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The Slow Assimilation of British Immigrants in Canada: Evidence from Montreal and Toronto, 1901[1]

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Using a new sample of individual-level data compiled from the manuscript returns of the 1901 Census of Canada, this article examines the assimilation of male wage-earning immigrants (mainly from the UK) in Montreal and Toronto. Unlike studies of post-World War II immigrants to Canada, and some recent studies of 19th century immigration to the United States, we find slow assimilation to the earnings levels of native-born English mother-tongue Canadians. While immigrants from the UK were about as likely as the Canadian-born to be in craft jobs, they were much less likely to work in the clerical sector. Within the blue-collar sector, English and Scottish immigrants were at little disadvantage.

Key Words: British immigrants; assimilation; census data; occupational choice.

INTRODUCTION

British immigrants dominated the flow of arrivals to Canada throughout the 19th century. This was not an accident. Up to 1900, virtually all the efforts of the Canadian government were directed toward securing workers from Britain. Our focus in this paper is on how well British immigrants adapted to their new home. The expectation is that assimilation would have been swift and complete, since the background of the new arrivals closely matched that of the resident population. The evidence, however, suggests that this was not the case.

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Early in the 20th century, Canadians held contradictory attitudes toward British immigrants. On the positive side, British immigrants were seen as culturally similar to Canadians, and there was widespread support in English-speaking Canada for strengthening Imperial bonds. While the British were praised for their many virtues, Canadians disapproved of effete Englishmen who were unwilling to participate in the hard work of opening a new country and adapt to colonial customs, and Canadians feared that immigrants from British slums and orphanages might well become a drain on the public purse.

This article uses detailed evidence on the annual earnings of Canadian-born and immigrant employees as recorded in the 1901 manuscript census to examine how well British immigrants fitted into the Canadian labor market and how they fared relative to immigrants from continental Europe and the United States. The results reported here are for Toronto and Montreal, Canada's two largest cities. Toronto was then inhabited overwhelmingly by British immigrants or their descendants. Most Montrealers, by contrast, were descendants of settlers from France, but there was a substantial and economically powerful group of British immigrants and native-born Canadians of British origin in Montreal.

WHY 1901?

At the turn of the century Canada had a population of slightly over 5 million, most of whom lived in rural areas. Almost half of the area that is now "settled" had few or no European inhabitants at that time. Canada shared the continent with a much larger (and wealthier) neighbor, the United States. North America was the destination of most European immigrants for the century after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Canada, however, attracted only about 8% of this movement, the rest going to the United States. For the last 3 decades of the 19th century Canada experienced net emigration. Both the native-born and immigrants left, with the majority of those leaving moving to urban areas in the United States or to farms on that country's expanding western frontier.

These conditions changed dramatically around the turn of the century. The period 1900 to 1914 was a golden age of Canadian development. Net emigration changed to net immigration with the rate of immigration rising above .5% of the population—the highest rate of immigration in this country's history. Rapid settlement of the Canadian west was the central dynamic of the period up to 1914. By the start of the war the west had been largely settled. Manufacturing expanded sharply and became concentrated in Ontario and Quebec. This period is often called the "Wheat Boom" or more accurately the "Investment Boom" since the country added extensively to its infrastructure, including the construction of two transcontinental railways. Cities like Toronto and Montreal grew rapidly. The year 1901, therefore, sits at the cusp of these two very different periods. It is at the end of what have been called the years of "disappointment" (1870 to 1900) and at the beginning of one of the most dramatic periods of expansion in Canadian history.

Part of the reason for undertaking this study now is the recent release of the 1901 manuscript census, which allows us to examine household-level data. For Canada this is the only large data source at this level of disaggregation. Unlike for the United States, we do not have state-level labor force surveys; nor do we have comprehensive social surveys. The 1901 census is superior to the earlier Canadian census in terms of the questions asked and the care taken in enumeration. It provides data on earnings, months worked, and year of arrival in Canada. The availability of detailed earnings data from 1901 onward makes the early Canadian census superior in some ways to those collected in the United States, since it was not until 1940 that information on earnings was collected for that country. Studies on assimilation of immigrants in the United States, therefore, have often relied on state labor force surveys of a subset of workers or on inferences about income levels drawn from occupational data.

We know that Canadians on average earned substantially less than Americans, and we know that initially foreign-born workers in the United States earned less than the native-born in that country. We have no idea how different the Canadian experience of immigrant assimilation was from that observed at the same time in the United States. Unlike the United States, Canada was not attracting and retaining large numbers of immigrants from a wide variety of ethnic groups. At the turn of the century the vast majority of immigrants in Canada were of British origin, and over the following decade the proportion of European immigrants, while increasing, remained low relative to that of the United States.

IMMIGRATION AND THE BRITISH IN CANADA

In 1901, about three-quarters of immigrants in Canada had been born in the United Kingdom. Federal government policy favored British immigrants, especially those bound for agriculture. Reinforcing the British nature of Canada was seen as a way to maintain independence from the United States (Offer, 1989). British immigrants in Canada might have difficulty adjusting to the climate and to the greater degree of equality in society, but they arrived knowing not only the dominant language, but also most political institutions and the legal system. Much more than would probably have been the case in the United States, the British in Canada were “invisible immigrants” (Erickson, 1972). The Canadian census considered anyone born in the UK as being of Canadian nationality. The term “foreign-born” was reserved for those of truly “foreign” birth, such as Americans and continental Europeans.

Early writers on the assimilation of immigrants made a clear distinction between British and European immigrants. Arthur Lower thought that all immigrants tended to displace the native-born: “virtually all immigrants are ‘cheap’ men for on arriving in this country they are not in a position to bargain for the sale of their labour. They must get a livelihood on what terms they can. In this respect, people from the Mother Country differ from other immigrants only in degree” (1930, pp. 571–572). However, in his influential text *Colony to Nation*,

he drew a clearer distinction between types of immigrants. Those British immigrants who stayed in Canada were like (English) Canadians and assimilated rapidly. Most of the Europeans, especially the non-Protestants and Eastern and Southern Europeans, "quickly discovered that Canada was no United States, where all were equal, and all engaged in building the republic. . . . The newcomers were shoved off by themselves and settled in colonies or flocked into the slum areas of the cities" (1946, p. 425). Lower suggested that it took two generations for the foreigners' offspring to reach the level of anglophone Canadians (p. 489).

There is evidence that the locational pattern of settlement of British immigrants differs from that of the non-British immigrants (Green and Green, 1993, pp. 53–57). The former tended to spread out across the country, while the latter located close to members of their own ethnic group. The "friends and relatives" variable, important in explaining location decisions for immigrants to the United States, plays a role in Canada only for non-British immigrants. For example, a 10% increase in the stock of British-born residents in Toronto has no effect on the probability of British immigrants choosing this city.

Writing about Montreal, Reynolds emphasized the importance of British mechanics for the development of the city's main industries and the tendency of British foremen to hire later immigrants (Reynolds, 1935, p. 94). For unskilled work, by contrast, the British workman was at a disadvantage relative to French Canadians and Eastern Europeans. However, British laborers often "endeavoured to capitalize on their slight acquaintance with the skilled trades by securing work as "mechanic's helpers" and thus elevating themselves on the occupational ladder. The shortage of genuinely skilled workmen, together with the good reputation of the British artisan, enabled a large number to succeed in this venture" (p. 96).

Both Lower and Reynolds suggest that most British immigrants were readily able to fit into the Canadian labor market on terms similar to those of native-born English-speaking Canadians. Other commentators emphasize the shortcomings of a subset of British immigrants. According to Woodsworth:

> Generally speaking, the Scotch, Irish and Welsh have all done well. The greater number of failures have been among the English. This is due partly to a national characteristic which is at once a strength and a weakness—lack of adaptability. Someone has said that "the English are the least readily assimilated of the English-speaking nationalities." But the trouble has largely been with the *class* of immigrants who have come. Canada has needed farmers and laborers, and these should be resourceful and enterprising. England has sent us largely the failures of the cities. The demand for artisans in our cities is limited. In any case many of the immigrants are culls from English factories and shops. These cannot compete with other English-speaking people and often not with non-English, despite the latter's disadvantage in not knowing the language. On many western farms, certain Englishmen have proved so useless that when help is needed "no Englishman need apply." (1909, 1972 ed., pp. 47–48)

Whatever the rhetoric about attracting sturdy yeomen farmers to the "last, best, West," as Woodsworth's quotation points out, by 1900 most British immigrants came from cities, and moved to cities, either immediately or after a brief and unhappy

encounter with the realities of Canadian farming (Percy, 1977). Large firms recruited some skilled workers (both white-collar and blue-collar) from Britain.

While immigration agents could exclude criminals and those deemed likely to become public charges, not many arriving immigrants were turned away in the late 19th century (Timlin, 1960). Two types of undesirables were sent out to Canada in substantial numbers. "Remittance men" received a stipend from their wealthy families to stay away. "Useless at home, they are worse than useless here. The saloon gains most largely by their presence" (Woodsworth, p. 49). There is no way of estimating how many remittance men settled in Canada. Charitable societies paid or subsidized the passage of the unemployed, and orphanages (such as Barnardo's) sent out many of their charges—usually children old enough to work.[2] A life of hard work in a clean environment was seen as a way to save children from spiritual and physical degradation. **C**hrist **A**lways **N**ear **A**lthough **D**ear ones **A**bsent was a slogan used by Barnardo's. The immigration of poor children was seen as less threatening than the immigration of indigent adults, and the children were initially sent to work on farms. "Home Children," who typically had little formal schooling or job training except for a knowledge of farm chores, often drifted into the cities once they were adults (Parr, 1980, p. 131).

Thus in one view, most British immigrants arrived with, or rapidly developed, skills that allowed them to fit into the better paid end of the Canadian labor market. To the extent that the Canadian-born were the children or grandchildren of earlier generations of British immigrants, it is no surprise that their literal or figurative cousins arriving in the later 19th and early 20th century assimilated easily. In the other view, immigrants were often the black sheep of the British side of the family. They may have done better in Canada than they would have in Britain, but their character and background meant they were ill-suited for the Canadian labor market.

The existing record on how immigrants fared in Canada in the early 20th century is mainly anecdotal. Some authors (e.g., Avery, 1979) suggest that immigrants not from England or Scotland fared poorly. Both the inability to speak English and being Roman Catholic meant that these immigrants were unlikely to get good jobs. Avery claims that European immigrants were crowded into low-wage, unpleasant, and at times dangerous jobs. Baskerville and Sager (1998, pp. 73–74) find that European and Asian immigrants in 1901 worked fewer months than Canadian- or British-born employees and interpret this as a sign of discrimination. Other researchers have pointed out that European immigrants took on a wide variety of occupations. Tulchinsky (1992, Ch. 8) notes the variety of occupations and levels of economic achievement of members of Montreal's Jewish community at the end of the 19th century.

There has been research on occupational hierarchies and ethnicity for an earlier period. Using a sample drawn from the 1871 census, Darroch and

[2] Between 1868 and 1928, almost 90,000 children were sent to Canada by various societies (some of these were paupers) (Wagner, 1982, pp. 259). In the 1880s and 1890s, about 2000 children per year arrived (Parr, 1980, p. 40).

Ornstein (1980) report that urban Irish Catholic males were less concentrated in laboring jobs than images of poverty-stricken Irish immigrants would lead one to believe. About 30% of the Irish Catholic (defined in terms of ethnic origin, not immigrant status) urban males in their sample were laborers, roughly twice the proportion for the urban sample as a whole. Irish Catholics were almost as likely to be merchants or manufacturers as the average, somewhat less likely to be artisans, and substantially less likely to be professional or white-collar workers. Irish Protestants had an occupational distribution much closer to the average and quite similar to that of the English. Scots were somewhat more likely to be merchants, professionals, or white-collar workers than either the English or the Irish Protestants (p. 324). Akenson (1988, p. 101) builds on the census evidence and asserts that the Irish in Canada were too large a group to face discrimination on the scale encountered in the United States. He argues that lower economic status for Irish Catholics than Protestants can partly be explained by the later arrival of most Catholics, as well as the absence of information and credit networks provided to Protestants by the Orange Order (pp. 98–99).

THE ASSIMILATION EXPERIENCE COMPARED

Most of our knowledge of immigrant assimilation is derived from the experience of post-World War II immigrants. There is a large literature on the United States are and also several Canadian studies (for a survey see Borjas, 1994). There is general agreement that immigrants usually initially earn lower wages than comparable native-born workers, with the differential greatest for the most recent cohorts of immigrants. The rate of immigrant assimilation is much less firmly established, with some scholars claiming that immigrants catch up to native-born workers very quickly and others that little assimilation takes place. Canadian studies tend to find that until about 1970 immigrants were at less of an initial disadvantage than immigrants to the United States, or more recent immigrants to Canada, but that they also experienced relatively low rates of assimilation (Baker and Benjamin, 1994; Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson, 1995). Using data for 1971, Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson (p. 994) estimate that it took about 15 years for immigrants to reach wage equality with the Canadian-born. These immigrants were mainly from Britain and northwestern Europe. Abbott and Beach (1993, p. 509), using survey data from 1973, estimate that it took 13 years to reach earnings equality.

There have been several studies of late-19th-century immigration to the United States. A number suggest that immigrants experienced lower earnings growth, relative to the native-born, than has been true since 1945 (e.g., Hanes, 1996). Hatton (1997), using the same data as Hanes, finds that when immigrants are divided into cohorts based on age at arrival, young immigrants look much like the native-born throughout their working lives. Older immigrants start at a substantial disadvantage, but do show considerable assimilation with years in the United States. For the Michigan data, Hatton finds British immigrants earned more than native-born Americans.

It is not clear that one should expect to find a similar pattern of immigrant assimilation in Canada to that observed in the United States, despite the close ties between the two countries and the virtually unregulated cross-border flows of population. As already noted, British immigrants to Canada formed a much larger proportion of the total stream of immigrants to Canada than to the United States. There is very little information on the types of British immigrants moving to Canada rather than the U.S. It is possible that Canada attracted English and Scottish immigrants with less human capital/ability than did the United States, while Irish immigrants to Canada were the cream of the immigrant crop. There is fragmentary evidence on differences in the quality of the Irish immigrant stream in the last third of the 19th century—fewer immigrant males entering Canada were classed as laborers (Fitzpatrick, 1980, p. 131). Pope and Withers (1994, p. 257) find a somewhat higher share of laborers in the total inflow of UK immigrants to Canada than to the United States from 1877 to 1913. British charitable societies wanted to build up the British Empire, not add to the population of the United States, so their efforts were directed to Australia and Canada.

IMMIGRANTS AND THE NATIVE-BORN IN MONTREAL AND TORONTO

In Toronto in 1901 there were few immigrants from Europe, either from northern and western, or from southern and eastern, countries. The city of Toronto in 1901 had an almost entirely Anglo-Saxon and Celtic population. About 75% of the total population were Canadian-born (almost all of these in Ontario). About 80% of immigrants came from the UK (see data appendix). More Montrealers were native-born (about 85%), but the immigrants were drawn from a wider range of source countries, including a variety of eastern and southern European nations. Most Montrealers were francophones, but the dominant language of business in Montreal at this time was English. The French Canadian population shared a language disadvantage with European immigrants, since at least for office work, a knowledge of English was essential.

The information used in our sample is taken from two schedules in the manuscript census. Schedule 1 sets out the names, ages, marital status, place of birth, year of migration (to Canada), occupation, school attendance, literacy, religion, total earnings (for employees), and months of employment for each individual enumerated in 1901. Individuals are grouped by family or by groups living in an institution at the same address or as roomers and boarders living at a particular address. Schedule 2 sets out the addresses and types of dwelling.

Our sampling procedure differs from those used to obtain the Public Use Samples from the U.S. census manuscripts. The U.S. approach (and also of the project at the University of Victoria, which has drawn a national sample from the 1901 Census) is to sample the households of randomly drawn individuals—usually taking a fixed number of records per reel of microfilm or per census district (Ruggles, 1995). Rather than taking, say, one household per page from

the entire census schedules for Montreal and Toronto, we chose to sample larger clusters. We sampled the first page of the dwellings schedule for every fifth polling subdistrict (normally 50 dwellings per chosen subdistrict).[3] The information on this page is then matched to the counterpart data on the population schedule (on average about 240 people). We have taken 64 clusters for the city of Toronto and built-up areas around the city and 119 for Montreal.

This method of collecting data presents some problems as well as advantages. Our approach is cost-effective because it allows an easier comparison of the data on the two schedules (the census takers' cross-referencing is not always consistent). We can exploit some economies of scale since we are entering a number of records made by each enumerator. Finally, we can study neighborhood effects within the city (although the present article does not attempt this). On the downside, our method of sampling reduces the estimated standard errors. If one applies standard formulae assuming random sampling, but attributes are highly correlated within clusters, one will conclude that the sample is more precise than it really is (Ruggles, 1995). At the level of the subdistrict, there may be "Leafy Suburb" or "Slum" effects that mean we capture extremely homogenous groups of people in particular clusters. We use an estimation technique that increases the size of the standard error to take account of neighborhood effects.[4]

The Appendix shows comparisons between the Toronto and Montreal samples, and the published data for these cities. Our samples look very much like the populations from which they are drawn. Our method of clustering does not appear to have dramatically over- or undercounted any birthplace. Immigrants are slightly overrepresented in the Montreal sample; given our interest in immigrants and the small total number of European immigrants in Montreal in 1901, this is a fortunate accident.

Especially in Toronto, immigrant men were generally older than the native-born (Table 1). Table 1 also shows the mean and median years (the latter shown in square brackets) since arrival for male immigrants. With British immigrants the lion's share of adult male immigrants in Toronto, and the average British immigrant having arrived about 20 years earlier, it is little wonder that there were about three times as many men over 50 among the immigrant population as among the native-born population. More of Montreal's immigrants were from the United States or Europe, and these men had typically arrived in Canada after British immigrants. Even Montreal's British immigrant adult males may have, on average, arrived a bit more recently than immigrants settled in Toronto. Both these factors muted the difference in age distributions between the Canadian born and the immigrants in Montreal.

We have no evidence on years of work experience or years of formal schooling. We do have responses to questions about ability to read, write, speak

[3] Where the fifth subdistrict's records were illegible, we took the fourth or sixth subdistrict instead. The presence of schools, churches, shops, and factories as well as vacant houses sometimes reduces the number of inhabited dwellings to well below 50.

[4] We used the svyreg procedure in STATA.

TABLE 1
Characteristics of Men (Ages 17–64), Montreal and Toronto

	Montreal		Toronto	
	Immigrant	Canadian-born	Immigrant	Canadian-born
% Ages 17–29	33.7	44.0	24.4	51.9
% Ages 30–49	46.9	42.4	48.9	39.3
% Ages 50–64	19.5	13.6	26.7	8.7
% Born in England	26.5		52.3	
% Born in Scotland	9.7		11.3	
% Born in Ireland	13.0		18.7	
% Born in Europe	25.5		7.0	
% Born in U.S.	14.6[a]		7.3	
% Born in NFLD	4.0		1.0	
% Born in province of residence		93.3		94.4
% of those born in province of residence born in a rural area[b]		44.2		37.8
Mean years in Canada, born in UK [median]	20 [17]		23 [20]	
Mean years in Canada, born in U.S. [median]	15 [12]		18 [18]	
Mean years in Canada, born in Europe [median]	10 [8]		12 [8]	
Mean years in Canada, born in NFLD [median]	14 [13]		10 [10]	
% Bilingual (of immigrants born in UK or Canadian English mother tongue)	26.1	53.2[c]	N/A	N/A
% Speaking English (of immigrants born in Europe or Canadian French mother tongue)	74.3	77.6[d]	88.5	N/A
% Can write (of immigrants born in Europe or Canadian French and English mother tongue)	76.7	86.3[d] 98.1[c]	65.5	98.4[e]
% Protestant	46.7	15.5	82.9	85.0
% Roman Catholic	36.3	84.0	12.9	13.9
% Jewish	12.5	0.2	2.9	0.2
N	1797	6354	1622	2834

[a] Fifty-seven percent of these men were of English mother tongue and 39% of French mother tongue.
[b] Calculated for those stating birthplace as urban or rural.
[c] English mother tongue.
[d] French mother tongue.
[e] All Canadian-born.

English, speak French, and mother tongue. English mother tongue Canadians and immigrants were almost always literate. Literacy rates for European immigrants were much lower and in Montreal below those for francophones. The vast majority of the European immigrants in Toronto claimed they could speak English. Eighty percent of adult male European immigrants in Montreal said they

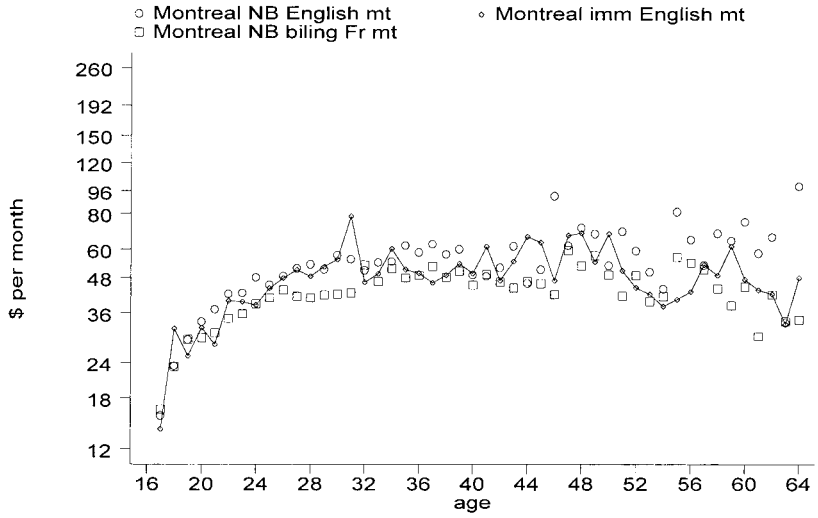

FIG. 1. Average earnings, male employees, Montreal.

could speak at least one of French or English, with more reporting English than French.[5] Most European immigrants thus appear to have had at least a basic ability to communicate in the dominant languages of the city they lived in. In Montreal, as is shown, anglophones who spoke French generally earned more than unilingual anglophones. British immigrants in Montreal were much less likely to speak French than their Canadian-born counterparts—presumably most bilingual Canadian anglophones learned French as children, and British immigrants who came as adults missed this opportunity (MacKinnon, 2000).

Figures 1 and 2 show average monthly earnings by year of age for male employees (for whom we have an estimate of annual earnings and an estimate of months worked). Employees were asked about their earnings at their main job and at any other job. There were a few exceptionally well-paid men in both cities—generally bankers or senior managers of other large enterprises. The most highly paid employees (earning more than $1500 per year) in both cities were almost always Canadian-born Protestants. The thinness of the sample, especially for the native-born, at higher ages also helps to explain the sharp jumps in the averages for older men.

The figures show earnings for native-born English mother-tongue employees (circles) in Toronto and Montreal, for immigrants of English mother tongue (diamonds, with observations connected by a solid line), and, for Montreal, mean earnings for native-born bilingual francophones (squares).[6] For employees under 50, the gap between the average earnings of native-born and immigrant anglophones was

[5] Forty-five percent of these men reported they could speak French, roughly three times the proportion of the European-born listing French as their mother tongue.

[6] Unilingual francophones earned substantially less than bilingual francophones.

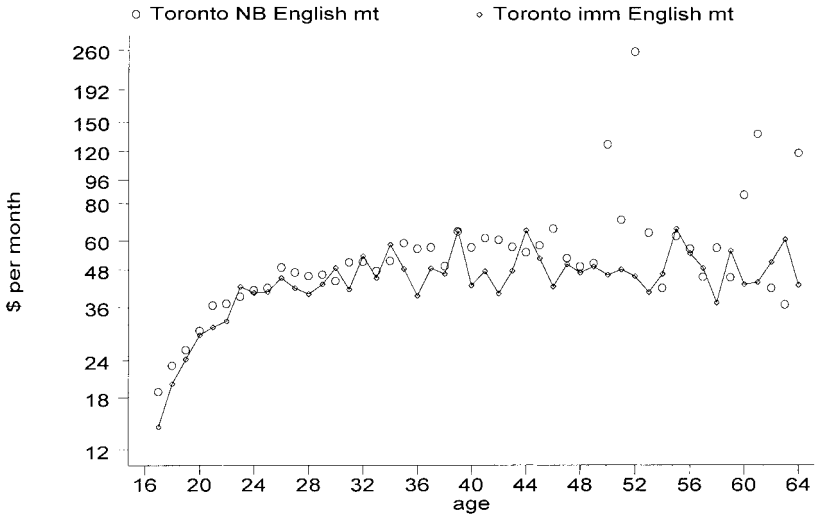

FIG. 2. Average earnings, male employees, Toronto.

modest in both cities. The average British immigrant had been in Canada for over 20 years, so considerable assimilation should have already occurred.

The general shape of the age–earnings profile is similar to that reported by Hatton (1997) for manufacturing workers in Michigan and California in the early 1890s. Average wages rise steeply until the mid-20s and are then quite flat. Hatton stresses that imposing a quadratic functional form (age and age squared) in a regression model of earnings will lead to substantial misspecification in this case.

While average earnings suggest modest differences between the anglophone Canadian-born and their anglophone immigrant peers, the distribution of male employees by occupational group suggests there were some systematic differences (see Tables 2 and 3.)[7] Especially among young men (under 30), native-born (in Montreal, native-born anglophone) workers were much more likely to be in the clerical sector. Poor English language skills would explain the absence of young men whose mother tongue was not English, but even mother-tongue English immigrants were much less likely to be in these types of jobs than were the Canadian born.

We see three possible explanations for this pattern. Immigrants from the UK may have had less formal education than Canadians. While we do not have comparisons of British and Canadian school enrollment rates for the 19th century, it is well known that relative to most European countries in the 19th century, British enrollment rates were low. Just after the First World War, Canadian boys at age 14 were about twice as likely as boys in the UK to be at school (Crafts, 1985, pp. 57–59; MacKinnon, 1989, p. 63). Recent immigrants probably lacked the connections necessary to obtain the better kinds of clerical

[7] Occupations have been classified into groups using the 1940 U.S. Census classification (Edwards, 1940). mt stands for mother tongue.

TABLE 2
Occupational Distribution of Male Employees Ages 17–29, Montreal and Toronto, 1901

Occupation group	Montreal				Toronto	
	Canadian-born, mt English	Immigrant, mt English	Canadian-born, mt French	Other mt (Canadian and immigrant)	Canadian-born	Immigrant
Apprentice	2.1	2.3	1.7	0	2.9	2.7
Clerical	39.5	22.6	21.8	12.2	28.5	15.7
Craft	24.2	26.3	22.0	9.5	23.7	24.6
Domestic service	0.3	3.8	1.1	2.7	0.4	3.0
Laborer	11.0	18.4	19.1	36.5	10.9	15.4
Operative	12.0	12.0	25.7	33.1	24.1	25.8
Other service	2.9	4.9	2.2	1.4	2.5	7.7
Professional	3.3	4.5	1.9	2.0	3.1	1.2
Manager	0.9	1.5	0.6	1.4	1.5	0.9
Protective service	0.8	0.4	0.6	0	0.5	0.3
Other or unknown occupation	3.2	3.4	3.3	1.4	1.7	2.7
N	666	266	1558	148	1239	337

jobs (in banks, for example).[8] Finally, it is possible that British immigrants were less likely than the Canadian born to understand that, on average, clerical jobs provided a secure and fairly high income.

While clerical jobs were something of a preserve of the native-born, craft jobs were open to anglophones (and francophones in Montreal), whatever their birthplace. For most men, clerical or craft jobs were the best to which they could aspire. The native-born did not strongly dominate the immigrant anglophones in the rather small professional and managerial categories. Evidence from occupational categories thus suggests that a substantial group of British immigrants were doing well in 1901.

Tables 2 and 3 do, however, give some support to Woodsworth's critical assessment of the English immigrant. Anglophone immigrants were more likely to be laborers, domestic servants, or in "other service" occupations (such as waiters or shoeshine boys) than were native-born anglophones. These were generally the jobs at the bottom of the occupational ladder. The anglophone immigrants in Montreal were not doing as badly as the non-English or -French mother-tongue men, who were usually employed as laborers or operatives (mainly factory workers), but a contemporary observer would have seen many British immigrants working in dead-end jobs.

[8] McDowall (1993) notes that some key Royal Bank employees came from Scotland. Small towns in the Maritimes were an important source of junior workers.

TABLE 3
Occupational Distribution of Male Employees Ages 30–49, Montreal and Toronto, 1901

Occupation group	Montreal				Toronto	
	Canadian-born, mt English	Immigrant, mt English	Canadian-born, mt French	Other mt (Canadian and immigrant)	Canadian-born	Immigrant
Clerical	28.7	19.9	14.0	5.9	23.6	18.1
Craft	29.4	30.5	28.4	13.1	30.6	29.4
Domestic service	0.2	1.8	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.6
Laborer	15.1	20.1	25.5	49.0	14.0	21.2
Operative	10.2	12.2	21.0	24.8	16.5	17.3
Other service	2.6	4.6	1.5	2.0	2.8	4.2
Professional	4.0	3.1	2.3	1.3	2.6	2.5
Manager	5.1	4.4	2.4	1.3	5.7	2.6
Protective service	1.9	2.0	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.2
Other or unknown occupation	2.8	1.3	2.8	0.7	2.0	2.6
N	470	462	1553	153	857	646

MODELLING ASSIMILATION

We have mainly followed Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson (pp. 990–991) in formulating our earnings regression:

$$y = \mathrm{X}\beta + \Sigma_j \alpha_j I + \delta \mathrm{YSM}(I), \quad (1)$$

y = natural log of monthly earnings[9]; X = vector of human capital characteristics: age (up to the 5th power) as a proxy for experience, a dummy variable for married men (wives are usually, but not necessarily, present), ability to write as a measure of literacy, and the main religious denominations (grouping men as Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, or "other or unknown"). For Toronto, we include a dummy variable for men whose mother tongue is not English. For Montreal, we include a more complicated set of dummy variables—bilingual anglophones, bilingual francophones, and unilingual francophones; those with a Celtic mother tongue; and those with other mother tongues. In some specifications, we also include occupational group dummy variables.

[9] Employees were asked to state their annual earnings and months worked. Workers could list months worked at their regular trade "in factory" or "in home" plus months "employed in other occupation than trade in factory or home." We cumulated months worked to a maximum of 12. Wage earners were asked to state their "Earnings from occupation or trade" and "Extra earnings (from other than chief occupation or trade)." We used the sum of these two responses. Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson use annual earnings, while Hatton (1997) uses weekly wages.

I = dummy variable set to 1 for immigrants; α_j is the entry effect for immigrants from birthplace j (Canada but outside the province of residence, England, Scotland, Ireland, Europe, Newfoundland, the United States, and other birthplaces). YSM = years since immigration (0 for those born in Canada); δ is the assimilation effect (so no assimilation effect estimated for Canadians born in other provinces).[10] Years to earnings equality for any immigrant group are estimated as $-\alpha_j/\delta$.

In Table 4, English mother-tongue Roman Catholics born in Ontario (for Toronto) or Quebec (for Montreal) are the base category. We excluded the small number of non-White wage earners (who usually were immigrants with very low earnings), those with unknown birthplace or years since migration, employees living with their employers (who were usually paid a substantial portion of their earnings in the form of room and board), boys under 17, and men 65 or over. By age 17, the vast majority of young men were at work. We hesitate to include younger boys, although many of them were at work, in case there were systematic differences in the age of labor force entry depending on immigrant status. While some men were employed into their late 60s and even 70s, the size of the sample at these ages is very small, and we suspect that some older men were reporting all income sources as wage earnings. We also excluded men earning less than $5 or more than $300 per month.[11]

RESULTS

Table 4 shows five sets of regression results for Montreal and Toronto. The first set uses all available demographic variables; the second set adds occupational group dummies. We included the occupational group dummies to see how much demographic characteristics matter after controlling for systematic differences in earnings by occupation group.

The pattern of entry effects is similar across the cities. American immigrants were about on a par with the native-born; immigrants from the UK were at a disadvantage (probably a somewhat greater disadvantage if from Ireland than from England or Scotland). In Toronto, a European birthplace or a mother tongue other than English is not clearly associated with a severe handicap, but the number of workers in these categories was very small. In Montreal, while the coefficient on European birthplace is about zero, almost all of the workers in the "other" mother-tongue group had a European birthplace (and virtually none of the native-, U.S.-, or UK-born had an

[10] We have also tried specifications using years since migration squared and the square root of years since migration. Using both YSM and YSM^2 almost always yields small and imprecisely determined coefficients for both variables. Implied years to equality of earnings are similar using either YSM or the square root of YSM. We have tried allowing YSM to vary by country of origin. Again, this tends to result in extremely imprecise coefficients, but point estimates are in the range of what is reported in Table 4.

[11] There are only 17 men excluded because of high or low income in Montreal and 13 in Toronto. Some of these extreme observations may be data errors. Adding these men raises the entry effect somewhat (recall that the highest wage occupations were almost always held by the native-born) and in Toronto raises the estimated wage gain associated with being Protestant.

TABLE 4
Explaining Monthly Earnings of Male Employees

Variable	Montreal					Toronto				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Age	1.721 (0.225)	1.590 (0.206)	2.383 (0.363)	2.704 (0.480)	0.916 (0.152)	1.653 (0.274)	1.667 (0.281)	1.657 (0.282)	1.863 (0.331)	0.522 (0.082)
$Age^2/100$	−8.255 (1.274)	−7.629 (1.163)	−11.702 (2.054)	−13.408 (2.685)	−1.887 (0.348)	−7.974 (1.616)	−8.142 (1.634)	−8.020 (1.663)	−9.179 (1.920)	−1.004 (0.194)
$Age^3/1{,}000$	1.933 (0.347)	1.788 (0.317)	2.807 (0.558)	3.228 (0.723)		1.907 (0.456)	1.967 (0.456)	1.924 (0.468)	2.218 (0.535)	
$Age^4/10{,}000$	−0.221 (0.046)	−0.204 (0.042)	−0.328 (0.073)	−0.378 (0.094)		−0.225 (0.062)	−0.234 (0.061)	−0.228 (0.063)	−0.263 (0.072)	
$Age^5/100{,}000$	0.010 (0.002)	0.009 (0.002)	0.015 (0.004)	0.017 (0.005)		0.011 (0.003)	0.011 (0.003)	0.011 (0.003)	0.012 (0.004)	
(Age − 25)/10					0.386 (0.245)					−0.044 (0.179)
$(Age - 25)^2/10$					1.856 (0.346)					0.959 (0.191)
Protestant	0.155 (0.026)	0.081 (0.022)	0.147 (0.029)	0.072 (0.034)	0.158 (0.030)	0.052 (0.030)	0.024 (0.027)	0.041 (0.029)	0.006 (0.027)	0.034 (0.029)
Jewish	0.335 (0.072)	0.195 (0.078)	0.321 (0.088)	0.259 (0.084)	0.342 (0.081)	−0.004 (0.131)	−0.077 (0.128)	−0.292 (0.231)	−0.329 (0.279)	−0.289 (0.275)
Other/Unknown religion	0.282 (0.106)	0.185 (0.096)	0.201 (0.123)	0.017 (0.101)	0.178 (0.139)	0.251 (0.108)	0.198 (0.084)	0.245 (0.103)	0.152 (0.095)	0.229 (0.108)
Can write	0.182 (0.024)	0.088 (0.022)	0.225 (0.054)	0.206 (0.046)	0.189 (0.055)	0.158 (0.056)	0.068 (0.050)	0.076 (0.064)	0.101 (0.058)	0.068 (0.068)
Non-English mother tongue						−0.059 (0.061)	−0.079 (0.051)			
English mother tongue, bilingual	0.076 (0.028)	0.042 (0.024)	0.082 (0.028)	0.049 (0.032)	0.084 (0.032)					
French mother tongue, bilingual	−0.020 (0.035)	−0.057 (0.030)								
French mother tongue, unilingual	−0.132 (0.038)	−0.117 (0.036)								
Celtic mother tongue	−0.025 (0.073)	−0.038 (0.069)								
Other mother tongue	−0.260 (0.078)	−0.203 (0.073)								
Married	0.082 (0.018)	0.085 (0.016)	0.087 (0.036)	0.042 (0.034)	0.105 (0.040)	0.105 (0.023)	0.109 (0.021)	0.102 (0.023)	0.084 (0.021)	0.102 (0.025)
Rest of Canada	0.094 (0.035)	0.063 (0.034)	0.144 (0.038)	0.119 (0.059)	0.147 (0.039)	0.045 (0.038)	0.004 (0.032)	0.056 (0.041)	0.003 (0.040)	0.057 (0.042)
England	−0.120 (0.044)	−0.081 (0.040)	−0.119 (0.050)	−0.075 (0.057)	−0.129 (0.052)	−0.185 (0.036)	−0.129 (0.031)	−0.188 (0.037)	−0.119 (0.045)	−0.171 (0.038)
Scotland	−0.106 (0.062)	−0.055 (0.057)	−0.102 (0.068)	−0.014 (0.079)	−0.107 (0.078)	−0.118 (0.044)	−0.090 (0.040)	−0.119 (0.045)	−0.075 (0.045)	−0.086 (0.049)

TABLE 4—*Continued*

Variable	Montreal (1)	Montreal (2)	Montreal (3)	Montreal (4)	Montreal (5)	Toronto (6)	Toronto (7)	Toronto (8)	Toronto (9)	Toronto (10)
Ireland	−0.196 (0.059)	−0.128 (0.052)	−.196 (0.065)	−0.093 (0.065)	−0.171 (0.068)	−0.211 (0.034)	−0.141 (0.029)	−0.208 (0.033)	−0.149 (0.040)	−0.220 (0.038)
Europe	−0.021 (0.078)	0.006 (0.071)				−0.169 (0.101)	−0.109 (0.092)			
NFLD	−0.240 (0.047)	−0.148 (0.043)	−0.241 (0.052)	−0.191 (0.055)	−0.273 (0.048)	−0.144 (0.043)	−0.100 (0.039)	−0.147 (0.041)	−0.064 (0.032)	−0.159 (0.034)
US	−0.026 (0.043)	−0.016 (0.042)	0.048 (0.065)	0.036 (0.070)	0.007 (0.066)	0.022 (0.060)	0.040 (0.051)	0.032 (0.061)	0.066 (0.067)	0.142 (0.083)
Other birthplace	−0.160 (0.133)	−0.176 (0.116)	−0.009 (0.117)	−.102 (0.120)	−0.074 (0.139)	−0.027 (0.122)	0.018 (0.077)	−0.140 (0.093)	−0.033 (0.087)	−0.070 (0.118)
YSM (years since immigration to Canada)	0.004 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.005 (0.002)	0.004 (0.002)	0.005 (0.002)	0.004 (0.001)	0.003 (0.001)	0.004 (0.001)	0.003 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)
Apprentice		−0.321 (0.010)					−0.160 (0.068)			
Clerical		0.327 (0.030)					0.302 (0.037)			
Craft		0.274 (0.016)					0.218 (0.029)			
Domestic service		−0.211 (0.091)					0.017 (0.091)			
Operative		0.181 (0.018)					0.184 (0.031)			
Other service		0.119 (0.041)					0.011 (0.040)			
Professional		0.438 (0.109)					0.572 (0.091)			
Manager/official		0.788 (0.062)					0.634 (0.070)			
Protective service		0.195 (0.040)					0.227 (0.062)			
Other or unknown occupation		0.240 (0.040)					0.215 (0.049)			
Constant	−10.525 (1.530)	−9.553 (1.405)	−15.504 (2.456)	−17.668 (3.309)	−7.682 (1.638)	−10.028 (1.765)	−10.080 (1.848)	−9.938 (1.821)	−11.240 (2.186)	−3.209 (0.860)
N	5,173	5,173	1,591	964	1,394	3,097	3,097	2,995	1,930	2,631
R^2	0.299	0.393	0.337	0.270	0.329	0.347	0.427	0.340	0.309	0.328

Note. Dependent variable: Natural log of average monthly earnings. Standard errors in parentheses. For Montreal, base case is unilingual anglophone, Roman Catholic, born in Quebec, in laboring job, illiterate, single. For Toronto, base case is anglophone, Roman Catholic, born in Toronto, in laboring job, illiterate, single. Sample used (all columns): male ages 17–64, white, not living with employer, listed as employee, earning at least $5 and not more than $300 per month. Columns 3–5 and 8–10 are restricted to those with English mother tongue. Columns 4 and 9 are restricted to workers with jobs identified as “laborer,” “operative,” or “craft.” Columns 5 and 10 exclude men whose age when they immigrated to Canada was less than 15. In Columns 3–5 and 8–10 “other birthplace” includes Europe (there are very few European-born men with English mother tongue). Very few men with English mother tongue were Jewish.

"other" mother tongue) so the effect of having been born in Europe should be thought of as the effect of having an "other" mother tongue.[12]

Our formulation of the entry and assimilation effect allows the entry effect to vary by place of birth, but imposes a constant assimilation effect (coefficient on years since migration).[13] Implied years to equality of earnings with a native-born worker (entry effect divided by assimilation effect) are fairly substantial. Using the estimated coefficients in column (1) suggests 28 years to equality for an English-born worker in Montreal, 49 for an Englishman in Toronto.[14] Given the problems of inferring rates of assimilation from a single cross section, we do not want to push the interpretation of these coefficients too far. However, except for American immigrants, there was a persistent earnings gap. Only "other" mother-tongue immigrants seem to have been worse off in Montreal than in Toronto.

Our estimated years to equality are much greater than those found in Canadian studies using cross-sectional data from the early 1970s, when most immigrants were from Britain, Ireland, or northwestern Europe, or those found by Hatton for Michigan or California in the 1890s, where the largest number of immigrants were German but there were also many British and Irish immigrants. According to the 1901 census data, only Americans living in Canada seem to have done as well as Canadians from the time they arrived. The slower rate of immigrant assimilation seen in Canada since the 1970s is often attributed to a change in the composition of the immigrant inflow away from British and Western European immigrants. We are finding slow assimilation for a group that most commentators assumed fitted right into Canadian society.

In the results shown in columns (1) and (6) (no occupational controls), literacy is important in both Montreal and Toronto. Language skills are very important in Montreal and apparently not important in Toronto—although, as noted above, with the very small number of Toronto men whose mother tongue was not English (3% of the sample used in estimation, of whom 90% said they could speak English), we are cautious about making this interpretation for Toronto.[15] In Montreal, bilingual anglophones earned more than unilingual anglophones. Bilingual francophones and unilingual anglophones earned about the same amount per month, unilingual francophones earned substantially less, and those with other mother tongues were severely handicapped.[16]

[12] There were French mother-tongue immigrants from France, Belgium, and Switzerland.

[13] Hatton also adopts this formulation.

[14] For Montreal, this is time to reach the earnings level of a unilingual anglophone, not the generally higher earnings of a bilingual anglophone.

[15] In Toronto, men whose mother tongue was not English were less likely to be employees. Some were presumably "un," or under-employed, because they lacked sufficient language skills.

[16] We tried including separate variables for those with "other" mother tongues who said they could and could not speak English. We cannot reject restricting the coefficient on "other" mother tongue (speak English) and "other" mother tongue (do not speak English) to be equal. Presumably virtually all those with a Celtic mother tongue were fluent in English, which would explain why their earnings were about the same as those of unilingual anglophones.

There is a substantial difference between Toronto and Montreal in the relationship of religion and earnings. In Toronto, only the small and heterogeneous group of "other and unknown religion" earn substantially more than Roman Catholics. We find no difference between the earnings of Roman Catholics and Protestants, which is surprising in a city as full of Orange Lodges as Toronto was in 1901.[17] McGowan (1999) stresses that, by the early 1920s, Roman Catholics in Toronto had largely blended into the community in terms of both attitudes and economic activity. The 1901 census suggests that most of the economic integration had occurred by the beginning of the century. In Montreal, by contrast, Roman Catholics were definitely at the bottom of the heap. We find this contrast puzzling. Two possible explanations come to mind. While Roman Catholic children were generally educated in separate schools in both Toronto and Montreal, Roman Catholic schools in Toronto may have offered a quality of education closer to that afforded to Protestant children than was the case in Montreal.[18] In Toronto, Roman Catholics were a small fraction of the population and perhaps were less isolated from the Protestant community (and the employment opportunities controlled by Protestants) than were Roman Catholics in Montreal. The large positive coefficient for Jews in Montreal needs to be considered as offsetting the effects of having an "other" mother tongue.

Columns (2) and (7) of Table 4 show coefficients from earnings regressions, including controls for occupational groupings. The patterns of earnings differences by occupational groups are fairly similar in the two cities, especially for the numerically more important categories. Clerical workers on average earned over 30% more than laborers, with the average craft worker not quite as well paid as a clerical worker. As expected, professional and managerial workers in both cities had much the highest earnings.[19]

As we saw in Tables 2 and 3, ethnic origin and birthplace are often correlated with occupational group. Adding the occupational group dummies substantially reduces the impact of literacy on earnings, as we would expect, since illiterates were concentrated in laboring and service occupations. Their addition also reduces the effect of religion on earnings in Montreal. Roman Catholics were clustered in the worse occupational groups, although not to a sufficiently great extent to explain their lower earnings completely. They also tended to be in lower paying jobs within each occupational group. Differences in earnings by language group, however, remain fairly stable between columns (1) and (2) and (6) and (7).

[17] Including the most highly paid men in the sample yields a small, but significantly positive, coefficient for Protestants. Kealey (1980) (pp. 98–123) points out that between 1867 and 1892 there were 22 riots involving Orangemen and Irish Catholics in Toronto, but none were about excluding Roman Catholics from jobs, nor did any riots occur at work. This is rather weak evidence consistent with the idea that labor market discrimination against Roman Catholics was relatively unimportant by 1900.

[18] McGowan (1999) notes that while throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries expenditure per pupil was much lower in Toronto's separate schools, and class sizes greater than in public schools, the Roman Catholic population put great emphasis on improving the quality of their schools.

[19] We are not surprised that the "other and unknown" occupation workers did fairly well. Legibility problems were most severe for workers with lengthy and fairly unusual occupational titles. Such men were rarely laborers.

Although Tables 2 and 3 show marked differences in occupational composition by language group in Montreal, controlling for occupational group has a modest impact on the estimated effect of language on earnings.

The effect on the birthplace coefficients of adding the occupational variables is closer to that seen for the religion variables—estimated values generally fall substantially. Immigrants tended to end up in the lower paying types of jobs. As we saw in Tables 2 and 3, even British immigrants were unlikely to work in the clerical sector. However, as the estimated coefficient on years since migration also falls, implied years to equality with the native-born does not change much.[20]

Imposing a common effect for years since migration for immigrants from all locations may be inappropriate. Columns (3) and (8) of Table 4 show results of estimating Eq. (1) only for English mother-tongue immigrant and native-born employees. The estimated years to equality of British immigrants are virtually the same in this specification as they are when all immigrants are included.

Our sample has many more white-collar workers than do the U.S. labor bureau studies Hatton uses. Tables 2 and 3 show that clerical jobs were largely the preserve of the native-born in Montreal and Toronto, but that British immigrants had no difficulty obtaining craft jobs. When we use only the blue-collar workers in our sample (those classed as laborers, operatives, or craft workers) to estimate the model in Eq. (1) (columns (4) and (9) of Table 4), there is a more modest entry effect for English and Scottish immigrants. The estimated number of years for an English immigrant to reach the level of earnings of a comparable Canadian falls to about 19 in Montreal and 36 in Toronto. These results make the immigrant assimilation process in Canadian cities look a bit more like what is found using the American state labor bureau studies. There is some evidence that where researchers on American immigration include more of that country's most highly paid wage earners, they find slower rates of assimilation. Minns (2000), by assigning income levels based on reported occupation, uses the U.S. censuses of 1900 and 1910 to examine assimilation of white- and blue-collar workers. For 1900, he reports that blue-, but not white-, collar adult immigrants eventually assimilated to the imputed earnings levels of the native-born.

Columns (5) and (10) modify the sample by excluding workers who immigrated to Canada before age 15. If immigrants who arrived as children had characteristics similar to those of the native-born English-speaking population because they had grown up in Canada, then pooling child and adult immigrants could be misleading. In fact, looking only at English mother-tongue immigrants who had come as teenagers and adults and English mother-tongue Canadian-born workers makes little difference. The estimated entry effects and years to assimilation are similar to those seen in columns (3) and (8). Columns (5) and (10) present results using a different functional form for workers' ages. Instead of using age to the 5th power, we tried Hatton's specification of a quadratic spline function with a break at age 25. Coeffi-

[20] For example, to 24 years for an Englishman in Montreal and 43 years for an Englishman in Toronto.

TABLE 5
Occupational Status of English Mother-Tongue Men

	Ages 40–64		Ages 17–39	
	Native-born	Immigrant	Native-born	Immigrant
Montreal				
At work but not listed as an employee (%)	31	18	15	10
Employee (%)	69	82	85	90
Sample size	364	481	1130	585
Toronto				
At work but not listed as an employee (%)	24	21	10	11
Employee (%)	76	79	90	89
Sample size	654	704	1934	698

Note. Men without occupation excluded.

cient estimates for other variables are hardly affected by the use of the quadratic spline rather than the higher powers of age.[21]

All of the results shown in Table 4 are for men who were listed in the census as employees and who listed their annual earnings and months worked. Only employees were asked for information on earnings and employment, but this information was recorded for some self-employed workers and employers. Reestimating the models shown in Table 4, including all available observations, leaves results virtually unaffected. However, a substantial fraction of men who were at work, particularly older men, were not listed as employees in 1901 and did not report earnings and months worked.[22] Table 5 shows the proportion of men ages 40–64 and 17–39 who reported some type of work activity, but were not listed as employees in 1901. Especially for older men in Montreal, the native-born were much less likely to be employees than were the English mother-tongue immigrants.

The majority of nonemployees were professionals or proprietors, with almost all the rest clerical or craft workers. These men would typically have been fairly high income earners. Table 4 suggests that immigrant employees assimilated only slowly toward the earnings levels of the native-born. Table 5 suggests that the differential movement away from employee status probably *raises* the observed rate of immigrant assimilation seen in Table 4 relative to the actual pattern of assimilation. Older English mother-tongue Canadian-born men were less likely to be employees than were immigrants, so even if immigrant employees caught up to the earnings of native-born employees after 25 or 30 years in Canada, they were not moving as

[21] This also holds for the results shown in columns (1) to (4) and (6) to (9).

[22] We defined men as being at work if an occupation, an occupational status, annual earnings, or months worked were listed. Occasionally the census taker failed to record occupational status, but did list at least one other of these pieces of information. We classified such men as at work, but not employees. This will lead to some underestimate of the proportion of men who were employees.

quickly into self-employment. A less slow estimated rate of assimilation in Montreal than in Toronto may be linked to the smaller gap in employment status between immigrants and the native-born in Toronto.

Our results about relatively slow assimilation are robust to changes in functional form and to the exclusion of non-English mother-tongue men. Limited access to clerical positions, and to self-employment and employer status, are probably important. Fuller explanation for the slow rates of assimilation, relative to post-World War II Canadian, and 1880s and 1890s evidence for the United States, and also for the often fairly modest differences between the earnings of English, Irish, and European immigrants, must remain more speculative at this stage. Measuring the skill composition of 19th century immigrants to Canada and the United States is probably impossible. Whatever the relative skill composition of the immigrant stream to Canada, the last 3 decades of the 19th century saw mass emigration from Canada to the United States (McInnis, 1994). We do not know whether immigrants, and if so, which immigrants, were more likely to leave for the United States than were the Canadian-born. If the most able immigrants were more likely to move on than were Canadians with high earnings potential, then slow assimilation would be the outcome. We see no reason for this to have been the case. Research on the occupations of the Canadian- and British-born in the United States is a future project which should shed some light on the question.

CONCLUSIONS

British immigrants' slow assimilation into the Canadian economy runs counter to results reported in some studies of the United States in the years before World War I and the findings for both Canada and the United States in the years after World War II. The relatively long period to wage equality that we see in the 1901 Canadian Census seems to correspond more closely to the pessimistic view of Woodsworth rather than the more optimistic view of Lower and Reynolds. Reynolds, however, was mainly thinking about blue-collar immigrants. For blue-collar workers alone, British immigrants (especially the English and Scottish) do look more like native-born anglophones. It is in the white collar sector, and also in the move away from wage earning into self-employment or employer status, where British immigrants seem to have been at a substantial and sustained handicap. We cannot yet explain why the British were underrepresented in these high-income occupations. As ever when interpreting evidence drawn from a single cross section to infer rates of assimilation, changes in the characteristics of the immigrant inflow and emigrant outflow may be important in explaining our results. A more thorough examination of these possibilities must await further research.

The picture we see in 1901 is an accurate portrayal of the Canadian labor market at that time, even if our inferences about rates of assimilation must remain open to question. British immigrants were invisible immigrants in Canada and were prized for their capacity to strengthen ties to the mother country. In economic terms, however, they were clearly not living up to the expectations Canada's immigration policy had for them.

APPENDIX
Demographic Characteristics of Samples and Population

	Montreal sample (N = 28,354)	Hochelaga, Maisonneuve, and Montreal (N = 325,175)	Toronto sample (N = 15,164)	Toronto and East and West York[a] (N = 250,244)
All inhabitants				
% Male	49.0	47.8	47.4	47.4
Age distribution (male + female)				
% Ages 0–14	33.3	32.2	28.7	28.4
% Ages 15–19	9.5	9.6	10.3	10.1
% Ages 20–29	19.8	20.2	21.3	20.7
% Ages 30–39	14.7	14.5	15.2	15.6
% Ages 40–49	10.6	10.5	11.5	11.2
% Ages 50–59	6.8	6.9	7.2	7.2
% Ages 60–64	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.6
% Age 65+	3.3	3.8	3.5	4.1
Religion				
% Roman Catholic	76.3	75.6	14.2	12.8
% Church of England	8.3	8.8	29.5	29.0
% Baptist	0.8	0.8	6.6	5.5
% Methodist	2.8	3.2	23.8	25.3
% Presbyterian	6.8	7.1	19.6	20.2
% Jewish	3.1	2.1	1.3	1.2
Birthplace				
% All Canada (plus NFLD)	85.5	86.5	73.8	74.2
% Own province (Ontario or Quebec)	80.7	82.0	70.6	71.7
% U.S.	2.7	2.7	3.1	2.8
% UK	7.6	7.6	20.9	20.7
% England + Wales[b]	3.8	3.8	12.4	12.2
% Scotland	1.4	1.3	2.8	3.0
% Ireland	2.4	2.6	5.6	5.4
% Europe	3.1	2.5	1.5	1.4
Immigrants				
% Male	52.8	51.6	48.7	49.8
% Ages <10 (male + female)	5.5	5.3	2.9	3.2
% Ages 10–19	13.0	12.8	9.1	8.4
% Ages 20+	81.5	82.0	88.0	88.4
% Arrived <1851[c]	3.7	4.5	5.3	7.0
% 1851–1870	11.5	13.0	18.6	19.2
% 1871–1890	42.9	42.7	49.9	48.4
% 1891–1901	38.9	38.0	16.5	15.9

Note. Sources: for ages of population—*1901 Census*, Vol. IV, Table 1; religion—Vol. I, Table 10; sex—Vol. I, Table 3; birthplace—Vol. I, Table 14; immigrants—Vol. I, Table 17.

[a] The population of the three Toronto districts was 156,098 and of the two York districts 94,146. No observations were taken for the approximately 33,000 people in York East and West living in largely rural areas. The urban parts of York East and West (including parts of the City of Toronto, plus built-up areas such as Toronto Junction) took up only about 4% of the total area of these two census districts. Virtually all of Hochelaga and Maisonneuve were built up by 1901 and were included in our sample. Districts 116, 117, 118, (all), 129, and 131 (part) were included in sample for Toronto; districts 155, 167, 174, 175, 176, 177, and 178 were included for Montreal.

[b] Includes Channel Islands.

[c] All persons with unknown birthplace excluded from immigrant status in samples, even if year of immigration given. In the sample, 9.7% of immigrants in Toronto had unknown year of immigration, while 3.1% of immigrants in the Montreal sample.

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