

The Pace of British Immigrant Assimilation  
in 1901 New Brunswick

by

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## **Abstract**

This paper revisits Green and MacKinnon (2001) and replicates their experiment on two New Brunswick cities. They wondered whether British immigrants were indistinguishable from native-born Canadians at the dawn of the 20th century. They found high assimilation times for British immigrants in Montreal and Toronto. I also find high assimilation times for British immigrants for the city of Saint John, but not for Moncton. Like Green and Mackinnon, I find that occupational differences between foreign and native-born explain their different assimilation experience. In the case of Moncton, fast economic growth seems to have encouraged rapid assimilation of the foreign-born.

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# 1 Introduction

Immigration is a major source of anxiety for people. The public worries about the foreign-born taking their jobs, destroying their cultural norms, or ending up in a crime-ridden ghetto. In 1901 Canada, these concerns were in play during the Wheat Boom immigration wave. The English Canadian had rarely seen an Eastern European, but now these strangers were arriving in Canada in large numbers. It would seem that these new immigrants had a hard time adapting to Canada. Was this because of a xenophobic reaction from Canadians? It would be interesting to know how an ‘invisible’ immigrant, already behaving Canadian upon arrival, would fare. The British immigrant should be able to play that role. He is able to speak English, he is likely Protestant, and his life in the British Empire familiarized him with English institutions, like the Common-Law.

Green and MacKinnon (2001) studied a 1901 cross-section of male workers in Montreal and Toronto. They explored the immediate and persistent earnings gap between native-born Canadians and immigrants. They found that British immigrants earned less than Canadians on arrival, and only reached parity after many decades: they define assimilation as the accumulation of various skills and cultural traits that allow an immigrant to reach income parity with the native-born. This paper replicates their experiment on two New Brunswick cities. I also find high assimilation times for British immigrants for the city of Saint John, but not for Moncton. Like Green and Mackinnon, I find that occupational differences between foreign and native-born explain their different assimilation experience. In the case of Moncton, fast economic growth seems to have encouraged rapid assimilation of the foreign-born, likely because job opportunities were more abundant in its nascent industry. The study of Moncton and Saint John allows us to appreciate the variation in the time it takes for immigrants to integrate in different cities.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Canada at the start of the 20th Century

The year 1901 is of interest for study because it is at the start of a wave of immigration spurred by a rapid economic expansion of Canada. Known as the “Wheat Boom”, this period saw growth in Canada’s manufacturing industry and the peopling of the wheat-producing prairies. Canada rode the wheat boom in the West by building up its railway infrastructure and recruiting many skilled foreigners to fill labor shortages. The flow of migrants was so great, that the foreign-born population of Canada almost tripled between the 1901 and 1911 censuses. With the help of the 1901 Census manuscripts and contemporary writings, we are able to get an idea of what Canada was like for a newcomer. Were migrants used to the best of their abilities? Were the English speaking British immigrants being regarded as close substitutes for the native-born? Was there a general disdain for immigrants forming a permanent obstacle to their acceptance as Canadians?

The Atlantic provinces went through a similar investment boom decades before the Wheat Boom. In the 1870’s, a railway had been constructed linking the Maritimes and Quebec by rail. The headquarters for the Intercolonial Railway were established in Moncton, and they caused the town to double in population by the turn of the century. By 1901, Moncton was a city, and had recruited machinists, clerks, and rail workers from neighboring ruralities and from abroad to staff its burgeoning railroad industry. Moncton was a much newer city than Montreal and Toronto, and this resulted in a marked decrease in its immigrant assimilation times.

At the same time, nearby Saint John was suffering a slump in its key industries. The city had used its harbor and nearby lumber resources to become a shipbuilding town, but the demand for wooden ships had collapsed in the later half of the 19th century. Starting in the 1860’s, young workers and later entire families emigrated in

large numbers away from Saint John in search of blue-collar work (Brookes 1976). Negative net migration of workers created an assimilation experience different from Montreal and Toronto, where there was positive in-migration in 1901. Blue-collar migrant workers avoided Saint John at the dawn of the 20th century, and therefore the reduced inflow of immigrants was increasingly white-collar. Consequently, younger immigrants there should have an occupational advantage in earnings versus their predecessors, so that successive waves of immigrants earning more and more. Green and Mackinnon did not find the same to be true in Montreal and Toronto.

Contemporary authors confirm that being Protestant or from Northern Europe was desirable in 1901 Canada, but the risks of migration were greater if the individual was unable to conform to contemporary Canadian culture. A.R. Lower cautions:

“If they were Protestant in religion and Scandinavian, Dutch or German in origin, if they learned to speak English reasonably well, then they stood a chance of being taken in. If not, they quickly discovered that Canada was no United States, where all were equal, and all were engaged in building the republic. English-Canadians had despised the French and used their strength against them when they could: they were not now disposed to admit ‘Bohunks’ [Eastern Europeans] and ‘Dagoes’ [the Spanish] into any degree of intimacy. The newcomers were shoved off by themselves and settled in colonies or flocked into the slum areas of the cities.” (Lower 1946, pp.425)

It seems that initial impressions were important determinants of the newcomer’s success, but these were out of his control in xenophobic Canada.

Woodsworth’s “Strangers within our gates” (1909, reprinted 1972) is another account of the prevailing attitude towards immigrants at the turn of the 20th Century. Woodsworth himself was an ardent proponent of assisting newly-arrived foreigners in Canada in his city of Winnipeg as a Methodist minister and superintendent of the ‘All People’s Mission’. Nevertheless, his book is replete with negative racial stereotypes and with references to the superior northern race. It is likely that the everyday atmosphere in 1901 Canada was somewhere in between Woodsworth’s condescending sympathy and the genuine resentment alluded to in his quotations. His book gives



an idea of the prejudice a new immigrant would have faced in Canada.

Woodsworth's descriptions of foreigners would quickly dissuade employers from seeking foreign-born labor. Galicans and Italians, representing the "New Country" immigrants, were especially resented. A. R. Ford writes: "In so low and estimation are they held that the word Galican is almost a term of reproach. Their unpronounceable names appear so often in police court news, they figure so frequently in crimes of violence that they have created anything but a favorable impression." (Woodsworth 1909, pp.110) The Catholics are thought of as lacking the Protestant work ethic and freedom of thought. Even the British are suspected of being effete and unwilling to adapt to the harsh Canadian life. Scots, Irishmen, and the Welsh, however, are lauded for their great success in Canada. Woodsworth observes that: "Generally speaking, the Scotch, the Irish and Welsh have 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." He also mentions the troublesome self-selection of the undesirable elements of British society: "England has sent us largely the failures of the cities." (Woodsworth 1909, pp.46)

We have to remember that this is all colored from experiences in Winnipeg, which, as well as being geographically distant from Eastern Canada, also experienced much higher rates and varieties of immigration. In 1901, Winnipeg had a much higher proportion of mainland European immigrants, especially from its southern and eastern regions, than had Montreal, Toronto, or the cities of New Brunswick. These are the 'Galicans' Woodsworth refers to.

Woodsworth recognizes that the biggest problems facing immigrants were fluency in English and being drawn to living in 'colonies' or ghettos. Also important are the adoption of the good Canadian values of resilience, of hard-work, and of education. The European newcomer often does poorly because his culture did not sufficiently stress habits that are common in a Protestant or Canadian environment. Even the

Englishman is at a disadvantage in the Canada despite his language proficiency, for he is not used to the Canadian standard of hard work. It seems that the native-born took this as the immigrant condescendingly spitting on the “Canadian way” and sticking to their Old-world traditions. “[English and French Canadians] endeavour to “take the bloke down a notch”, or else avoid contact with him.” (Reynolds 1940, pp.211). Woodsworth’s formulation of assimilation is simply the foreigner adopting the Canadian and Protestant way of doing things. In Winnipeg, he was involved in ensuring foreign children were able to go to school, and that adults had access to night classes to learn English. If his account of things is accurate, then immigrants, British included, assimilated slowly and arduously into Canadian society. If assimilation were to stall, then immigrant colonies would evolve into the city’s new slums and areas of crime. The fear was that immigrant caused pauperism.

However, L.G. Reynolds, referring to the turn of the Century, wrote:

“Canadian manufacturers were particularly active in fostering immigration during this period. They stood in need of skilled labor, which was most easily procurable in the British Isles; it was not uncommon for Canadian companies to engage men in Britain, in some cases even paying their passage to Canada. This procedure, at first resorted to only in cases of acute labor shortages or as a technique for quelling strikes, led in time to the establishment of a permanent immigration office in Great Britain by the Canadian Manufacturer’s Association.” (Reynolds 1940, pp.36)

Woodsworth’s gripes withstanding, there was an important need for labor in rapidly growing Canada. For firms recruiting craftsmen and machinists, the reputed English artisan was the natural choice. Britain was a reliable source of workers.

Nevertheless, Canada might not have been most suitable from the British immigrant’s point of view. Just as Canadians had reservations about the Englishman, Englishmen likewise were uncomfortable with Canadians. Reynolds, from his field studies of 1935 Montreal, writes: “The recent immigrant frequently finds himself ridiculed by the non-British workers at his place of employment... The immigrant’s inability to adjust himself rapidly to canned food, Canadian cuts of meat, etc., is an

immediate cause of cultural conflict.” (Reynolds 1940, pp.208) Reynolds, from interviewing a Briton: “When we went into the meat store, ... we ended up by buying any old thing and came out. We nearly starved - we couldn’t eat the food here.” (pp.208) The cultural shock to the British immigrant arriving in a strange new country, as well as the pressing need to establish himself, often left him homesick. Small cultural differences were able to confuse and frighten him. Reynolds believes occupation influences assimilation:

“Assimilation is easier for immigrants in the higher skill-grades because they have not only a greater income which facilitates social participation but also greater social resourcefulness. [...] Other things being equal, the period of assimilation will be shortest for the clerical family which goes almost directly to one of the “white-collared areas” of the city like Notre Dame de Grace; it will be longer for the artisan who spends at least some years and perhaps his entire life in one of the immigrant colonies; it will be longest of all for the low skilled labourer who spends his life in the poorer quarters of the city [...]” (Reynolds 1940, pp.235-236)

Assimilation for Reynolds was the integration of the immigrant into the host country’s social circles, so alienation, self-segregation, and a low-paying job were potential obstacles.

Canada was an attractive destination for immigrants in 1901, and it demanded masses of labor for its rapid economic expansion. According to authors of the period, however, it seems that the country’s society and its mindset were not especially suitable to absorb this addition to the workforce. Public opinion was unfavorable to the visible immigrants, so anything that facilitated their identification would foster discrimination and help to lower their earnings. Their occupation also influenced their willingness to make new social and work contacts after arrival. If the foreign-born were to catch up to their native-born counterparts, they had to avoid the ghetto and submit to quick assimilation; in other words, a large burden was placed on their shoulders.

## 2.2 The economic literature on immigrant assimilation

Borjas (1994) expresses the present-day importance of understanding immigration in an economy's health. He concludes that in the United-States, after the Second World War and up until his article's publication, assimilation of immigrants was likely taking more than a lifetime. He found that the skills of immigrants have been diminishing with each successive wave of immigration. Their likelihood of seeking welfare benefits and burdening the state have risen as well. A lack of assimilation causes earnings differences to transfer through generations, so that immigration is a long term source of social inequality and division. He believes the same is likely the case for Canada, even if its policy favors skills over family ties, as in the United States.

These findings were the opposite to earlier studies of post-WW2 immigration, such as Chiswick (1978), Borjas notes. Chiswick believed that immigrants were overcoming only initial obstacles to integration, but later overtaking the native-born. Borjas's data shows a trend, for the United States, of falling immigration from Europe, and the flow from Asia and the Americas increasing. This coincides with the problem of troubled assimilation. Borjas's (1992) studies the effect of 'ethnic capital', the average amount of educational attainment within a person's ethnic background, in transferring skills (or willingness to educate oneself) from parent to child. It is this changing proportion of immigrant ethnicity that explains up to 90% of the decrease of educational attainment and of earnings with each successive wave of immigrants. (Borjas 1994, pp.1685) Furthermore, the level of economic development in the host country determines partially how education and skills are transferable to the United States. Countries with a high average educational attainment do not necessarily send migrants who perform better than native-born Americans. Rather, similarly developed countries value similar and exchangeable skills. Also, the more a host country had a high return to skills, the more it tends to send its lower-earning workers. (Borjas 1994, pp.1690) Borjas refers to a study of illegal Mexican migrants who

were found to have a lower average skill level than the Mexican villages they had originated from. Contrary to popular American opinion, Mexico has a relatively high return to skills, and high income inequality. These elements show how national origin can determine the quality of the immigrant relative to his ethnic counterparts, and that even a rich country like 19th century Britain might send its ‘failures’ to North America: something that seems counter-intuitive.

For Canada, Borjas find that the skill-based immigration policy favors more skillful immigrants. He shows that in the late 70’s, the average immigrant in Canada had an additional year of education compared his counterpart in the United States, and only earned 16 percent less than the Canadian native-born, versus a 28 percent difference in the United States. There is no actual difference in average education between the two countries within ethnic groups, but the policy acts by discouraging immigration from non-European countries. However, Canada still experienced successive waves of immigrants with decreasing wages, explained by a change in their national origins.

Green and Mackinnon (2001) use the same specification of Chiswick (1978), as well as a single cross-section to track immigrants of different arrival times. Contrary to Borjas’s more recent results, Chiswick found that foreign-born earnings began at a level below the native-born, accelerated, and eventually overtook the latter. He believes that immigrants had a tendency to self-select towards being of high ability and motivation, so they naturally have higher potential earnings. Unlike Borjas, Chiswick points towards strong assimilation of immigrants in the United States, with parity being reached somewhere between 10 to 15 years. However, according to Borjas, successive waves of immigrants have earned less and less because of a shift in national origins away from Europe. Consequently, it is important to be conscious of immigrant heterogeneity when dealing with a single cross-section.

Hatton (1997) estimated age-earnings profiles for workers in Michigan and California in 1890. He used the same approach, but in a slightly different specification

than Green and Mackinnon use. The main difference is the inclusion of a kink at the age of 25 in the hypothesized age-earnings function, which corresponds with rapid earnings growth for all workers in their younger years. He found that immigrants who arrived as children were nearly identical to the native-born, while those who arrived as adults converged to the latter over a number of years. An alternative model using work experience instead of age produced the same pattern. Hatton claims that the foreign-born assimilated later in their lives, in their forties or fifties: an assimilation taking a little over 20 years. Looking at nationalities, Hatton found that the British were the most successful in both Michigan and California, followed by the Irish, the Germans and Scandinavians, and then Eastern Europeans. These findings of effective assimilation are what we would expect from the United States, having seen it referenced repeatedly in anecdotal literature as the quintessential “American Dream”.

In 2000, Chris Minns extended Hatton’s age-earnings specification to 1900 and 1910 (Minns 2000). He used two IPUMS cross-sections and focused on occupations by splitting the study into blue collar and white collar sectors. Minns pays special attention to cohort-effects; immigrants of different ages are often totally unrelated to each other. Looking at the summary statistics for 1900 and 1910 in the United States, we can see that all categories of foreign-born, early- or late-aged arrivals and Old-Country or newer sources, outperform the native-born on average. However, separating these male workers according to occupational sector, we see that the native-born were disproportionally found in the agricultural sector, which explains some of the difference in means (immigrants concentrate themselves in urban centers). As he progresses into his regression analysis, Minns finds that the earnings gap of immigrants at initial arrival was smaller than expected, but that the gap took longer to close as well. The newcomers earnings increased the longer they lived in the United States, and they were increasingly likely to enjoy higher-paying white-collar work.

The economic study of immigration is quite complex and requires controls for successive waves of immigrants, their changing national origins, their different education attainments, and each home country's economic climate. Authors seem to arrive at different conclusions each time we look at a data from a different perspective. Cohort-effects seem to be among the most important aspects of immigration study, and we must always be conscious of them.

### **2.3 Green and Mackinnon, 2001**

An important study of immigrant performance in Canada in 1901, is Green and Mackinnon's 2001 paper "The Slow Assimilation of British Immigrants in Canada: Evidence from Montreal and Toronto, 1901". They find evidence of assimilation taking about 40 years for both cities, approximately twice what has been found in the United States. This gap is explained by an occupational disparity between the native-born and British immigrants. The newcomers were unable to match the proportion of Canadians working in higher-paying white-collar work, and instead specialized in the blue-collar sector.

Green and Mackinnon use a manually collected sample of the 1901 census for Montreal and Toronto. They collected data from the first page of every fifth sub-district, yielding 64 clusters for Toronto and 119 for Montreal. In other words, each cluster is a group of households of tight geographic proximity, since census officers marked their findings while going door-to-door. G and M only retained observations of males with reliable earnings data, reducing a full page of households to only about 70 valid individuals. They decide to eliminate all observations that are either female, below 17 years of age, above 65, earning less than \$ 5 each month, or more than \$ 300 a month. They argue that their combined sample of around 12500 between Montreal and Toronto was well-representative of the population as a whole.

The inhabitants of Montreal in 1901 were 85% native-born, with almost two-

thirds of them French Canadians. Immigrants were drawn from a diverse variety of countries. Montreal was a very cosmopolitan city. It was Canada's most populous urban center in 1901, its economic and cultural capital, and, despite being in Quebec, its language of business was English. French Canadians and Europeans very often spoke English, and were allowed better job opportunities for doing so. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the higher-paying white collar jobs were more often reserved for native-born Protestant men. The large majority of French Canadians, who were not part of this group, were concentrated in blue-collar work. British immigrants found that the French were entrenched in the factory organizations by the turn of the century, and French foremen would often mistrust them. (Reynolds 1940, pp.168)

Comparatively, Toronto was a much more English city, with nearly 90% of its inhabitants originating from Great Britain. It was subject to more numerous but less recent immigration than Montreal, with only three quarters of its population being native-born. In contrast to Montreal, fully half of the foreign-born there were British and almost everyone was protestant.

Their sample demonstrates marked differences between the occupations of the Canadians and the foreign-born, aged between 17 and 29. In Toronto, the percentage of native-born who were clerks is 28.5%, but only 15.7% of the immigrants were clerks. In Montreal, 39.5% of English Canadians were clerical workers, versus only 22.6% of the English immigrants. French Canadian workers were similar to English-speaking immigrants at 21.8% clerical, but only 12.3% of those with neither English or French mother-tongue were clerks. Oddly, the order is nearly inverted in Montreal for managerial and professional jobs, which shows that some immigrants were setting themselves apart at the very top of the earnings ladder. However, Woodsworth's pessimism supported by the larger amount of Britons in domestic, laboring, and "miscellaneous services" jobs: the least desirable work. G and M hypothesize that part of British immigrants' lower earnings can be explained by differences in occupations.



The regressions they use are inspired by Bloom, Grenier, and Gunderson, (1995), who study three pooled Canadian cross-sections between 1971 and 1986. G and M's specification is different in that it uses the first to fifth powers of age to estimate an age-earnings profile instead of controlling for experience directly (a metric unavailable in the 1901 census). Common to the two studies are controls for entry effects and the assimilation effect. The former consists of dummy variables for each region in which immigrants originated: these differentiate the success of each nationality in Canada. The assimilation effect refers to the accumulation of Canadian-specific skills a newcomer learns to increase his earnings and catch up to the native-born. Unfortunately, this might also correlate with cohort-effects, an intrinsic trend within the actual immigrant flow, which would also vary with the year of immigration. G and M add dummies to control for mother-tongues, language proficiencies, religions, marital status, literacy, and finally occupational categories.

Their cross-sectional approach runs into indeterminate but undeniably present cohort effects. By their own admission, both cities experienced different waves of migration, with Toronto having older British immigrants. Of total immigrants, nearly 40% of Montreal's had arrived ten years prior to the 1901 census, against only 16% in Toronto. Most recent immigrants were Europeans in both cities. This difference in composition will tend to overstate the performance of the British, who should naturally fare better since they are the oldest immigrant group in both cities. The presence of an assimilation effect variable will erroneously account for some of this cohort effect. If the more recent European immigrants have a harder time adapting than the British, then the assimilation effect variable will be even sharper in slope and more significant than it should be. The British will seem to have played a rapid game of catch-up, assimilating quickly in Canada when they might as well just have twiddled their thumbs. A partial solution to this problem would have been to use a complex quadratic specification of assimilation effects, so that distortions at either

extremity would not cause leverage. Chiswick (1978), Hatton (1997), and Minns (2000) all make use this different specification.

G and M's first specification, which uses all available independent variables except for occupation, leads to an estimate of 28 years to assimilation for the British-born in Montreal, and 48 years for those in Toronto<sup>1</sup>. The authors rightly do not want to put too much weight on this result, since the aforementioned dangers of using a single cross-section are too likely to have influenced it. They are more interested in demonstrating rigorously the existence of the immigrant earnings gap with different specifications.

Their results with occupational dummies are particularly stunning. The intercept dummy for the Englishman in Montreal reduces from - 12% to - 8.1 %, and from - 18.5 % to - 12.9 % in Toronto, when they control for occupation. The earnings disparity between occupations explains part of the disparity between immigrant ethnic groups. Since the coefficient on the assimilation effect also decreases for both cities, it means that the rate of assimilation due to time spent in Canada was in reality less important than first thought. We must take care not to read too much into this last result, since G and M only include one significant decimal number for their assimilation effect: the coefficient decreases from 0.004 to 0.003 in both cities.

It would be interesting to know if immigrants moved increasingly into higher paying sectors as they spent more time in Canada, but such a question about occupational evolution cannot be answered by an anchored cross-section. G and M extend their estimates for workers aged 17 to 29 to those aged 30 to 49. The proportion of native English-speakers in Montreal working as clerks decreases 28.7% from 39.5%, while English immigrants decrease from 22.6% to 19.6%. While the younger British fared better as managers and professionals, the Canadians have an advantage at a later age. The same trend is true for Toronto. It is certainly possible that the British had some

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<sup>1</sup>These estimates are simply the quotients of the estimated English immigrant dummy intercept by the coefficient on years since migration.

occupational assimilation, but there is a lack of evidence to answer this question.

Green and Mackinnon try additional specifications to demonstrate their result is rigorous. Worrying that a common assimilation effect might be improper, the authors reduce the sample to those of English mother tongue, and find similar results for assimilation time. Wondering about the effect of different sectors, they eliminate white-collar workers and find quicker assimilation times for the British. These reinforce the impression that the British immigrant was on the whole less capable in the white-collar Canadian economy, but possessed an advantage in crafts and technical occupations. G and M point out that American samples used by Hatton, who found quick assimilation there, had a lower proportion of white-collar workers, and immigrants thus had less of a gap to close with the average native-born.

Very interestingly, Jason Dean of McGill university has an unpublished paper that expands on Green and Mackinnon's study (2007). He uses 1901 data from Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Halifax. In the rapidly developing Prairies, he finds a very high assimilation effect, but in the 'older' Atlantic, an insignificant one. We get the impression that immigrants can assimilate much more quickly when their arrival coincides with economic growth, when the labor market is expanding and workers are more mobile. For old British cities like Saint John and Halifax, the immigrant is essentially caught in molasses and will feel like a newcomer for a long time.

Green and Mackinnon find that the British immigrant in Montreal or Toronto assimilated slowly. They found that this slow assimilation mainly had to do with the occupations they ended up in. This in turn was determined by a combination of unskilled immigrants from Britain, the willingness of the immigrants to work in crafts, or some sort of barrier preventing them from entering the white-collar sector. Their findings match those of Borjas, who finds that immigrants integrated poorly into North America during the later half of the 20th century. However, they run against the majority of the literature on late 19th century immigrant assimilation,

when Canada was experiencing an economic boom. Hatton and Minns had found optimistic evidence of quick assimilation for the same period in the United-States. Green and Mackinnon's study is important because its results are surprising.

Their results may not hold for all Canadian cities. Moncton and Saint John had key differences with Montreal and Toronto. Moncton was a much smaller city, but had enjoyed an economic and population boom after the arrival of the railroad in the region. Immigrants would have found more job opportunities there, and likely saw their earnings rise rapidly upon arriving. Saint John's major industries of lumber and shipbuilding were under heavy duress at the time, so blue-collar workers were emigrating in large numbers. British immigrants are said to have favored crafting professions, and would have been discouraged from migrating to Saint John. The presence of out-migration should lead to very different results from Green and Mackinnon. We will see how the assimilation experience varied away from Canada's established cities of Montreal and Toronto.

## **3 Results from New-Brunswick**

### **3.1 Data**

This paper presents an effort to replicate Green and MacKinnon's methods for Toronto and Montreal applied to the cities of Saint John and Moncton. I use the same source of data: manuscripts from the Canadian census of 1901. This census is very useful for this kind of study because of its thorough earnings and occupation data. The cities of Moncton and Saint John are the two largest in New Brunswick at the time, but are much smaller than Toronto or Montreal. 9026 people inhabited Moncton in 1901, and about a fifth of these were French (Acadian) rural migrants from New Brunswick. Saint John had a population 40691, almost all of them were of British heritage, with a strong Irish presence.

Table 1: Comparison of Samples with 1901 Census Population Data

	Moncton sample	Westmorland co.	Saint John sample	Saint John co.
Total males	693	12956	944	16163
15 to 19	10.38%	19.98%	12.71%	16.32%
20 to 29	27.88%	26.18%	26.38%	26.07%
30 to 39	21.62%	17.85%	24.15%	20.65%
40 to 49	20.77%	15.61%	16.84%	16.35%
50 to 59	12.09%	11.76%	11.86%	12.19%
60 to 69	7.25%	8.61%	8.05%	8.42%

Note: Percentages calculated from Table 1 of the Census of Canada 1901, Schedule 4.

Green and Mackinnon’s sample was collected from the first page of households for every fifth sub-district in Toronto and Montreal. My data comes from every uneven number of pages of the personal survey for Moncton, and of every sixth page for Saint John. To supplement my sample I added in the data from the University of Victoria’s 5% sample of the 1901 census. I define a cluster <sup>2</sup> in my personal data to be all observations from the same page, but for the University of Victoria sample I consider a cluster to be one of their randomly-picked households. As with G and M, I only included male observations who state earnings and months worked. Occupational data was recorded when it was possible, since it was often difficult to understand the handwriting in the census table’s small cells. I am finally left with a sample size of 952 for Saint John, and 695 for Moncton. My samples appear to over-represent 30 to 50 year olds, but under-represent those under 20 who are just joining the workforce, from table 1. This is a consequence of only recording individuals who work and have earnings data available.

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<sup>2</sup>Clusters are used with Stata’s `svy:reg` command to adjust standard errors appropriately, and this controls for heteroskedastic influences arising from geography.

Table 2: Origins of Inhabitants, 1901 Census

	Saint john	Moncton	Toronto	Montreal	Winnipeg
English	35.85%	41.34%	40.36%	13.88%	34.39%
Irish	43.67%	14.76%	34.99%	15.78%	17.30%
Scotch	13.37%	18.58%	15.49%	7.70%	21.71%
French	1.36%	21.26%	1.52%	55.08%	3.26%
European	2.95%	3.73%	4.38%	3.38%	18.53%
Jewish	0.72%	0.04%	1.83%	3.29%	2.73%
Other	2.09%	0.29%	1.42%	0.90%	2.09%

Note: Percentages calculated from Table 11 of the Census of Canada 1901, Volume 1.

From table 2 we see the varying origins of Canadians in 1901. Woodsworth's Winnipeg easily outstrips others in non-British or French population, which explains his focus on these immigrants from 'New Europe'. The rest of Canada is heavily British, except for Montreal which is heavily French. With 1901 being at the start of the Wheat Boom immigration wave, these proportions are like to have evolved in subsequent years.

Saint John in 1901 was similar to Toronto in terms of inhabitant origins, except for a switch in their proportions of English and Irish. However, Toronto had a higher proportion of foreign-born, about a quarter, compared to Saint John's 89% native-born population. Saint John was a port city that saw many immigrants arrive by boat but most of them moving to elsewhere in Canada. It had originally been established as an English fort in New Brunswick, following the province's conquest by the British from the French. Soon, British immigrants and loyalists from America's revolutionary war were to come to enjoy the region's rich farmlands. Its major industries were fishing, logging, and shipbuilding. These quickly declined later in the 19th century and the city experienced net emigration of workers. Brookes (1976) finds that all of the Atlantic provinces experienced this late century depopulation, and emigrants often crossed the border into the New-England states where their skills could find them work as craftsmen.

Moncton in 1901 had only been a city for ten years, following a huge economic

boom stemming from the construction of a railroad through its center. Because of its proximity to the Nova Scotian border, the city was the eastern terminus of the Canadian railway system. Its population had increased by 74% between 1881 and 1891 (Hickey 1990, pp.7), while other urban centers like Saint John were in decline. Moncton was receiving most of its new inhabitants from neighboring counties, which included the English Moncton Parish and the Acadian (French Canadian) Shediac Parish. Apart from a large proportion of inhabitants claiming English origins, the rest of population is roughly split between the Irish, Scottish, and French. Moncton has no where near the French presence of Montreal, but it is much more diverse than Saint John. It was however, 97% native-born, likely because it was unknown to newly-arrived immigrants who were instead drawn to the bigger cities. Moncton is an interesting contrast to the harbor city Saint John, because it has grown rapidly while the latter has languished in the 19th century.

Table 3: Summary Statistics of Working Males Aged 15 to 70

	Saint John		Moncton	
	Native	Foreign	Native	Foreign
Aged 15 to 29	42.26%	14.29%	40.15%	11.43%
Aged 30 to 49	40.82%	39.50%	43.33%	34.29%
Aged 50 to 70	16.93%	46.22%	16.52%	54.29%
Born in England		21.85%		34.29%
Born in Scotland		13.45%		17.14%
Born in Ireland		42.86%		28.57%
Born in Europe		5.88%		5.71%
Born in the U.S.		10.92%		11.43%
Born in NFLD		5.04%		2.86%
Born in NB	94.60%		90.30%	
Born elsewhere in Canada	5.40%		9.70%	
Mean years in Canada, born in England		25.731 [24.5]		22.917 [23]
Mean years in Canada, born in Scotland		32.167 [32]		25.5 [25]
Mean years in Canada, born in Ireland		34.98 [37]		36.9 [36]
Mean years in Canada, born in Europe		19.429 [21]		29 [29]
Mean years in Canada, born in the U.S.		23.462 [23]		23.25 [21.5]
Mean years in Canada, born in NFLD		8 [6.5]		19
Speaking English	99.88%	100.00%	98.94%	100.00%
Speaking both French and English	1.92%	0.00%	18.18%	8.57%
Able to write	95.68%	89.92%	91.67%	100.00%
Protestant	66.63%	53.78%	72.73%	74.29%
Roman Catholic	32.29%	42.86%	28.64%	25.71%
Other religion	1.08%	3.36%	2.73%	0.00%
Married	53.90%	74.79%	63.94%	91.43%
n	833	119	660	35

Note: Numbers in brackets are the median years in Canada. There were extremely few immigrants from Europe or Newfoundland in Moncton.



As with Montreal and Toronto, I find that the foreign-born are generally older than the Canadian born. This is indicative of a past immigrant wave, rather than a uniform flow. Irish immigrants tend to be the oldest, something that apparently corresponds to the end of the Great Irish Famine immigration rush. Likewise, the Highland Potato Famine might have resulted in the slightly older average Scottish immigrant. Next in line are the British and the Americans, who arrived on average midway between 1850 and 1901. Arrivals from Europe and Newfoundland were likely to be more recent. This kind of evolving national origin mix is what prompted Borjas’s concern of cohort effects when using cross-sections, and we are likely to see the Irish performing better than the English who have had less time to assimilate.

Table 4: Occupations of Working Males aged 15 to 70

	Saint John			Moncton		
	Protestant	Catholic	Immigrant	English	French	Immigrant
Agriculture	0.00%	0.00%	2.52%	0.19%	0.00%	0.00%
Crafts/Trades	17.84%	19.70%	21.85%	37.69%	35.85%	37.14%
Services	4.86%	10.41%	10.08%	2.61%	2.83%	5.71%
Fishing/Sea	7.03%	1.86%	5.04%	0.00%	0.94%	0.00%
Government	2.16%	1.86%	4.20%	3.92%	4.72%	5.71%
Manufacturing	4.86%	5.95%	6.72%	2.80%	24.53%	5.71%
Labor	19.46%	27.51%	22.69%	7.84%	18.87%	11.43%
Professional	5.05%	1.49%	6.72%	5.60%	0.00%	2.86%
Trade	19.10%	11.90%	9.24%	15.49%	4.72%	22.86%
Transportation	4.32%	6.69%	3.36%	13.25%	3.77%	2.86%
Other/unknown	15.32%	12.64%	7.56%	10.63%	3.77%	5.71%
n=	555	269	119	536	106	35

The occupational data from my sample proves to be interesting, and confirms G and M’s observations of Montreal and Toronto. Their categories were a bit confusing to recreate, so mine were partly inspired by the 1911 Census’s categories. The trade sector includes clerks as well as merchants. Saint John has a high proportion of jobs relating to seafaring, because of its harbor. The transportation category, work relating directly to rail transport (it was impossible to tell if a machinist worked in a train yard), is important in Moncton. In Saint John, the foreign born are more

likely to be working in crafts, services jobs, and professional work, but are much less likely to work as clerks. Protestants are more likely to avoid physical labor than are Catholics, which may explain their difference in earnings. The French men (and women) have a strong presence in manufacturing in Moncton because of their work in its large cotton mill. The foreign are less likely to work in the transportation sector there, which was a fair source of earnings, although a lot of it had to do with being a brake-man (manipulating train brakes in transit).

### **3.2 The Econometric Model and its Findings**

My model is identical to Green and Mackinnon's. The natural log of average monthly earnings are regressed on the first through fifth powers of age, a variety of dummy variables, and the number of years since an immigrant has arrived in Canada. Following G and M, I have dropped male workers younger than 15 or older than 70; it is a wider interval than G & M used, since I have fewer observations. I have also eliminated those earning less than \$5 or more than \$300 a month. The total months worked are a sum of hours worked in a factory, at home, or some other place, as noted in the census, but no larger than 12. Some entries for months worked are suspiciously low, and result in some young males having nearly the highest average earnings of the sample. There is no way of knowing how these values came about, but I nevertheless dropped anyone working only a month or two. Any higher would have led to the loss of some who practice seasonal work. All of these efforts try to eliminate highly variable (either from a lack of observations or because of measurement error) earnings at the sample's extremities, which could lead to abnormal errors (heteroskedasticity) distorting the estimated age-earnings profile.

The base case for both cities is the male who is native-born, illiterate, unmarried, Protestant, and a unilingual English speaker. For Saint John I will omit language fluency variables since everyone in the sample, save one, speaks English. The catholic

will be split into two interactive terms, one for those of English mother tongue, and the other for the French. The idea behind this is to try and keep the Irish Catholics and French Canadians apart, which are very liable to be distinct from one another. French Canadians were virtually always Catholic, so the separation of these two groups will also eliminate the problem of colinearity between being Catholic and having a French mother tongue. Because of Moncton's higher population of French speakers, there will be dummies for bilingual English speakers, and unilingual and bilingual French speakers, as well as a single catholic dummy variable.

Table 5: Regressions on Average Monthly Earnings  
Moncton

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Age</i>	1.906 (0.294)	1.929 (0.297)	1.884 (0.295)	1.938 (0.303)	1.875 (0.323)
<i>Age</i> <sup>2</sup> /100	-9.684 (1.596)	-9.814 (1.614)	-9.539 (1.601)	-9.847 (1.629)	-9.491 (1.754)
<i>Age</i> <sup>3</sup> /1000	2.402 (0.413)	2.437 (0.418)	2.358 (0.414)	2.437 (0.419)	2.333 (0.455)
<i>Age</i> <sup>4</sup> /10000	-0.288 (0.051)	-0.292 (0.052)	-0.282 (0.051)	-0.291 (0.052)	-0.276 (0.056)
<i>Age</i> <sup>5</sup> /100000	0.013 (0.002)	0.014 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.013 (0.002)	0.013 (0.003)
Canada	-0.022 (0.048)	-0.022 (0.048)	-0.025 (0.048)	-0.005 (0.043)	-0.005 (0.049)
England	-0.075 (0.136)	0.118 (0.079)	-0.304 (0.147)	-0.031 (0.118)	0.136 (0.109)
Scotland	-0.106 (0.166)	0.108 (0.171)	0.010 (0.140)	-0.095 (0.145)	-0.145 (0.120)
Ireland	-0.293 (0.185)	0.015 (0.101)	-0.660 (0.175)	-0.145 (0.155)	0.106 (0.132)
Europe	-0.111 (0.332)	0.126 (0.402)	-0.652 (0.077)	-0.039 (0.272)	-0.306 (0.059)
Newfoundland	0.110 (0.097)	0.265 (0.037)	-0.091 (0.122)	0.062 (0.090)	(dropped)
United States	-0.318 (0.148)	-0.119 (0.104)	-0.429 (0.173)	-0.270 (0.141)	0.006 (0.119)
Other birthplace	(dropped)	(dropped)	(dropped)	(dropped)	(dropped)
Years since Migration	0.009 (0.005)		0.019 (0.006)	0.007 (0.004)	0.001 (0.003)
Catholic	-0.046 (0.040)	-0.043 (0.040)	-0.043 (0.041)	-0.030 (0.036)	-0.024 (0.036)
Other religion	-0.029 (0.003)	-0.029 (0.003)	-0.029 (0.003)	-0.017 (0.004)	-0.014 (0.004)
Can write	0.245 (0.044)	0.247 (0.044)	0.247 (0.044)	0.208 (0.045)	0.211 (0.045)
English, bilingual	0.208 (0.092)	0.205 (0.092)	0.208 (0.091)	0.142 (0.089)	0.164 (0.118)
French, unilingual	-0.071 (0.068)	-0.071 (0.068)	-0.072 (0.068)	0.006 (0.066)	-0.025 (0.070)
French, bilingual	-0.072 (0.047)	-0.072 (0.047)	-0.075 (0.048)	-0.025 (0.042)	-0.026 (0.045)
Other, speaks English	0.164 (0.097)	0.169 (0.098)	0.181 (0.100)	0.149 (0.101)	0.117 (0.125)
Other, does not	-0.013 (0.025)	-0.009 (0.025)	-0.013 (0.026)	-0.074 (0.040)	(dropped)
Agriculture				0.066 (0.053)	0.042 (0.050)
Trades and crafts				0.072 (0.046)	0.082 (0.044)
Services				-0.076 (0.094)	-0.076 (0.099)
Fishing or sea				0.296 (0.059)	0.287 (0.058)
Government				0.212 (0.068)	0.210 (0.065)
Manufacturing				0.017 (0.067)	-0.001 (0.067)
Professional				0.397 (0.072)	
Trade				0.224 (0.056)	
Transportation				0.332 (0.053)	0.343 (0.053)
Other or unknown				0.212 (0.063)	0.214 (0.061)
Constant	-11.310 (2.049)	-11.452 (2.072)	-11.180 (2.057)	-11.644 (2.142)	-11.150 (2.268)
N	695	695	695	695	563
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.524	0.522	0.528	0.584	0.571

Table 6: Regressions on Average Monthly Earnings, continued  
Saint John

Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Age</i>	1.434(0.298)	1.424(0.300)	1.429(0.303)	1.424(0.282)	1.543(0.313)
<i>Age</i> <sup>2</sup> /100	-6.409(1.617)	-6.350(1.629)	-6.396(1.639)	-6.335(1.523)	-7.055(1.678)
<i>Age</i> <sup>3</sup> /1000	1.386(0.416)	1.371(0.419)	1.387(0.421)	1.364(0.391)	1.559(0.428)
<i>Age</i> <sup>4</sup> /10000	-0.145(0.051)	-0.143(0.051)	-0.146(0.051)	-0.142(0.048)	-0.166(0.052)
<i>Age</i> <sup>5</sup> /100000	0.006(0.002)	0.006(0.002)	0.006(0.002)	0.006(0.002)	0.007(0.002)
Canada	-0.046(0.067)	-0.045(0.066)	-0.043(0.067)	-0.062(0.063)	-0.069(0.059)
England	-0.130(0.124)	-0.209(0.093)	-0.076(0.150)	-0.115(0.124)	-0.033(0.136)
Scotland	-0.068(0.176)	-0.164(0.141)	0.075(0.178)	-0.043(0.179)	-0.146(0.156)
Ireland	0.101(0.145)	-0.001(0.076)	0.087(0.158)	0.139(0.143)	0.114(0.148)
Europe	0.091(0.155)	0.021(0.137)	0.093(0.208)	0.160(0.166)	0.185(0.155)
Newfoundland	-0.187(0.134)	-0.210(0.130)	-0.242(0.148)	-0.315(0.113)	-0.364(0.123)
United States	0.211(0.140)	0.137(0.119)	0.343(0.173)	0.263(0.136)	0.170(0.134)
Other birthplace	0.009(0.034)	0.011(0.034)	0.008(0.032)	-0.017(0.119)	-0.041(0.121)
Years since Migration	-0.003(0.003)		-0.005(0.004)	-0.004(0.003)	-0.004(0.003)
Other religion	0.047(0.141)	0.050(0.141)	0.065(0.147)	0.066(0.140)	0.250(0.087)
English Catholic	-0.144(0.035)	-0.147(0.034)	-0.140(0.034)	-0.106(0.033)	-0.084(0.036)
French Catholic	-0.019(0.119)	-0.016(0.120)	-0.018(0.120)	0.007(0.121)	0.104(0.135)
Can write	0.222(0.067)	0.229(0.067)	0.220(0.067)	0.175(0.066)	0.191(0.068)
Other mother-tongue	-0.234(0.147)	-0.226(0.147)	-0.214(0.185)	-0.272(0.143)	-0.242(0.146)
Agriculture				0.179(0.151)	0.192(0.134)
Trades and crafts				0.083(0.037)	0.084(0.037)
Services				-0.076(0.053)	-0.087(0.053)
Fishing or sea				0.246(0.084)	0.254(0.085)
Government				0.072(0.120)	0.081(0.118)
Manufacturing				0.017(0.058)	0.004(0.055)
Professional				0.358(0.082)	
Trade				0.123(0.061)	
Transportation				-0.035(0.052)	-0.039(0.049)
Other or unknown				0.078(0.054)	0.078(0.055)
Constant	-8.927(2.066)	-8.860(2.082)	-8.870(2.098)	-8.921(1.959)	-9.615(2.207)
N	952	952	952	952	762
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	0.358	0.357	0.357	0.388	0.374

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis. All of these specifications use Stata's Svy Reg to adjust standard errors for clustering. The base category is the unmarried, illiterate, native-born Protestant of English mother-tongue working as a Laborer (English unilinguist in Moncton). The first regression uses all available demographic variables. The second omits the YSM variable, which is the assimilation effect. The third regression uses a modified sample where immigrants having arrived in Canada 15 years of age or younger are treated as native-born. The fourth specification adds occupational dummy variables to the first specification. The fifth regression runs the fourth model but drops Trade and Professional workers from the sample.

My first specification uses all of the available variables except for occupational data. The estimated coefficients are surprisingly similar to Green and Mackinnon's version. My New-Brunswick cities have an almost identical age-earnings profile compared to Toronto and Montreal; furthermore, the smaller sample size has not resulted in much larger standard errors. The most pressing question is that of assimilation, and it would seem that assimilation took only 8 years in Moncton. Compared to Toronto and Montreal, Moncton has more than double their assimilation effect (the coefficient on years since migration), and nearly insignificant entry effects. Saint John seems to have a negative but nearly insignificant assimilation effect, which only make sense as being some strong increasing cohort effects. It does not make sense that assimilation, the accumulation of Canada-specific skills, lowers immigrant earnings. Newer immigrants in Saint John were somehow overtaking their predecessors, perhaps because of evolving occupations. English immigrants in Saint John earn on average 12% less on arrival than Canadians, the same gap Green and Mackinnon found in Montreal and Toronto. Moncton's quick assimilation is very likely explained by its fast economic growth.

Immigrants from the United States, Europe, and Ireland have an earnings advantage in Saint John, but the same is only true for Newfoundlanders in Moncton. It is likely that the Irish are successful in Saint John because they are better able to fit in with its large Irish population. American immigrants in Saint John might also have an Irish ancestry, which would make them more acceptable. The same is not true for the Englishmen, who seem to have to deal with an initial earnings gap upon their arrival. With their poor performance in Saint John as well as in chiefly English Toronto, Woodsworth's pessimism about the rigid and unadaptable Englishman might be accurate. In Moncton, all groups apart from Newfoundlanders face an earnings gap on arrival, but this is mitigated by an apparent high rate of assimilation. We can imagine that immigrants initially stand out in Moncton because of their small

numbers, but for the same reason do not crowd each other out and therefore find good jobs quickly.

Protestants earn about 5 percent more than Catholics in Moncton, the same result as in Toronto. Oddly, English Catholics earn around 15% less than English protestant in Saint John just like in Montreal. G and M had found no difference between Protestants and Catholics in Toronto, to their surprise. Acheson (1985), in a historical account of 19th century Saint John, describes significant tension between Orangemen and Roman Catholics. Perhaps in Saint John income inequalities were more lasting, and each ethnicity formed its own ghetto. At least by mid-century, the Catholics were centered in the poor tenements of the city. Unlike Montreal, the Irish in Saint John were English rather than French Canadian. The French-speaking majority in Montreal was doing poorly, so there might be an interaction between its language and its religion. The same can be said of their counterparts in Moncton, who earn less than the English regardless of whether they are bilingual or not.

Because of Saint John's insignificant assimilation coefficient, the YSM variable has been dropped for the second specification. All immigrant origin groups fare more poorly, but especially the Irish. They are now at parity with the native-born on arrival. It would seem to be the pitfall of a common assimilation coefficient: the Irish are the oldest immigrant group and they might 'push down' the assimilation on their end to negativity. However, I have attempted specifications with a more complex assimilation effect, such as from Chiswick, or considering Irish immigrants as native, but these do not eliminate the negative sign on the YSM coefficient. Withholding assimilation effects in Moncton has the opposite effect. Immigrants now have an earnings advantage: which demonstrates that the foreign-born were earning more on average than the native-born in 1901.

In his unpublished paper Jason Dean (2007) is able to eliminate a negative assimilation coefficient by treating immigrants who arrived younger than 15 as native-born.

This specification was also used by Green and Mackinnon, so it may prove useful. However, it does not result in a positive coefficient on year since migration for Saint John. Estimates for the Scottish entry effect do increase measurably, hinting that Scottish children might have arrived poor while adults were already quite skilled. It might be that Saint John's declining population results in an inverse effect relative to Moncton's population boom. When the same specification is attempted with Moncton, the assimilation effect doubles while the negative entry effect of the Englishman triples: older immigrants took longer to assimilate there. This makes sense for the younger immigrants who are blessed to arrive in the middle of a boom, since their earnings are set to quickly intercept those of the native-born.

Finally, the fourth specification includes occupational dummies, but this does not seem to change things noticeably. White-collar workers do earn more than blue-collar workers. Those in agriculture or the fishing industry likely earn more each month because their work is seasonal. Transportation workers in Moncton earn nearly as much as office workers so working for the railway paid well. A fifth regression excludes office and professional workers from the sample, and sees the negative entry effect of Englishmen in Saint John nearly cut to a quarter and losing significance. This is strong evidence that the English were left out of white-collar work, but were largely successful as craftsmen. The persona of the skilled English craftsman was one referred to by both Green and Mackinnon, and Reynolds, the latter who wrote of Canadian manufacturers actively recruiting skilled English workers. This is a very important result.

My regressions lead me to a few generalized conclusions. First, the foreign-born in Moncton assimilated much more quickly than in Saint John, where they might not have assimilated at all. It is possible that out-migration strongly selected towards progressively more white-collar (naturally earning more) workers in Saint John, and this compensated for the assimilation effects older immigrants enjoyed. Second, Catholics



in Saint John and the French in Moncton appear to be disadvantaged groups, earning less than their English Protestant counterparts. Third, the Englishman does not appear to arrive in Canada prepared, and on average he is enough of a visible immigrant to suffer a negative entry-effect. Finally, occupations partly explain this disparity for the English born. Echoing clearly the historical account, the Englishman found himself in the blue-collar sector and performed well there. He might even have purposely wanted it this way, specializing as a craftsman, and if so was quite happy and successful in Canada.

## 4 Conclusion

The historical account, the recent immigration-related economic literature, and the important study from Green & Mackinnon paint a very rich but complex picture of the immigrant experience in 1901. The foreign-born arriving in Canada risked being branded a stranger by the xenophobic Canadians and might end up isolated in a ghetto, even if he was British. Economic research into the matter demonstrates just how important immigrant assimilation is to society, whether these newcomers are coming Canadians or rather meant to stay strangers within Canada, to refer to the title of Woodsworth's book. Finally when we study the 1901 cross-section, we wonder to what extent the immigrant is capable of choosing his occupation and therefore what influence he has on his economic well-being. One really cannot find a clear-cut answer.

We can imagine that the Englishman who came to Canada was a mixture of unskilled migrant, top-notch craftsman, and trained clerk. If immigrants from England were mostly unskilled, then we would definitely see them unable to make their place in Canada. If they are clerks in the same proportion as Canadians, then we would have been hard pressed to distinguish their numbers from the native-born. In real-

ity, a sizable portion of the British immigrants were craftsmen, because Canadian manufacturers actively sought to recruit them during the Wheat Boom. The skilled craftsman is tricky to deal with, since he will earn less than a clerk, but will be selected to be more productive than the average Canadian worker. Once again, immigration is a complex subject that gives different appearances depending on the angle it is observed from. It might be that the British immigrant truly was invisible, and that his lower average earnings were simply a matter of occupational preference.

I found that Saint John treated its foreign-born very much like Montreal and Toronto did, but there seemed to be a lack of assimilation there. It would seem that Saint John's ongoing decline contributed to its immigrants' bad fortunes. Moncton was a smaller, but faster growing city because of its new railroad. It attracted far less immigrants, but these few assimilated much more quickly. The railroad boom there would keep up long enough for Moncton to become the railway center of the Atlantic provinces. It seems that an immigrant's fortunes can rely heavily on their destination's economic growth, that their earnings are more sensitive to a lack of varied job opportunities than the entrenched native-born's. We are left with the impression that the immigrant to Canada was able to take advantage of opportunities quickly only if Canada was keen on being a land of opportunity. The foreign-born everywhere might be seen to perform better if we were to look at data from further into the Wheat-Boom.

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## 5 Appendix

Figure 1: Earnings Means by Age, Moncton

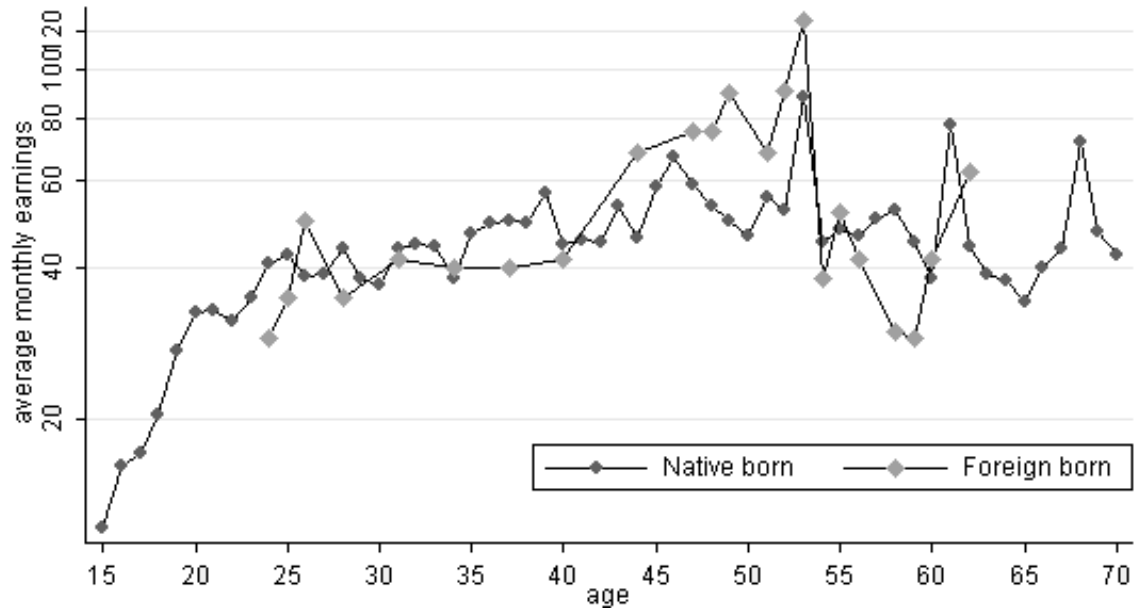


Figure 2: Earnings Means by Age, Saint John

