Church, State, and Education: School Funding and the Assimilation of Catholic Immigrants in the U.S.*

Stefano Gagliarducci† Mara P. Squicciarini‡ Marco Tabellini§

March 2026

Abstract

This paper studies the consequences of Blaine Amendments—constitutional provisions barring public funding for sectarian schools—on Catholic education and immigrant assimilation in the U.S. during the Age of Mass Migration (1850-1920). We combine full-count Census data with newly digitized records of Catholic parishes and schools from the *Official Catholic Directory*. Exploiting staggered adoption across states and variation in Catholic population across counties, we show that Blaine Amendments triggered a substantial reduction in Catholic schools and enrollment, particularly in counties with larger Catholic populations. Using individual-level Census data, we then examine the downstream effects on immigrant assimilation. We find that exposure to Blaine during school age increased both social and economic integration: affected individuals were more likely to intermarry, speak English, and naturalize, and they achieved higher occupational income scores. These average effects mask heterogeneity by community size: the impact on intermarriage is weaker in larger Catholic enclaves, while the effects on language acquisition, naturalization, and economic outcomes are stronger in counties with larger Catholic communities. Taken together, our results suggest that increased exposure to public schooling and intergroup contact during formative years can reduce barriers to assimilation and promote the integration of minority groups.

Keywords: Schooling, economics of religion, immigrant assimilation.
JEL codes: J15, N31, Z12.

*We thank Nancy Qian and participants at conferences and seminars for helpful comments and discussions. Asenat Bessie, Baran Iscen, Francesco Farsetti, and Elena Verzellesi provided excellent research assistance. Financial support from the European Union (ERC – grant agreement 101042055, EDIPO) is gratefully acknowledged. All errors are our own.

† Tor Vergata University of Rome and EIEF. Email: stefano.gagliarducci@uniroma2.it.

‡Bocconi University and CEPR. Email: mara.squicciarini@unibocconi.it.

§ Harvard Business School, NBER, CEPR, RF Berlin, and LISER. Email: mtabellini@hbs.edu.

1 Introduction

The modern state has long been understood as a project of unification. From Locke and Rousseau to John Stuart Mill, theorists of liberal democracy viewed public institutions, especially education, as central tools for cultivating civic identity, fostering social cohesion, and legitimizing political authority (Locke, 1690; Rousseau, 1762; Mill, 1861). In pluralistic societies, however, this integrative role can clash with religious, cultural, or linguistic diversity. The state's ambition to forge a shared civic order may conflict with the desire of minority groups to preserve distinct traditions and transmit them across generations. This tension is particularly salient in education, where the state's interest in shaping future citizens directly intersects with family and community control over moral and cultural formation.

In the United States, this debate has been a persistent source of political and legal controversy. It first emerged in the late 19th century, when mass immigration from Catholic-majority countries met a public school system infused with Protestant values (Higham, 1955). In response, Catholic communities—concerned about religious instruction in public schools and the use of the King James Bible—began to establish their own parish-based schools. These Catholic schools aimed to provide religious education, preserve cultural identity, and insulate children from what many viewed as a Protestant moral curriculum.

The growing presence of Catholic schools soon became a focal point of political and cultural tension (Green, 2012). In 1875, Republican Representative James G. Blaine introduced a federal constitutional amendment that would prohibit the allocation of public funds to sectarian schools. While the amendment passed in the House of Representatives, it failed in the Senate. Nonetheless, the proposal catalyzed a wave of state-level reforms. Over the following decades, more than thirty states adopted so-called Blaine Amendments—constitutional provisions that barred public funding for religious schools and codified a stricter separation between church and state (Hamburger, 2002; Green, 2003).

Many of these provisions remain in force. As of 2024, 37 states still include Blaine-type amendments in their constitutions (McCarley, 2023). In recent years, the U.S. Supreme Court has reconsidered the constitutionality of these restrictions in a series of high-profile cases, including *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue (2020)* and *Carson v. Makin (2022)*.[1] Despite the renewed legal and political attention, the consequences of these laws remain poorly understood. Did the exclusion of public funding lead to a contraction in the Catholic school system, or did it prompt religious communities to expand their private

[1] In *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue*, 591 U.S. (2020), the Supreme Court held that excluding religious schools from a publicly funded scholarship program solely on the basis of their religious affiliation violates the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment. In *Carson v. Makin*, 596 U.S. (2022), the Supreme Court held that Maine's exclusion of religious schools from a tuition assistance program for students in districts without public high schools violated the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment.

efforts? And how did these institutional changes affect the economic and cultural assimilation of Catholic immigrants?

This paper addresses these questions in the historical context in which Blaine Amendments were first enacted. The effects of these laws are *ex ante* ambiguous. On the one hand, prohibiting public funds for religious schools may constrain their finances, leading to closures or reduced enrollment. Immigrant families, in turn, may shift their children into public schools, increasing exposure to the common curriculum and hastening cultural assimilation. On the other hand, restrictions on public support may galvanize local communities to expand private efforts, sustain parish-based schooling, and reinforce cultural identity. The net effect on assimilation depends not only on the direct consequences for schooling but also on how families and communities respond. In models of cultural transmission, parents may substitute direct intergenerational efforts for institutional mechanisms (Bisin and Verdier, 2001; Carvalho et al., 2024). Ultimately, how Blaine-type amendments affected the provision of Catholic education and the downstream assimilation of immigrants is an empirical question.

We assemble a new panel dataset combining full-count U.S. Census microdata from 1880 to 1920 with newly digitized records on the presence of Catholic parishes and schools, drawn from annual volumes of the *Official Catholic Directory*, published between 1872 and 1925. These directories provide consistent information on the location of Catholic churches, affiliated parochial schools, and related institutions—including enrollment figures, teaching staff, and, in many cases, ethnic or national designations—at the city level. We digitize and georeference these records, and link them to counties using historical boundary maps. The result is a high-resolution panel of Catholic school presence and size across about 1,900 counties over five decades.

We exploit the staggered adoption of Blaine Amendments across U.S. states between 1872 and 1920, combined with within-state variation in the size of Catholic communities prior to adoption. The empirical strategy builds on the idea that the impact of Blaine laws likely depended on the size of local Catholic population. Larger enclaves may have faced tighter financial constraints given the scale of their school systems, yet they also possessed greater organizational and political capacity to sustain segregation. Smaller communities, by contrast, were more exposed to the withdrawal of public funds and more likely to perceive sharp cultural threats. For these reasons, we focus on the absolute size of Catholic communities, rather than their population share, and use this heterogeneity to capture variation in the intensity of treatment across counties.

We estimate a county-level generalized difference-in-differences model that compares changes in Catholic school presence and size across counties within the same state, be-

fore and after Blaine adoption. Our baseline specification includes county fixed effects and state-by-year fixed effects to account for permanent differences across counties and for time-varying state-level factors that may influence both the adoption of Blaine Amendments and Catholic school provision. We also allow for county-specific trends by interacting baseline characteristics with year indicators. To ensure we exploit only variation in the timing of adoption—rather than differences between adopters and non-adopters—we restrict the sample to states that enacted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 and 1920.

We find that the adoption of Blaine Amendments led to a significant contraction in Catholic schooling, especially for counties with a larger Catholic population. Comparing counties at the 75th percentile of the Catholic population distribution to those at the 25th percentile, the number of Catholic schools declined by approximately 5.4%. School closures may reflect consolidation—smaller schools shutting down while larger ones expanded—so that total enrollment remained stable. In contrast with this possibility, we find that enrollment also fell sharply—by roughly 9.5%—indicating that school contraction reflected a broader decline in the capacity of the Catholic school system, not just a reallocation across institutions.

Exploring the dynamics of these patterns reveals two features. First, we find no evidence of differential pre-trends in either the number of Catholic schools or enrollment across counties with different Catholic population shares. This is important for identification: it supports the parallel trends assumption underlying our difference-in-differences strategy and suggests that the results are unlikely to be driven by differential pre-existing trajectories in Catholic schooling. Second, we find that the effects emerge quickly—already within the first year after Blaine adoption—and remain persistent over time. The immediacy of the response suggests that Catholic institutions were financially or operationally constrained and could not easily substitute for lost public support. The persistence of the effects indicates that these were not temporary adjustments, but instead reflected long-term institutional changes in the Catholic educational system.

In addition to documenting the absence of differential pre-trends, we verify that the results are robust to a range of alternative specifications. First, we include county-specific linear trends to account for the possibility that counties with larger Catholic populations were already on differential trajectories in Catholic school growth prior to Blaine adoption. This addresses concerns that our estimated effects could be driven by ongoing expansion or contraction in Catholic schooling that happened to coincide with state-level policy changes. Second, we drop counties with the largest Catholic populations within each state to ensure that results are not driven by a small number of counties that may also have influenced state-level legislative decisions. Third, we estimate a stacked-by-event specification follow-

ing Cengiz et al. (2019), which allows for a flexible event-study style identification strategy without imposing strong assumptions about the functional form of treatment effects across event time. Fourth, we replicate the analysis measuring the Catholic community in the county by adding second generation immigrants and by excluding German immigrants—a group for whom we cannot reliably distinguish religious affiliation in U.S. Census data.[2] Across all specifications, the estimated contraction in Catholic schools and enrollment remains quantitatively similar and statistically significant. We discuss these and additional robustness checks in detail below.

Finally, while our county-level model does not permit a direct estimate of the aggregate state-level effect of Blaine Amendments, we perform a post-estimation exercise to approximate it. Specifically, we recover the residual state-by-year fixed effects from the baseline specification and regress them on event time relative to the standardized year of Blaine adoption. The results show that, following adoption, the share of Catholic pupils declines by about 14%, and the number of schools decreases by roughly 8%. These findings indicate that Blaine Amendments played a substantial role in weakening Catholic educational institutions, regardless of the size of the Catholic community.

We next examine the consequences of Blaine Amendments for immigrant assimilation. Since these provisions reduced the number of Catholic schools and lowered enrollment, a natural question is what happened to the children affected by this contraction. If Blaine weakened Catholic schooling, school-age children were more likely to be exposed to public schools or alternative forms of socialization, and such changes during formative years could have lasting effects on cultural and economic integration. At the same time, the withdrawal of public support may have triggered offsetting responses within Catholic communities, with parents and local institutions reinforcing religious instruction at home or strengthening informal parish and ethnic networks (Fouka, 2020; Carvalho et al., 2024). In that case, exposure to Blaine during school age could have intensified, rather than weakened, the transmission of Catholic norms. The overall effect on assimilation is therefore an empirical question.

We begin by studying how Blaine affected the schooling of Catholic children. In particular, we ask whether the contraction of Catholic education led to a decline in overall school attendance or instead induced a reallocation across school types—from religious to public. Using individual-level data from the full-count censuses, we find no evidence that Blaine adoption reduced school enrollment among Catholic children in larger versus smaller communities, suggesting that displaced students were largely absorbed into public schools. We also find no evidence of changes in enrollment rates among non-Catholic children, including

[2]Since German Americans were split between Catholic and Protestant faiths, and religious identity is not directly observable in the census, their inclusion introduces measurement error in treatment intensity.

those born in the U.S. to U.S.-born parents, indicating that this reallocation did not crowd out native students. Although we do not observe patterns of segregation within the public school system, this reallocation may have increased opportunities for intergroup contact during formative years.

We then examine how exposure to Blaine during school age affected immigrant assimilation. To do so, we exploit variation in whether a Catholic immigrant was of schooling age when Blaine was adopted in his or her state of residence. We estimate individual-level regressions that include county fixed effects, state-by-year fixed effects, and interactions between Census year dummies and the vector of county characteristics measured in 1870 used in the county-level analysis. By doing so, we can exploit within-county comparisons across immigrant cohorts that were differentially exposed to Blaine during their formative years. In contrast to the county-level exercise, this approach allows us to directly estimate the main effect of exposure to Blaine during school age, as well as the differential effect that varies with the size of the Catholic community.

We find that individuals exposed to Blaine for a greater number of years during their schooling are more likely to intermarry and to live near U.S.-born whites of native parentage—outcomes often viewed as the "final stages" of assimilation (Gordon, 1964). Quantitatively, comparing an individual who spent five additional years of schooling under Blaine to one who spent five fewer years, the former is 1.4 percentage points more likely (42% relative to the mean) to intermarry with a U.S.-born white of native parentage.

One interpretation of these findings is that Blaine-induced contractions in Catholic schooling shifted children from parochial schools into the public school system, increasing exposure to native-born peers during formative years. This shift may have operated through several channels. First, greater intergroup contact in schools may have fostered openness and reduced stereotypes among both immigrants and natives, consistent with the contact hypothesis and related evidence on majority–minority interactions (Allport, 1954; Rao, 2019; Bursztyn et al., 2021). Second, exposure to public schooling may have improved English proficiency—thereby lowering barriers to social and marital integration. Third, reduced attendance in religious and ethnically segmented schools may have weakened attachment to co-ethnic Catholic networks and strengthened identification with broader national norms. These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive and likely reinforced each other.

These average effects, however, vary systematically with the size of the local Catholic community. In particular, the positive effect of Blaine exposure on intermarriage is weaker in counties with larger Catholic populations. This pattern is notable, since Blaine had larger effects on Catholic schooling in these areas. One might therefore expect stronger assimilation effects where the schooling shock was more pronounced. The opposite finding suggests that

additional forces are at play. One possibility is that cultural resistance was stronger in larger Catholic communities, with more cohesive social norms and institutions mitigating the effects of increased exposure to public schooling. A complementary explanation is that larger enclaves limited opportunities for intergroup interaction, as social networks and marriage markets remained more segregated along ethnic lines.

We also find that Blaine exposure increased naturalization rates. Because naturalization decisions in this period largely depended on the actions of immigrants themselves, this outcome can be interpreted as a measure of assimilation effort. The positive effect suggests that exposure to Blaine during school age increased incentives to integrate, potentially by improving English proficiency or strengthening identification with U.S. institutions and civic norms. Consistent with this interpretation, Blaine exposure also increased the probability of speaking English. These effects are in line with greater exposure to public schooling in English and reinforce the view that Blaine shifted immigrants toward environments that promoted human capital accumulation relevant for integration. We further document positive effects on occupational income scores, indicating that these gains in language and schooling translated into improved labor market outcomes.

Interestingly, the heterogeneity patterns differ across outcomes. While the effect on intermarriage is attenuated in larger Catholic communities, the effects on language acquisition, naturalization, and economic outcomes are stronger in these areas. This suggests that different mechanisms may dominate across dimensions of assimilation: while social integration through intermarriage is constrained by enclave size, investments in language and economic integration may benefit more directly from the schooling shock induced by Blaine.

This paper contributes to different strands of the literature. First, it contributes to the political economy literature that has examined the role of education in nation-building and ideological formation, often emphasizing the centralizing aims of public school systems in diverse societies (Rohner and Zhuravskaya, 2023). Closely related to our setting, Bandiera et al. (2019) show that U.S. states were more likely to adopt compulsory schooling laws when they had more immigrants from countries with limited exposure to mass education.Lleras-Muney and Shertzer (2015) evaluate the Americanization Movement and find that English-only and compulsory schooling laws modestly increased literacy among some immigrant children but had little impact on long-run labor market or social integration outcomes. We complement these papers by focusing on the withdrawal of public support for religious schooling—rather than on the expansion of state education.

More broadly, our analysis speaks to work on how state intervention reshapes religious education systems. Bazzi et al. (2020) document how religious schools in Indonesia adapted their curricula and organization in response to the expansion of state schooling, emphasiz-

ing supply-side institutional adjustment. In contrast, we study a different margin of state intervention: the withdrawal of public support for religious education. Rather than examining how religious institutions adapt, we analyze how the contraction of Catholic schooling affected individual-level assimilation outcomes.

Second, by focusing on the impact of withdrawal of public support for Catholic schools, our analysis complements recent work that has studied the role of Catholic institutions in shaping immigrant assimilation during the Age of Mass Migration (Gagliarducci and Tabellini, 2025; Abramitzky et al., 2025). Rather than studying the expansion of religious infrastructure, we examine how constraining it—through state-level restrictions on public funding—reshaped the educational landscape for Catholic immigrants. More broadly, our findings contribute to the economics of religion literature, which has emphasized how religious institutions shape human capital investment, labor market outcomes, and the intergenerational transmission of norms (Iannaccone, 1992; Barro and McCleary, 2003; Valencia Caicedo, 2019; Squicciarini, 2020).

Third, our results speak to the literature on the development of public education in the United States during the 19th and early 20th centuries (Goldin and Katz, 2008). A long-standing tradition in this literature emphasizes the inclusive features of the American system—local control, public funding, open access, and secularism—as key drivers of broad educational expansion and rising attainment (Goldin and Katz, 2003; Black and Sokoloff, 2006). These accounts highlight how political and institutional design shaped the spread of common schools and, later, the high school movement. Our study complements this work by focusing on a central but contested dimension of that system: the boundary between public and religious education. Because Blaine-type provisions codified the exclusion of sectarian schools from public support at the very moment when the American school system was taking shape, they influenced not only opportunities for religious minorities but also the long-run trajectory of U.S. education. In doing so, we shed new light on how debates over secularism and funding shaped both the expansion of public schooling and patterns of immigrant assimilation.

Finally, we contribute to the literature on immigrant assimilation in the U.S. during the Age of Mass Migration (Fouka, 2019, 2020; Fouka et al., 2022; Abramitzky and Boustan, 2022; Collins and Zimran, 2023). The increases in assimilation among Catholic immigrants who were of school age at the time of Blaine adoption are consistent with evidence that intergroup contact in schools improves majority–minority relations and accelerates integration (Boisjoly et al., 2006; Rao, 2019; Alan et al., 2021). By contrast, several policy settings show immigrant backlash when the state overtly polices culture or religion (Fouka, 2020; Abdelgadir and Fouka, 2020; Dahl et al., 2022; Sakalli, 2019; Wheaton, 2022). We find little

backlash of that kind, closer to Fouka (2019) who documents greater assimilation following anti-German sentiment: Blaine constrained religious schooling via funding withdrawal rather than coercing cultural practices, which may have muted defensive responses. The community-size gradients we document dovetail with Lazear (1999): larger enclaves weaken incentives to assimilate by lowering the costs of within-group exchange and reinforcing norm enforcement.

2 Historical Background

2.1 The Age of Mass Migration

Between 1850 and 1920, during the Age of Mass Migration, more than 30 million Europeans migrated to the United States (Abramitzky et al., 2020). Until around 1890, most immigrants came from Northern and Western Europe. After 1890, advances in transportation technology significantly reduced the cost of transatlantic travel (Keeling, 1999), increasing migration volumes and shifting the composition of arrivals toward Southern and Eastern Europe (Abramitzky and Boustan, 2017). In 1870, only 5% of foreign-born residents in the U.S. came from Southern and Eastern Europe; by 1920, this share had grown to 40% (Tabellini, 2020). Immigrants in 1880 were concentrated in the Northeast, parts of the Midwest, and pockets of California (Figure A.1, Panel A). By 1920, immigrant settlement had spread more broadly across the country, though the South continued to host relatively few immigrants (Figure A.1, Panel B).

In 1850, the overwhelming majority of the U.S.-born population was Protestant, and so were most immigrants from "old" sending countries. In contrast, many of the immigrants from the "new" sending regions from Southern and Eastern Europe were Catholic (Fisher, 2002).[3] The influx of Catholic immigrants contributed to a rise in the share of Catholics in the U.S. population—from about 10% in 1850 to almost 20% by 1920 (Carey, 2004). As for overall immigration, also immigrants originating from Catholic majority countries were heavily represented in the Northeast and the industrial Midwest in 1880, with relatively little presence in the South (Figure A.2, Panel A). Yet, Catholic immigrants were clustered in urban centers such as Boston, New York, Chicago, and Milwaukee. By 1920, as overall immigration spread westward, Catholic immigrants also expanded their presence, most visibly along the Pacific coast, with California emerging as a major destination (Figure A.2, Panel

[3]The Irish and the Italian were the largest Catholic groups, followed by the Germans and the Poles. Religious affiliation among German immigrants varied by region: those from Bavaria and the Rhineland were typically Catholic, while those from Saxony and Hannover were predominantly Protestant. Immigrants from France, Spain, and Portugal were also overwhelmingly Catholic and contributed to the expansion of the Catholic population in the U.S.

B). Catholic immigrants remained comparatively underrepresented in the rural Plains and Mountain West, where Protestant Scandinavian and other non-Catholic immigrant groups predominated.

The change in the size and composition of the immigrant population sparked increasing hostility among native-born Americans, driven not only by labor market concerns but also by cultural and religious anxieties (Higham, 1955; Tabellini, 2020). These tensions culminated in the passage of the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924, which imposed strict national-origin quotas designed to curtail immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. These quotas remained in effect until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (King, 2000).

2.2 The Expansion of Catholic Schooling

The late 19th and early 20th centuries marked a pivotal period in the development of the American school system. Building on the foundations of the Common School Movement, states expanded tax-supported elementary education, introduced compulsory schooling laws, and, by the early 20th century, launched the "high school movement" that made secondary education widely accessible (Kaestle, 1983; Goldin and Katz, 2003, 2008). These reforms reflected a broader push to use education as a nation-building tool, standardizing curricula and extending schooling to ever larger shares of the population. By 1920, the United States had established one of the most extensive public school systems in the world, characterized by local control, secular funding, and near-universal enrollment (Black and Sokoloff, 2006). The Blaine controversies thus unfolded precisely as the institutional architecture of American public education was being consolidated, making debates over the place of religious schools especially consequential for the trajectory of U.S. education.

At the onset of the Age of Mass Migration, however, the common school system reflected a distinctly Protestant character. Public schools sought to integrate diverse populations into a unified national culture through a standardized curriculum, but Catholic traditions and practices were often marginalized. Recently arrived Catholic immigrants challenged elements of public education—including the recitation of Protestant prayers, the singing of hymns, and the use of the King James Bible—as incompatible with their faith (Tyack, 1974). In response, Catholic immigrants began establishing parochial schools to preserve their religious and cultural identity (Moreau, 1997). These schools soon became a cornerstone of Catholic community life.

In Chicago, for example, the number of foreign-language parishes rose from 9 out of 25 in 1869 to 38 out of 80 in 1889, and to 62 out of 117 by the late 1890s. By 1902, 55% of Catholic schoolchildren in Chicago attended ethnically designated schools, underscoring

the close link between ethnic identity and Catholic education (Lazerson, 1977). Similar developments occurred in Milwaukee, where large German and Polish Catholic populations supported dozens of parish schools offering instruction in their native languages. By the early 20th century, many of these schools regularly conducted classes in German or Polish—reinforcing ethnic and religious identity through education (Dolan, 1985)

Unlike public schools, which emphasized Protestant-informed biblical instruction, Catholic schools centered their curriculum around Church doctrine, sacramental preparation, and religious obedience. Instruction in Catholic schools also included catechism, Latin prayers, and church history, often taught by clergy or members of religious orders, reinforcing both theological orthodoxy and deference to ecclesiastical authority (Walch, 1996). These curricular and organizational differences reflected deeper contrasts in institutional aims: public schools emphasized civic assimilation and Protestant moral instruction, while parochial schools were structured to preserve Catholic identity, foster religious formation, and shield children from the perceived cultural risks of mainstream schooling (Tyack, 1974; Kaestle, 1983; Green, 2022).

Initially, the creation of parochial schools was driven by grassroots efforts of local immigrant communities. Over time, however, the Catholic Church assumed a more active role. In 1866, the American Church hierarchy formally declared it the responsibility of each parish to establish a school, signaling a broader institutional commitment to religious education. The 1884 Third Plenary Council of Baltimore further emphasized the need for centralized planning and discipline within the parochial system (Cassidy, 1949). Still, centralization progressed unevenly across regions. In Chicago, Catholic schools before World War I operated as a decentralized network of ethnic parishes, religious orders, and lay institutions, loosely overseen by the bishop. In contrast, the Church in New York developed a more centralized and coordinated structure earlier on (Sanders, 1977). It was not until the 1920s that a more systematic movement toward centralization and standardization took hold nationwide (Walch, 1996).

2.3 The Blaine Amendment

As the Catholic population in the United States expanded in the mid-19th century, so too did its demands for public funding to support Catholic schools. These efforts met fierce opposition from Protestant communities, who feared the growing influence of Catholicism in public life and sought to restrict government support for what they deemed "sectarian" institutions. In many cities and states, local school boards permitted public funds to be allocated to religious schools—including Catholic ones—particularly where no alternative

existed. Catholic schools in places like New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore received public appropriations, such as funding for textbooks, teacher salaries, or building maintenance. These arrangements were often informal, ad hoc, or channeled through local political patronage networks. But as Catholic demands for parity grew, they provoked a backlash among Protestant elites who increasingly viewed any public funding of religious schools as a threat to the common school ideal and to Protestant cultural dominance (Tyack, 1974; Green, 2012).

In 1875, Republican Congressman James G. Blaine proposed an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would prohibit public funds raised through taxation from being controlled by any religious sect or divided among denominations.[4] While the amendment was formally neutral, it was widely understood to target Catholic institutions specifically. At the same time, it would have allowed Protestant-inflected public schools to continue including religious content, aligning with the nativist and anti-Catholic sentiments that were widespread in the era (Green, 2003).

Although the Blaine Amendment was framed in religiously neutral terms, its practical implications were not. By the late 19th century, few Protestant groups operated separate elementary schools, as their religious values were already embedded in the public school system through Bible readings, hymn singing, and moral instruction. Some denominations—such as Lutherans and Dutch Reformed congregations—did maintain parochial schools, often for linguistic reasons, and earlier in the century a range of Protestant schools had received public funds. But by the 1870s, Catholic schools stood alone in their scale, growth, and explicit request for state support. As a result, Blaine-type provisions—though formally universal—were understood by contemporaries as targeting Catholic institutions specifically (Tyack, 1974; Kaestle, 1983; Green, 2022).

The Blaine Amendment enjoyed broad support from the public and from many Protestant political leaders, and initially passed the House with a comfortable margin. But it faced strong opposition in the Senate. Democratic lawmakers, including Senator Lewis Bogy of Missouri and Senator John Stevenson of Kentucky, argued that the proposal was a partisan maneuver intended to inflame anti-Catholic prejudice (Green, 2012). Southern Democrats, in particular, feared that the amendment would open the door to greater federal involvement in education, long considered a matter of state and local control. Ultimately, the measure failed in the Senate in 1876—just one vote short of the required two-thirds majority.

Despite its defeat at the federal level, the Blaine Amendment had a profound legacy at the state level. Even before 1875, at least fifteen states had enacted laws or constitutional

[4]Congress had previously debated similar restrictions in 1871 and 1872, but earlier amendment proposals had failed (Viteritti, 1998).

provisions restricting public funding for religious schools (Viteritti, 1998). Some states, such as Michigan, incorporated such clauses at the time of statehood (Green, 2003), while others—like Massachusetts—amended their constitutions in response to shifting public sentiment (Green, 2012). In the decades following the failed federal amendment, many more states adopted similar provisions (Figure A.3).

The motivations behind these laws varied: in some cases, they were driven by explicit anti-Catholic sentiment; in others, they reflected broader commitments to secularism or state-led educational reform. As legal historian Philip Hamburger notes, the 19th-century push for church–state separation evolved into a distinctively American principle, deeply influenced by both liberal and nativist currents in the politics of religious liberty (Goldenziel, 2005). Institutional diffusion also played a role, as states like Wisconsin borrowed constitutional language from earlier models in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Moreover, the nine new states admitted to the Union between 1889 and 1910 were required by Congress to include Blaine-like provisions in their constitutions as a condition of statehood, reflecting the continued dominance of Republican anti-Catholic sentiment in federal policy during that period.

The financial consequences of Blaine-type provisions were substantial. Before their adoption, Catholic schools often relied on a patchwork of public support—land grants, subsidies for services, or direct appropriations—that could cover 10–20% of their budgets.[5] Once these funds were cut off, parochial schools were left to depend almost entirely on private resources. Diocesan or parish transfers accounted for roughly 30% of revenues, tuition fees covered about 60%, and the remaining gap was closed through donations and the unpaid labor of religious orders such as teaching nuns. The withdrawal of public funding therefore forced Catholic schools either to sharply raise contributions from families and parishes or to contract their operations. In this sense, Blaine Amendments amounted to a large and sudden fiscal shock: whether they led to closures or instead spurred communities to mobilize new resources depended critically on local capacity and resilience.

Anecdotal and historical accounts suggest that local reactions to Blaine Amendments were highly heterogeneous (Tyack, 1974; Walch, 1996). In some communities—particularly those with financially fragile Catholic schools—the withdrawal of public support posed an immediate threat to the viability of religious education. Parish leaders feared that Catholic institutions would be forced to close, accelerating assimilation on Protestant terms. In Faribault, Minnesota, for example, a parochial school on the brink of collapse informed the public school board in August 1891 that it would send its students to public schools unless

[5]According to the *Report of the Commissioner of Education* of 1901, the amount of public funding accruing to private schools in never-adopting states (reporting private schools) was: AR 26.69%, ME 20.73%, TE 14.40%, CT 13.90%, NC 11.84%, NJ 9.49%, NH 6.21%, VT 1.51% (Figure A.6).

assistance could be secured (O'Connell, 1988).

Elsewhere, however, Blaine-like provisions galvanized Catholic communities. In cities such as Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York, dioceses ramped up fundraising, lay participation expanded, and ethnic parishes accelerated school construction in defense of religious and cultural autonomy. In Massachusetts, where a state constitutional amendment had long restricted support for sectarian education, the Church responded by consolidating diocesan authority and professionalizing school administration (Walch, 1996; Green, 2012). In Philadelphia, the parochial system expanded significantly under Archbishop Ryan in the 1890s, who saw self-reliant Catholic schools as both a bulwark against Protestant assimilation and a means of affirming communal identity.

At the national level, the Church also moved toward greater institutional coherence. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) formally founded the Catholic University of America as a flagship institution for Catholic higher education. This was part of a broader push to coordinate religious schooling across the country—from parish schools and academies to colleges and seminaries. In the years that followed, Catholic teachers formed their own associations, and in 1904 these efforts culminated in the creation of the Catholic Educational Association, which was renamed the National Catholic Educational Association in 1927 (O'Gorman and O'Keefe, 2013).

These contrasting responses underscore the dual effect of Blaine-era restrictions: they constrained Catholic education in some settings but also served as a catalyst for institutional consolidation and cultural mobilization in others. Our empirical analysis below will capture the net of these opposing effects.

3 Data

We construct a novel panel dataset at the county level by merging information from three main sources: digitized records of Catholic institutions, historical U.S. Census data, and newly compiled data on the timing of Blaine Amendments across states. This section describes the three core components of the dataset. Additional details and a comprehensive variable list are available in an online appendix.

Catholic schools. We digitize historical editions of the *Official Catholic Directory* (OCD), published annually between 1872 and 1925, to document the presence and characteristics of Catholic institutions across the United States. These volumes report the location, affiliation, and activity of Catholic churches and their associated organizations—including schools, hospitals, orphanages, and seminaries—at the city and parish level.[6] A subset of this digitized

[6]See Figure A.4 and Figure A.5 for samples from the original documents.

material is also used in Gagliarducci and Tabellini (2025); in this paper, we expand on that work by systematically extracting information on parish-affiliated schools, including enrollment, number of teachers, and, when available, the ethnic denomination of the parish. We georeferenced these institutions using historical boundary maps and assign them to counties, harmonizing geographic units to 2016 boundaries following Eckert et al. (2020). The result is a county-level panel that tracks Catholic school presence and size in 1,930 counties from 1872 to 1920.

Figure 1 maps the distribution of Catholic schools across U.S. counties in 1872 (Panel A) and 1925 (Panel B), illustrating the substantial expansion of Catholic education over this period. Catholic schools were initially concentrated in Northeastern and Midwestern urban centers with large Irish and German populations, but gradually spread westward and into parts of the South as migration from Southern and Eastern Europe intensified. Figure 2 further documents this expansion, showing a marked increase in the number of schools throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The growth was especially pronounced in counties with high Catholic immigrant presence, reflecting both demographic demand and institutional investment by the Church.

Census data. We use full-count microdata from the U.S. Census (1870–1920) to construct measures of Catholic presence, immigrant characteristics, and other variables. Our analysis focuses on first-generation immigrants from Catholic-majority countries. Since religious affiliation is not observed in the U.S. Census, we infer Catholic identity based on country of origin. We classify immigrants from the following countries as Catholic: Italy, Ireland, Poland, France, Spain, and Portugal. Germany constitutes a special case, as religious affiliation varied substantially within the country. For German immigrants, we follow Abramitzky et al. (2024), who infer religious affiliation based on individuals' names. We assign a Catholic score to each last name (or first name, if the last name is missing), ranging from 0 to 100, equal to the average share of individuals with that name who self-reported as Catholic in a representative 5% sample of the Canadian Censuses of 1881, 1911, and 1921, where respondents reported their religious affiliation. This score provides a probabilistic measure of Catholic affiliation. We then use this score to approximate the religious background of German-origin individuals, assigning greater weight to those whose names are more strongly associated with Catholicism when computing the size of the Catholic immigrant population. As we show below, our results are robust to excluding Germans altogether when constructing the measure of local Catholic presence.

We use the census data in two ways. First, we aggregate individual records to the county level to construct baseline (1870) characteristics and to measure local exposure to Blaine

Amendments, proxied by the size of the Catholic immigrant population prior to adoption.[7] Second, we use the individual-level data to analyze the impact of Blaine Amendments on immigrant assimilation between 1880 and 1920.[8] We exclude German immigrants to minimize concerns about misclassification of religious affiliation. To assign individuals to consistent geographic units, we use the Census Place Project (Berkes et al., 2023), which links historical Census locations to harmonized 2016 county definitions.

We construct several individual-level outcomes. As a first step, we measure school attendance among Catholic immigrant children to examine whether the contraction of Catholic schooling translated into lower overall enrollment or instead into a reallocation across school types. We then turn to assimilation outcomes. Our primary indicator of social assimilation is intermarriage: a binary variable equal to one if the respondent is married to a U.S.-born spouse of U.S.-born parents. This is a standard measure in the literature (Fouka et al., 2022; Gagliarducci and Tabellini, 2025) and has been described as "the final stage of assimilation" (Gordon, 1964). Leveraging the Census enumeration order to infer adjacency with high probability, we also construct an indicator equal to one if the household head has at least one neighbor who is U.S.-born white of native parentage. Next, we examine ability to speak English and naturalization status. While intermarriage and residential integration reflect interactions between immigrants and natives—and therefore depend on the behavior of both groups—language acquisition and naturalization are largely under the direct control of immigrants.[9] As such, they can be interpreted more directly as measures of assimilation effort or investments in civic and economic integration. Finally, we measure economic assimilation, using a dummy for labor force participation and a continuous occupational income score derived from historical earnings data.[10] Detailed variable definitions are provided in Table A.2. Table A.3 shows summary statistics of county (Panels A–C) and individual (Panel D) variables.

Blaine Amendment legislation. To track restrictions on public funding for religious schools, we compile data on the adoption of Blaine Amendments across U.S. states between 1870 and 1920, drawing on historical records provided by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (CCR, 2007). These provisions—enacted as constitutional amendments or statutory clauses—barred the use of public funds for sectarian institutions, often with language explic-

[7] As for the OCD data, we harmonize county boundaries to 2016 definitions using the crosswalks from Eckert et al. (2020).

[8] We begin measuring immigrant assimilation outcomes in 1880, because this is the first census year in which most variables are consistently available.

[9] Naturalization is defined for male immigrants aged 21 and older who have resided in the U.S. for at least five years. Historical evidence suggests that rejection rates were negligible at the time, so naturalization primarily reflects the immigrant's willingness to acquire citizenship, rather than selective screening by native-born officials (Biavaschi et al., 2017; Gagliarducci and Tabellini, 2025).

[10] Following the literature (Abramitzky et al., 2014; Fouka et al., 2022), we restrict economic outcomes to men 15–64, and exclude women, given the low levels of female labor force participation in this period.

itly excluding schools controlled by any religious sect. We construct a binary indicator equal to one if a Blaine-type provision is active in a given state-year. In our preferred specification, so as to only exploit variation in the timing of adoption, we restrict the analysis to the 26 states that enacted such provisions between 1872 and 1920 (Table A.1).

4 Conceptual Framework

The effects of Blaine Amendments on Catholic schooling and immigrant assimilation are *ex ante* ambiguous. These laws revoked public funding for sectarian schools, thereby altering both the supply of Catholic education and the broader institutional environment faced by Catholic immigrant communities. The consequences of this policy shift likely depend on the size of the local Catholic population.

On the schooling side, the withdrawal of public support imposed financial pressure on parochial schools, potentially forcing closures or contraction. Yet, the extent of the decline may vary by community size. On the one hand, larger Catholic communities might be better equipped to withstand fiscal shocks—through enhanced fundraising capacity, economies of scale in operations, and stronger lay mobilization. On the other hand, these communities faced greater demand for schooling, and public subsidies may have been especially critical to sustain the institutional infrastructure required to meet that demand. A priori, it is thus ambiguous whether larger communities were more or less vulnerable than smaller ones.

The implications for immigrant assimilation are similarly nuanced. One mechanism runs through changes in schooling exposure. If Catholic schools closed and children transitioned into the public system, they may have encountered different curricula, more interactions with non-Catholics, and stronger incentives to conform to mainstream cultural norms. This could promote assimilation—both culturally and economically. However, parents may respond by withdrawing children from school altogether—either in protest or out of concern about the Protestant orientation of public education (Carvalho et al., 2024). These responses could lead to lower educational attainment and slower assimilation.

Beyond the school environment, Blaine Amendments could also trigger family and community responses, which might amplify or mitigate the direct institutional effects. For instance, in communities where school closures created perceived threats to religious identity, families might double down on cultural transmission within the household (Bisin and Verdier, 2001). Peer networks, parish organizations, and ethnic associations could also serve as vehicles for reinforcing Catholic identity in response to external pressure. The strength and direction of these forces may depend on the size of the local Catholic population. In larger enclaves, dense networks and robust institutions may buffer the effects of Blaine

and facilitate cultural resistance. Yet the opposite dynamic is also possible: in smaller, more isolated communities, the threat of cultural extinction may heighten identity salience and generate stronger informal pressures to preserve religious practices and social boundaries—discouraging assimilation and punishing deviation. In contrast, larger communities may offer more room for individual variation while still preserving collective identity, potentially softening internal pressures against integration.

5 Catholic Schools and Enrollment

This section examines the effects of Blaine Amendments on the presence and size of Catholic schools. Section 5.1 outlines the empirical strategy. Section 5.2 presents the main results, showing that Blaine Amendments led to sharp declines in the number of Catholic schools and in student enrollment, with larger effects in counties with larger Catholic communities. Section 5.3 demonstrates that these findings are robust to a range of specifications and additional controls.

5.1 Empirical Strategy

To estimate the effect of Blaine Amendments, we combine the staggered adoption of the laws implemented between 1872 and 1920 across states with cross-sectional variation in the size of Catholic communities within states. The intuition is that Blaine-type restrictions targeted areas with larger Catholic communities, where a higher number of religious schools were in operation and reliant on indirect public support. We stack the data at the county-by-(calendar) year level from 1872 to 1920 and estimate a two-way fixed effects model:

$$y_{ct} = \gamma_c + \mu_{st} + \beta Blaine_{st} \times C_c + \theta X_{ct} + \epsilon_{ct} \tag{1}$$

where y_{ct} is either the log number of Catholic schools or the log number of pupils enrolled in Catholic schools in county c in state s in calendar year t, $Blaine_{st}$ is a dummy variable equal to one if the Blaine Amendment was in place in state s in year t, and C_c denotes the size of the Catholic population in county c in the Census before Blaine adoption in state s. We measure Catholic presence as the total number of first-generation immigrants from Catholic-majority countries (see Section 3). The model also includes county fixed effects (γ_c), state-by-year fixed effects (μ_{st}), as well as interactions between time-invariant county-level characteristics and year fixed effects (X_{ct}). To ensure that identification comes only from the timing of adoption, the preferred specification restricts the sample to states that

implemented a Blaine-type provision between 1872 and 1920.[11] Standard errors are clustered at the county level, and observations are weighted by the number of Catholic immigrants in the prior Census year.

Equation (1) exploits variation across counties in their baseline Catholic presence within the same state and year, thereby controlling flexibly for unobserved state-level shocks, including factors that may have influenced both the timing of Blaine adoption and trends in Catholic school expansion or enrollment. The identifying assumption is that, in the absence of Blaine adoption, the trajectory of Catholic schooling would have evolved similarly across counties with different levels of Catholic population within the same state. To relax this assumption, the baseline specification further allows counties to follow differential trends driven by broader shifts in local schooling environments. Specifically, we interact year dummies with the number of non-Catholic immigrant children aged 5–15 and the number of non-Catholic teachers in 1870.[12] These reduce concerns that the estimated effects may be confounded by broader shifts in school demand or teacher availability. The preferred specification also interacts year dummies with a richer set of county-level characteristics measured in 1870—including total population, the Black population share, the urban population share, labor force participation, the manufacturing employment share, and years since the arrival of the railroad—to account for potential differences in local demographic and economic trajectories that could affect both Catholic schooling and responses to Blaine.

In Section 5.3 below, we perform several robustness checks that support the validity of the empirical strategy. First, we show that there are no differential pre-trends in Catholic school outcomes across counties with varying Catholic populations. Second, we include county-specific linear trends to account for the possibility that more Catholic counties were already on different growth trajectories prior to Blaine. Third, we exclude counties with the largest Catholic populations in each state to ensure that results are not driven by a few influential areas that may have affected state-level policy. Fourth, we estimate a stacked-by-event specification following Cengiz et al. (2019), which flexibly accounts for variation in treatment timing and relaxes the common-trends assumption. Finally, we verify that the results are robust to alternative definitions of the local Catholic community. We (i) exclude German immigrants, for whom religious affiliation cannot be reliably identified in the Census;

[11] In the baseline specification, we also exclude counties with fewer than ten Catholic immigrants before Blaine adoption. Results are robust to using alternative thresholds or removing the restriction entirely.

[12] The number of non-Catholic teachers is constructed as the difference between the number of individuals who reported to be a teacher in the Census and the number of Catholic teachers identified in the Catholic Directories. We tested the validity of this proxy using newly collected county-level data from the state *Superintendent of Public Instruction* reports available between 1880 and 1920 for California (1880-1910), Florida, Montana and North Dakota (1900-1920), Oregon (1900-1910 and 1920), Pennsylvania (1910), Vermont (1880-1900), Virginia (1880-1920 except for 1910), Washington (1920). For these states, we find a positive and statistically significant association between the number of public school teachers from the state reports and those obtained from the Censuses (Figure A.7), no matter if we include (left panel) or exclude (right panel) the Catholic teachers.

(ii) measure Catholic presence using school-aged children (ages 5–15) instead of the total Catholic immigrant population; and (iii) extend the sample to include second-generation immigrants. These and additional robustness checks are discussed in detail in Section 5.3 after presenting the results.

5.2 Results

Baseline estimates. Table 1 reports the results for the log number of Catholic pupils (Panel A) and the log number of Catholic schools (Panel B). Column 1 includes county and year fixed effects. Column 2 adds state-by-year fixed effects to account for time-varying state-level shocks. Column 3 further introduces interactions between baseline county characteristics—including pre-Blaine Catholic population—and year dummies. Finally, column 4 restricts the sample to states that adopted a Blaine-type amendment by 1920, so that identification relies exclusively on within-state variation in the timing of adoption.

In all cases, the coefficient on the interaction between Blaine and Catholic presence is negative and statistically significant. Estimates are stable across specifications, indicating that the effect is not sensitive to changes in control structure or sample definition. The results show that Blaine adoption led to greater school contraction and a sharper decline in enrollment in counties with larger Catholic populations. In our preferred specification (column 4), a one standard deviation increase in pre-Blaine Catholic population predicts a 18% (resp., 10%) larger decline in the number of pupils (resp., Catholic schools). The larger reduction in enrollment suggests that school closures were not merely offset by consolidation, but reflected a meaningful contraction in the overall scale of Catholic education.

Event study design. To examine the dynamic effects of Blaine adoption, we estimate an event-study version of equation (1), replacing the post-Blaine indicator with a full set of event-time dummies interacted with the pre-Blaine Catholic population. Because we can only estimate ten coefficients out of eleven relative years, we normalize the coefficient in the year before adoption to zero.[13] Figure 3 reports the estimated coefficients for the log number of enrolled pupils (Panel A) and the log number of Catholic schools (Panel B). For both outcomes, the estimates display no evidence of differential trends prior to Blaine adoption, supporting the parallel trends assumption. Starting one year after Blaine adoption, we observe a sharp and persistent decline in both the number of schools and enrollment, concentrated in counties with larger Catholic populations.These findings are consistent with a sustained reduction in Catholic educational provision following the withdrawal of public

[13] As in equation (1), we include county fixed effects, state by year fixed effects, and interaction between baseline characteristics and year dummies. The model also includes two additional indicators—one for Blaine adoption occurring before $t-4$ and one for adoption after $t+6$—which absorb outlying event-time observations. These coefficients are omitted from the figure for clarity.

support.

Implied overall effect. Our reduced-form estimates identify the differential effects of Blaine Amendments across counties with varying pre-existing Catholic populations within the same state and calendar year. As a result, we cannot directly estimate the aggregate state-level impact of Blaine. However, we can approximate it by recovering the residual state-by-year fixed effects from equation (1) and regressing them on years relative to the standardized date of Blaine adoption. This approach relies on the assumption that, after controlling for county fixed effects and flexible interactions between baseline county characteristics and year effects, the timing of Blaine adoption across states is orthogonal to remaining unobserved shocks to Catholic schooling. Under this assumption, the residual state-by-year effects capture the average state-level impact of Blaine, net of county-level heterogeneity in Catholic population size.

Figure A.8 reports the results from this exercise. Red (blue) dots represent the estimated state-by-year effects before (after) the adoption of a Blaine Amendment. The estimates show a sharp and precise decline in Catholic schooling following adoption: the share of Catholic pupils falls by about 14%, while the number of schools declines by roughly 8%. These magnitudes underscore that Blaine Amendments had a substantial and systematic effect in weakening Catholic educational institutions at the state level.

5.3 Robustness Checks

Figure 3 shows no evidence of differential pre-trends in Catholic enrollment or school counts, supporting the parallel trends assumption underlying our empirical strategy. We now present additional robustness checks that further strengthen the credibility of our identification.

Tables A.4 and A.5 report these results. In column 1 of both tables, we reproduce the baseline specification (column 4 of Table 1) to ease comparison. Starting from Table A.4, column 2 augments the baseline model with county-specific linear time trends, which are estimated using the pre-Blaine period and extrapolated into the post-Blaine period. This allows counties with larger Catholic populations to follow differential pre-existing trajectories. The estimated effects remain similar in magnitude and statistically significant, indicating that the results are not driven by diverging trends prior to Blaine adoption. Column 3 implements a stacked difference-in-differences design following Cengiz et al. (2019), which estimates treatment effects relative to each state's adoption year without imposing strong common-trend assumptions across cohorts. The estimates are again stable, reinforcing the robustness of the baseline findings. Column 4 addresses the potential influence of large Catholic enclaves by excluding the county with the largest Catholic population in each state. The results are

similar, suggesting that our findings are not driven by a small number of demographically or politically influential counties. Column 5 restricts the sample to counties with at least 100 Catholic immigrants, alleviating concerns that very small Catholic communities drive the results. The magnitude and statistical significance of the coefficients remain comparable to the baseline.

The remaining columns examine alternative constructions of treatment intensity. Column 6 excludes German immigrants from the Catholic population measure to address potential misclassification arising from religious heterogeneity within Germany. Column 7 measures Catholic presence using school-aged children (ages 5–15) rather than the total Catholic immigrant population. Column 8 expands the definition of Catholic presence to include second-generation Catholic children—defined as U.S.-born children of foreign-born parents from Catholic-majority countries. Across all specifications, the estimated contraction in Catholic schools and enrollment remains quantitatively similar and statistically significant.

Next, columns 2 and 3 of Table A.5 replicate the analysis using the dependent variable in levels and with the inverse hyperbolic sine transformation, respectively. In both cases, the estimated coefficients remain negative and statistically significant, indicating that the results are not driven by functional form assumptions. Columns 4 and 5 report standard errors clustered at the state economic area (SEA) and state levels, respectively.[14] The statistical significance of the estimates is unaffected. Finally, column 6 reports unweighted regressions; the magnitude and significance of the coefficients remain largely unchanged.

6 Immigrant Assimilation

This section examines how Blaine Amendments affected the assimilation of Catholic immigrants, using individual-level data from the full-count U.S. Censuses between 1880 and 1920. We begin by studying how the contraction of Catholic schooling affected the educational choices of Catholic children, documenting that it did not reduce overall school attendance and suggesting that Catholic pupils entered the non-Catholic schools (Section 6.1). We then turn to assimilation outcomes. We first outline the empirical strategy, which exploits variation in exposure to Blaine during school age across immigrant cohorts within the same county (Section 6.2), and then present evidence that Blaine Amendments increased immigrant assimilation across multiple dimensions (Section 6.3).

[14]The U.S. has 460 SEAs; 286 of these are included in our sample. Because the number of states is limited (29), clustering at the state level may lead to downward-biased inference. We therefore implement a wild cluster bootstrap procedure to obtain p-values robust to a small number of clusters.

6.1 School Attendance and Reallocation

Thus far, we have shown that Blaine Amendments led to a substantial contraction in Catholic schooling, especially in areas with larger Catholic communities. This raises the question of what happened to the children affected by this contraction—whether they withdrew from schooling altogether or were reallocated into non-Catholic institutions. How families adjusted along this margin is central for interpreting the downstream effects on assimilation: if Catholic children transitioned into non-sectarian schools, they would have been more exposed to native-born peers and a common curriculum, potentially increasing intergroup contact and accelerating integration; if instead families withdrew children from school, this would have reduced human capital accumulation and reinforced social segregation. We therefore begin by examining how Blaine affected school attendance among Catholic children.

We estimate an individual-level analogue of equation (1), exploiting variation across cohorts in exposure to Blaine during school age and across counties in the size of the pre-existing Catholic community. The dependent variable is an indicator equal to one if a child aged 5–15 is enrolled in school at the time of the Census, and the baseline sample focuses on first-generation Catholic immigrant children. Panel A of Table 2 reports the results, presenting specifications that progressively incorporate additional controls as in Section 5. Across all specifications, the estimated effects are small and statistically insignificant, indicating no evidence that Blaine adoption reduced school attendance among Catholic children, at least to the extent that any such effect operates through the size of the local Catholic community. Panel B also includes second-generation Catholic children—U.S.-born children of Catholic immigrant parents—and yields similar results. Overall, these findings suggest that the contraction of Catholic schooling did not translate into lower enrollment among Catholic children.

We also examine whether these average effects mask heterogeneity across age groups or gender. Families may have prioritized keeping younger children in school while withdrawing older ones, or may have been more reluctant to send daughters to non-Catholic schools due to concerns about cultural exposure. Table 3 reports results for our preferred specification separately by age group and gender. Panel A focuses on first-generation Catholic immigrant children; panel B extends the sample to include second-generation Catholic children. Column 1 presents the full sample, columns 2–4 restrict to boys (ages 5–15, 5–9, and 10–15), and columns 5–7 report analogous estimates for girls. Across all subsamples, the estimated effects remain close to zero and statistically insignificant.

We next examine whether the reallocation of Catholic children affected the schooling of other groups. Panel C of Table 3reports the results obtained considering U.S.-born white children of U.S.-born parents. Again, across all subsamples, we find no evidence that Blaine

adoption affected school enrollment, suggesting that the reallocation of Catholic children into non-sectarian schools did not crowd out native white children.

Taken together, these findings indicate that Blaine Amendments did not reduce overall school participation among Catholic children. Instead, the evidence is consistent with a reallocation of students away from Catholic schools and into non-sectarian institutions. Importantly, this shift does not appear to have displaced other children from school. Although we do not observe the type of school attended or the degree of within-school segregation, the reallocation of Catholic children into non-Catholic environments may have increased opportunities for intergroup contact during formative years. In the next sections, we examine how exposure to Blaine during school age affected the assimilation of Catholic immigrants.

6.2 Exposure to Blaine During School Age

To study the effects of Blaine Amendments on the assimilation of Catholic immigrants, we use individual-level data from the full-count U.S. Censuses between 1880 and 1920. Our analysis relies on repeated cross-sections of first-generation Catholic immigrants who had resided in the United States for at least two years at the time of enumeration. We exclude German immigrants, whose religious affiliation cannot be reliably inferred from Census records.[15]

For each individual, we construct a continuous measure of exposure equal to the number of years a Blaine Amendment was in force in the individual's state of residence while he or she was between the ages of 5 and 15. Individuals who had already aged out of this schooling window at the time of adoption, or who arrived after it, are assigned zero exposure. We estimate individual-level regressions of the following form:

$$y_{ict} = \gamma_c + \mu_{st} + \beta_1 \,\mathrm{BY}_i + \theta_1 X_{it} + \theta_2 X_{ct} + \epsilon_{ict} \tag{2}$$

where y_{ict} denotes an assimilation outcome for individual i living in county c in census year t, and BYi measures the number of years the individual was of school age while a Blaine Amendment was in force. The specification includes county fixed effects (γ_c) and state-by-year fixed effects (μst), which absorb time-invariant county characteristics and all state-level shocks common to individuals residing in the same state and year. We further control for individual characteristics, including sex, a quadratic in age, years in the United States, and country-of-birth fixed effects (X_{it}).[16] To allow for differential trends across counties, we interact Census year dummies with baseline county characteristics defined as in equation (1). Finally, we restrict the sample to states that adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872

[15] The arrival restriction ensures individuals were present in the United States during the relevant exposure window; relaxing it does not affect the results.

[16] Age enters quadratically to absorb life-cycle patterns mechanically correlated with exposure.

and 1920, so that identification does not rely on cross-state comparisons. Standard errors are clustered at the county level.

Conditional on controls and fixed effects, identification therefore comes from within-county variation across immigrant cohorts that were differentially exposed to Blaine during their formative years. The identifying assumption is that, absent Blaine, assimilation outcomes would have evolved similarly across cohorts within the same county, after accounting for differences in observable characteristics and exposure to common state-level shocks.

It is worth stressing that, unlike the county-level model in equation (1), exploiting within-county variation across immigrant cohorts differentially exposed to Blaine allows us to directly estimate the main effect of school-age exposure to Blaine. The model can be further augmented to accommodate an interaction with the size of the Catholic community, to investigate, as in Section 5, whether effects vary with the strength of local Catholic presence.

6.3 Assimilation Outcomes

Intermarriage. We begin by examining the effects of Blaine Amendments on intermarriage, reporting results in Panel A of Table 4. Column 1 presents a parsimonious specification including individual controls, county fixed effects, and year fixed effects. The coefficient on exposure is positive and statistically significant, indicating that individuals who were exposed to Blaine for a greater number of years during school age (5–15) are more likely to be married to a U.S.-born white of native parentage. Columns 2–4 progressively enrich the specification by adding state-by-year fixed effects, interacting year dummies with baseline county characteristics, and restricting the sample to states that adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 and 1920. The estimates remain positive and statistically significant throughout, and if anything increase in magnitude. In our preferred specification (column 4), five additional years of exposure to Blaine during school age raise the probability of intermarriage by 1.42 percentage points, or 42.4% relative to the sample mean.

Columns 1 and 2 of Table A.6, Panel A, replicate the preferred specification (Table 4, column 4) using alternative measures of within-group marriage. Specifically, we define the dependent variable as an indicator for marrying within one's ethnic group (first- or second-generation immigrants from the same country of origin) and, separately, for marrying within the Catholic group (first- or second-generation Catholic immigrants). In both cases, the estimated coefficients are negative and statistically significant, consistent with the patterns in Table 4, Panel A. These results indicate that increased exposure to Blaine reduced endogamous marriage and shifted marital choices away from co-ethnic and co-religious matches. Column 3 of Table A.6, Panel A, considers an alternative measure of social integration: the

probability of having at least one neighbor who is a U.S.-born white of native parentage. The estimated coefficient is positive and statistically significant, indicating that individuals more exposed to Blaine during their school-age years are more likely to live in proximity to native-born whites.

One interpretation of these findings is that Blaine-induced contractions in Catholic schooling shifted children from parochial schools into the public school system, increasing exposure to native-born peers during formative years. This shift may have operated through several channels. First, greater intergroup contact in schools may have fostered openness and reduced stereotypes among both immigrants and natives, consistent with the contact hypothesis and related evidence on majority–minority interactions (Allport, 1954; Rao, 2019; Bursztyn et al., 2021). Second, exposure to public schooling may have improved English proficiency—as we document below—thereby lowering barriers to social and marital integration. Third, reduced attendance in religious and ethnically segmented schools may have weakened attachment to co-ethnic Catholic networks and strengthened identification with broader national norms. These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive and likely reinforced each other.

Column 5 of Table 4 introduces heterogeneity by interacting school-age exposure to Blaine with the pre-Blaine size of the Catholic community in the county. The specification also includes an interaction between years of exposure to Blaine measured at the state-level and pre-Blaine Catholic community size, while the main effect of Blaine is absorbed by the state-by-year fixed effects. The coefficient on school-age exposure remains positive and statistically significant, and similar in magnitude to column 4. The interaction between exposure during school age and Catholic community size is negative and statistically significant, indicating that the assimilation effect of Blaine is attenuated in larger Catholic enclaves. Quantitatively, a five-year increase in exposure to Blaine during school age has a 0.41 percentage point smaller effect on intermarriage in counties with a Catholic population one standard deviation above the mean. The coefficient on the continuous state-level Blaine exposure interacted with Catholic population is positive statistically significant at the 10 percent level.

The negative interaction between Blaine exposure during school age and the size of the Catholic community is noteworthy. As shown in Section 5, Blaine had larger effects on Catholic schools and enrollment in counties with larger Catholic populations. One might therefore expect the schooling-driven assimilation effects to be, if anything, stronger in these areas. The opposite pattern suggests that additional forces are at play. One possibility is that cultural resistance was stronger in larger Catholic communities, with stronger social norms and institutions mitigating the assimilation effects of increased exposure to public schooling. A complementary explanation is that larger enclaves offered fewer opportunities

for intergroup interaction, as social networks and marriage markets remained more segregated along ethnic lines.

Naturalization. In Panel B of Table 4, we turn to naturalization. The coefficient on school-age exposure to Blaine is positive, statistically significant, and robust across specifications. In the preferred specification (column 4), five additional years of exposure to Blaine during school age increase the probability of naturalization by 4.17 percentage points, or 8.2% relative to the sample mean. This pattern is consistent with the intermarriage results and suggests that Blaine fostered immigrant assimilation.

Unlike intermarriage, naturalization in this period largely depended on the actions of immigrants themselves, as rejection rates were negligible (Biavaschi et al., 2017; Gagliarducci and Tabellini, 2025). It can therefore be interpreted as a proxy for assimilation effort (Fouka et al., 2022). The results suggest that exposure to Blaine increased such effort, potentially by improving English proficiency—which lowers barriers to citizenship—or by strengthening identification with the United States.

Interestingly, the interaction between school-age exposure and Catholic community size is positive and statistically significant (column 5), in contrast with the pattern observed for intermarriage. One possible interpretation is that in this case the schooling channel—stronger in larger Catholic communities—dominates, while for intermarriage the constraints imposed by enclave size play a more important role.

Ability to speak English. Panel A of Table 5 examines the effects of Blaine on English proficiency. The estimated coefficients are positive, statistically significant, and robust across specifications. In the preferred specification (column 4), five additional years of exposure during school age increase the probability of speaking English by 2.71 percentage points (4.2% relative to the mean). As with naturalization, the interaction between exposure and Catholic community size is positive and statistically significant. These results are consistent with greater exposure to English-language schooling and the broader pattern of increased assimilation.[17] The larger effects in more Catholic counties likely reflect the stronger schooling shock in these areas, which increased the likelihood that children acquired English skills.

Economic assimilation. Finally, Panel B of Table 5 examines economic assimilation of immigrant men, measured by the log of occupational income scores. The coefficient on school-age exposure to Blaine is positive, statistically significant, and robust across specifications, indicating that Blaine also fostered economic integration. In the preferred specification (column 4), five additional years of exposure to Blaine increase occupational income scores

[17] Catholic parochial schools often included instruction or accommodation for home languages, especially in ethnic parishes. On the contrary, public schools emphasized a standardized curriculum in English, increasing pressure toward English-only instruction for immigrant children (Lazerson, 1977).

by approximately 1%.[18] The interaction with Catholic community size is also positive, suggesting that these economic gains are larger in counties with bigger Catholic populations. This pattern is consistent with stronger schooling effects in larger enclaves translating into improved labor market outcomes.

Discussion. The results above point to a set of related mechanisms linking Blaine Amendments to immigrant assimilation. As shown in Section 6.1, the contraction of Catholic schooling did not reduce overall school attendance, but instead induced a reallocation of Catholic children into non-sectarian schools. This shift likely increased exposure to native-born peers and to a common curriculum during formative years, fostering intergroup contact and facilitating cultural integration. Increased exposure to English-language instruction helps explain improvements in language proficiency and, in turn, higher rates of naturalization. At the same time, greater interaction with natives and weaker attachment to co-ethnic institutions may have reduced barriers to social integration, contributing to higher rates of intermarriage and residential proximity to native-born whites. These channels are not mutually exclusive and likely reinforced each other. The heterogeneity patterns further suggest that different mechanisms may dominate across outcomes. In larger Catholic enclaves, stronger schooling shocks increased exposure to non-sectarian education, amplifying gains in language acquisition and economic outcomes. However, these settings may also have sustained more segmented social networks and marriage markets, limiting the impact of increased exposure on intermarriage.

It is important to clarify the interpretation of our estimates. Because our empirical design compares cohorts within the same county, it absorbs any responses to Blaine that are common across cohorts—such as a generalized backlash or strengthening of Catholic identity. As a result, our estimates capture the effects of differential exposure to non-sectarian schooling during formative years, rather than the full equilibrium impact of Blaine Amendments. If broader community-level responses operated uniformly across cohorts, they would not be identified in our framework.

7 Conclusions

Education has long stood at the center of debates over how liberal states should balance civic unity with cultural pluralism. The case of the Blaine Amendments—constitutional provisions barring public funding for sectarian schools—offers a unique historical lens into this tension. Adopted across more than thirty states during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these

[18] The estimated coefficient is 0.002 per year of exposure; thus, five additional years correspond to $5 \times 0.002 = 0.01$, which can be interpreted as a 1% increase given the log specification.

laws reshaped the educational opportunities of Catholic immigrants. We study this episode by combining newly digitized records of Catholic parishes and schools from the Official Catholic Directory with full-count U.S. Census microdata. Exploiting the staggered adoption of Blaine provisions and county-level differences in Catholic population, we estimate how these laws affected both the supply of Catholic schooling and the assimilation of immigrants.

Our analysis shows that Blaine Amendments led to a significant contraction in Catholic education. Counties with larger Catholic populations experienced sharper declines: compared to those at the 25th percentile, counties at the 75th percentile of Catholic presence saw roughly 10% fewer schools and 30% lower enrollment after adoption. These results suggest that restrictions on public support strained the capacity of parochial systems, and that closures were not merely offset by consolidation into fewer, larger institutions. The contraction was immediate and persistent, underscoring the financial and organizational vulnerability of Catholic schools once deprived of public resources. At the same time, we find no evidence that overall school attendance among Catholic children declined. Instead, the evidence points to a reallocation of students away from Catholic schools and into nonsectarian institutions.

We also document important downstream effects on immigrant assimilation. Catholic immigrants who were of school age when Blaine was introduced were more likely to intermarry with and live close to natives, speak English, and become naturalized. They also achieved higher occupational income scores, indicating that the effects of Blaine extended beyond social integration to economic outcomes. These patterns suggest that increased exposure to public schooling during formative years facilitated both cultural assimilation and human capital accumulation, with lasting consequences for immigrants' integration into American society.

Taken together, these findings demonstrate how state policies toward religious education reshaped both institutional capacity and individual integration trajectories during one of the most important immigration waves in U.S. history. They also open the door to a broader set of questions. How did Blaine-type restrictions affect the attitudes of native Protestants and the broader fabric of social cohesion? What were the consequences for non-Catholic immigrant groups, who often faced different educational and cultural constraints? And what were the long-run effects on overall educational attainment and human capital formation in the United States?

References

(2007, June). School choice: The blaine amendments & anti-catholicism. Briefing Report CR1.8/2:B76/2007-2, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, DC. June 1, 2007.

Abdelgadir, A. and V. Fouka (2020). Political Secularism and Muslim Integration in the West: Assessing the Effects of the French Headscarf Ban. *American Political Science Review 114*(3), 707–723.

Abramitzky, R., L. Boustan, and D. S. Connor (2024). Leaving the enclave: Historical evidence on immigrant mobility from the industrial removal office. *The Journal of Economic History 84*(2), 352–394.

Abramitzky, R. and L. P. Boustan (2017). Immigration in American Economic History. *Journal of Economic Literature 55*(4), 1311–1345.

Abramitzky, R. and L. P. Boustan (2022). *Streets of Gold: America's Untold Story of Immigrant Success* (First ed.). PublicAffairs.

Abramitzky, R., L. P. Boustan, and K. Eriksson (2014). A Nation of Immigrants: Assimilation and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration. *Journal of Political Economy 122*(3), 467–506.

Abramitzky, R., L. P. Boustan, and K. Eriksson (2020). Do Immigrants Assimilate More Slowly Today Than in the Past? *American Economic Review: Insights 2*(1), 125–41.

Abramitzky, R., L. P. Boustan, and O. Giuntella (2025, January). Enclaves and assimilation in the age of mass migration: Evidence from ethnic catholic churches. (33362). https://www.nber.org/papers/w33362.

Alan, S., C. Baysan, M. Gumren, and E. Kubilay (2021). Building social cohesion in ethnically mixed schools: An intervention on perspective taking. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics 136*(4), 2147–2194.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Oxford, England: Addison-Wesley.

Bandiera, O., M. Mohnen, I. Rasul, and M. Viarengo (2019). Nation-Building Through Compulsory Schooling During the Age of Mass Migration. *Economic Journal 129*, 62–109.

Barro, R. J. and R. McCleary (2003). Religion and Economic Growth Across Countries. *American Sociological Review 68*, 760–781.

Bazzi, S., M. Hilmy, and B. Marx (2020). Islam and the State: Religious Education in the Age of Mass Schooling. Working Paper 27073, NBER.

Berkes, E., E. Karger, and P. Nencka (2023). The census place project: A method for geolocating unstructured place names. *Explorations in Economic History 87*, 101477.

Biavaschi, C., C. Giulietti, and Z. Siddique (2017). The economic payoff of name americanization. *Journal of Labor Economics 35*(4), 1089–1116.

Bisin, A. and T. Verdier (2001). The Economics of Cultural Transmission and the Dynamics of Preferences. *Journal of Economic Theory 97*(2), 298–319.

Black, S. E. and K. L. Sokoloff (2006). Chapter 2 long-term trends in schooling: The rise and decline (?) of public education in the united states. Volume 1 of *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, pp. 69–105. Elsevier.

Boisjoly, J., G. J. Duncan, M. Kremer, D. M. Levy, and J. Eccles (2006). Empathy or antipathy? the impact of diversity. *American Economic Review 96*(5), 1890–1905.

Bursztyn, L., T. Chaney, T. A. Hassan, and A. Rao (2021). The Immigrant Next Door: Long-Term Contact, Generosity, and Prejudice. *NBER Working Paper* (w28448).

Carey, P. W. (2004). *Catholics in America: A History*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Carvalho, J.-P., M. Koyama, and C. Williams (2024). Resisting education. *Journal of the European Economic Association 22*(6), 2549–2597.

Cassidy, F. P. (1949). Catholic education in the third plenary council of baltimore. ii. (continued). *The Catholic Historical Review 34*(4), 414–436.

Cengiz, D., A. Dube, A. Lindner, and B. Zipperer (2019). The Effect of Minimum Wages on Low-Wage Jobs. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics 134*(3), 1405–1454.

Collins, W. J. and A. Zimran (2023). Working their way up? us immigrants' changing labor market assimilation in the age of mass migration. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 15*(3), 238–269.

Dahl, G. B., C. Felfe, P. Frijters, and H. Rainer (2022, October). Caught between cultures: Unintended consequences of improving opportunity for immigrant girls. *The Review of Economic Studies 89*(5), 2491–2528.

Dolan, J. P. (1985). *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present*. Garden City, N.Y. : Doubleday.

Eckert, F., A. Gvirtz, J. Liang, and M. Peters (2020). A method to construct geographical crosswalks with an application to us counties since 1790. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Fisher, J. T. (2002). *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Fouka, V. (2019). How do Immigrants Respond to Discrimination? The Case of Germans in the US during World War I. *American Political Science Review 113*(2), 405–422.

Fouka, V. (2020). Backlash: The Unintended Effects of Language Prohibition in US Schools after World War I. *Review of Economic Studies 87*(1), 204–239.

Fouka, V., S. Mazumder, and M. Tabellini (2022). From Immigrants to Americans: Race and Assimilation during the Great Migration. *The Review of Economic Studies 89*(2), 811–842.

Gagliarducci, S. and M. Tabellini (2025, August). Faith and assimilation: Italian immigrants in the us. *The Economic Journal 135*(670), 1814–1851.

Goldenziel, J. (2005). Blaine's name in vain: State constitutions, school choice, and charitable choice. *Denver University Law Review 83*(1), 57–100.

Goldin, C. and L. F. Katz (2003). *The Virtues of the Past: Education in the First Hundred Years of the New Republic*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Goldin, C. D. and L. F. Katz (2008). *The Race Between Education and Technology*. Harvard University Press.

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. Oxford University Press.

Green, S. K. (2003). Blaming blaine: Understanding the blaine amendment and the no-funding principle. *First Amend. L. Rev. 2*, 107.

Green, S. K. (2012). *The Bible, the School, and the Constitution: The Clash That Shaped Modern Church-State Doctrine*. Oxford University Press.

Green, S. K. (2022). *Separating Church and State: A History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hamburger, P. (2002). *Separation of Church and State*. Harvard University Press.

Higham, J. (1955). *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. Rutgers University Press.

Iannaccone, L. R. (1992). Sacrifice and Stigma: Reducing Free-riding in Cults, Communes, and other Collectives. *Journal of Political Economy 100*(2), 271–291.

Kaestle, C. F. (1983). *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. Hill and Wang.

Keeling, D. (1999). The Transportation Revolution and Transatlantic Migration, 1850-1914. *Research in Economic History 19*, 39–74.

King, D. (2000). *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Lazear, E. P. (1999). Culture and Language. *Journal of Political Economy 107*(S6), 95–126.

Lazerson, M. (1977). Understanding American Catholic Educational History. *History of Education Quarterly 17*(3), 297–317.

Lleras-Muney, A. and A. Shertzer (2015). Did the Americanization Movement Succeed? An Evaluation of the Effect of English-Only and Compulsory Schooling Laws on Immigrants. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy 7*(3), 258–90.

Locke, J. (1690). *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprinted in 1975 edition edited by P. Nidditch.

McCarley, E. M. (2023). Blaine in the joints: The history of blaine amendments and modern supreme court religious liberty doctrine in education. *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy 18*(1), 195–223. Available at: https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/djclpp/vol18/iss1/6.

Mill, J. S. (1861). *Considerations on Representative Government*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing. Reprinted in 1991 edition.

Moreau, J. (1997). Rise of the (catholic) american nation: United states history and parochial schools, 1878-1925. *American Studies 38*(3), 67–90.

O'Connell, M. R. (1988). *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*. Minnesota Historical Society Press.

O'Gorman, R. and F. J. O'Keefe (2013). Upheavals in the ministry of us catholic education and the effect on catholic identity: Models from the 19th century schools and 21st century hospitals. *Garaventa Center Conferences*.

Rao, G. (2019). "Familiarity does not breed contempt: Generosity, discrimination, and diversity in Delhi schools". *American Economic Review 109*(3), 774–809.

Rohner, D. and E. Zhuravskaya (Eds.) (2023). *Nation Building: Big Lessons from Successes and Failures*. London: CEPR Press.

Rousseau, J.-J. (1762). *The Social Contract*. London: Penguin Classics. Reprinted in 1968 edition.

Ruggles, S., M. A. Nelson, M. Sobek, C. A. Fitch, R. Goeken, J. D. Hacker, E. Roberts, and J. R. Warren (2024). Ipums ancestry full count data: Version 4.0.

Sakalli, S. O. (2019). Secularization and religious backlash: Evidence from turkey. *Unpublished manuscript*.

Sanders, J. W. (1977). *The Education of an Urban Minority, Catholics in Chicago 1833-1965*. Oxford University Press.

Squicciarini, M. P. (2020). Devotion and Development: Religiosity, Education, and Economic Progress in Nineteenth-Century France. *American Economic Review 110*(11), 3454–91.

Tabellini, M. (2020). Gifts of the Immigrants, Woes of the Natives: Lessons from the Age of Mass Migration. *Review of Economic Studies 87*, 454–486.

Tyack, D. B. (1974). *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Harvard University Press.

Valencia Caicedo, F. (2019). The Mission: Human Capital Transmission, Economic Persistence, and Culture in South America. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics 134*(1), 507–556.

Viteritti, J. P. (1998). *Choosing Equality: School Choice, the Constitution, and Civil Society*. Brookings Institution Press.

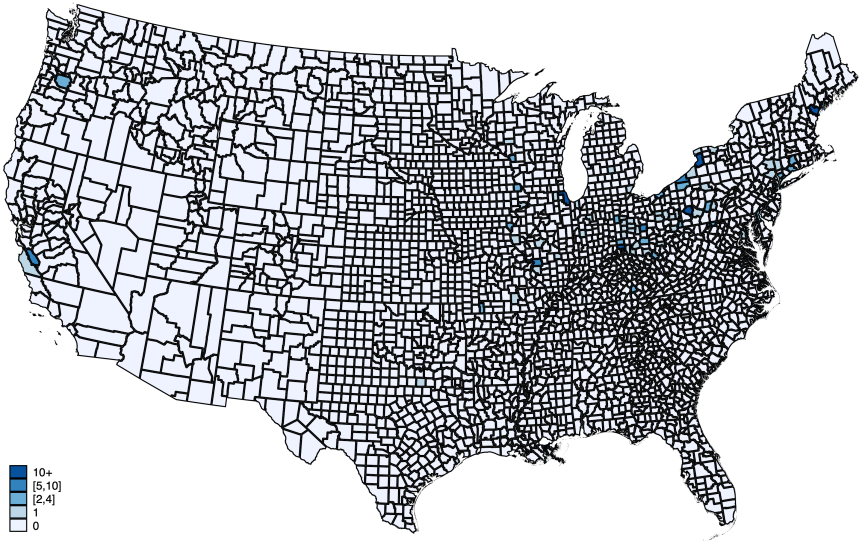
Walch, T. (1996). *Parish School: American Catholic Parochial Education from Colonial Times to the Present*. Crossroad Publishing.

Wheaton, B. (2022). Laws, beliefs, and backlash. Unpublished Manuscript, University of California Los Angeles.

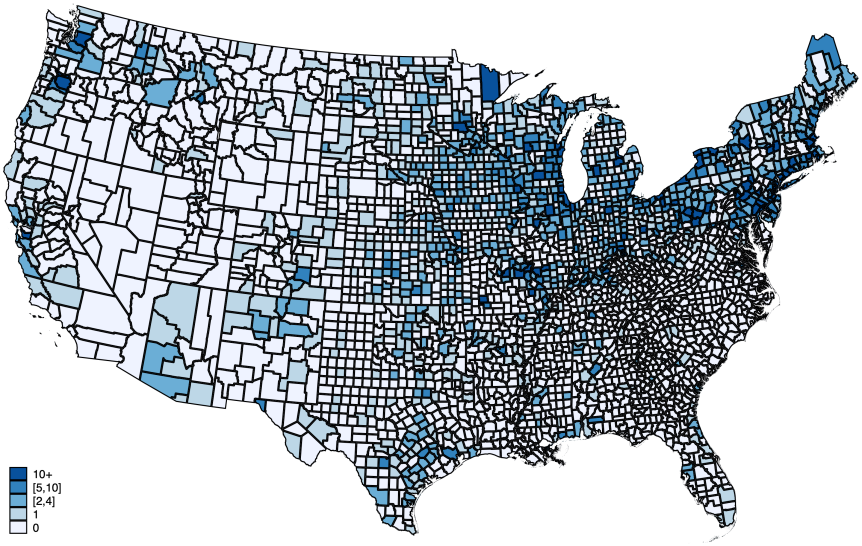
Figures

Figure 1. Number of Catholic Schools

(A) 1872

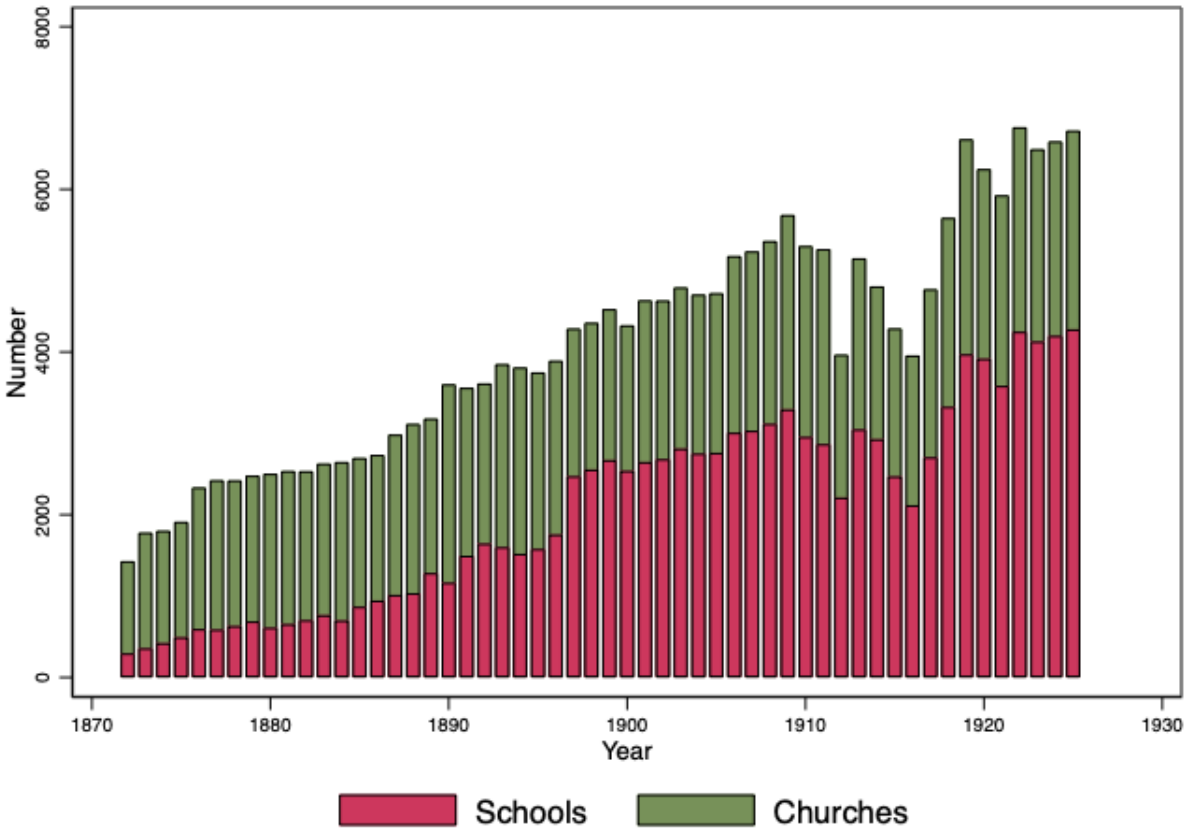


(B) 1925



Notes: The figure maps the distribution of Catholic schools across U.S. counties in 1872 (Panel A) and 1925 (Panel B). Data are drawn from the *Official Catholic Directory*, compiled at the parish level and aggregated to the county.

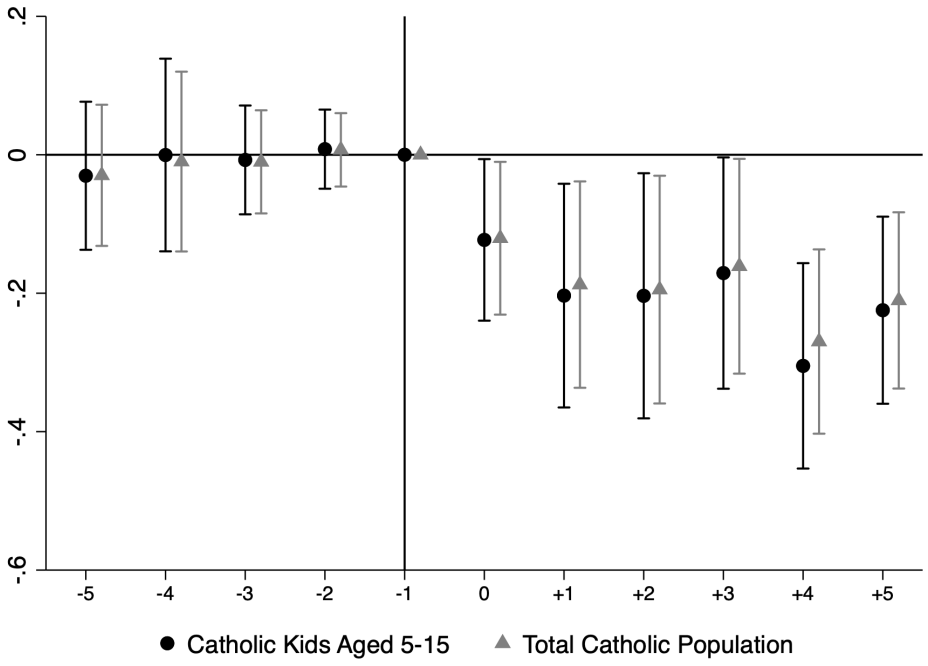
Figure 2. Number of Catholic Schools and Churches (1872-1925)



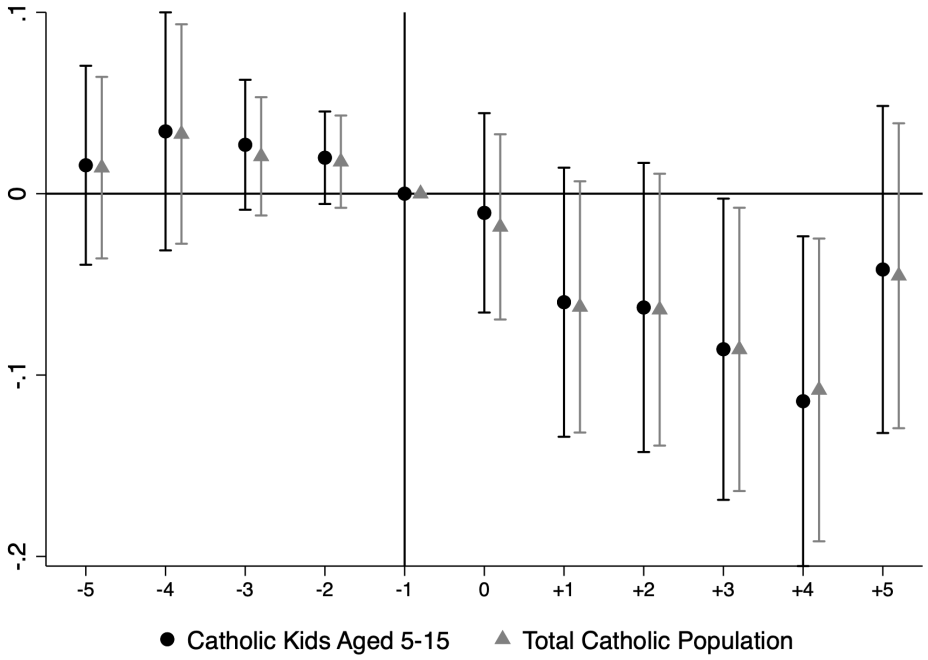
Notes: The figure plots the annual total number of Catholic schools (dark red) and Catholic churches (dark green) from 1872 to 1925. Data are drawn from the *Official Catholic Directory*, aggregated at the national level.

Figure 3. Blaine Amendments and Catholic Schools: Dynamic Estimates

(A) Number of Pupils



(B) Number of Schools



Notes: The figure plots the coefficients, with corresponding 95% confidence intervals, on the interaction between a full set of event-time dummies and two measures of county-level Catholic presence: the pre-Blaine share of Catholic immigrant children aged 5–15 (circles) and the pre-Blaine total Catholic immigrant population share (triangles). Panel A reports estimated coefficients for the log number of enrolled pupils; Panel B for the log number of Catholic schools. The coefficient at $t = -1$ is normalized to zero. The sample covers counties in states that ever adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 and 1920. Data are from the *Official Catholic Directory*. Standard errors are clustered at the county level. The specification includes county fixed effects, state × year fixed effects, and county characteristics from 1870 interacted with year fixed effects.

Tables

Table 1. The effect of Blaine on Catholic Pupils and Schools

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A. Catholic Pupils (log)				
Blaine on ×	-0.174***	-0.241***	-0.211***	-0.198***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.065)	(0.057)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Observations	88,334	88,333	88,333	67,347
Adjusted R-squared	0.667	0.723	0.747	0.767
Avg. Outcome	72.006	72.004	72.004	68.338
Avg. Cath. imm.	0.900	0.900	0.900	0.942
Panel B. Catholic Schools (log)				
Blaine on ×	-0.085***	-0.087**	-0.093***	-0.100***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.032)	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Observations	94,570	94,570	94,570	71,932
Adjusted R-squared	0.748	0.788	0.810	0.826
Avg. Outcome	0.919	0.919	0.919	0.899
Avg. Cath. imm.	1.276	1.276	1.276	1.333
Year FEs	✓			
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs		✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs			✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)				✓

Notes: Blaine interaction coefficient on Catholic community size. All regressions weighted by pre-Blaine Catholic community size. Standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 2. Blaine and Catholic Children's School Enrollment: Individual Level, Age 5–15

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: 1st Generation Catholic Immigrants				
Blaine on ×	0.001**	-0.002	-0.000	-0.001
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Observations	797,153	797,153	797,153	635,995
Adjusted R-squared	0.100	0.102	0.102	0.102
Avg. Outcome	0.700	0.700	0.700	0.697
Avg. Cath. imm.	46.04	46.04	46.04	54.34
Panel B: 1st and 2nd Generation Catholic Immigrants				
Blaine on ×	0.001	-0.003	-0.000	-0.001
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Observations	7,161,996	7,161,996	7,161,996	5,676,805
Adjusted R-squared	0.057	0.059	0.060	0.060
Avg. Outcome	0.736	0.736	0.736	0.733
Avg. Cath. imm.	39.11	39.11	39.11	45.76
Year FEs	✓			
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs		✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs			✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)				✓

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates of the Blaine interaction coefficient on Catholic community size. The dependent variable is an indicator for school enrollment in any school. The sample covers Catholic immigrant children aged 5–15 from the 1880-1920 full-count U.S. Censuses. Panel A restricts to first-generation immigrant children; Panel B includes first- and second-generation immigrant children. Column 1 includes county and year fixed effects; columns 2–4 progressively add state × year fixed effects, county characteristics (1870) interacted with year fixed effects, and restrict the sample to counties in ever-treated states (1872–1920). All regressions are weighted by pre-Blaine Catholic community size. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3. Blaine and School Enrollment: Non-Catholic Children

		Boys			Girls		
	Baseline	Age 5–15	Age 5–9	Age 10–15	Age 5–15	Age 5–9	Age 10–15
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Panel A: 1st Generation Catholic Immigrants							
Blaine on ×	-0.001	-0.002	-0.003*	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	635,995	321,857	100,332	221,361	314,010	97,699	216,156
Adjusted R-squared	0.102	0.104	0.067	0.128	0.098	0.057	0.117
Avg. Outcome	0.697	0.707	0.685	0.717	0.686	0.682	0.688
Avg. Cath. imm.	54.34	53.79	54.20	53.64	54.93	53.88	55.44
Panel B: 1st and 2nd Generation Catholic Immigrants							
Blaine on ×	-0.001	-0.001	0.001	-0.002	0.000	0.000	0.000
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Observations	5,676,805	2,848,883	1,330,889	1,517,945	2,827,886	1,320,765	1,507,070
Adjusted R-squared	0.060	0.061	0.044	0.097	0.059	0.045	0.089
Avg. Outcome	0.733	0.737	0.666	0.799	0.728	0.661	0.787
Avg. Cath. imm.	45.76	45.59	46.45	44.84	45.94	46.54	45.41
Panel C: Native White of Native Parentage							
Blaine on ×	-0.001	-0.001	0.001	-0.002**	-0.001	0.000	-0.002*
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Observations	24,469,603	12,359,780	5,951,187	6,408,593	12,109,823	5,822,081	6,287,742
Adjusted R-squared	0.053	0.052	0.053	0.065	0.053	0.058	0.060
Avg. Outcome	0.756	0.753	0.639	0.859	0.758	0.641	0.867
Avg. Cath. imm.	10.29	10.18	10.32	10.05	10.39	10.48	10.31
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates of the Blaine interaction coefficient on Catholic community size. The dependent variable is an indicator for school enrollment in any school for children aged 5–15. Census years 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920. Column 1 replicates column 4 of Table 2; columns 2–4 and 5–7 split the sample by boys and girls across age groups 5–15, 5–9, and 10–15 respectively. Panel A covers first-generation Catholic immigrant children; Panel B includes first- and second-generation Catholic immigrant children; Panel C covers native white children of native parentage. All regressions are weighted by pre-Blaine Catholic community size. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 4. Blaine Exposure, Intermarriage, and Naturalization

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A. Married to Native (Conditional on being Married)					
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.121***	0.192***	0.193***	0.283***	0.286***
	(0.023)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					-0.081***
					(0.029)
Yrs. with Blaine × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					0.021*
					(0.011)
Observations	2,574,781	2,574,781	2,574,781	2,040,490	2,040,490
Adjusted R-squared	0.078	0.079	0.080	0.076	0.076
Avg. Outcome	3.43	3.43	3.43	3.34	3.34
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.30	1.30	1.30	1.63	1.63
Panel B. Naturalized					
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.768***	0.762***	0.757***	0.833***	0.866***
	(0.092)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.121)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					0.360***
					(0.066)
Yrs. with Blaine × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					0.126**
					(0.056)
Observations	4,767,693	4,767,693	4,767,693	3,825,147	3,825,147
Adjusted R-squared	0.319	0.321	0.321	0.317	0.317
Avg. Outcome	50.36	50.36	50.36	50.84	50.84
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.91	0.91
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓				
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs			✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)				✓	✓

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates of equation (2). Panel A examines the probability of being married to a U.S.-born white of native parentage; Panel B examines naturalization. The key explanatory variable is the number of years the individual was of school age (ages 5–15) while a Blaine Amendment was in force in the state of residence. Individual controls include sex, age, age squared, years in the U.S., and country-of-birth fixed effects. The sample covers first-generation Catholic immigrants from the 1880-1920 full-count U.S. Censuses, residing in the United States for at least two years. German immigrants are excluded. Column 1 includes county and year fixed effects; column 2 replaces year fixed effects with state × year fixed effects; column 3 further adds county characteristics from 1870 interacted with year fixed effects; column 4 restricts the sample to states that ever adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 and 1920. Column 5 adds an interaction between school-age exposure and the pre-Blaine Catholic community size, along with an interaction between a state-level Blaine indicator and Catholic community size. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 5. Blaine Exposure, Literacy, and Ability to Speak English

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A. Speak English					
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.491***	0.472***	0.469***	0.541***	0.528***
	(0.075)	(0.080)	(0.080)	(0.053)	(0.111)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					0.378***
					(0.045)
Yrs. with Blaine × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					-0.114*
					(0.063)
Observations	6,429,049	6,429,049	6,429,049	5,153,236	5,153,236
Adjusted R-squared	0.234	0.238	0.239	0.243	0.243
Avg. Outcome	65.57	65.57	65.57	65.12	65.12
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.13	1.13	1.13	1.41	1.41
Panel B. Log Occupational Score					
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.001**	0.001**	0.002**	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					0.002***
					(0.000)
Yrs. with Blaine × Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})					-0.000
					(0.001)
Observations	5,367,874	5,367,874	5,367,874	4,301,990	4,301,990
Adjusted R-squared	0.119	0.120	0.121	0.127	0.127
Avg. Outcome	3.11	3.11	3.11	3.11	3.11
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.98	0.98
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓				
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs		✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs			✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)				✓	✓

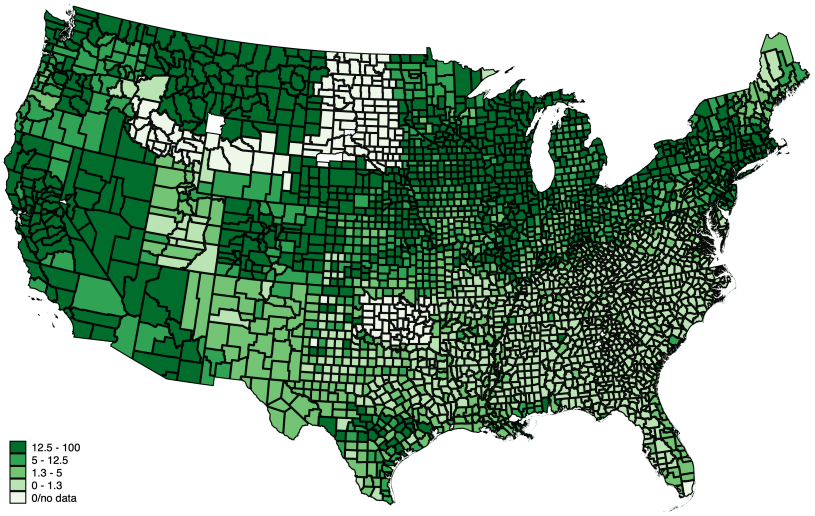
Notes: The table reports OLS estimates of equation (2). Panel A examines the probability of speaking English, restricted to individuals aged 15–64 excluding Irish-born immigrants. Panel B examines the log of occupational income scores, restricted to men aged 20–64 in the labor force. The key explanatory variable is the number of years the individual was of school age (ages 5–15) while a Blaine Amendment was in force in the state of residence. Individual controls include sex, age, age squared, years in the U.S., and country-of-birth fixed effects. The sample covers first-generation Catholic immigrants from the 1880-1920 full-count U.S. Censuses, residing in the United States for at least two years. German immigrants are excluded. Column 1 includes county and year fixed effects; column 2 replaces year fixed effects with state × year fixed effects; column 3 further adds county characteristics from 1870 interacted with year fixed effects; column 4 restricts the sample to states that ever adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 and 1920. Column 5 adds an interaction between school-age exposure and the pre-Blaine Catholic community size, along with an interaction between a state-level Blaine indicator and Catholic community size. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A Appendix A

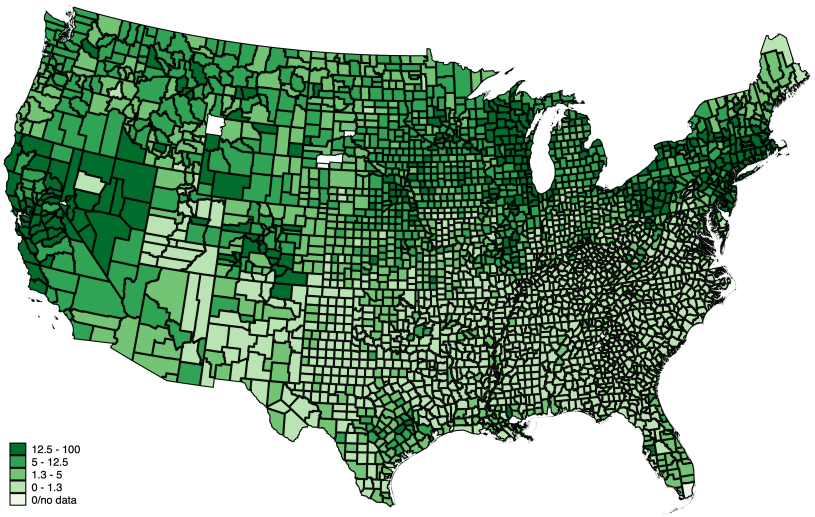
A.1 Figures

Figure A.1. Immigrant Population Share

(A) 1880



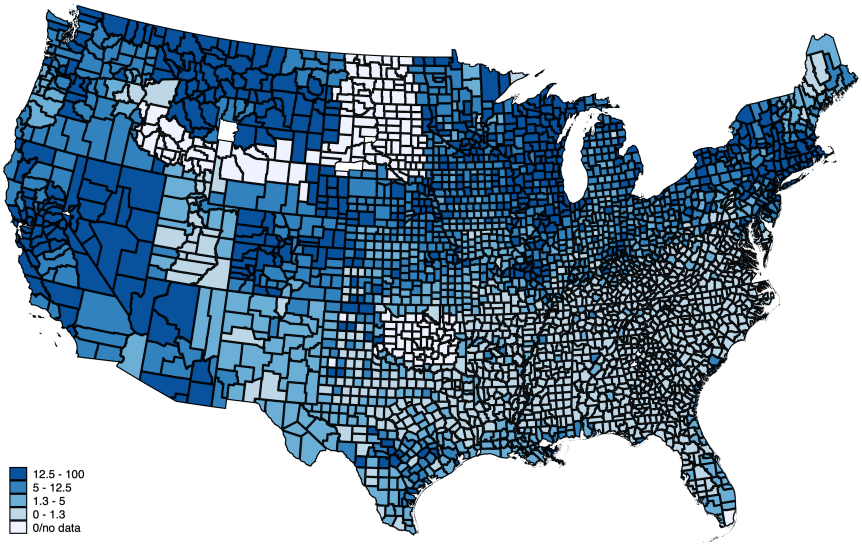
(B) 1920



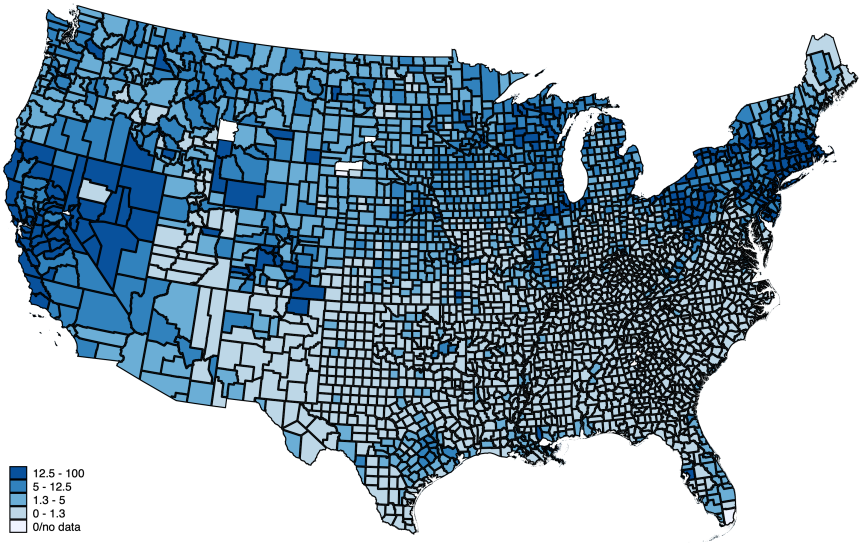
Notes: The figure maps the share of first-generation immigrants in the total county population in 1880 (Panel A) and 1920 (Panel B). Data are from the full-count U.S. Census. Counties are shaded using quantile bins, from lightest (lowest immigrant share) to darkest (highest immigrant share).

Figure A.2. Catholic Immigrant Population Share

(A) 1880

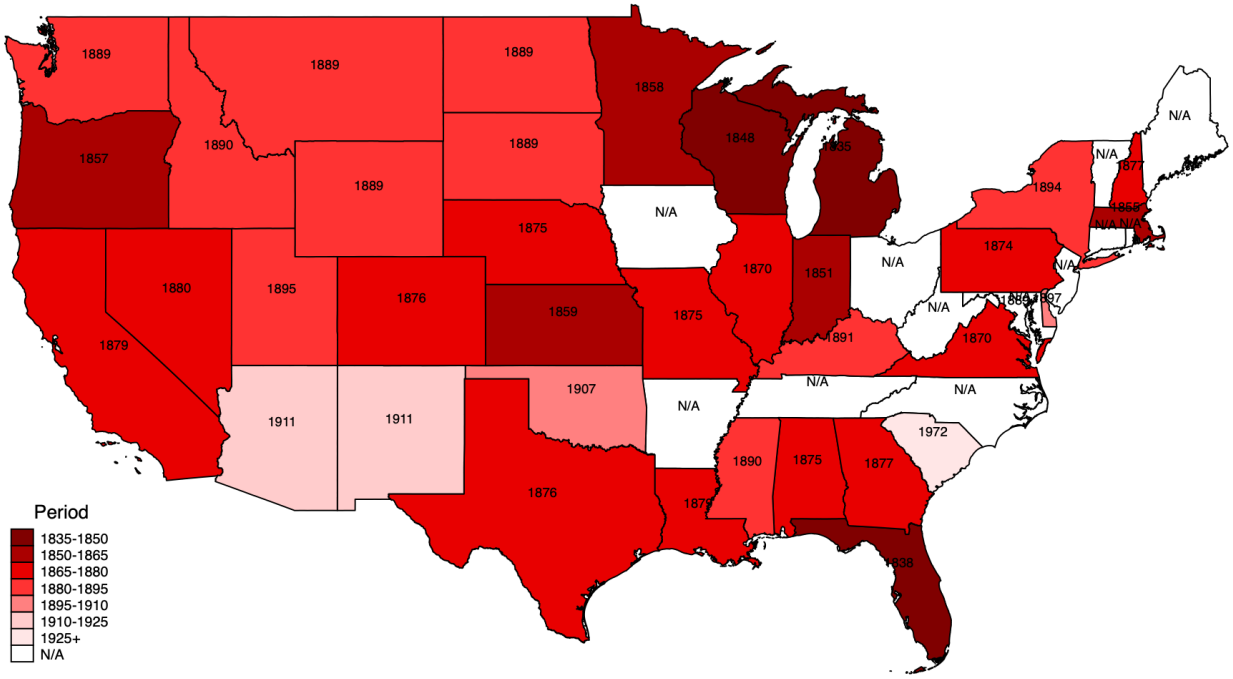


(B) 1920



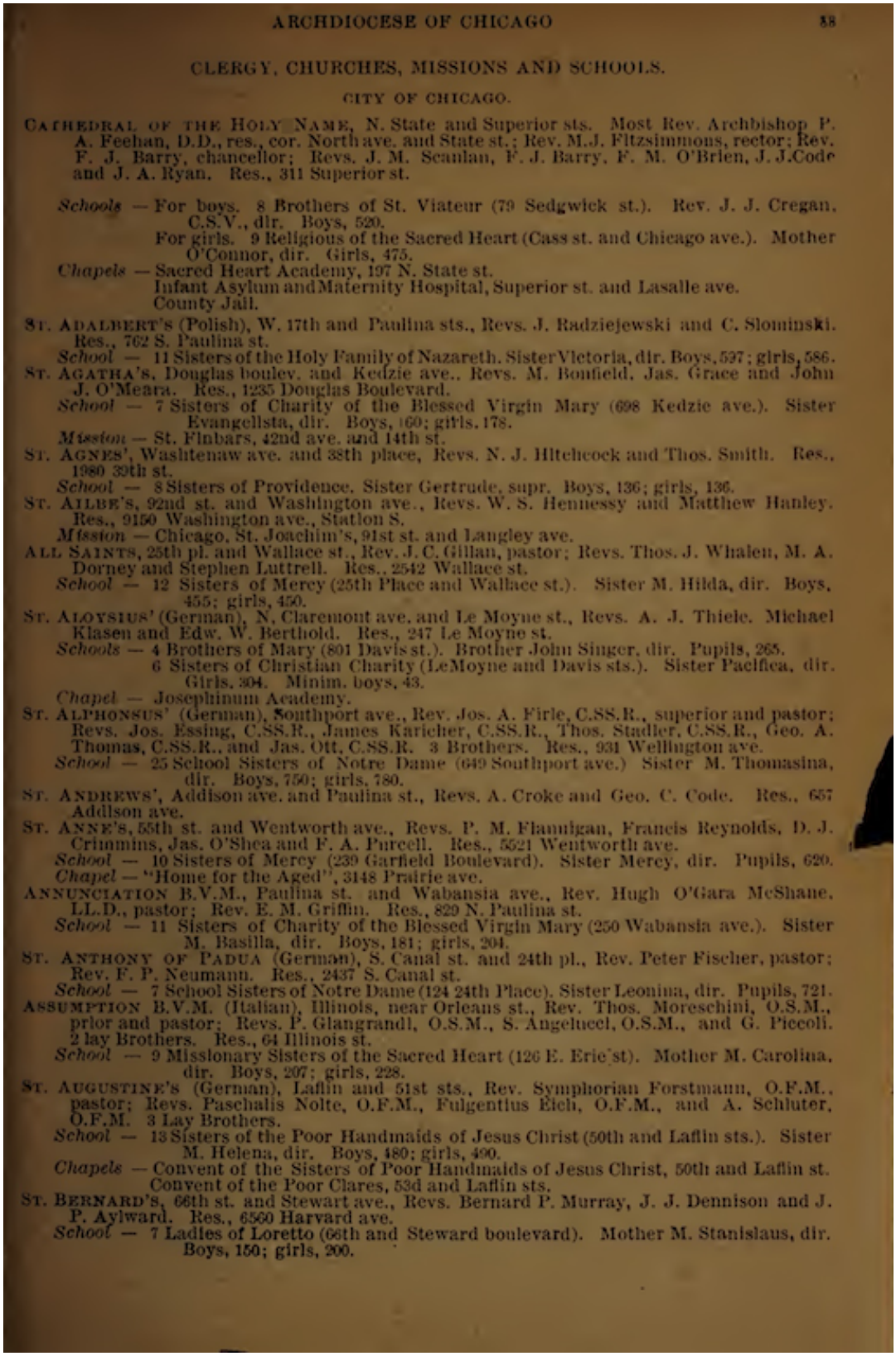
Notes: The figure maps the share of first-generation Catholic immigrants in the total county population in 1880 (Panel A) and 1920 (Panel B). Catholic immigrants are defined as foreign-born individuals from predominantly Catholic countries of origin. Data are from the full-count U.S. Census. Counties are shaded using quantile bins, from lightest (lowest Catholic immigrant share) to darkest (highest Catholic immigrant share).

Figure A.3. Year of Blaine Amendments' Adoption



Notes: Some key states' adoption years: MI (1835), WI (1848), MA (1850), IL (1870), PA (1874), CA (1879), NY (1889), NJ & CT (never).

Figure A.4. Sample I of the 1900 Catholic Almanac



ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO 33

CLERGY, CHURCHES, MISSIONS AND SCHOOLS.

CITY OF CHICAGO.

CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY NAME, N. State and Superior sts. Most Rev. Archbishop P. A. Feehan, D.D., res., cor. North ave. and State st.; Rev. M.J. Fitzsimmons, rector; Rev. F. J. Barry, chancellor; Revs. J. M. Scanlan, F. J. Barry, F. M. O'Brien, J. J.Code and J. A. Ryan. Res., 311 Superior st.

Schools — For boys. 8 Brothers of St. Viateur (79 Sedgwick st.). Rev. J. J. Cregan, C.S.V., dir. Boys, 520.
For girls. 9 Religious of the Sacred Heart (Cass st. and Chicago ave.). Mother O'Connor, dir. Girls, 475.
Chapels — Sacred Heart Academy, 197 N. State st.
Infant Asylum and Maternity Hospital, Superior st. and Lasalle ave.
County Jail.

ST. ADALBERT'S (Polish), W. 17th and Paulina sts., Revs. J. Radziejewski and C. Slominski. Res., 762 S. Paulina st.
School — 11 Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. Sister Victoria, dir. Boys, 597; girls, 586.

ST. AGATHA'S, Douglas boulev. and Kedzie ave., Revs. M. Bonfield, Jas. Grace and John J. O'Meara. Res., 1235 Douglas Boulevard.
School — 7 Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (698 Kedzie ave.). Sister Evangelista, dir. Boys, 160; girls, 178.
Mission — St. Finbars, 42nd ave. and 14th st.

ST. AGNES', Washtenaw ave. and 38th place, Revs. N. J. Hitchcock and Thos. Smith. Res., 1980 39th st.
School — 8 Sisters of Providence. Sister Gertrude, supr. Boys, 136; girls, 136.

ST. AILBE'S, 92nd st. and Washington ave., Revs. W. S. Hennessy and Matthew Hanley. Res., 9150 Washington ave., Station S.
Mission — Chicago, St. Joachim's, 91st st. and Langley ave.

ALL SAINTS, 25th pl. and Wallace st., Rev. J. C. Gillan, pastor; Revs. Thos. J. Whalen, M. A. Dorney and Stephen Luttrell. Res., 2542 Wallace st.
School — 12 Sisters of Mercy (25th Place and Wallace st.). Sister M. Hilda, dir. Boys, 455; girls, 450.

ST. ALOYSIUS' (German), N. Claremont ave. and Le Moyne st., Revs. A. J. Thiele, Michael Klasen and Edw. W. Berthold. Res., 247 Le Moyne st.
Schools — 4 Brothers of Mary (801 Davis st.). Brother John Singer, dir. Pupils, 265.
6 Sisters of Christian Charity (LeMoyne and Davis sts.). Sister Pacifica, dir. Girls, 304. Minim. boys, 43.
Chapel — Josephinum Academy.

ST. ALPHONSUS' (German), Southport ave., Rev. Jos. A. Firle, C.SS.R., superior and pastor; Revs. Jos. Essing, C.SS.R., James Karicher, C.SS.R., Thos. Stadler, C.SS.R., Geo. A. Thomas, C.SS.R., and Jas. Ott, C.SS.R. 3 Brothers. Res., 931 Wellington ave.
School — 25 School Sisters of Notre Dame (649 Southport ave.) Sister M. Thomasina, dir. Boys, 750; girls, 780.

ST. ANDREWS', Addison ave. and Paulina st., Revs. A. Croke and Geo. C. Code. Res., 657 Addison ave.

ST. ANNE'S, 55th st. and Wentworth ave., Revs. P. M. Flanagan, Francis Reynolds, D. J. Crimmins, Jas. O'Shea and F. A. Purcell. Res., 5521 Wentworth ave.
School — 10 Sisters of Mercy (239 Garfield Boulevard). Sister Mercy, dir. Pupils, 620.
Chapel — "Home for the Aged", 3148 Prairie ave.

ANNUNCIATION B.V.M., Paulina st. and Wabansia ave., Rev. Hugh O'Gara McShane, LL.D., pastor; Rev. E. M. Griffin. Res., 829 N. Paulina st.
School — 11 Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (250 Wabansia ave.). Sister M. Basilla, dir. Boys, 181; girls, 204.

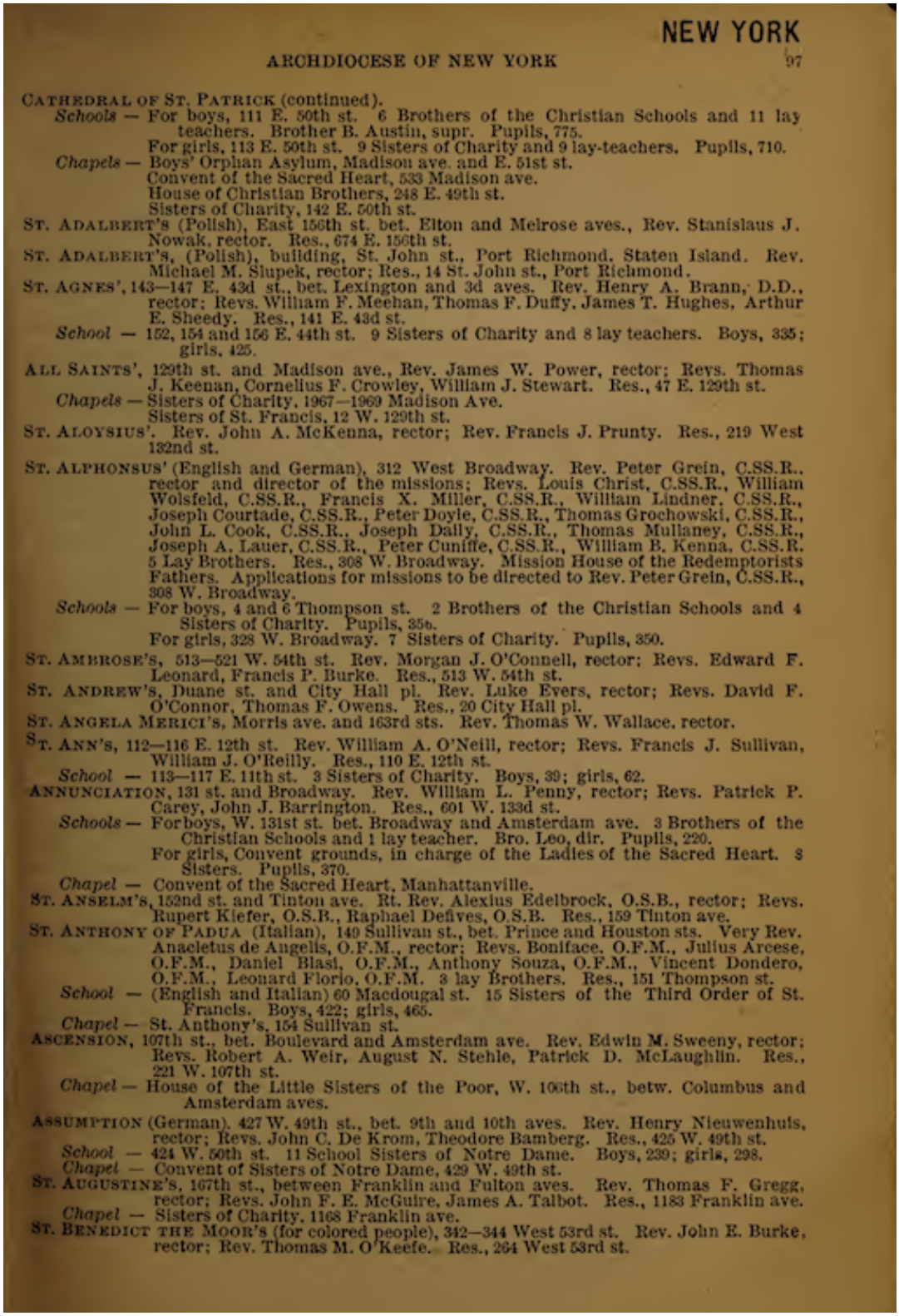
ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA (German), S. Canal st. and 24th pl., Rev. Peter Fischer, pastor; Rev. F. P. Neumann. Res., 2437 S. Canal st.
School — 7 School Sisters of Notre Dame (124 24th Place). Sister Leonina, dir. Pupils, 721.

ASSUMPTION B.V.M. (Italian), Illinois, near Orleans st., Rev. Thos. Moreschini, O.S.M., prior and pastor; Revs. P. Glangrandi, O.S.M., S. Angelucci, O.S.M., and G. Piccoli. 2 lay Brothers. Res., 64 Illinois st.
School — 9 Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart (126 E. Erie st). Mother M. Carolina, dir. Boys, 207; girls, 228.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S (German), Laflin and 51st sts., Rev. Symphorian Forstmann, O.F.M., pastor; Revs. Paschalis Nolte, O.F.M., Fulgentius Eich, O.F.M., and A. Schluter, O.F.M. 3 Lay Brothers.
School — 13 Sisters of the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ (50th and Laflin sts.). Sister M. Helena, dir. Boys, 480; girls, 490.
Chapels — Convent of the Sisters of Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ, 50th and Laflin st.
Convent of the Poor Clares, 53d and Laflin sts.

ST. BERNARD'S, 66th st. and Stewart ave., Revs. Bernard P. Murray, J. J. Dennison and J. P. Aylward. Res., 6560 Harvard ave.
School — 7 Ladies of Loretto (66th and Steward boulevard). Mother M. Stanislaus, dir. Boys, 150; girls, 200.

Figure A.5. Sample II of the 1902 Catholic Almanac



CATHEDRAL OF ST. PATRICK (continued).
Schools — For boys, 111 E. 50th st. 6 Brothers of the Christian Schools and 11 lay teachers. Brother B. Austin, supr. Pupils, 775.
For girls, 113 E. 50th st. 9 Sisters of Charity and 9 lay-teachers. Pupils, 710.
Chapels — Boys' Orphan Asylum, Madison ave. and E. 51st st.
Convent of the Sacred Heart, 533 Madison ave.
House of Christian Brothers, 248 E. 49th st.
Sisters of Charity, 142 E. 50th st.

ST. ADALBERT'S (Polish), East 156th st. bet. Elton and Melrose aves., Rev. Stanislaus J. Nowak, rector. Res., 674 E. 156th st.

ST. ADALBERT'S, (Polish), building, St. John st., Port Richmond, Staten Island. Rev. Michael M. Slupek, rector; Res., 14 St. John st., Port Richmond.

ST. AGNES', 143—147 E. 43d st., bet. Lexington and 3d aves. Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., rector; Revs. William F. Meehan, Thomas F. Duffy, James T. Hughes, Arthur E. Sheedy. Res., 141 E. 43d st.
School — 152, 154 and 156 E. 44th st. 9 Sisters of Charity and 8 lay teachers. Boys, 335; girls, 425.

ALL SAINTS', 129th st. and Madison ave., Rev. James W. Power, rector; Revs. Thomas J. Keenan, Cornelius F. Crowley, William J. Stewart. Res., 47 E. 129th st.
Chapels — Sisters of Charity, 1967—1969 Madison Ave.
Sisters of St. Francis, 12 W. 129th st.

ST. ALOYSIUS'. Rev. John A. McKenna, rector; Rev. Francis J. Prunty. Res., 219 West 132nd st.

ST. ALPHONSUS' (English and German), 312 West Broadway. Rev. Peter Grein, C.SS.R., rector and director of the missions; Revs. Louis Christ, C.SS.R., William Wolsfeld, C.SS.R., Francis X. Miller, C.SS.R., William Lindner, C.SS.R., Joseph Courtade, C.SS.R., Peter Doyle, C.SS.R., Thomas Grochowski, C.SS.R., John L. Cook, C.SS.R., Joseph Daily, C.SS.R., Thomas Mullaney, C.SS.R., Joseph A. Lauer, C.SS.R., Peter Cuniffe, C.SS.R., William B. Kenna, C.SS.R. 5 Lay Brothers. Res., 308 W. Broadway. Mission House of the Redemptorists Fathers. Applications for missions to be directed to Rev. Peter Grein, C.SS.R., 308 W. Broadway.
Schools — For boys, 4 and 6 Thompson st. 2 Brothers of the Christian Schools and 4 Sisters of Charity. Pupils, 356.
For girls, 328 W. Broadway. 7 Sisters of Charity. Pupils, 350.

ST. AMBROSE'S, 513—521 W. 54th st. Rev. Morgan J. O'Connell, rector; Revs. Edward F. Leonard, Francis P. Burke. Res., 513 W. 54th st.

ST. ANDREW'S, Duane st. and City Hall pl. Rev. Luke Evers, rector; Revs. David F. O'Connor, Thomas F. Owens. Res., 20 City Hall pl.

ST. ANGELA MERICI'S, Morris ave. and 163rd sts. Rev. Thomas W. Wallace, rector.

ST. ANN'S, 112—116 E. 12th st. Rev. William A. O'Neill, rector; Revs. Francis J. Sullivan, William J. O'Reilly. Res., 110 E. 12th st.
School — 113—117 E. 11th st. 3 Sisters of Charity. Boys, 39; girls, 62.

ANNUNCIATION, 131 st. and Broadway. Rev. William L. Penny, rector; Revs. Patrick P. Carey, John J. Barrington. Res., 601 W. 133d st.
Schools — For boys, W. 131st st. bet. Broadway and Amsterdam ave. 3 Brothers of the Christian Schools and 1 lay teacher. Bro. Leo, dir. Pupils, 220.
For girls, Convent grounds, in charge of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. 8 Sisters. Pupils, 370.
Chapel — Convent of the Sacred Heart, Manhattanville.

ST. ANSELM'S, 152nd st. and Tinton ave. Rt. Rev. Alexius Edelbrock, O.S.B., rector; Revs. Rupert Kiefer, O.S.B., Raphael Defives, O.S.B. Res., 159 Tinton ave.

ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA (Italian), 149 Sullivan st., bet. Prince and Houston sts. Very Rev. Anacletus de Angelis, O.F.M., rector; Revs. Boniface, O.F.M., Julius Arcese, O.F.M., Daniel Blasi, O.F.M., Anthony Souza, O.F.M., Vincent Dondero, O.F.M., Leonard Florio, O.F.M. 3 lay Brothers. Res., 151 Thompson st.
School — (English and Italian) 60 Macdougal st. 15 Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis. Boys, 422; girls, 465.
Chapel — St. Anthony's, 154 Sullivan st.

ASCENSION, 107th st., bet. Boulevard and Amsterdam ave. Rev. Edwin M. Sweeny, rector; Revs. Robert A. Weir, August N. Stehle, Patrick D. McLaughlin. Res., 221 W. 107th st.
Chapel — House of the Little Sisters of the Poor, W. 106th st., betw. Columbus and Amsterdam aves.

ASSUMPTION (German). 427 W. 49th st., bet. 9th and 10th aves. Rev. Henry Nieuwenhuis, rector; Revs. John C. De Krom, Theodore Bamberg. Res., 425 W. 49th st.
School — 424 W. 50th st. 11 School Sisters of Notre Dame. Boys, 239; girls, 298.
Chapel — Convent of Sisters of Notre Dame, 429 W. 49th st.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S, 167th st., between Franklin and Fulton aves. Rev. Thomas F. Gregg, rector; Revs. John F. E. McGuire, James A. Talbot. Res., 1183 Franklin ave.
Chapel — Sisters of Charity, 1168 Franklin ave.

ST. BENEDICT THE MOOR'S (for colored people), 342—344 West 53rd st. Rev. John E. Burke, rector; Rev. Thomas M. O'Keefe. Res., 264 West 53rd st.

Figure A.6. Sample I of the 1901 Report of the Commissioner of Education

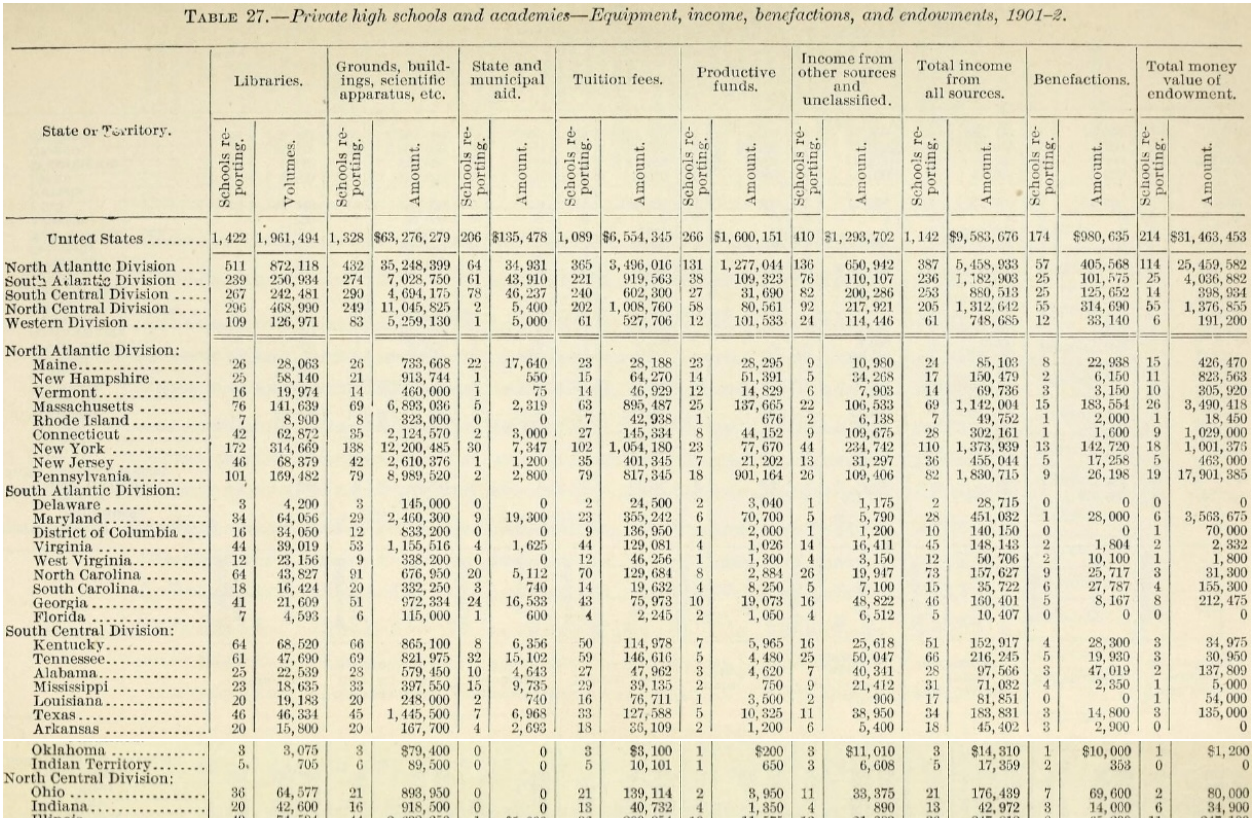
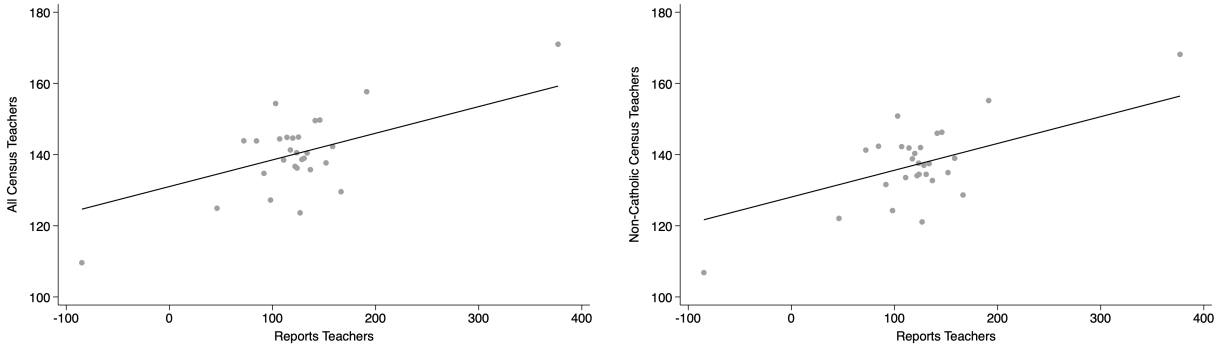


TABLE 27.—*Private high schools and academies—Equipment, income, benefactions, and endowments, 1901–2.*

State or Territory.	Libraries.		Grounds, buildings, scientific apparatus, etc.		State and municipal aid.		Tuition fees.		Productive funds.		Income from other sources and unclassified.		Total income from all sources.		Benefactions.		Total money value of endowment.	
	Schools reporting.	Volumes.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.	Schools reporting.	Amount.
United States	1,422	1,961,494	1,328	$63,276,279	206	$135,478	1,089	$6,554,345	266	$1,600,151	410	$1,293,702	1,142	$9,583,676	174	$980,635	214	$31,463,453
North Atlantic Division	511	872,118	432	35,248,399	64	34,931	365	3,496,016	131	1,277,044	136	650,942	387	5,458,933	57	405,568	114	25,459,582
South Atlantic Division	239	250,934	274	7,028,750	61	43,910	221	919,563	38	109,323	76	110,107	236	1,182,903	25	101,575	25	4,036,882
South Central Division	267	242,481	290	4,694,175	78	46,237	240	602,300	27	31,690	82	200,286	253	880,513	25	125,652	14	398,934
North Central Division	296	468,990	249	11,045,825	2	5,400	202	1,008,760	58	80,561	92	217,921	205	1,312,642	55	314,690	55	1,376,855
Western Division	109	126,971	83	5,259,130	1	5,000	61	527,706	12	101,533	24	114,446	61	748,685	12	33,140	6	191,200
North Atlantic Division:																		
Maine	26	28,063	26	733,668	22	17,640	23	28,188	23	28,295	9	10,980	24	85,103	8	22,938	15	426,470
New Hampshire	25	58,140	21	913,744	1	550	15	64,270	14	51,391	5	34,208	17	150,479	2	6,150	11	823,563
Vermont	16	19,974	14	460,000	1	75	14	46,929	12	14,829	6	7,903	14	69,736	3	3,150	10	305,920
Massachusetts	76	141,639	69	6,893,036	5	2,319	63	895,487	25	137,665	22	106,533	69	1,142,004	15	183,554	26	3,490,418
Rhode Island	7	8,900	8	323,000	0	0	7	42,938	1	676	2	6,138	7	49,752	1	2,000	1	18,450
Connecticut	42	62,872	35	2,124,570	2	3,000	27	145,334	8	44,152	9	109,675	28	302,161	1	1,600	9	1,029,000
New York	172	314,669	138	12,200,485	30	7,347	102	1,054,180	23	77,670	44	234,742	110	1,373,939	13	142,720	18	1,001,376
New Jersey	46	68,379	42	2,610,376	1	1,200	35	401,345	7	21,202	13	31,297	36	455,044	5	17,258	5	463,000
Pennsylvania	101	169,482	79	8,989,520	2	2,800	79	817,345	18	901,164	26	109,406	82	1,830,715	9	26,198	19	17,901,385
South Atlantic Division:																		
Delaware	3	4,200	3	145,000	0	0	2	24,500	2	3,040	1	1,175	2	28,715	0	0	0	0
Maryland	34	64,056	29	2,460,300	9	19,300	23	355,242	6	70,700	5	5,790	28	451,032	1	28,000	6	3,563,675
District of Columbia	16	34,050	12	833,200	0	0	9	136,950	1	2,000	1	1,200	10	140,150	0	0	1	70,000
Virginia	44	39,019	53	1,155,516	4	1,625	44	129,081	4	1,026	14	16,411	45	148,143	2	1,804	2	2,332
West Virginia	12	23,156	9	338,200	0	0	12	46,256	1	1,300	4	3,150	12	50,706	2	10,100	1	1,800
North Carolina	64	43,827	91	676,950	20	5,112	70	129,684	8	2,884	26	19,947	73	157,627	9	25,717	3	31,300
South Carolina	18	16,424	20	332,250	3	740	14	19,632	4	8,250	5	7,100	15	35,722	6	27,787	4	155,300
Georgia	41	21,609	51	972,334	24	16,533	43	75,973	10	19,073	16	48,822	46	160,401	5	8,167	8	212,475
Florida	7	4,593	6	115,000	1	600	4	2,245	2	1,050	4	6,512	5	10,407	0	0	0	0
South Central Division:																		
Kentucky	64	68,520	66	865,100	8	6,356	50	114,978	7	5,965	16	25,618	51	152,917	4	28,300	3	34,975
Tennessee	61	47,690	69	821,975	32	15,102	59	146,616	5	4,480	25	50,047	66	216,245	5	19,930	3	30,950
Alabama	25	22,539	28	579,450	10	4,643	27	47,962	3	4,620	7	40,341	28	97,566	3	47,019	2	137,809
Mississippi	23	18,635	33	397,550	15	9,735	29	39,135	2	750	9	21,412	31	71,032	4	2,350	1	5,000
Louisiana	20	19,183	20	248,000	2	740	16	76,711	1	3,500	2	900	17	81,851	0	0	1	54,000
Texas	46	46,334	45	1,445,500	7	6,968	33	127,588	5	10,325	11	38,950	34	183,831	3	14,800	3	135,000
Arkansas	20	15,800	20	167,700	4	2,693	18	36,109	2	1,200	6	5,400	18	45,402	3	2,900	0	0
Oklahoma	3	3,075	3	$79,400	0	0	3	$3,100	1	$200	3	$11,010	3	$14,310	1	$10,000	1	$1,200
Indian Territory	5	705	6	89,500	0	0	5	10,101	1	650	3	6,608	5	17,359	2	353	0	0
North Central Division:																		
Ohio	36	64,577	21	893,950	0	0	21	139,114	2	3,950	11	33,375	21	176,439	7	69,600	2	80,000
Indiana	20	42,600	16	918,500	0	0	13	40,732	4	1,350	4	890	13	42,972	3	14,000	6	34,900
Illinois	49	74,534	44	2,632,250	1	$5,000	36	209,954	10	11,575	13	21,283	36	247,812	8	65,200	11	247,100
Michigan	15	32,448	13	701,487	0	0	9	152,672	2	1,050	3	18,890	9	172,612	3	1,450	3	22,324
Wisconsin	21	51,180	15	1,062,462	0	0	14	82,983	7	11,272	8	13,022	14	107,277	9	58,675	4	141,025
Minnesota	24	36,650	19	1,081,200	0	0	17	66,410	6	27,120	5	16,257	18	109,787	1	20,000	5	358,150
Iowa	33	42,148	30	733,538	0	0	26	54,134	8	5,803	14	27,416	26	87,353	6	13,502	5	82,450
Missouri	66	88,606	60	1,792,550	1	400	40	142,913	8	8,340	18	53,835	42	205,488	8	20,715	7	116,200
North Dakota	2	1,400	2	60,000	0	0	2	4,000	0	0	1	2,000	2	6,000	1	1,200	0	0
South Dakota	5	7,400	5	152,600	0	0	4	38,500	2	2,020	2	3,700	4	44,220	3	4,400	2	40,200
Nebraska	14	15,847	14	651,000	0	0	11	37,973	5	2,898	6	12,286	11	53,157	3	10,710	5	47,900
Kansas	11	11,600	10	366,238	0	0	9	39,375	4	5,183	7	14,967	9	59,525	3	35,238	5	206,606
Western Division:																		
Montana	4	5,400	4	261,000	0	0	2	3,091	1	1,000	2	11,000	2	15,091	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	1	500	1	60,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Colorado	6	4,086	3	160,030	0	0	2	3,200	2	2,150	1	800	2	6,150	0	0	1	3,200
New Mexico	2	2,600	1	36,000	0	0	1	5,000	0	0	0	0	1	5,000	0	0	0	0
Arizona	1	200	1	20,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Utah	13	19,442	13	876,500	0	0	12	149,356	2	6,400	7	71,500	12	227,256	5	14,550	2	38,000
Nevada																		0
Idaho	4	3,500	4	117,000	0	0	3	3,515	1	500	3	7,000	3	11,015	1	3,000	0	0
Washington	13	8,140	10	243,000	0	0	8	41,879	3	8,533	3	3,311	8	53,723	3	5,400	3	150,000
Oregon	13	12,721	12	1,100,000	0	0	10	97,255	2	75,150	4	10,635	10	183,040	2	190	0	0
California	52	70,382	34	2,365,600	1	5,000	23	224,410	1	7,800	4	10,200	23	247,410	1	10,000	0	0

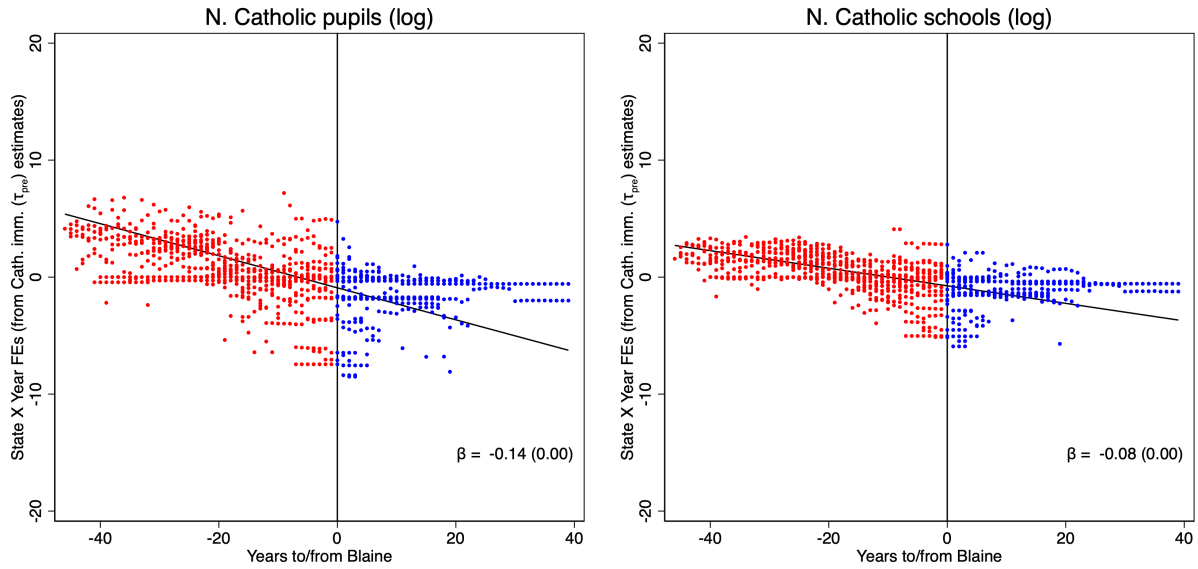
Figure A.7. Validation of the Non-Catholic Teacher Proxy

(A) All Census Teachers (B) Non-Catholic Census Teachers



Notes: The figure plots the relationship between the number of public school teachers reported in county-level *Superintendent of Public Instruction* reports (x-axis) and teacher counts constructed from the U.S. Census (y-axis). Panel A uses all individuals reporting teaching as their occupation in the Census; panel B uses non-Catholic teachers, defined as Census teachers minus Catholic teachers identified in Catholic Directories. The sample covers counties in California (1880–1910), Florida (1900–1920), Montana (1900–1920), North Dakota (1900–1920), Oregon (1900–1910, 1920), Pennsylvania (1910), Vermont (1880–1900), Virginia (1880–1920, excluding 1910), and Washington (1920). Points are binned averages (30 bins). The binscatter residualizes both variables with respect to county fixed effects and state-by-year fixed effects.

Figure A.8. Implied Overall Effect of Blaine



Notes: The figure plots state × year fixed effects, recovered from the first-stage specification (equation 1), against years to and from Blaine Amendment adoption. State × year fixed effects are extracted from a regression of each outcome on the Blaine × Catholic immigrant share interaction, absorbing county and state × year fixed effects, estimated on ever-adopting states. Panel A shows estimates for the log number of Catholic pupils; Panel B for the log number of Catholic schools. Red (blue) dots denote state × year observations before (after) Blaine adoption. The solid line plots the fitted regression of state × year fixed effects on years relative to adoption, weighted by pre-Blaine Catholic immigrant population; the reported β coefficient (standard error in parentheses) gives its slope. Data are from the *Official Catholic Directory*. The sample covers all states that ever adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 and 1920.

A.2 Tables

Table A.1. Blaine Amendment Adoption (1870–1920)

State	Year of adoption
Alabama	1875
Arizona	1911
California	1879
Colorado	1876
Delaware	1897
District of Columbia	1889
Georgia	1877
Idaho	1890
Kentucky	1891
Louisiana	1879
Mississippi	1890
Missouri	1875
Montana	1889
Nebraska	1875
Nevada	1880
New Hampshire	1877
New Mexico	1911
New York	1894
North Dakota	1889
Oklahoma	1907
Pennsylvania	1874
South Dakota	1889
Texas	1876
Utah	1895
Washington	1889
Wyoming	1889

Table A.2. Description of Main Variables

Variable	Description	Source
Catholic schooling outcomes		
Number of Catholic schools	Number of Catholic parochial schools in the county	*Official Catholic Directory* (OCD), 1872–1925
Number of Catholic pupils	Number of pupils enrolled in Catholic parochial schools	*Official Catholic Directory* (OCD), 1872–1925
Assimilation outcomes		
Social integration		
Married to native	Dummy = 1 if the respondent is married to a U.S.-born spouse of U.S.-born parents (conditional on being married); scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Endogamous marriage	Dummy = 1 if the respondent is married to a spouse from the same country of origin (conditional on being married); scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Catholic marriage	Dummy = 1 if the respondent is married to a spouse from a Catholic-origin country (conditional on being married); scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Native-white neighbor	Dummy = 1 if the household head has at least one neighbor who is U.S.-born white of native parentage; scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Civic integration		
Naturalized	Dummy = 1 if the respondent holds U.S. citizenship; defined for male immigrants aged ≥ 21 who have resided in the U.S. for at least 5 years; scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Speaks English	Dummy = 1 if the respondent speaks English; ages 15–64; scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Literate	Dummy = 1 if the respondent can read and write; ages 15–64; scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Economic integration		
In labor force	Dummy = 1 if the respondent is in the labor force; men aged 20–64 only; scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Log occupational score	Log of the occupational income score derived from historical earnings data; men aged 20–64 only	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Treatment variables		
Blaine on	Dummy = 1 if a Blaine Amendment is in effect in the state in year t	CCR (2007)
Yrs. under Blaine (ages 5–15)	Number of years spent under a Blaine Amendment during school age (5–15), adjusted for age at immigration	CCR (2007); U.S. Census of Population
Blaine on in school	Dummy = 1 if the Blaine Amendment was in effect in the respondent's state at some point while aged 0–10, and the respondent arrived before age 10	CCR (2007); U.S. Census of Population
Catholic community size (pre-Blaine)		
Cath. immigrants (τ_{pre})	Total first-generation Catholic immigrants in the county prior to Blaine adoption (in 1,000s); measured in 1872 for never-treated counties. Includes immigrants from Ireland, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, and Catholic-origin Germans	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Cath. immigrant children (τ_{pre})	Total first-generation Catholic immigrant children aged 5–15 in the county prior to Blaine adoption (in 1,000s)	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)

Notes: This table describes the main variables used in the analysis. Catholic-origin countries are Italy, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Poland. German immigrants are classified using a probabilistic name-based Catholic score derived from the Canadian Censuses of 1881, 1911, and 1921 (see Section 3). Catholic community size is measured prior to Blaine adoption in each state (pre-Blaine value, τ_{pre}). Marriage outcomes are restricted to men aged 20–35 and women aged 18–33. All dummy outcomes are scaled to 0–100.

Table A.3. Summary Statistics

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Median	Min	Max	N
Panel A. *Catholic Schools*						
N. schools	0.919	3.376	0.000	0.000	147.0	94,570
N. pupils	72.02	202.9	0.000	0.000	1,745	88,335
Panel B. *Treatment*						
Years with Blaine	19.01	20.45	14.00	0.000	85.00	94,570
Blaine on	0.653	0.476	1.000	0.000	1.000	94,570
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	1.276	6.974	0.152	0.010	173.3	94,570
Std. n. Cath. imm. kids (τ_{pre})	0.051	0.256	0.005	0.000	5.905	94,570
Panel C. *County controls (1870)*						
N. (1,000) non-Catholic kids	0.162	0.548	0.021	0.000	12.59	1,930
N. public teachers	63.41	130.7	26.17	0.000	2,530	1,930
Population	18,114	36,796	11,359	0.582	921,637	1,930
Share black pop.	0.136	0.216	0.013	0.000	0.928	1,930
Share urban pop.	0.082	0.182	0.000	0.000	1.000	1,930
Share men in labor force (15–64)	0.865	0.105	0.882	0.000	1.000	1,930
Share men in manuf. (15–64)	0.060	0.064	0.039	0.000	0.626	1,930
Years with railroads	7.233	10.72	0.000	0.000	42.71	1,930
Panel D. *Individual outcomes*						
Married	55.98	49.64	100.0	0.000	100.0	4,599,871
Married to a Native	3.429	18.20	0.000	0.000	100.0	2,574,825
Married to a Native (Unrestricted)	1.920	13.72	0.000	0.000	100.0	4,599,871
Endogamous Marriage	61.63	48.63	100.0	0.000	100.0	2,574,822
Catholic Marriage	64.47	47.86	100.0	0.000	100.0	2,574,822
Non-Catholic Marriage	32.10	46.69	0.000	0.000	100.0	2,574,822
At least one native white neighbor	31.08	46.28	0.000	0.000	100.0	4,889,737
Naturalized	50.36	50.00	100.0	0.000	100.0	4,767,709
Speak English	64.68	47.80	100.0	0.000	100.0	11,071,359
Literacy	81.03	39.20	100.0	0.000	100.0	11,843,669
In Labor Force	93.48	24.69	100.0	0.000	100.0	6,249,537
Log Occupational Score	3.112	0.330	3.135	1.099	4.382	5,367,880

Notes: The table reports summary statistics for the main variables used in the analysis. Panels A and B report county-year statistics for Catholic school outcomes and treatment variables from the *Official Catholic Directory*, covering 1880-1920 census years. Panel C reports county-level characteristics from the U.S. Census of 1870 for the 1,930 counties in the baseline sample. Panel D reports individual-level outcomes from the 1880-1920 full-count U.S. Censuses. The sample covers first-generation Catholic immigrants residing in the United States for at least two years, excluding German immigrants. Individual outcomes are expressed as percentages.

Table A.4. Robustness: Sample and Specification

	Baseline	County Trends	Stacked DiD	Drop largest	≥100 Cath.	Excl. Germans	Catholic Kids	2nd Gen.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A. Catholic pupils (log)								
Blaine on ×	-0.198***	-0.309***	-0.245***	-0.249***	-0.198***	-0.203***	-0.220***	-0.216***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.039)	(0.043)	(0.052)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.040)	(0.047)	(0.045)
Observations	67,347	41,377	231,508	66,305	37,124	64,686	64,895	75,609
Adjusted R-squared	0.767	0.818	0.836	0.745	0.762	0.754	0.765	0.760
Avg. Outcome	68.338	53.004	49.302	64.170	114.420	63.150	70.726	61.450
Avg. Cath. imm.	0.942	0.898	1.106	0.773	1.676	0.808	0.038	2.474
Panel B. Catholic schools (log)								
Blaine on ×	-0.100***	-0.196***	-0.165***	-0.197***	-0.101***	-0.091**	-0.104***	-0.118***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.044)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.038)
Observations	71,932	44,051	245,049	70,511	40,915	69,237	69,433	80,409
Adjusted R-squared	0.826	0.872	0.878	0.802	0.823	0.818	0.827	0.823
Avg. Outcome	0.899	0.786	0.742	0.745	1.473	0.824	0.929	0.816
Avg. Cath. imm.	1.333	1.416	1.703	0.935	2.313	1.146	0.054	3.353
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Blaine interaction coefficient on Catholic community size. All regressions include county FEs, state × year FEs, county characteristics (1870) × year FEs, and restrict to ever-treated counties. Regressions weighted by pre-Blaine Catholic community size. Standard errors clustered at the state level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.5. Robustness: Functional Form and Clustering

	Baseline	Levels	IHS	SEA Cluster	State Cluster & Bootstrap	Unweighted
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A. Catholic pupils						
Blaine on ×	-0.198***	-9.526***	-0.103***	-0.198***	-0.198***	-0.170***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.039)	(2.447)	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.053)
Observations	67,347	67,347	67,347	67,347	67,347	67,347
Adjusted R-squared	0.767	0.754	0.781	0.767	0.767	0.634
Avg. Outcome	68.338	68.338	68.338	68.338	68.338	68.338
Avg. Cath. imm.	0.942	0.942	0.942	0.942	0.942	0.942
Bootstrap p-value					0.110	
Panel B. Catholic schools						
Blaine on ×	-0.100***	-0.563***	-0.028**	-0.100**	-0.100**	-0.162**
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.034)	(0.175)	(0.011)	(0.040)	(0.048)	(0.070)
Observations	71,932	71,932	71,932	71,932	71,932	71,932
Adjusted R-squared	0.826	0.924	0.898	0.826	0.826	0.662
Avg. Outcome	0.899	0.899	0.899	0.899	0.899	0.899
Avg. Cath. imm.	1.333	1.333	1.333	1.333	1.333	1.333
Bootstrap p-value					0.354	
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Blaine interaction coefficient on Catholic community size. Baseline uses log outcome, state-level clustering, and weighted regression. All regressions include county FEs, state × year FEs, county characteristics (1870) × year FEs, and restrict to ever-treated counties. Bootstrap p-value from wild bootstrap with 999 replications. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.6. Additional Assimilation Results

	Endogamous Marriage	Catholic Marriage	Residential Integration	Labor Force
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A. Baseline Model				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	-0.443***	-0.500***	0.330***	-0.112***
	(0.080)	(0.084)	(0.030)	(0.014)
Observations	2,040,487	2,040,487	3,908,996	5,011,106
Adjusted R-squared	0.491	0.494	0.179	0.021
Panel B. Heterogeneity by Size of Catholic Community				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	-0.436***	-0.497***	0.331***	-0.110***
	(0.087)	(0.084)	(0.030)	(0.018)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	-0.178***	-0.077	0.006	0.032***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.064)	(0.076)	(0.025)	(0.011)
Yrs. with Blaine ×	-0.098***	-0.117***	-0.072**	0.042
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.025)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Observations	2,040,487	2,040,487	3,908,996	5,011,106
Adjusted R-squared	0.491	0.494	0.179	0.021
Avg. Outcome	61.50	64.04	30.08	93.36
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.63	1.63	0.76	1.10
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: The table reports OLS estimates of equation (2). Column 1 uses as dependent variable an indicator for marrying within one's ethnic group (first- or second-generation immigrants from the same country of origin); column 2 uses an indicator for marrying within the Catholic group (first- or second-generation Catholic immigrants); column 3 uses an indicator for having at least one U.S.-born white neighbor of native parentage; column 4 uses an indicator for being in the labor force. Panel A reports results using the baseline specification used in column 4 of Table 4). Panel B adds interactions terms in the same fashion of column 5 of of Table 4). The sample, controls, and fixed effects are as described in Table 4. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.