Bradford City, Tottenham Hotspur (Spurs) and Charlton Athletic in ambiguous terms. He was respected on the pitch for his skills, but was nicknamed 'kosher' by his team mates at Spurs and was regularly described using orientalist terms, such as 'exotic' and 'mysterious' in match reports: "there was still something 'of the night' about Abe" (p.17). Moreover, after his death, Clavane describes how Bookman's wife and mother refused to acknowledge his sporting achievements.

In *The disappeared*, Clavane notes how many Jewish footballers hid their ethnicities, and thus, disappeared from public consciousness. The main example used is Leslie Goldberg who, in 1948, anglicised his name to Gaunt. Goldberg's emergence as a player at Leeds United "appeared to repudiate not only the myth of absence, but also the myth of physical inferiority" (p.30). Indeed, Clavane spends a great deal of this chapter critiquing the latter racial trope: that of Jewish physical weakness. Goldberg (and others) is viewed as "a living negation of the physical stigma that has long disfigured our race" (p.34). The success of Goldberg "had become

the repository of his rapidly integrating community's dream of belonging" (p.36), and he soon became a symbol for successful Jewish assimilation. Goldberg (and many others) ignored their ethnicities, "quietly and unfussily integrating – some would say disappearing – into the mainstream ... that was the way it was in those days" (p.48).

Both Bookman and Goldberg are noted for their assimilation tactics. However, others are noted for their reluctance and/or inability to assimilate. For example, in *The Fighters* Clavane describes the fortunes of Mark Lazarus, arguably the first Jew to make any impact on the game in the 'modern' era. Lazarus is most famous for scoring the winning goal in the 1967 League Cup Final for Queen's Park Rangers. However, his significance to Clavane is not necessarily as a player on the pitch, but the way he stood up for his 'Jewishness' (despite being described as an atheist (p.125)). Unlike Bookman and Goldberg, Lazarus is described as "standing up for himself in the dressing room" (p.125). Clavane's wider argument here is not about Lazarus; rather how, for some, sport allowed Jews to 'Become English', whilst for others, it was a space to emphasise one's 'Jewishness'. For examples, the British Maccabi Association was set up to both challenge the trope that Jews were physically weak, and to restore pride in Jewish achievement by being part of a national and international network of Jews. Through sport the Association wanted to restore the spirit of Judaism in its clubs and sports organisations.

Clavane consistently cites how professional Jewish players could empower young Jews. Lazarus contributed to this, but the Israeli, Avi Cohen, who signed for Liverpool in 1979, is portrayed as making the greatest breakthrough contribution. He is described as the "Great New Hope" (p.169) and depicted as living out the ultimate Jewish fantasy: making it in the West. The relative lack of success of Cohen is not crucial to the narrative. The fact that he was an Israeli, not an Anglicised immigrant from Eastern Europe, however, is. For Clavane, representation of the likes of Cohen, and more contemporaneously, Eyal Berkovic and Yossi Benayoun, could highlight the lack paucity of 'home-grown' Jewish footballing talent. The question is, if foreign Jews can make it at the top level, why are there so few home-grown at that level?

This brings into focus the politics of 'Englishness'. Clavane argues that, historically, English football has been engulfed by a Little Englander mentality: a prime example of this being the reluctance amongst some clubs to sign foreign talent. This reluctance has sparked wider debate about English football's insularity. Clavane argues that new Jewish migrants of the 1940-50s were particularly vocal on such matters. Unlike previous waves of migration, the 'establishment' was unable to keep this group 'shtum'. Clavane makes the perfectly valid point that the visibility of Jews in football rose with the increasing sense of security they felt. Admittedly, their presence on the field remained marginal, but they were making waves in other ways, for example writing about the game in books. On the whole, these migrants were middle-class, cosmopolitan, and had knowledge of the game elsewhere in Europe. Amongst this group were Willy Meisl, Brian Glanville and Ernest Hecht, all Anglophiles, who sought their own voice through football. They regularly debated the fortunes of the England team and its tactical and technical inadequacies, and advocated for England to learn from their European neighbours. Clavane sees these Jews who have flourished, typically, as outsiders who brought "a new vision, a fresh slant, to the game" (p.56). Their recommendations hit resistance however. At the same time as they were recommending institutional changes, the legitimacy of the Jewish diaspora in Britain was also being debated. Whereas previously Jewish migrants had been "impoverished and observant" (p.54), these new migrants challenged the game's inherent conservatism and, in so doing, threatened to enlighten and "re-Judaise" the tribe (p.65).

In Section 2, *The Golden Age*, Clavane notes that where Jews have made their mark has largely been off the pitch: as supporters, board members and owners. In chapter 4 he details "superfans" like Morris Keston, whose success in the rag trade allowed him to get close to the Spurs players by, amongst other things, throwing them lavish parties. Since the first waves of migration, Spurs was the club most associated with Jewish support, despite the fact that West Ham United was closer to large Jewish communities around Spitalfields and Whitechapel. Clavane suggests that tram routes had a lot to do with this relationship. In short, combustion-engine-powered cars and buses were forbidden on the Sabbath but the electric tram, which stopped outside White Hart Lane, was not. The author spends time dissecting the relationship between Jewish fans and a number of clubs, including Tottenham, Arsenal, West Ham and Leeds United. Spurs and Arsenal were renowned for their Jewish followers. Clavane suggests that, during the 1930s, an estimated one in three of 30,000 fans at a Tottenham home game was Jewish. Moreover, fans of Spurs even "declare themselves to be the foot-soldiers of the 'Yid Army'" (p.96). Clavane acknowledges obvious ambiguity with the 'Yid' label, and also stresses that such a label "gives racist fans the license to respond with racist slogans" (p.97). His overarching argument is that, "for many of these boys, the first step towards this acceptance and integration came in the stands at Tottenham Hotspur" (p. 90).

Clavane also acknowledges that the rising prominence and burgeoning middle-class-ness of many Jews bred resentment amongst others of the football faithful. He cites Leeds United's Elland Road stadium as having a "tangible atmosphere of menace", and the rising influence of an 'us and them' mind-set appearing at football matches (p.118). He summarises: "When Jews had been poor, they had been accused of taking the jobs of working-class Englishmen; as they successfully integrated and became better off, distaste was expressed for their drive, 'ruthlessness' and commercial acumen", the result being a "cultural insistence on homogeneity, [and] an intolerance of difference".

Clavane is sensitive not to reinforce stereotypes, but argues how the most transformative Jewish contributions to English football were off the pitch. In chapter 5 he documents the fortunes of Harry Zussman, Leyton Orient's long-standing chairman. Clavane uses Zussman to argue that, from the 1960s onwards, "powerful social and political forces – economic mobility, occupational diversification and growing toleration – were weakening the established bastions of Anglo Saxon Protestantism" (pp.106-07). For example, whilst more 'prestigious' clubs remained closed, Jewish men were beginning to occupy more powerful positions in 'unfashionable' clubs. For Clavane, Zussman and others were interesting characters because "they were full of bonhomie"; apparently not in it for the money (p.107).

In Section 3, *The New Age*, Clavane introduces a number of other influential Jews who certainly were in it for the money. David Dein (Arsenal), Irving Scholar, Alan Sugar and Daniel Levy (Tottenham), 'The Revolutionaries', and Roman Abramovich (Chelsea), one of 'The Moneymen', are all attributed as pioneers, visionaries, and (financial) saviours of their clubs. Clavane regularly suggests that Dein and Scholar were the principle driving forces behind the formation of the English Premier League in 1992 (pp.187-88). Both transformed their clubs through commercialisation and innovative PR. Dein is said to be "struck by the way the NFL was marketed" (p.195), whilst Scholar "was always pushing against the tide, and time in football always runs against change" (p.199). Scholar in particular, is noted for his off-pitch signings of Edward Freedman and Alex Fynn who revolutionised Spurs' merchandising, creating brands out of players – for example, Paul 'Gazza' Gascoigne (p.221) - to the point where the club was turning over more than any other. Notwithstanding their commercial influence, Clavane notes how Dein was widely discredited for encouraging overseas investment, and Scholar is arguably best remembered for running up 'crippling' debts funding a new stand.

More recently, the game's commercial growth has been epitomised by Chelsea's billionaire owner, Roman Abramovich. Clavane suggests that the emergence of Abramovich transformed the contemporary game into a form of multicultural entertainment; shattering the game's enduring legacy of 'Englishness' (p.210). His argument here is not fully convincing – his conceptualisation of 'multicultural' relies heavily on representation as inclusion, which is too simplistic. He notes how on the opening day of the Premier League in 1992 there were eleven foreign players, compared to twenty years later where there in excess of 300. His broader view that billionaire investment has brought about aggressive commercialisation is hard to challenge however. In saying this, we are left wondering about the author's stance on this. Clavane's position towards Abramovich and others is ambivalent: "I know I should be lamenting the loss of football's soul ... But there has been something about his obsessive quest for the game's Holy Grail (Champions League title) ... which has appealed to me" (p.211).

I found writing this review very difficult. Clavane is informed by a commanding grasp of Anglo-Jew identity and football. However, his target audience is not entirely clear. At times, as a non-Jew, I felt like an outsider looking in. There are large sections of the book which are arguably not written for people without a solid grasp of Anglo-Jew relations. His tendency to too and fro between time periods and continual reference to individuals whose significance is often not fully describes, assumes an already nuanced level of understanding. This is not an easily accessible book, but it is enjoyable. Clavane writes with enthusiasm and authority, and it is difficult not to get embroiled in his personal narratives and anecdotes. This is not an 'academic' book in the traditional sense. There is a conspicuous lack of methodology for instance. He often refers to un-sourced 'mutterings' and makes references to a so-called 'kosher nostra', but does not back these up with evidence. Moreover, the story he describes is not specifically Jewish; rather that of an immigrant journey. "Become English. Integrate, assimilate, anglicise" (p.xix): this intention is not unlike the experiences of other minority ethnic communities. In sport, for example, Black and South Asian men and women, have also consciously adapted their identities to 'fit' dominant notions of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness'. He makes some references to Black and South Asian communities and sport, but these are few and far between. Similarly, the voices of Jewish females - as players and fans- are largely overlooked (unless they were the spouse, sibling or child of Jewish men). Finally, Clavane's suggestion that the transition from the working-class game to the soulless money-obsessed global "entertainment" of today was the brainchild of Jews is problematic. Indeed, at times Clavane is so eager to welcome the growing influence of such "modernisers" that he is sometimes uncritical of their actions. Is the influence of Roman Abramovich a triumph over anti-Semitism (p.45), or a

reflection of the burgeoning crassness of the 'People's Game'? Perhaps it is both, though perhaps it is neither.