

Louis Rosenberg and the Origins of the Socio-Demographic Study of Jews in Canada

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Louis Rosenberg's *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada*, published in 1939, was a pioneering if unfortunately neglected classic of Canadian ethnic demography and sociology. Its republication in a new edition in 1993, by McGill-Queen's Press, has particular relevance for the community of social scientists devoted to the study of Diaspora Jewish communities, using socio-demographic data.

Canada's Jews has persisting value as a superb quantitative social history of Canadian Jews in the 1930s. It also is in many ways an unmatched prototype of a study of the ethnic demography of any Canadian minority group. Louis Rosenberg's work was a product of his personal biography, the current socio-political context, and the customs and norms of his discipline. This is the case for those carrying on his work. What follows is a brief and far from exhaustive treatment of the man, the times, and the work.

The Man

Louis Rosenberg was born in Gonenz, Poland, in 1893. His family was shaped by traditional and secular elements of Jewish culture in Eastern Europe at the turn of the century. When he was three his parents emigrated to England from Lithuania, settling in Leeds, Yorkshire, which had at the time an estimated 12,000 Jews. (Rosenberg, 1968). While his parents spoke Yiddish at home, Rosenberg's language of choice was English; he learned to speak Yiddish fluently only after arriving in Canada.

Rosenberg graduated from elementary school in Leeds, won a scholarship for secondary school, and later a scholarship tenable at Leeds University. At university Rosenberg studied English history, French, economics, and mathematics, in addition

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to education courses; he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts and a Teacher's Certificate. He had no graduate degrees in social science. Most of his knowledge in these areas was developed through his own reading and refined in practice. The competence which he attained in these areas seems to have approximated that of many professionals working at Canada's Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS) in the 1930s.

Rosenberg describes his teenage years as a process of unfolding intellectual curiosity, with many hours during high school spent at the Reference Department of the Leeds Public Library. It was there that Rosenberg discovered Graetz's *History of the Jews*, Joseph Jacob's *Jewish Statistics: Social, Vital, and Anthropometric*, Maurice Fishberg's *The Jews: A Study in Race and Environment*, and other similar works. While completing his general studies, Rosenberg also attended a progressive Jewish supplementary school, a "cheder metukkan", from the age of seven to sixteen, which gave him a solid grounding in Hebrew and classical Judaica.

Rosenberg graduated from Leeds in 1914. While his education from primary school through university, seemed remarkably free from antisemitism, Rosenberg discovered it was somewhat difficult for a Jew to obtain a permanent teaching post at a college or high school. Soon after graduation, he by chance heard a lecture at Leeds about opportunities in Canada's prairie provinces. At about the same time, he read about new Jewish farm settlements being established in the Canadian west, where there was a need for teachers. Rosenberg had by this time become a convinced Labor Zionist, and believed in the value of agricultural labor as a means for Jewish social and national renewal.

Rosenberg decided to head to the Canadian west. From 1915 to 1919 he worked as a Hebrew school teacher at the Jewish farm colony in Lipton, Saskatchewan. He then moved to Regina, where from 1919 to 1940 he served as Director of Jewish Farm Settlements for the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) in Western Canada. From 1940 to 1945, he served as Executive Director of the Western Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress, and in 1945 he moved to Montreal to become the National Research Director of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress. (The title is a little misleading. Rosenberg himself was the "Bureau.") He retired in 1972, and died in 1987 at the age of 94.

It was while in Regina that he began his systematic statistical studies of Canadian Jewish life. He also became deeply involved in the Democratic Socialist League for Social Reconstruction, and then the CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation), in Saskatchewan. Under the pen name of Watt Hugh McCollum, Rosenberg published the study *Who Owns Canada?*, which also appeared in two successful editions in 1935 and 1947. Rosenberg also published articles under that name for the *CCF Research Review* on a variety of social issues, throughout the 1930s.

Who Owns Canada? is itself a remarkable achievement. It prefigured the studies of the Canadian elite by John Porter (1965) and Wallace Clement (1975), though ironically neither of those key works makes any reference to McCollum/Rosenberg

or his book. In 94 pages, Rosenberg analyzed in detail the corporate structure of Canada's economy sector by sector, and identified Canada's 100 biggest corporations and 50 "Big Shots." His analysis of the origins of these men revealed, inter alia, that none was Jewish. The thrust of his argument was a warning of the power of monopoly capital. He did not mince words:

Any attempt to regulate and temper Capitalism is doomed to failure. There can be no planned economy that will work under Capitalism. The evils of Capitalism are not removable excrescences. They are inherent in the system ...As long as private monopoly ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange exists, no government, whether Liberal, Conservative, or CCF can control it, but the 50 "Big Shots", no matter who they are at the moment, will control the government. (McCollum, 1947, p. 94)

Rosenberg was thus deeply involved in the development of democratic socialism in Western Canada, and sought to buttress socialist arguments with the best available empirical evidence. After the war and his move to Montreal, it is clear that Rosenberg seems to have ceased his involvement in left wing Canadian politics. Certainly organized Jewish life, as reflected in mainstream organizations such as the Canadian Jewish Congress, would have been a less than hospitable environment for such political commitments in the 1950s and 1960s. Rosenberg, very much a loner in his professional endeavors, immersed himself in Jewish sociological and demographic studies.

Canada's Jews was the first major work of what turned out to be a prolific career as a social statistician of Canadian Jewry. While he never produced another book-length monograph, Rosenberg wrote countless articles which appeared in professional journals of Jewish studies, and in the general Jewish press. Examples of the former include the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, a British publication for which he served as a member of the editorial committee; *Jewish Social Studies*; *Social Welfare*; *The Jewish Review*, *The Contemporary Jewish Record*; and the *American Jewish Yearbook*. His first scientific article on Canadian Jewry appeared in Yiddish in the *YIVO Bleter* in 1932, and was entitled "The Jewish Population in Canada." (For an extensive listing of Rosenberg's writings in the area of Canadian Jewish sociology and demography, see the Appendix to the new edition of *Canada's Jews*, 1993.)

Rosenberg also authored scores of reports and studies, most unpublished, while at the Congress. These ranged from studies of individual Jewish communities, such as Windsor and Winnipeg, to general studies published in the Congress series *Canadian Jewish Population Studies*, which he also edited, to specialized studies on Jewish education. He also worked as a journalist in the Canadian Jewish press.

Rosenberg felt during his life that his work was never adequately appreciated, both by the organized Jewish community and by the wider community of social scientists. Rosenberg's belief in the value of socio-demographic analysis as an instrument for (Jewish) community planning was decades ahead of its time. Jewish social service agencies in Montreal and elsewhere only began to recognize the potential value of longer term community planning based on applied research in the

late 1950s and early 1960s. The actual use of such data developed even later. In the same vein, a quantitative Canadian sociology of ethnic groups in general, and of Jews in particular, did not really exist in the 1940s and 1950s. Thus there was also, no Canadian scholarly constituency for his work.

The Times

If the decade of the 1930s was not the very worst of times for Jews and other immigrant minorities in Canada, it was also far from the best. Immigration to Canada had slowed to a trickle, blocked mainly by the Depression. Not even the immediate dangers facing German Jews in the 1930s were sufficient to pry open Canada's locked doors (Abella and Troper, 1982). The legacy of World War One, in which over 8,000 Ukrainians and Germans were interned as "enemy aliens", had raised a specter of dual loyalty and added to the insecurities felt by various immigrant groups (Thompson, 1991). The presence of members of immigrant communities — notably Ukrainians, Jews, and Finns — in radical political organizations of the day also reinforced an image of marginality from mainstream Canadian society (Avery, 1979). Equal access to jobs, pay, housing, or services remained a far distant goal. Immigrant cultures and traditions — particularly those not of English or Western European origin — were considered second rate.

Immigrant communities in the 1930s consisted overwhelmingly of working class urbanites or hard working small farmers, far removed from any real political, economic, or cultural influence (Harney and Troper, 1975). For most immigrant groups, like the Italians in Toronto, not only discrimination but also a form of self-imposed isolation helped produce the conditions of separation from the English majority (Zucci, 1988). This condition of marginality was even more pronounced regarding access to key positions in the economic and political elite of Canada, which remained at that time predominantly in the hands of English and, to a lesser degree, French origin Canadians. Antisemitism thrived in both working class taverns and pubs and the private clubs and boardrooms of the corporate elite.

The Canadian Jewish community of the 1930s shared many of the problems of immigrants in general. Indeed, these were exacerbated by a context of deeply felt antisemitism which exceeded the routine ethnocentrism and xenophobia which afflicted most other immigrant groups. (Betcherman, 1975; Abella and Troper, 1982; Milner and Milner, 1973; Levitt and Shaffir, 1987). In Quebec, leading newspapers and intellectuals, supported by the Catholic Church, regularly fulminated against Jews and alleged Jewish influence, and the "achat chez nous" boycott of Jewish merchants was organized. In Ontario, the expressions of antisemitism ran the gamut of quiet "numerus clausus" provisions at University to discrimination in employment or accommodations to the full scale riot at Christie Pits in 1933.

With the rise of Nazism in Germany, and similar small but vociferous supportive groups in Quebec and Ontario, the precarious position of Canadian Jewry worsened. By the 1930s Canadian Jews had developed a network of communal organizations.

These included charitable agencies as well as schools, synagogues, newspapers, and many other cultural, fraternal, or political associations (Speisman, 1979). The Canadian Jewish Congress was revived in 1934 as a national communal organization, eventually dominated by Samuel Bronfman. Yet Jews, despite the degree of communal organization and regardless of wealth or position, had little clout in the corridors of power (Abella and Troper, 1982; Marrus, 1991; Speisman, 1979). As Rosenberg's data reveal, the community in 1931 was predominantly working class. Less than 5% could trace the Canadian birth of their ancestry for two generations — compared to 64% for all Canadians (Rosenberg, 1993, p. 74). Even if there were no pogroms, antisemitism was pervasive in the political and cultural fabric of Canada in the 1930s.

A key issue was how best to oppose Canada's restrictive immigration policies, with specific reference to German Jewish refugees. To fight back aggressively — whatever the realistic expectations of success — risked inflaming antisemitic sentiment itself, antagonizing the powers that be, and losing whatever gains had been made. On the other hand a diplomacy which was too quiet and docile risked the abandonment of European Jewry and even encouraging more domestic bigotry through inaction.

Rosenberg, working within the framework of the Canadian Jewish Congress, was certainly not immune to these agonizing dilemmas, and their impact on the actions of Congress leaders. Thus it is not surprising that sections of *Canada's Jews* are devoted to a direct refutation of the then current antisemitic canards: Jews as cowards and shirkers of military duties, Jews as rich financiers, Jews as non-agriculturalists, Jews as arsonists. Rosenberg's weapon of choice was the best available statistical evidence.

What of the study of immigrant/ethnic groups, and Jews in particular? Sociology emerged in the United States over a generation earlier than in Canada. Robert Park and his "Chicago School" of social research had begun the systematic study of immigrant/ethnic groups. Though Park's race relations cycle pointed toward an inevitable assimilationist outcome, he pioneered in the study of these groups in a non-patronizing, objective manner. (Park, 1950; Park and Miller, 1921) Moreover, the multi-volume classic *The Polish Peasant in America* by Znaniecki and Thomas (1918–1920) represented a sympathetic yet scholarly analysis of the traumas and transformations attendant upon the process of immigration. While many sociological studies of black-white relations were conducted right from the early 20th century, including works by Thomas and Znaniecki, studies of white ethnic groups were far fewer (Pettigrew, 1980, p. xxix).

Even more neglected was the sociological study of Jews. (For a review, see Sklare, 1974, pp. 1–30. I ignore here the racist literature on Jews, and the attempts, such as that by socialist theoretician Karl Kautsky (1926) to refute these writings). Arthur Ruppin, a Labor Zionist activist scholar could be considered the first sociological student of Jewish life. He began teaching the sociology of the Jews at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1926, though his first writings date back to the turn of the century. His lectures were published in a two volume German edition

in 1930–31, *Die Soziologie der Juden*. It was thus most fitting that the forward to *Canada's Jews* was written by Ruppin himself.

In 1928, the University of Chicago Press published Louis Wirth's *The Ghetto*, a study of the Jews of Chicago written by Wirth as his doctoral dissertation under Robert Park. Perhaps subtly reflecting the elitist antisemitism common in higher education circles at the time, *The Ghetto* ends up with a clear depiction of American Jews as an anachronism, with assimilation both inevitable and desirable.

Many young Jewish social scientists deliberately avoided the study of Jewish themes or topics, to avoid the charge of appearing ethnocentric. "The failure of Jewish social scientists to engage in research on the Jews reflects their desire to be perceived as American rather than Jewish intellectuals. To write in depth about the Jewish community would seemingly expose them to being identified as 'Jewish Jews', as individuals who are too preoccupied with an ethnic identity..." (Lipset, 1963, p. 163).

In Canada, the situation was bleaker by far. The discipline of sociology was barely present in Canada in the 1930s, with a lone English language outpost at McGill (Brym with Fox, 1989; Shore, 1987). The systematic study of immigrant/ethnic groups was likewise in its infancy. To be sure, there had been non-scientific writing on Canada's diversity. J.S. Woodsworth's *Strangers Within our Gates*, first published in 1909, displayed a generalized sympathy for the turn of the century migrants to the prairies in an evaluative work shot through with racial categorizing and prejudgement. Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic* was published in 1938, and represented a sympathetic if stereotypical portrait of the European immigrant groups who were shaping the developing Canadian nation.

Later, C.A. Dawson's *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* was a pioneering sociological study of Doukhobor, Mennonite, Mormon, German Catholic, and French Canadian farm communities in the prairie provinces. This study was more sociologically informed than Rosenberg's, and combined qualitative research with some census data and small sample surveys of specific farm communities (Dawson, 1936). It is doubtful that Rosenberg was at all familiar with this work, which is ironic in that the JCA farm colonies in Saskatchewan were similar to the type of ethnic bloc settlements Dawson analyzed. Dawson's volume makes no mention of the Jewish farm settlements in Western Canada either.

The closest precursor of *Canada's Jews* was the DBS study based on the 1921 census, *Origin, Birthplace, Nationality, and Language of the Canadian People*, under the direction of Burton Hurd (Canada, 1929). Rosenberg was familiar with this study and cites it in his text. Hurd's next study based on the 1931 census appeared after *Canada's Jews* (Canada, 1942).

As for scholarly social scientific studies of Canadian Jews, there were none. One important English language work was Arthur D. Hart's *The Jew in Canada*, published in 1926. That was a wide-ranging, if at times idealizing, collection of essays on many features of Jewish life in Canada. In his bibliography in *Canada's Jews*, Rosenberg lists some nineteen items under "Canadian Jewish History." None would qualify as social science.

English-Canadian universities in the 1930s were extremely Christian and Anglo-centric in culture and personnel. There were very few Jewish professors. Indeed, it is not surprising that Rosenberg produced his great work not as a university based scholar, but as an independent researcher. "What is striking is the absence of Jews in the higher levels of the intellectual community. It is unlikely that there are so few in any other western society." (Porter, 1965, p. 501) Certainly there was no infusion of German Jewish refugee intellectuals into Canadian university life in the 1930s comparable to that in the United States.

This was the environment which greeted the appearance of *Canada's Jews*.

The Work

Louis Rosenberg began working on the volume in 1934, though in fact he had for some time been gathering data pertinent to the project while at the JCA. Macmillan originally expressed interest in publishing the volume. But because of the large costs involved, and a perceived limited audience, they were prepared to publish only under an "author's book basis." This meant that Rosenberg, or rather the Congress, would have to pay Macmillan their printing and other publication costs.

But Congress could not afford the relatively high amount required by Macmillan, which would have in turn required a higher sale price, thereby limiting sales. Congress claimed severe money problems, exacerbated by war-related claims on meager Jewish communal funds. Rosenberg was reduced to petitioning Congress to honor its commitment to publish while devising fund raising schemes to raise the necessary \$2000 required for publication. Finally, the book was printed and appeared in 1940 (despite the copyright date of 1939). In December of 1941, after more than two years of related correspondence, Rosenberg received a supplementary payment of \$300. That payment arrived none too soon, for just at that time the JCA was deciding to close its western Canadian office, and Rosenberg had to find other work.

Canada's Jews is by any yardstick an impressive work of social science. Comprising thirty-two chapters and a total of 305 folio sized pages, with another one hundred pages of a statistical appendix, 273 tables and 21 diagrams and maps, the work is truly massive. Moreover, no comparably detailed socio-demographic study of Canadian Jews or American Jews (because of the absence of census data) has been produced.

Even more impressive to the contemporary researcher is the fact that this massive study was really a solitary enterprise. Rosenberg generally worked alone, doing most of his own data collection and computations. He had no team no colleagues and research assistants, and no large research grant. Moreover, he produced this work at a time when computer hardware and software were most primitive, calculators still embryonic, and word processing non-existent. His notebooks and ledgers contain hundreds of neatly handwritten pages of charts and tables. Much of the DBS data was collected by mail; Rosenberg would write requesting a certain tabulation or bit of information, and DBS officials would, where feasible, supply

him with the needed data. He did not use e-mail, fax, or phones to expedite communication. Moreover, being based in Regina meant that Rosenberg had limited access to library resources in the field of Judaica, and to the statistical data which were concentrated in Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa.

In his Preface, Rosenberg outlined two objectives in producing the book. First, he hoped the book would serve as a piece of descriptive and analytical social science, "... a social and economic study of Canada's Jewish population, based upon official and reliable statistics...". To this end he states clearly his wish to allow the work to stand as a piece of scientific research.

Second, and despite the disclaimer just cited, he at the same time saw his work as playing a role in the fight against antisemitism. He hoped his work would "serve to sweep away the mass of ignorance and misleading half truths which exists in Canada concerning its Jewish population...". Much of recent research on ethnic and race relations has as an underlying, if understated, context the refutation of racist prejudice, and at least the promotion of equality and reform. Rosenberg states clearly his basic position: "...I have become convinced ... that what are usually described as racial characteristics are sociological rather than biological."

It is impossible to recapitulate all of the findings and observations found in this book. The chapters themselves can be classified into three broad groupings. One set deals with traditional demographic factors. These include all of the determinants of natural increase, immigration and geographical distribution, and age-sex profiles. A second set deals with various measures of economic status and stratification. A final set deals with socio-cultural characteristics. These include chapters on antisemitism, Jewish criminality, language and literature, apostasy and conversion.

Canada's Jews is a pioneering example of the usefulness of the Canadian census for serious ethnic research. Rosenberg had throughout his life a deep reverence for census data, and a special appreciation for associates at DBS, whose assistance he gratefully acknowledged in his Preface. Indeed, one is struck when reading his correspondence by the high degree of cooperation and civility which Rosenberg received from DBS employees, pestered regularly by this odd British-Jewish agriculturist living in Regina.

One must recall that the Canadian public service in the 1930s was dominated by English and French-origin Canadians. Certainly, antisemitic prejudice was not rare among senior civil servants (Abella and Troper, 1982). Why this cooperation? Perhaps it reflected a triumph of an ethic of professional public service. Certainly, Rosenberg seems never to have paid for these data — he had no funds — and at any rate DBS did not operate on a cost recovery system. Perhaps DBS officials in the 1930s were delighted to discover another soul who shared their passion for census data and found it so valuable.

Rosenberg recognized that an official census was the best source for estimating the population and characteristics of a minority group. It was certainly much better than some of the rough and ready methods for estimating the Jewish population. One of the latter methods cited by Rosenberg was to multiply the number of Jewish school age children — estimated through the number of school absences on High

Holidays — by five! (Rosenberg, 1993, p. 6). Of course, Rosenberg also knew well the limitations of census data, in particular as these related to definitions of ethnic groups.

There are three characteristics or themes of the work which deserve special mention. The first is methodological: Rosenberg used a wide variety of statistical sources, and was resolutely comparative. While his major Canadian data source was the census, he made ample use of many other DBS data sources and studies. He also went beyond the government, using the Canadian directory of Directors, published by *The Financial Post* for data on Canada's corporate elite, and sources such as the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, or the 1930 *Statistical Yearbook* of the League of Nations. Some sources are more obscure. He finds data on Jewish emigrants from Canada to the United States from "reports of the U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration." The previous occupations of Jewish farmers in Western Canada were obtained from Rosenberg's own records of 165 farm families gathered while he was working for the JCA; the previous occupations of all farmers are estimated from a study of 421 farmers reported in "Surveys of the Farm Business in the Melfort, Alameda, Belbeck and Swift Current districts."

He of course used specifically Jewish sources as well, such as his own studies for the Jewish Colonization Association or the Canadian Jewish Congress. In addition he used other data sources on international Jewry, ranging from the *American Jewish Yearbook* (an annual publication), the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (published in 1916), data from the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the work of European Jewish scholars Arthur Ruppin and Jacob Lestschinsky.

Rosenberg's insistence on a comparative approach is another methodological strength. He sets the model for any studies of ethnic groups in that Canadian Jews are compared wherever possible to other ethnic groups in Canada, and where pertinent; to Jewish communities elsewhere. This process of triangulation is crucial for an understanding of Jewish behavior. Canadian ethnic demography has lost that triangulated comparative focus within single studies. As can be seen in the recently published anthology by Halli et al, (1990), none of its 22 studies presents non-Canadian data concerning the various ethnic groups under discussion.

The appeal of Rosenberg's work is additionally the modest attention paid to disciplinary boundaries, and indeed to esoteric jargon. His language is clearly aimed at, and accessible to, the educated lay reader as well as the professional, and shows the advantages of his journalistic experience. Occasionally he uses an archaic term, such as "masculinity" to refer to a sex ratio (males to females) which was commonly used in the 1930s. What is also remarkable is that many of the tables provide data up to and including 1938, for a book completed in 1939. This is truly remarkable, and compares well with the much greater time lags today between completion of a manuscript and publication.

Canada's Jews is by no means a flawless work. Some analyses are superficial. Thus on page 89 (Table 66), we are presented with a Jewish sex ratio at birth for Quebec 1929-36 of 1606 male births per 1000 female births — which is a biological miracle! Rosenberg simply reports the figure. A more serious example

would be his analysis of the factors contributing to intermarriage (p. 109–111). Because of his uncritical reliance on a regression equation using 1921 data for all ethnic groups calculated by Hurd in his DBS monograph (Canada, 1929), Rosenberg concludes that actual Jewish intermarriage rates are higher than could be expected! But the main fact about Jewish intermarriage rates in the 1920s and 1930s is that they were extremely low.

Such lapses are relatively rare. His statistical/analytical methods are by today's standards primitive, and in their day were far from cutting edge. Yet they fell well within the range of accepted professional practice. Moreover, on some occasions, such as his discussion of the need to factor urban/rural ratios in calculation of an adjusted criminality rate, he was certainly prepared to refine conventional approaches.

A second theme which pervades *Canada's Jews* is that two sided traditional favorite of social science, either debunking conventional wisdom, or alternatively confirming that which is merely suspected. Rosenberg used his data to attack several negative stereotypes regarding Jews. He shows how Jews, at less than one percent, were strongly underrepresented among Canadian corporate directors. Indeed, far from having proclivities for finance, he shows there were six Jewish farmers for every Jew employed in finance! (p. 214). As for Jews being cowardly, or unpatriotic, Rosenberg estimates the numbers of Jews who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces during World War One, and based on available service records, the numbers who were decorated. He finds that 38% of eligible Jews over 21 served, compared to 31% as the Canadian average; Jews were also overrepresented among soldiers who were decorated, with 4.52% compared to 3.38% (p. 250).

Rosenberg did not shirk from tackling particularly sensitive topics, such as crime. DBS collected and published detailed statistics on adults and juveniles convicted of crimes, broken down by birthplace and religion, until well after World War Two. Rosenberg's analysis improved upon that developed by Hurd in his 1929 monograph, as mentioned above. Rosenberg showed that while Jews were indeed over-represented in crude ratio terms among those convicted of crimes, adjusting for the key factor of urban/rural residence — given Jewish over-representation in urban areas — reduced the Jewish crime rate well below the Canadian average. Hurd had adjusted his conviction data for age-sex ratio alone. Rosenberg also demonstrated underrepresentation among those convicted of arson, a stereotypically Jewish crime of the period.

Rosenberg's penchant for debunking racist thinking extends to non-Jews. For example, in his discussion of illegitimacy he remarks that "the generally accepted belief that people of Southern European and Oriental origin are more inclined to sexual laxity is not borne out by these statistics..." (p. 95).

Rosenberg's data also confirm that Canadian Jews had the lowest rates of illegitimacy, infant mortality, and among the lowest fertility rates. He also demonstrates the beginnings of rapid Jewish educational mobility, as the children of the working class began to succeed in Canadian schools. Throughout his analyses

Rosenberg tends toward non-racial, i.e. non-biological, explanations of Jewish patterns, relying instead on social factors, such as urban residence, or cultural patterns.

A final trait which one notes in the volume are the occasional forays into outright advocacy. As a fervent defender of the rights of all minorities, a convinced social democrat, and a devoted adherent of the basic tenets of Labor Zionism, Rosenberg could not and would not submerge the three major causes of his life. He thus commented on specific Canadian policy debates of the times.

Consider the case of Canadian immigration, which Rosenberg analyzes in two chapters, one focused on the general policy and one dealing mainly with Jewish immigration. He analyzes the opposition to immigration in terms of "immigration phobias". He argues passionately (p. 132) for an immigration policy where selectivity occurs "not on the basis of race, nationality, or religion but on the basis of individual physical, moral, and mental fitness" and emphasizes the desirability of family class immigration in addition. In this sense he condemns the existing racial hierarchy into "preferred," (Northwest European) "non-preferred" (Central and East Asian), "special permit" (Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Jewish), and an excluded category of Chinese and Japanese. He also argues that the absorptive capacity of Canada "has barely been touched."

Another example concerns his vision of a more desirable occupational distribution for Jews. He argues for an increase in the number of Jewish skilled and semiskilled workers, along with an increase in Jews employed in agriculture (p. 168, 225). His concern was motivated in part by the fear that increasing concentration of ownership and control in Canadian business would solidify a largely antisemitic elite and render precarious Jewish positions as small businessmen or white collar employees. Moreover, his solidarity with the union movement on the one hand, and with Jewish agricultural labor on the other dovetailed these recommendations.

What fate awaited *Canada's Jews*? The release of the book at the outset of World War Two was timely, in that it could be used to refute antisemitic allegations dressed up as pseudo social science. But professionally, the timing was a disaster. Bearing the imprint of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress, the volume lacked the cachet of a major trade or academic press. Distribution of the run of 2000 copies was somewhat haphazard, largely internal to the Canadian Jewish community. Rosenberg sent several copies of the book to England, including a copy to the Leeds public library system.

The traditional bibliographic sources reveal just three scholarly/academic sources. The first was a review of the work in *The Canadian Historical Review* of December 1940, by C.E. Silcox, a theologian, who had previously reviewed the book favorably for Macmillan. Silcox concluded that the volume, "despite its appalling list of tables, is an extraordinary publication and ought to be on the desk of all students of intergroup relations." The second review appeared in *Jewish Social Studies*, November (Vol. 3) 1941. This review, by Andrew A. Marchbin, was more critical, challenging Rosenberg's interpretations regarding farm colonization efforts

and the discrepancies between counts of Jews by religion and the slightly higher one by race.

The third review, and possibly the most relevant, appeared in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, June (Vol. 39) 1944, written by George Wolff. It is perhaps the most enthusiastic of the three: "Everyone who is interested in population studies in general and in studies of the Jewish minority in particular will appreciate this careful and detailed research". Directed at an audience devoted to statistics, this review praised the 273 tables as "invaluable source material", and unlike the Silcox review, did not find them "appalling".

Rosenberg's work is largely unknown today in the fields of Canadian ethnic demography and sociology. His name is not found among the references in the landmark anthology edited by Halli, Trovato, and Driedger, *Ethnic Demography*, published in 1990. In contrast, a 1966 bibliography of Canadian demography published by Statistics Canada listed 26 entries for Rosenberg (Stone and Kokich, 1966). But an updated bibliography of Canadian demography for 1966-1982 contains no mention of Rosenberg (Wai, Shiel and Balakrishnan, 1984). Rosenberg produced only a handful of studies from 1966 on, and none were published in the usual professional demographic sources.

Canada's Jews is similarly uncited in sociological overviews of contemporary ethnicity or multiculturalism, or in works of general Canadian ethnic history. Nor is it much cited in recent studies published in social science journals. From 1971 to 1990, *Canada's Jews* was cited in only seven research articles, in the Social Sciences Citation Index. All seven articles dealt specifically with Canadian Jews. In fact, the volume has been cited recently in books dealing with general or specific historical studies of Canadian Jewish life (Levitt and Shaffir, 1987; Speisman, 1979; Weinfeld et al, 1981). Rosenberg's work and cooperation were cited approvingly in earlier years by the eminent American demographer Mortimer Spiegelman, who published two articles in *Population Studies* dealing respectively with the longevity and reproductivity of Canadian Jews (1948, 1950).

It is thus hoped that the republication of *Canada's Jews* will help liberate this volume from its ethnic and intellectual ghetto. *Canada's Jews* deserves a recognized place in the historical development of the demographic and sociological study of Canadian ethnic groups, and of a Diaspora Jewish community. It remains a model of a socio-demographic portrait of an ethnic group. It also serves as an invaluable source for an understanding of Jewish life, and indeed the life of other immigrant/ethnic groups, in the Canada of the 1930s.

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