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

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Abstract

This paper studies the impact of restricting public funding for sectarian education on the provision of schooling and the assimilation of immigrant enclaves in the United States between 1850 and 1920. Using newly digitized records of Catholic parishes and schools from the *Official Catholic Directory*, we exploit the staggered adoption of Blaine Amendments—constitutional provisions barring public support for Catholic schools—across states, and differences in the size of pre-existing Catholic populations across counties. We find that Blaine Amendments slowed the expansion of Catholic schools and enrollment in counties with larger Catholic immigrant populations. Despite this contraction, Catholic children remained enrolled in school and were likely reallocated into the public school system without displacing U.S.-born children. We then document that exposure to Blaine Amendments during school age also had differential effects on immigrant assimilation, depending on the size of the enclave. It increased the ability to speak English, naturalization, and occupational income scores, in larger communities, but it reduced intermarriage and had no effect on the names chosen by parents for their U.S. born children. These patterns suggest that public interventions targeting large immigrant enclaves may increase economic and civic assimilation, without necessarily fostering deeper cultural integration.

Keywords: religion, schooling, immigrant assimilation, immigrant enclaves.
JEL codes: J15, N31, Z12.

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1 Introduction

Religious schools play a central role in the organization of education in many societies. Beyond providing instruction, they shape identities, transmit cultural norms, and influence the integration of minorities into the broader society. This role is especially salient for immigrant minorities, for whom religious institutions often serve as key vehicles for preserving language, beliefs, and social networks across generations, while also mediating exposure to the majority culture. In many settings, these schools operate with some form of public support. Yet such support is contested and, at times, withdrawn, particularly when the growth of immigrant enclaves is perceived as a threat to social or cultural cohesion.[1] This debate raises several questions. Does the withdrawal of public support weaken religious institutions, or can it instead strengthen them by triggering grassroots reactions? How does it, in turn, affect the economic and cultural assimilation of immigrants? And, most importantly, how are these effects mediated by the size of immigrant enclaves?

In this paper, we study these questions in the context of Catholic immigrants in the United States during the Age of Mass Migration (1850–1920). In the late 19th century, mass immigration from Catholic-majority countries met a public school system infused with Protestant practices (Higham, 1955). In response, Catholic communities began to establish their own parish-based schools. These Catholic schools aimed to provide religious education and insulate children from what many viewed as a Protestant moral curriculum. Beginning in the 1870s, however, more than thirty states adopted Blaine Amendments, which barred public funding for sectarian schools and restricted the resources available to Catholic institutions. Many of these provisions remain in place today: as of 2022, 37 states include Blaine-type amendments in their constitutions (McCarley, 2023).

We assemble a new panel dataset combining full-count U.S. Censuses 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 panel of Catholic school presence and size covering approximately 1,900 counties over five decades.

[1] Historically, the 19th-century French secularization laws (e.g., the 1882 Jules Ferry Education Acts), the 1880 New South Wales Public Instruction Act, and the U.S. Blaine Amendments provide prominent examples. Even today, this represents a heated debate. In the U.S., for instance, many cases of provision of public funding to religious schools are being discussed by the Supreme Court – e.g., 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.

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. We focus on the absolute size of Catholic enclaves in a county prior to Blaine adoption to capture variation in treatment intensity across counties.

Using a two-way fixed effects (TWFE) design with county and state-by-year fixed effects, we show that the expansion of Catholic schooling was slower after Blaine Amendments in counties with larger Catholic populations. This is in line with the argument that larger enclaves operated proportionally more expensive school systems, and, thus, were more affected by the withdrawal of public support. Catholic schooling was growing rapidly during this period, so our estimates should be interpreted as a slowdown rather than a contraction. Comparing counties at the 75th percentile of the Catholic population distribution to those at the 25th percentile, the number of Catholic schools grew about 5.4% more slowly in the former than in the latter. School closures may reflect consolidation within the Catholic-school system———smaller schools shutting down while larger ones expanded———so that total enrollment remained stable. In contrast with this possibility, we find that enrollment growth also slowed, by roughly 9.5%, indicating a broader reduction in the capacity of the Catholic school system.

Event-study estimates support the parallel trends assumption: before Blaine adoption, Catholic schools and enrollment evolve similarly across counties with different Catholic populations, with no evidence of differential pre-trends. After adoption, the effects appear quickly—within the first year—and persist over time. The speed of the response suggests that Catholic institutions could not easily replace lost public support, while the persistence indicates that the effects reflect lasting 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. Among other checks, 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. 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 following Cengiz et al. (2019), which does not impose strong assumptions about the functional form of treatment effects across event time. Fourth, we replicate the analysis using alternative measures of the Catholic population, which include second generation immigrants and exclude German immigrants—a group for whom religious affiliation cannot be reliably identified in U.S. Census data.[2] Across all specifications, the results remain quantitatively

[2]Since German Americans were split between Catholic and Protestant faiths, and religious identity is not directly observable

similar and statistically significant. We discuss these and additional robustness checks in detail below.

We next turn to the consequences of Blaine Amendments for immigrant assimilation. If Blaine weakened Catholic schooling, school-age children may have been more exposed to public schools or alternative forms of socialization, and such changes during formative years could have lasting effects on social, economic, and cultural 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.

We begin by studying how Blaine Amendments affected school enrollment among Catholic children. 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. We also find no evidence of enrollment changes among non-Catholic children, including those born in the U.S. to U.S.-born parents. These findings suggest that students displaced from Catholic schools in bigger enclaves were largely absorbed into public schools without crowding out native children. 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.

Motivated by this evidence, we next examine how exposure to Blaine during school age affected immigrant assimilation. We compare immigrant cohorts within the same county that differed in their exposure to Blaine during childhood, while controlling for common local conditions and state-level shocks. The estimates should therefore be interpreted as a bundled treatment of greater interaction with native-born peers and teachers, exposure to English-language instruction, and changes in curriculum.

We find that exposure to Blaine increased the probability of speaking English in adulthood. This likely reflects the fact that instruction in Catholic schools was not always conducted in English, especially in ethnically segmented parishes. Quantitatively, 5 additional years of exposure increased the probability of speaking English by 2.4 percentage points (3.6% relative to the mean). These gains translated into improved labor market outcomes: 5 additional years of exposure raised occupational income scores by approximately 1%. Most importantly, these patterns were larger in counties with larger Catholic populations prior to Blaine adoption. This is consistent with the fact that Blaine had stronger effects on Catholic schooling in these areas, generating larger shifts into non-sectarian educational environments.

in the census, their inclusion introduces measurement error in treatment intensity.

It may also reflect the greater degree of ethnic and religious segregation in Catholic schools located in larger enclaves, where interactions with native-born children were likely more limited. As a result, exposure to public schools may have generated especially large gains in English acquisition and labor market integration in these settings.

The effects of Blaine were not only economic: individuals more exposed to Blaine during childhood were also more likely to marry a U.S.-born white of native parentage—an outcome often viewed as the "final stage" of assimilation (Gordon, 1964). An individual exposed to 5 additional years of schooling under Blaine was 1.3 percentage points more likely (38% relative to the mean) to intermarry with a U.S.-born white of native parentage. However, the positive effect of Blaine exposure on intermarriage was weaker in counties with larger Catholic populations. This pattern is notable, as 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 larger enclaves limited opportunities for inter-group interaction, as social networks and marriage markets remained more segregated along ethnic lines.

Exposure to Blaine during childhood also increased naturalization rates: 5 additional years of exposure raised the probability of naturalization by 3.7 percentage points, or 7.1% relative to the mean. Because naturalization applications in this period were very rarely rejected (Biavaschi et al., 2017; Fouka et al., 2022), this outcome can be interpreted as a measure of assimilation effort and attachment to U.S. institutions and American national identity. The effects on naturalization were more pronounced in counties with larger Catholic enclaves, possibly because the schooling shock induced by Blaine was stronger in these areas and generated greater exposure to English-language instruction and mainstream civic norms.

Consistent with persistent changes in cultural identity, immigrant mothers exposed to Blaine during childhood later gave their own children more Americanized and less distinctly Catholic names. Increasing exposure to Blaine during childhood by 5 years raised the American Name Index by 2.4% and lowered the Catholic Name Index by 1.8%. For comparison, these effects amount to roughly one-third to one-half of the annual name-based assimilation documented by Abramitzky et al. (2020) during the Age of Mass Migration. Unlike naturalization, however, the effects on naming patterns do not vary systematically with the size of the Catholic community, suggesting that the effects of school-age exposure on cultural identity were broadly similar across different enclave settings.

One potential concern with our results is that we assign exposure to Blaine based on the individual's county of residence at the time of Census enumeration, rather than during childhood or at the time of Blaine adoption. If immigrants selectively migrated across lo-

cations in response to Blaine, this could bias the estimates. For such migration to generate spurious effects, however, it would need to vary systematically across cohorts within counties according to school-age exposure, which seems less likely. An alternative approach is to link individuals across Censuses and assign exposure based on county of residence during childhood. The main limitation of this strategy is the substantial reduction in sample size: the number of observations falls from more than 2 million to roughly 40,000, leaving considerably less identifying variation. Nevertheless, as a robustness check, we show that the results remain qualitatively similar when using the linked sample.

The results are also robust to controlling for county-specific pre-trends, adopting a stacked-by-event estimator, excluding counties with the largest Catholic populations, restricting the sample to counties with sizable Catholic immigrant communities, and using alternative measures of Catholic presence. They are also robust to alternative clustering procedures, and to extending the sample to second generation Catholic immigrants.

To sum up, larger Catholic enclaves were more strongly affected by the Blaine provisions because they experienced a greater decline in the availability of Catholic schools. This contraction weakened the institutional infrastructure of immigrant communities while increasing children's exposure to public education. It may therefore account for the stronger effects on economic and civic assimilation—including naturalization, to the extent that public schools provided greater exposure to civic education—observed in larger enclaves. By contrast, we find no evidence that any backlash against the Blaine provisions varied systematically with enclave size. The effect on intermarriage is more plausibly explained by the lower marginal cost of finding a Catholic spouse in larger communities than by a stronger institutional response to the withdrawal of public support. Consistent with this interpretation, we find no comparable relationship between enclave size and the choice of children's names.

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 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.

Second, it relates to a body of quasi-experimental work in labor economics that has tried to identify the effect of the size of immigrant networks labor market outcomes. For

example, Edin et al. (2003) use a Swedish refugee dispersal policy to show that enclave size raises labor market earnings, and Damm (2009) finds a similar effect using Danish data, with results consistent with ethnic networks disseminating job information that improves job-worker match quality. Munshi (2003) documents that Mexican migrants are more likely to be employed and to hold higher-paying jobs when their origin-community network at the U.S. destination is exogenously larger, while Beaman (2012) shows that these network effects are heterogeneous, depending on the vintage of network members rather than network size alone. At a more aggregate level, Cutler et al. (1999) trace the rise and decline of racial segregation in American cities from 1890 to 1990, linking it to both exclusionary collective action and, later, more decentralized sorting mechanisms.

Third, our analysis is related to studies examining the interaction between state policies and religious education. Squicciarini (2020) shows that in 19th-century France, secularization policies—promoting state-sponsored technical education while reducing funding for religious schools—were adopted more slowly in more religious areas, slowing industrialization in those regions. In the context of Indonesia, Bazzi et al. (2020) document how religious schools adapted their curricula and organization in response to the expansion of state schooling, emphasizing supply-side institutional adjustment. We study how constraining religious schooling—through restrictions on public funding—affected individual-level assimilation outcomes. In doing so, we contribute to a growing literature on the economics of religion (see Becker et al., 2024, for an overview of the literature), and, in particular, to studies on the relationship between religion and human capital formation (Becker and Woessmann, 2009; Chaudhary and Rubin, 2011; Botticini and Eckstein, 2012; Valencia Caicedo, 2019).[3]

Fourth, we contribute to the literature on immigrant assimilation in the United States during the Age of Mass Migration (Fouka, 2019, 2020; Fouka et al., 2022; Abramitzky and Boustan, 2022; Collins and Zimran, 2023), and in particular to recent work that studies the role of Catholic institutions in shaping immigrant integration (Gagliarducci and Tabellini, 2025; Abramitzky et al., 2025). While a number of studies document immigrant backlash in response to policies targeting culture or religion in other settings (Sakalli, 2019; Fouka, 2020; Abdelgadir and Fouka, 2020; Dahl et al., 2022; Wheaton, 2022), we find that Blaine Amendments were associated with increased assimilation. This result should not be interpreted as evidence in favor of restricting the rights of religious minorities; rather, it highlights the role of educational environments and exposure to the majority population in shaping integration outcomes. This view aligns with evidence that intergroup contact in schools improves majority–minority relations and accelerates assimilation (Boisjoly et al., 2006; Rao, 2019; Alan et al., 2021; Bursztyn et al., 2021). Our analysis further speaks to models of assimi-

[3]For an overview on the economics of religion, see Becker et al. (2024)

lation that emphasize the role of group size and enclave effects (Lazear, 1999), highlighting how the impact of restrictions on public support for religious schooling depends on the local composition of immigrant communities.

Finally, our results contribute 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.

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 immigrants of Southern and Eastern Europe (Abramitzky and Boustan, 2017), who, on average, were less educated and had lower skills than earlier immigrant cohorts. 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).[4] 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). Like immigrants overall, those 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). Within these regions, Catholic immigrants were especially concentrated 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 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

[4]The Irish and the Italians 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.

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). Catholic communities responded by establishing parish-based schools that sought both to preserve religious and cultural identity and to shield children from what many viewed as a Protestant moral curriculum (Moreau, 1997). Because these schools were typically organized around local parishes, they quickly became central institutions of Catholic community life.

In Chicago, for example, the number of foreign-language parishes rose from 9 out of 25 in 1869 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. 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.[5] While the amendment was formally framed in religiously neutral terms, its practical implications were not (Tyack, 1974; Kaestle, 1983; Green, 2022). 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. However, by the 1870s, Catholic schools stood alone in their scale, growth, and explicit requests for state support.

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

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

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 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.[6] 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 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 on local capacity and resilience.

Anecdotal and historical accounts suggest that local reactions to Blaine Amendments were 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

[6] 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).

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 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: on the one hand, they tended to constrain Catholic education; on the other hand, they served as a catalyst for institutional consolidation and cultural mobilization. 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, newly compiled data on the timing of Blaine Amendments across states, and historical U.S. full count Censuses. This section describes the three core components of the dataset. Additional details and a comprehensive variable list are available in the 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.[7] A subset of this digitized 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 assigned 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.

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 explicitly 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).

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

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

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.[8] Second, we use the individual-level data to analyze the impact of Blaine Amendments on immigrant assimilation between 1880 and 1920.[9] We construct several individual-level outcomes related to school enrollment and immigrant assimilation, including English proficiency, occupational income scores, naturalization, intermarriage, residential integration, and naming patterns. These variables are described in greater detail in Section 6 and Table A.2. For the individual-level analysis, 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.

Table A.3 reports summary statistics for county-level (Panels A–C) and individual-level (Panel D) variables.

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 organizational response faced by Catholic immigrant communities. The consequences of this policy shift likely depend on the size of the local Catholic population, though in ways that are theoretically indeterminate across multiple dimensions.

Schooling supply effects. The withdrawal of public support imposed financial pressure on parochial schools, potentially forcing closures or contraction. Yet, the extent of the decline

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

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

may vary by community size in ambiguous ways, and at least two opposing mechanisms are at work.

On the one hand, larger Catholic communities may have been more exposed to financial disruption. Where Catholic schooling had grown substantially—as it tended to in urban, heavily Catholic counties—the organizational infrastructure was larger, more complex, and potentially more dependent on the patchwork of public subsidies that Blaine-type provisions eliminated. These communities may have set up more costly systems, reliant on public support precisely because of their scale, leaving them more vulnerable to a sudden fiscal shock. In this view, larger communities had more to lose and less capacity to absorb the withdrawal of funds proportionately.

On the other hand, larger Catholic communities may have been less vulnerable to the same shock. Greater organizational capacity, deeper lay networks, stronger fundraising traditions, and economies of scale in school administration may have allowed them to find alternative revenue sources more easily than smaller communities. A diocese with dozens of parish schools and an established financial structure is better positioned to reallocate resources, consolidate operations, or mobilize donors than an isolated rural parish facing closure of its only school. From this perspective, smaller communities—despite having less to lose in absolute terms—faced a sharper relative threat to their educational infrastructure.

Additionally, the magnitude of the financial shock itself depended on how much public funding communities had been receiving prior to Blaine adoption. If larger communities had secured more generous public appropriations—as might be expected given their political influence and the scale of their educational operations—then the withdrawal of funds would constitute a larger fiscal shock in absolute terms. But if, instead, smaller or more fragile Catholic communities had disproportionately relied on public support precisely because they lacked the private resources to sustain their schools independently, then the relative impact of Blaine would fall more heavily on them. Since the distribution of pre-Blaine public subsidies across communities of different sizes is not directly observed in our data, the direction of this heterogeneity cannot be signed a priori. The net effect of Blaine on Catholic schooling, and whether it was larger in bigger or smaller communities, is therefore an empirical question.

Organizational and political responses. Beyond the purely financial dimension, Blaine amendments were also a political intervention, and communities could respond not only by adjusting their school budgets but by mobilizing collectively—lobbying against implementation, organizing response, or accelerating institution-building as a form of cultural assertion.

Here too the direction of community size effects is ambiguous. Larger Catholic communities possessed greater political resources: they could more easily coordinate collective

action, had stronger ties to sympathetic politicians, and were better positioned to challenge or circumvent restrictive legislation through legal or administrative means. Where Catholic voters constituted a significant share of the electorate, local officials might apply Blaine provisions loosely or selectively, limiting their practical bite. In this view, political mobilization would be strongest where communities were largest, potentially attenuating the schooling effects in precisely those areas.

Yet the opposite logic also has force. Smaller, more isolated Catholic communities may have perceived Blaine not merely as a fiscal constraint but as an existential threat to their cultural survival. Where the Catholic population was thin, the closure of a parish school could mean the complete disappearance of religious education for an entire community, with no credible substitute within reach. This heightened sense of threat could galvanize more intense defensive responses—precisely because the stakes, at the individual community level, were so much higher. Larger urban enclaves, by contrast, may have experienced Blaine as a manageable inconvenience, at least in the short run, relying on their institutional thickness to absorb the shock. Under this interpretation, the schooling effects would actually be smaller in larger communities, not because of political power, but because of organizational resilience, while smaller communities would bear a disproportionate burden despite their weaker lobbying capacity.

Implications for assimilation. The implications for immigrant assimilation are similarly nuanced and depend not only on how Blaine affected the supply of Catholic schooling but also on how families and communities responded to those changes.

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. 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. 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 resis-

tance. 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.

Taken together, the theoretical predictions across all these dimensions are consistently indeterminate. Whether Blaine Amendments reduced Catholic schooling more in larger or smaller communities, whether political and organizational responses amplified or attenuated these effects, and whether exposure to Blaine ultimately accelerated or retarded immigrant assimilation all depend on which mechanisms dominate—and the balance of forces likely varied across settings, time periods, and community types. Resolving these ambiguities is the task of the empirical analysis that follows.

5 Catholic Schools and Enrollment

This section examines the effects of Blaine Amendments, as mediated by the size of the Catholic population, on the presence and attendance 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. The direction of the effect is *ex ante* ambiguous, though. On the one hand, larger Catholic communities may have been more exposed to the withdrawal of public support because they operated larger and potentially more financially dependent school systems. On the other hand, these same communities may have been better positioned to absorb the shock through stronger organizational capacity, deeper fundraising networks, and greater political influence. Whether Blaine had larger effects in bigger or smaller Catholic communities is therefore an empirical question.

We stack the data at the county-by-(calendar) year level from 1872 to 1920 and estimate a two-way fixed effects model:

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

where y_{ct} is either the log number of pupils enrolled in Catholic schools or the log number of Catholic schools in county c in state s in calendar year t, B_{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.[10] We measure Catholic presence as the total number of first-generation immigrants from Catholic-majority countries (see Section 3). [11] 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.[12] 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 county-level variation in pre-Blaine Catholic presence within the same state and year, thereby controlling 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, which also proxies for other competing immigration trends, and the number of non-Catholic teachers in 1870.[13] These reduce concerns that the estimated effects may be confounded by broader shifts in school demand or

[10] Zero values for the number of pupils and the number of schools are replaced with 0.001.

[11] C_c is standardized to have mean zero and standard deviation one within the baseline sample, so that β can be interpreted as the effect of a one-standard-deviation increase in the pre-Blaine Catholic population.

[12] 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.

[13] The number of non-Catholic teachers is constructed as the difference between the number of individuals who reported being 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), regardless of whether we include (left panel) or exclude (right panel) the Catholic teachers.

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. We discuss several additional robustness checks in Section 5.3, after presenting the main 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 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.[14]

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 20% (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.[15] Figure 3 reports the estimated coefficients for the log number of enrolled pupils (Panel A) and the log number of Catholic schools (Panel B).

[14] The number of observations differs between Panels A and B because the log transformations exclude county-years with zero values, and the distribution of zero-valued observations varies across outcomes. Additional differences reflect variation in data availability across the two variables in the raw data. As shown below, the results are unchanged when restricting the analysis to the common set of county-year observations across panels.

[15] 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.

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 support.

Interpretation. Although we cannot identify the precise mechanisms underlying the reduction in Catholic educational provision in larger enclaves, discussed at the beginning of Section 5.1, some descriptive evidence offers a plausible explanation.

Table A.6 reports several measures of Catholic schooling by quintile of the Catholic population before Blaine adoption. Smaller Catholic communities had more schools and enrolled more pupils per 1,000 Catholics than larger communities. At the same time, pupils were more concentrated across the schools that operated in larger enclaves, as reflected in the higher number of pupils per school reported in column 3.

A distinctive feature of Catholic education, however, was its ability to rely partly on unpaid religious labor. Nuns, and to a lesser extent priests and members of other religious orders, historically played a central role in staffing and administering Catholic schools, both in the United States and elsewhere (Fialka, 2003). Columns 4–6 show that nuns, rather than paid lay teachers, accounted for a larger share of school personnel in areas with larger Catholic populations. In absolute terms, therefore, schools in larger Catholic enclaves appear to have relied more heavily on religious labor.

This pattern changes, however, once staffing is measured relative to enrollment. As columns 7 and 8 show, the number of nuns per pupil declines with the size of the Catholic community, by about 11%. Thus, although religious personnel played a comparatively prominent role in the schools of larger enclaves, their availability did not increase proportionally with the number of pupils. Larger Catholic communities consequently had to educate more pupils for each nun available, making them more dependent on paid lay teachers or requiring them to operate with higher pupil-to-staff ratios. This evidence suggests that the marginal cost of providing Catholic education was higher in larger communities. It may therefore help partly explain why these communities experienced the sharpest contraction in Catholic schooling following the adoption of Blaine amendments: once access to public support was restricted, the communities facing the greatest per-pupil resource constraints had the least capacity to absorb the resulting financial shock.

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. Table A.4 further shows that the results are robust to alternative samples and measures of Catholic population. Column 2 addresses the potential influence of large Catholic enclaves by excluding the county with the largest Catholic population in each state. Column 3 restricts the sample to counties with at least 100 Catholic immigrants, alleviating concerns that very small Catholic communities drive the results. Column 4 replicates the baseline on the common-support sample, restricting both panels to the same set of observations to ease comparison. Columns 5–7 consider alternative constructions of treatment intensity. Column 5 excludes German immigrants from the Catholic population measure to address potential misclassification arising from religious heterogeneity within Germany. Column 6 measures Catholic presence using school-aged children (ages 5–15) rather than the total Catholic immigrant population. Column 7 expands the definition of Catholic presence to include second-generation Catholic children—defined as U.S.-born children whose father was born in a Catholic-majority country. Across all specifications, the estimated effects on Catholic schools and enrollment remain statistically significant and quantitatively similar to the baseline estimates reported in column 1.

Table A.5 documents that the results are robust to a range of additional sensitivity checks. Column 2 augments the baseline model with county-specific linear time trends, estimated using the pre-Blaine period and extrapolated into the post-Blaine period, allowing counties with larger Catholic populations to follow differential pre-existing trajectories. 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. Columns 4 and 5 replicate the analysis using the dependent variable in levels and with the inverse hyperbolic sine transformation, respectively. Columns 6 and 7 report standard errors clustered at the State Economic Area (SEA) and state levels.[16] Finally, column 8 reports unweighted regressions. In all cases, the estimated coefficients remain statistically significant and quantitatively similar to the baseline estimates reported in column 1.

[16]The U.S. has 460 SEAs, 286 of which 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 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, showing that it did not reduce overall school attendance and suggesting that Catholic pupils shifted into non-Catholic schools (Section 6.1). We then outline the empirical strategy, which exploits variation in exposure to Blaine during school age across immigrant cohorts within the same county (Section 6.2). Next, we present the results, showing that Blaine Amendments increased immigrant social and economic assimilation (Section 6.3). We then test for cultural backlash within Catholic immigrant communities by comparing the naming choices of parents with children born immediately before and after Blaine adoption, finding no evidence of differential responses across counties with different levels of Catholic presence (Section **??**). We conclude by showing that the results are robust to a range of alternative specifications and identification checks (Section 6.4).

6.1 School Attendance and Reallocation

Section 5 showed that Blaine Amendments led to a substantial contraction in Catholic schooling, especially in areas with larger Catholic communities. We now examine how Catholic immigrant families responded to this contraction. In particular, did parents in larger enclaves withdraw their children from schooling altogether, or did they reallocate them into non-Catholic institutions? Answering these questions is important 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 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 (first-generation Catholic immigrant) child aged 5–15 was enrolled in school at the time of the Census. 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.

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 (Dahl et al., 2022). 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 (aged 5–15, 5–9, and 10–15, respectively), and columns 5–7 report analogous estimates for girls. Across all subsamples, the estimated effects remain close to zero and statistically insignificant.

Taken together, these findings indicate that Blaine Amendments did not reduce overall school participation among Catholic children, but instead likely induced a reallocation away from Catholic schools and into non-sectarian institutions. Importantly, this shift does not appear to have affected enrollment among U.S.-born white children. Panel C of Table 3 reports results for U.S.-born white children of U.S.-born parents and finds no enrollment effects in counties with larger pre-existing Catholic communities following Blaine adoption. This suggests that the reallocation of Catholic children into non-sectarian schools did not crowd out native white students. Although we do not observe school type or the degree of within-school segregation, the movement of Catholic children into non-Catholic educational 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 Measuring Exposure to Blaine During School Age

Having shown that Blaine Amendments reallocated Catholic children into non-sectarian schools without reducing school attendance, regardless of the size of the Catholic community, we next examine whether exposure to Blaine during formative years affected the long-run assimilation of Catholic immigrants. To this end, we again draw on 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.[17] We exclude German immigrants, whose religious affiliation cannot be reliably inferred from Census records.

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

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. Note that, because we exploit individual-level variation in exposure to the Blaine Amendments, we can extend equation (1) to estimate their direct effect on individual assimilation outcomes, while retaining our primary focus on how this effect varies with the size of the Catholic enclave. We therefore estimate individual-level regressions of the following form:

$$y_{ic\tau} = \gamma_c + \mu_{s\tau} + \beta_1 BY_{i\tau} + \beta_2 BY_{i\tau} \times C_c + \theta_1 X_{i\tau} + \theta_2 X_{c\tau} + \epsilon_{ic\tau} \tag{2}$$

where $y_{ic\tau}$ denotes an assimilation outcome for individual i living in county c in census year τ, and $BY_{i\tau}$ measures the number of years the individual was of school age while a Blaine Amendment was in place in the state of residence. The specification includes county fixed effects (γ_c) and state-by-decade fixed effects ($\mu_{s\tau}$). The former absorb time-invariant county characteristics. The latter absorb all state-level shocks common to individuals residing in the same state and Census year, including the introduction of Blaine. We further control for a vector of individual-level characteristics ($X_{i\tau}$): gender, a quadratic in age, years in the United States, and country-of-birth fixed effects.[18] To allow for differential trends across counties, we interact Census year dummies with 1870 county characteristics ($X_{c\tau}$).[19] In our preferred specification, we restrict the sample to states that adopted a Blaine Amendment between 1872 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. Two points are worth noting.

First, our empirical strategy identifies the effects of differential exposure to non-sectarian schooling environments during childhood. The estimates thus reflect a bundled treatment that may include greater interaction with native-born peers and teachers, exposure to English-language instruction, and changes in curriculum. At the same time, because the specification compares cohorts within the same county, responses common across cohorts—such as broader

[18] Since years in the U.S. is not available for 1880, we replace it with zero and include a missing indicator dummy as an additional control, retaining all 1880 observations in the estimation sample.

[19] As in Section 5, 1870 county characteristics include: 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.

changes in local conditions or general reactions to Blaine adoption—are absorbed by the fixed effects and not separately identified.

Second, we assign exposure to Blaine based on the individual's county of residence at the time of Census enumeration, rather than at the time of Blaine adoption or during childhood. If immigrants selectively migrated across locations in response to Blaine, this could bias the estimates. For such migration to generate spurious effects, however, it would need to vary systematically across cohorts within counties according to school-age exposure, which seems less plausible. An alternative approach would be to link individuals across Censuses and assign exposure based on county of residence during childhood. The main limitation of this strategy is a substantial reduction in sample size: the number of observations falls from more than 2 million to roughly 40,000, leaving considerably less identifying variation. Nevertheless, as a robustness check, we show that the results remain qualitatively similar when using the linked sample. Section 6.4 discusses these and additional robustness checks.

6.3 Assimilation Outcomes

6.3.1 Ability to Speak English and Economic Assimilation

Because Blaine Amendments affected the schooling environment faced by immigrant children, we begin by examining their effects on English proficiency. Results are reported in Panel A of Table 4. Column 1 presents a parsimonious specification including individual controls, county fixed effects, and Census 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) were more likely to speak English. The coefficient on the interaction term is also positive and statistically significant. Larger effects in more Catholic counties are consistent with the stronger schooling shock induced by Blaine in these areas (Section 5.2), which likely increased the extent to which children were exposed to English-language instruction and non-sectarian schooling environments. This interpretation is also in line with historical accounts. Catholic parochial schools often accommodated home languages, especially in ethnic parishes, whereas public schools emphasized standardized instruction in English, increasing pressure toward English-only education for immigrant children (Lazerson, 1977).

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 for both coefficients, and if anything increase in magnitude. In our preferred specification (column 4), 5 additional years of exposure

during school age increase the probability of speaking English by 2.39 percentage points (3.6% relative to the mean). Importantly, the results indicate that exposure to the Blaine provisions promoted assimilation more strongly in counties with larger Catholic populations. At the same level of exposure (5 years), a one standard deviation increase in pre-Blaine Catholic population predicts an increase in the probability of speaking English equivalent to 2.05 percentage points (3.1% relative to the mean).

In Panel B of Table 4, we examine whether higher English proficiency also translated into access to better-paying occupations for immigrant men. Because wages were not recorded in the Census prior to 1940, we proxy for earnings using the log of occupational income scores (Abramitzky et al., 2014).[20] The coefficient on school-age exposure to Blaine is positive, statistically significant, and robust across specifications, indicating that Blaine fostered economic assimilation. Similarly, the interaction with Catholic community size is also positive and statistically significant, 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. In the preferred specification (column 4), 5 additional years of exposure to Blaine increase occupational income scores by approximately 1%. This effect rises by a further 1% when the pre-Blaine Catholic population is one standard deviation above its mean.

6.3.2 Intermarriage

Next, we turn to social and cultural assimilation. In Panel A of Table 5, we focus on intermarriage, which is often viewed as the "final stage of assimilation" (Gordon, 1964). The dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if the individual is married to a U.S.-born white of native parentage.[21] 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. The estimates remain positive and statistically significant throughout all the specifications, and if anything become larger in magnitude. In our preferred specification (column 4), 5 additional years of exposure to Blaine during school age raise the probability of intermarriage by 1.33 percentage points, or 38.9% relative to the sample mean.

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 sev-

[20] Because female labor force participation was very low during this period, as is standard in the literature (Abramitzky et al., 2014; Fouka et al., 2022), we restrict the analysis to immigrant men.

[21] Following the literature (Angrist, 2002; Carlana and Tabellini, 2018), we restrict the sample to immigrant men aged 20–35 and immigrant women aged 18–33.

eral 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 above—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.

Unlike the previous two outcomes, the interaction between exposure during school age and Catholic community size is negative and statistically significant, indicating that the assimilation effect of Blaine was attenuated in larger Catholic enclaves. Specifically, a one standard deviation increase in pre-Blaine Catholic population predicts a decrease in the probability of intermarriage equivalent to 0.38 percentage points (10.9% relative to the mean). This pattern is notable because Blaine had larger effects on Catholic schools and enrollment in these areas (Section 5), suggesting that the underlying schooling shock was stronger precisely where the assimilation effects on intermarriage were weaker. One possible explanation is that larger enclaves offered fewer opportunities for intergroup interaction, as social networks and marriage markets remained more segregated along ethnic lines. Another possibility is that larger Catholic communities mounted stronger cultural resistance to assimilation. However, below we provide evidence against this interpretation, showing that Catholic immigrant parents in larger enclaves did not respond to Blaine by adopting more distinctly Catholic names for their U.S.-born children.

Columns 1 and 2 of Table A.7, Panel A, replicate the preferred specification (Table 5, 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 on exposure, indicating that increased exposure to Blaine reduced endogamous marriage and shifted marital choices away from co-ethnic and co-religious matches. Interestingly, the heterogeneity patterns are less stable than for intermarriage. The interaction between exposure during school age and Catholic community size is negative in both columns, although statistically significant in column 1 only. We therefore interpret the heterogeneity results for these auxiliary outcomes with caution.[22]

[22]Column 3 of Table A.7, Panel A, considers an alternative measure of social integration: the probability that the household

6.3.3 Naturalization

In Panel B of Table 5, we turn to naturalization status. The dependent variable is a dummy equal to one if an immigrant man was a naturalized citizen.[23] The coefficient on school-age exposure to Blaine is positive, statistically significant, and stable across columns. In the preferred specification (column 4), 5 additional years of exposure to Blaine during school age increase the probability of naturalization by 3.65 percentage points, or 7.2% relative to the sample mean.

Unlike intermarriage and residential integration, which reflect interactions between immigrants and U.S.-born individuals, naturalization decisions in this period depended largely on immigrants themselves, as rejection rates for citizenship petitions were very low (Biavaschi et al., 2017). For this reason, the literature has interpreted naturalization as a proxy for assimilation effort (Fouka et al., 2022; Gagliarducci and Tabellini, 2025). The positive effects of Blaine exposure therefore suggest greater willingness to integrate into American society, potentially because exposure to non-sectarian schooling improved English proficiency—which lowered barriers to citizenship—or strengthened attachment to U.S. institutions and national identity.

The interaction between school-age exposure and Catholic community size is positive and statistically significant (column 5), in line with the pattern observed for English proficiency and occupational income scores. At the same level of exposure (5 years), a one standard deviation increase in pre-Blaine Catholic population predicts an increase in naturalization by 1.99 percentage points (3.9% relative to the mean). One interpretation is that the schooling channel—stronger in larger Catholic communities—dominated for these outcomes, whereas for intermarriage the constraints imposed by enclave size and more segmented social networks remained more important.

6.3.4 Naming Patterns

Finally, we consider the names chosen by immigrant parents for their U.S.-born children. A growing literature in economics has used naming patterns to study intergenerational cultural transmission and identity formation (Fryer and Levitt, 2004; Abramitzky et al., 2020; Fouka, 2020). Building on this approach, we construct indices measuring how American-sounding and how distinctly Catholic children's names are, based on the frequency of names in the

head had at least one neighbor who is a U.S.-born white of native parentage. Both estimated coefficients are positive and statistically significant, suggesting that individuals more exposed to Blaine during their school-age years were also more likely to live in proximity to U.S.-born whites, and this effect was stronger in larger enclaves.

[23] Naturalization is defined for male immigrants aged 21 and older who had resided in the U.S. for at least five years.

broader U.S. population and among Catholics.[24] Table 6 examines whether Catholic immigrant mothers who were more exposed to Blaine during school age later gave their U.S.-born children more Americanized and less distinctly Catholic names. Panels A and B report results for the American Name Index (ANI) and Catholic Name Index (CNI), respectively.

Results indicate that exposure to Blaine increases the ANI and decreases the CNI. The estimated coefficients are statistically significant and remain stable across columns. According to the preferred specification (column 4), 5 additional years of exposure raise the ANI by 0.85 points and lower the CNI by 1.17 points, corresponding to 2.3% and 1.8% of the mean, respectively. For comparison, Abramitzky et al. (2020) find that immigrants during the Age of Mass Migration reduced the foreignness of their children's names by roughly 5 index points after 10 years in the United States.[25] Our estimates thus imply that comparing a fully exposed mother (10 years of exposure during school age) to a non-exposed mother generates changes in naming patterns amounting to roughly one-third to one-half of that magnitude.

Unlike the results for naturalization and intermarriage, the interaction terms with pre-Blaine Catholic community size are small and statistically insignificant (column 5), indicating that the effects on naming choices were broadly similar across areas with different levels of Catholic presence.

6.4 Robustness Checks

We now present a series of additional robustness checks that further strengthen the credibility of the assimilation results.

Tables A.9 and A.8 report an eight-column battery of specification and clustering checks for English proficiency, log occupational income, intermarriage, and naturalization using the specification of column 4 of Tables 4 and 5 as the baseline throughout; Table A.10 reports the analogous battery for the mothers' naming outcomes, using column 4 of Table 6 as the baseline. Column 1 augments the baseline with county-specific linear time trends, estimated over the pre-adoption period and extrapolated forward. Column 2 implements a stacked difference-in-differences design following Cengiz et al. (2019). Column 3 excludes the county with the largest Catholic population within each state, and column 4 restricts the sample to counties with at least 100 Catholic immigrants. Column 5 replaces the pre-Blaine Catholic

[24] We focus on first-generation Catholic immigrant mothers aged 18–33 at the time of the Census, using the full count US Census for the available decades between 1880 and 1920. The American Name Index (ANI) is defined as the frequency of a name within natives to its frequency among both natives and first-generation immigrants of every nationality, while the Catholic Name Index (CNI) is defined as the frequency of a name within first-generation Catholic immigrants relative to its frequency among both natives and first-generation immigrants of every nationality. See Table A.2 for additional details.

[25] Since the Foreignness Index in Abramitzky et al. (2020) moves in the opposite direction of the ANI, the two measures are conceptually comparable.

immigrant population with the population of Catholic immigrant children aged 5–15 as the measure of community size. Columns 6 and 7 cluster standard errors at the State Economic Area and state levels, respectively. Column 8 replaces the continuous years-of-exposure treatment with a binary indicator for ever being exposed to Blaine adoption between ages 5–15. Across all eight columns, the coefficient on the interaction between Blaine exposure and pre-Blaine Catholic community size remains statistically significant and quantitatively similar to the baseline estimates for English proficiency, occupational score, intermarriage, and naturalization; for the naming indices it remains statistically insignificant throughout, as at baseline, while the own-exposure effect stays significant.

Tables A.11, A.12, and A.13 report a companion three-column battery addressing sample composition, migration-driven mismeasurement of treatment, and omitted Catholic infrastructure. Column 1 extends the sample to include second-generation Catholics, defined as U.S.-born individuals whose father was born in a Catholic-majority country. Column 2 restricts the sample to individuals linked across census waves through genealogical (Census Tree) record linkage, assigning treatment based on the county recorded one linked census wave (20–30 years) earlier rather than at the outcome census, which addresses the concern that Blaine-induced schooling effects could themselves generate differential internal migration that contaminates treatment assignment.[26] Column 3 adds a control for the presence of a Catholic church in the county. The community-size interaction retains its baseline sign and significance for intermarriage, naturalization, and occupational score across all three checks; results are more mixed for English proficiency and for the naming indices — where the interaction is occasionally insignificant or, for second-generation mothers, changes sign — consistent with smaller sample sizes in columns 1–2 and, in the naming analysis, a potential backlash channel that partially offsets the own-exposure effect.

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 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

[26] We link first-generation Catholic immigrants aged 15–99 and observed in the 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920 full-count censuses back to an earlier wave — 1880→1860, 1900→1870, 1910→1880, and 1920→1900 — using direct Census Tree crosswalks. Each individual is linked only once, at the first census wave for which a link is available, and is dropped if no Census Tree match exists or if the linked record cannot be geocoded to a county via the CPP place crosswalk.

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, depending on the size of the enclaves.

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 speak English, intermarry with and live close to natives, become naturalized, and name their offspring with more American sounding names. This was particularly the case in large Catholic communities, at least for the first two outcomes. 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?

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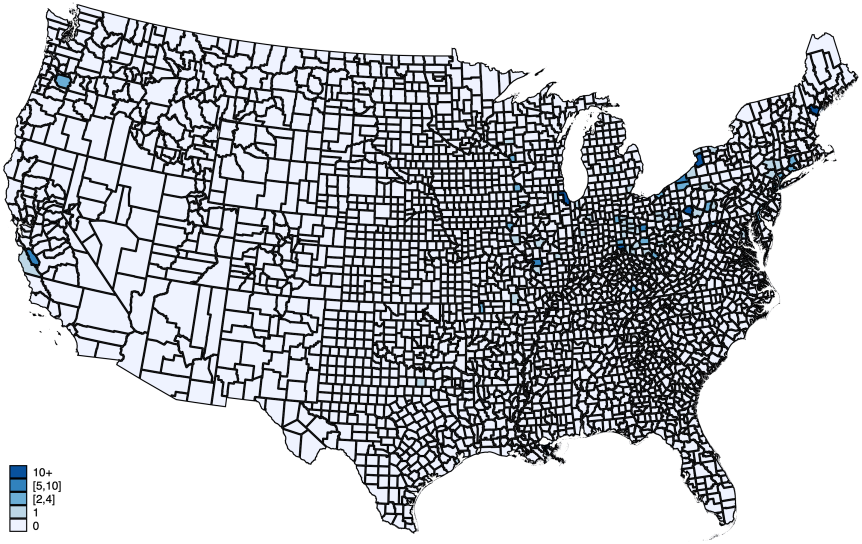
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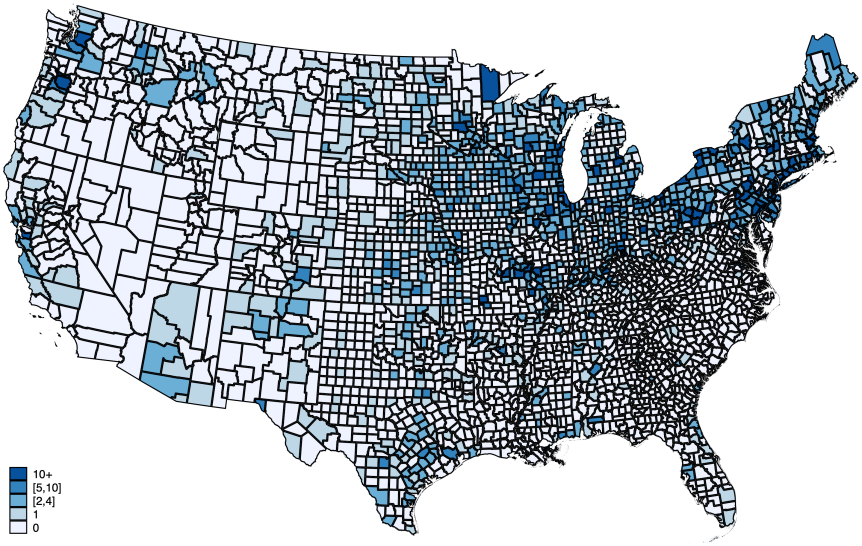
Figures

Figure 1. Number of Catholic Schools

(A) 1872

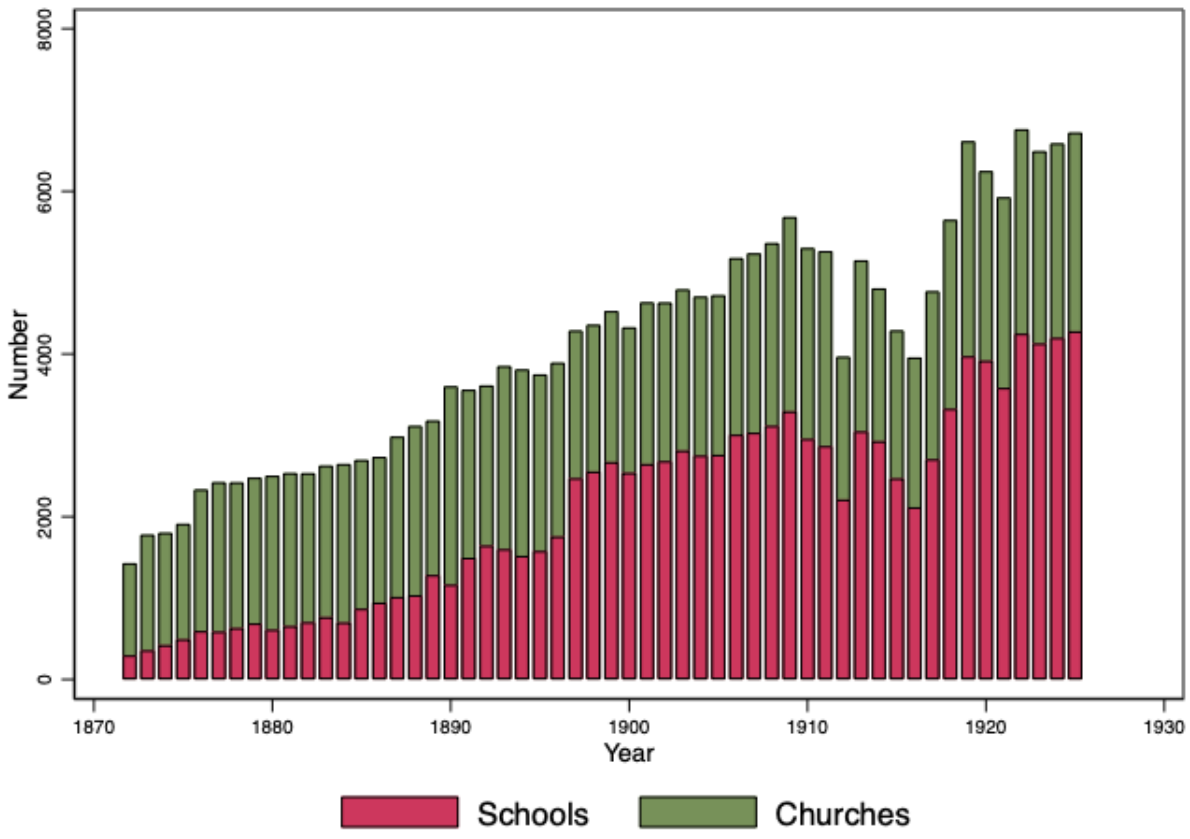


(B) 1925



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.

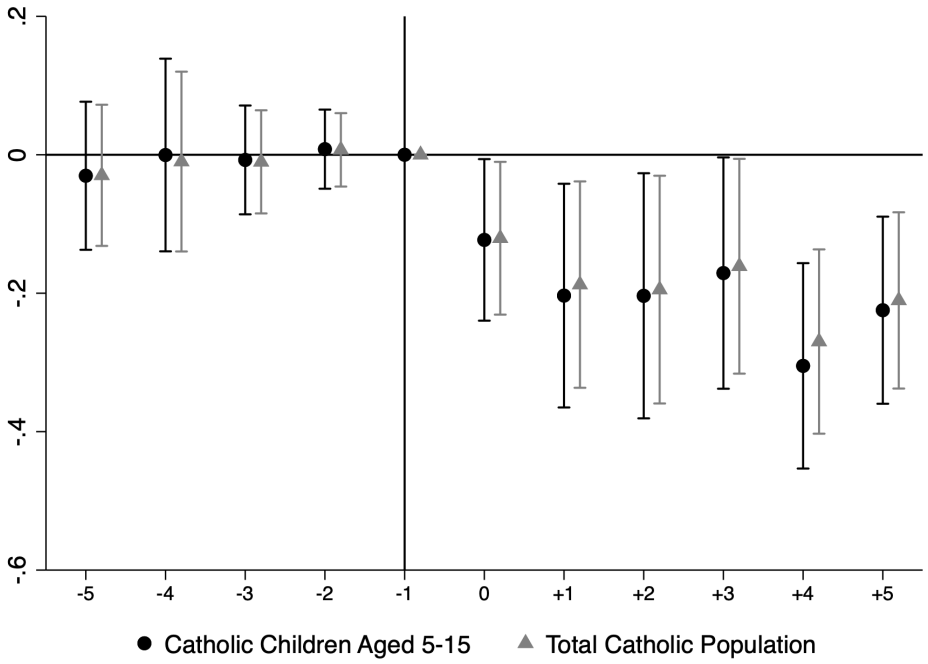
Figure 2. Number of Catholic Schools and Churches (1872-1925)



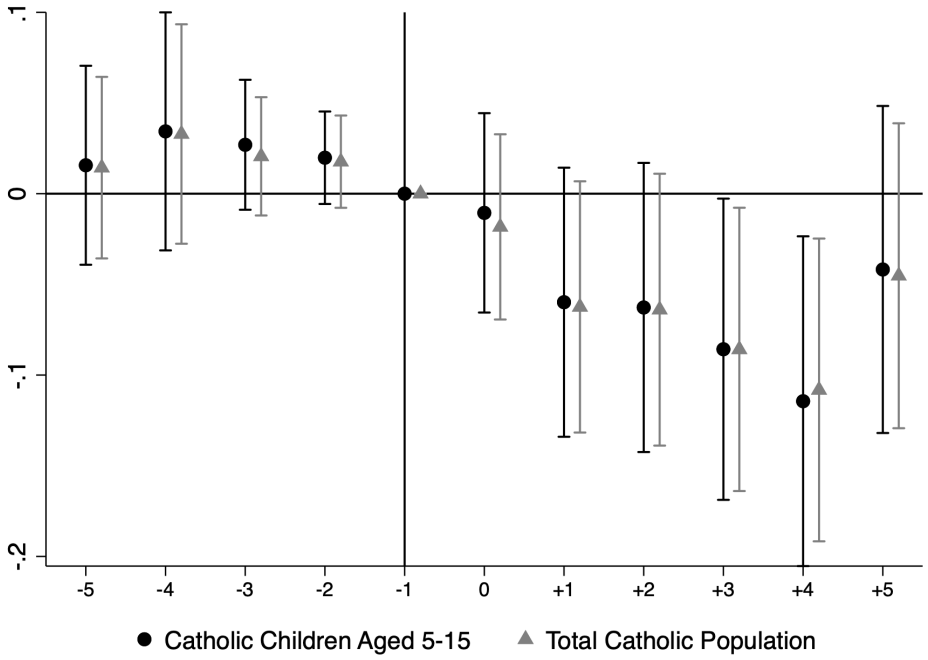
Notes: The figure plots the annual total number of Catholic schools (dark red) and Catholic churches (dark green) from 1872 to 1925. Data are drawn from the *Official Catholic Directory*, aggregated at the national level.

Figure 3. Blaine Amendments and Catholic Schools: Dynamic Estimates

(A) Number of Pupils



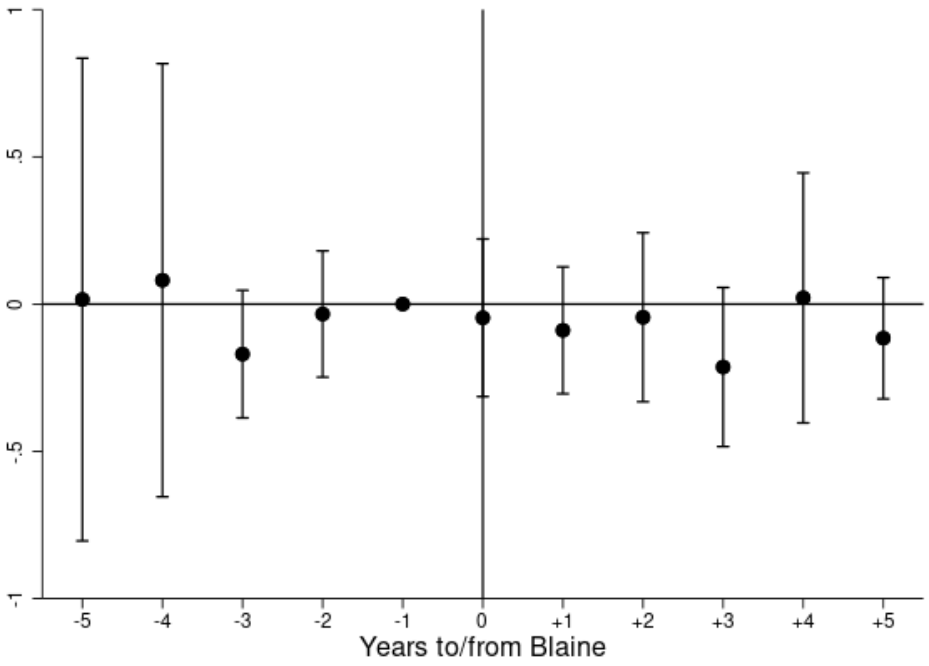
(B) Number of Schools



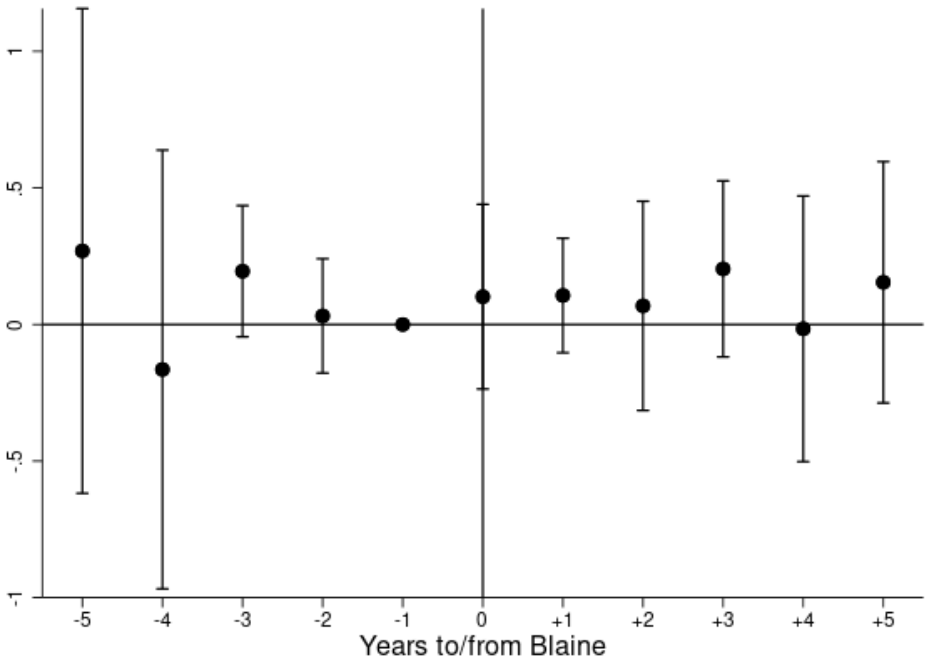
Notes: The figure plots the coefficients, with corresponding 95% confidence intervals, on the interaction between a full set of event-time dummies and two measures of county-level Catholic presence: the pre-Blaine population of Catholic immigrant children aged 5–15 (circles) and the pre-Blaine total Catholic immigrant population (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.

Figure 4. Blaine Amendments and Children's Names

(A) American Name Index (ANI)



(B) Catholic Name Index (CNI)



Notes: The figure plots the coefficients, with corresponding 95% confidence intervals, on the interaction between birth-year-relative-to-Blaine bins and the pre-Blaine Catholic immigrant population (standardized within year). Panel A reports results for the American Name Index (ANI), while Panel B reports results for the Catholic Name Index (CNI). Controls include child sex, age, and birth order, as well as mother's age and years in the United States. All specifications include county and birthplace fixed effects, state×year fixed effects, and 1870 county characteristics interacted with year dummies, and are restricted to households with at least one child born in each of the pre-Blaine ($k \in [-5, -1]$) and post-Blaine ($k \in [0, +5]$) windows. The reference year is $k = -1$ (one year before Blaine adoption).

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 a dummy equal to one if the child is enrolled 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 a dummy equal to one if a child (aged 5–15) is enrolled in any school. 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, Ability to Speak English, and Occupation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A. Speak English				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.436***	0.410***	0.406***	0.477***
	(0.083)	(0.088)	(0.091)	(0.112)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.357***	0.390***	0.410***	0.409***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.042)	(0.045)	(0.047)	(0.047)
Observations	6,502,212	6,502,212	6,502,212	5,214,975
Adjusted R-squared	0.231	0.234	0.236	0.239
Avg. Outcome	65.49	65.49	65.49	65.05
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.44
Panel B. Log Occupational Score				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.001**	0.001***	0.001***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.001***	0.001***	0.002***	0.002***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	5,423,565	5,423,565	5,423,565	4,347,208
Adjusted R-squared	0.118	0.119	0.121	0.126
Avg. Outcome	3.11	3.11	3.11	3.11
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	0.80	0.80	0.80	1.00
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 (in 100), restricted to individuals aged 15–64, and 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. All columns include an interaction between school-age exposure and the 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 5. Blaine Exposure, Intermarriage, and Naturalization

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A. Married to Native (Conditional on being Married)				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.103***	0.169***	0.171***	0.266***
	(0.027)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.031)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	-0.067***	-0.067**	-0.073***	-0.075***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Observations	2,608,374	2,608,374	2,608,374	2,068,163
Adjusted R-squared	0.080	0.081	0.081	0.077
Avg. Outcome	3.51	3.51	3.51	3.42
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.33	1.33	1.33	1.68
Panel B. Naturalized				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.662***	0.661***	0.659***	0.730***
	(0.114)	(0.104)	(0.105)	(0.123)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.368***	0.376***	0.395***	0.399***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.074)	(0.067)	(0.068)	(0.068)
Observations	4,857,268	4,857,268	4,857,268	3,897,978
Adjusted R-squared	0.314	0.316	0.316	0.312
Avg. Outcome	50.59	50.59	50.59	51.06
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	0.76	0.76	0.76	0.94
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 (in 100); Panel B examines naturalization (in 100). 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. All columns include an interaction between school-age exposure and the 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 6. Children's Names and Mothers' Blaine Exposure

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: American Name Index				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.013	0.086***	0.086***	0.169***
	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	-0.024*	-0.019	-0.005	-0.007
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Observations	998,404	998,404	998,404	790,467
Adjusted R-squared	0.103	0.105	0.106	0.106
Avg. Outcome	35.49	35.49	35.49	35.54
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.55	1.55	1.55	1.96
Panel B: Catholic Name Index				
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	-0.041	-0.125***	-0.124***	-0.234***
	(0.027)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.027)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.009	0.005	-0.005	-0.002
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Observations	998,404	998,404	998,404	790,467
Adjusted R-squared	0.095	0.097	0.097	0.098
Avg. Outcome	64.59	64.59	64.59	64.43
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.55	1.55	1.55	1.96
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FEs	✓			
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs		✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs			✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)				✓

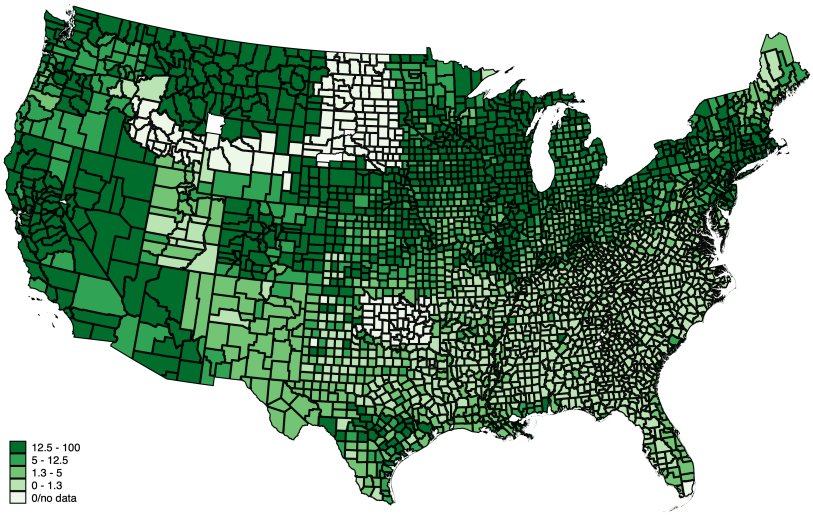
Notes: The table reports OLS estimates of the effect of mothers' school-age exposure to Blaine on the naming choices of their US-born children. Panel A reports estimates for the American Name Index (ANI, in 100); Panel B for the Catholic Name Index (CNI, in 100). Both outcomes are the mean naming index across US-born children in the household, ranging from 0 to 100. The key explanatory variable is the number of years the mother was of school age (ages 5–15) while a Blaine Amendment was in force in her state of residence. The sample covers first-generation Catholic immigrant mothers aged 18–33 from the 1880–1920 full-count U.S. Censuses with at least one US-born child. German immigrants are excluded. Individual controls include age, age squared, and years in the U.S. Column 1 includes county, birthplace, 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. All columns include an interaction between school-age exposure and the pre-Blaine 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

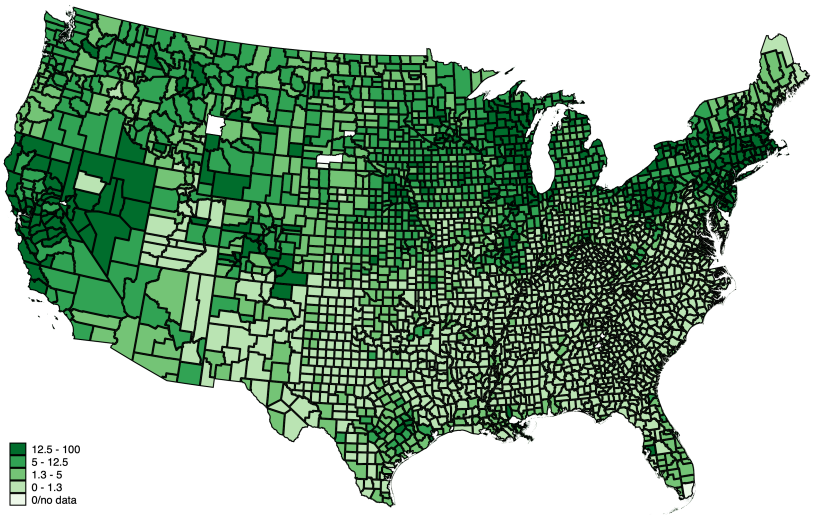
A.1 Figures

Figure A.1. Immigrant Population Share

(A) 1880



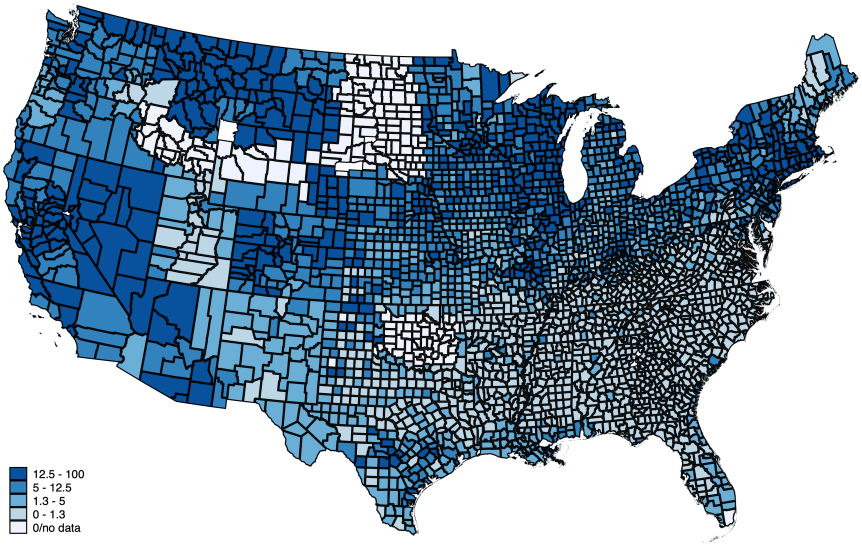
(B) 1920



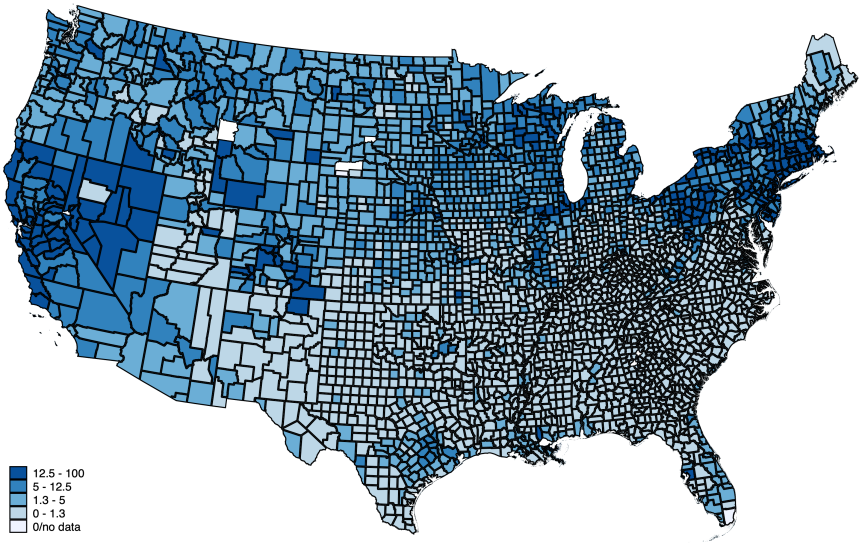
Notes: The figure maps the share of first-generation immigrants in the total county population in 1880 (Panel A) and 1920 (Panel B). Data are from the full-count U.S. Census. Counties are shaded using quantile bins, from lightest (lowest immigrant share) to darkest (highest immigrant share).

Figure A.2. Catholic Immigrant Population Share

(A) 1880

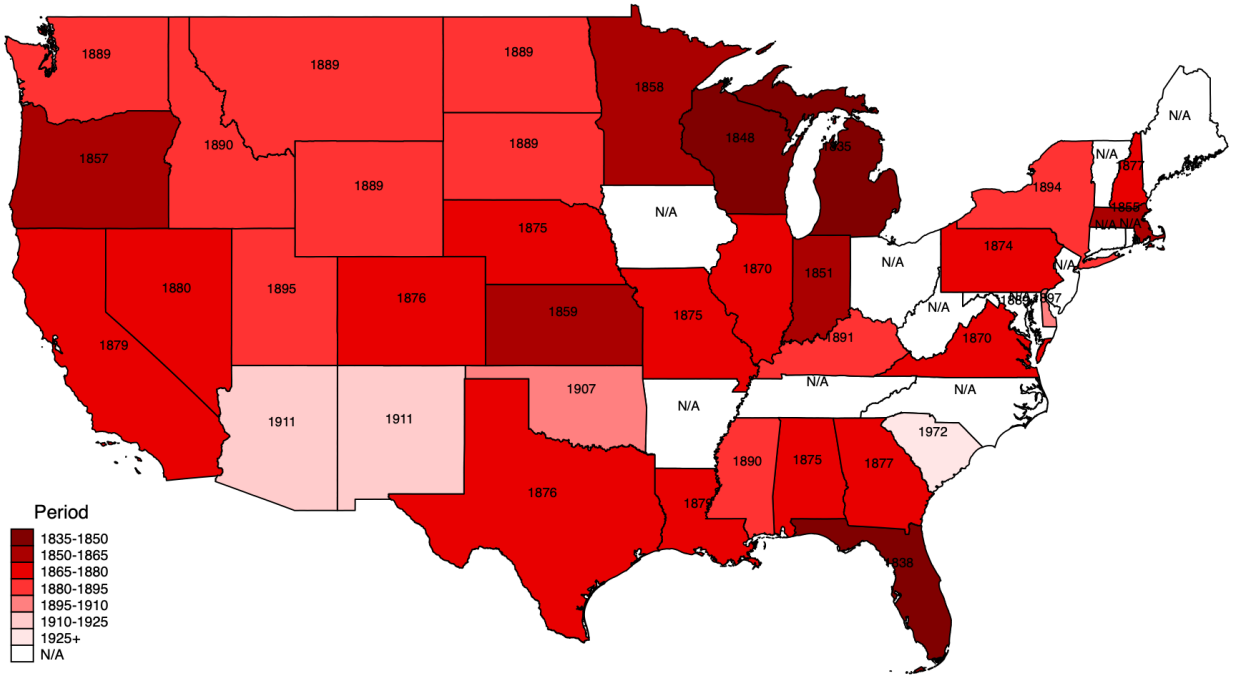


(B) 1920



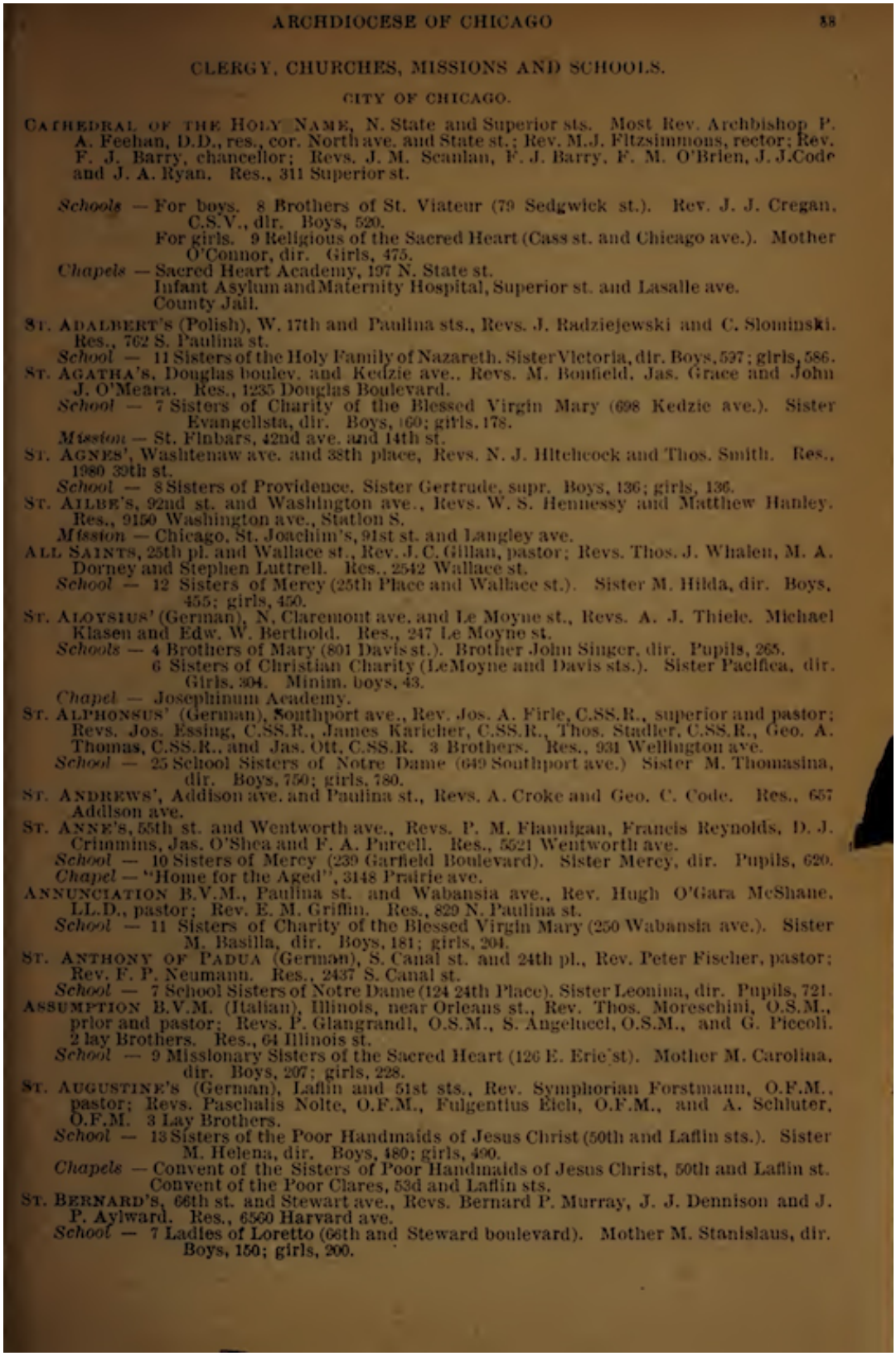
Notes: The figure maps the share of first-generation Catholic immigrants in the total county population in 1880 (Panel A) and 1920 (Panel B). Catholic immigrants are defined as foreign-born individuals from predominantly Catholic countries of origin. Data are from the full-count U.S. Census. Counties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

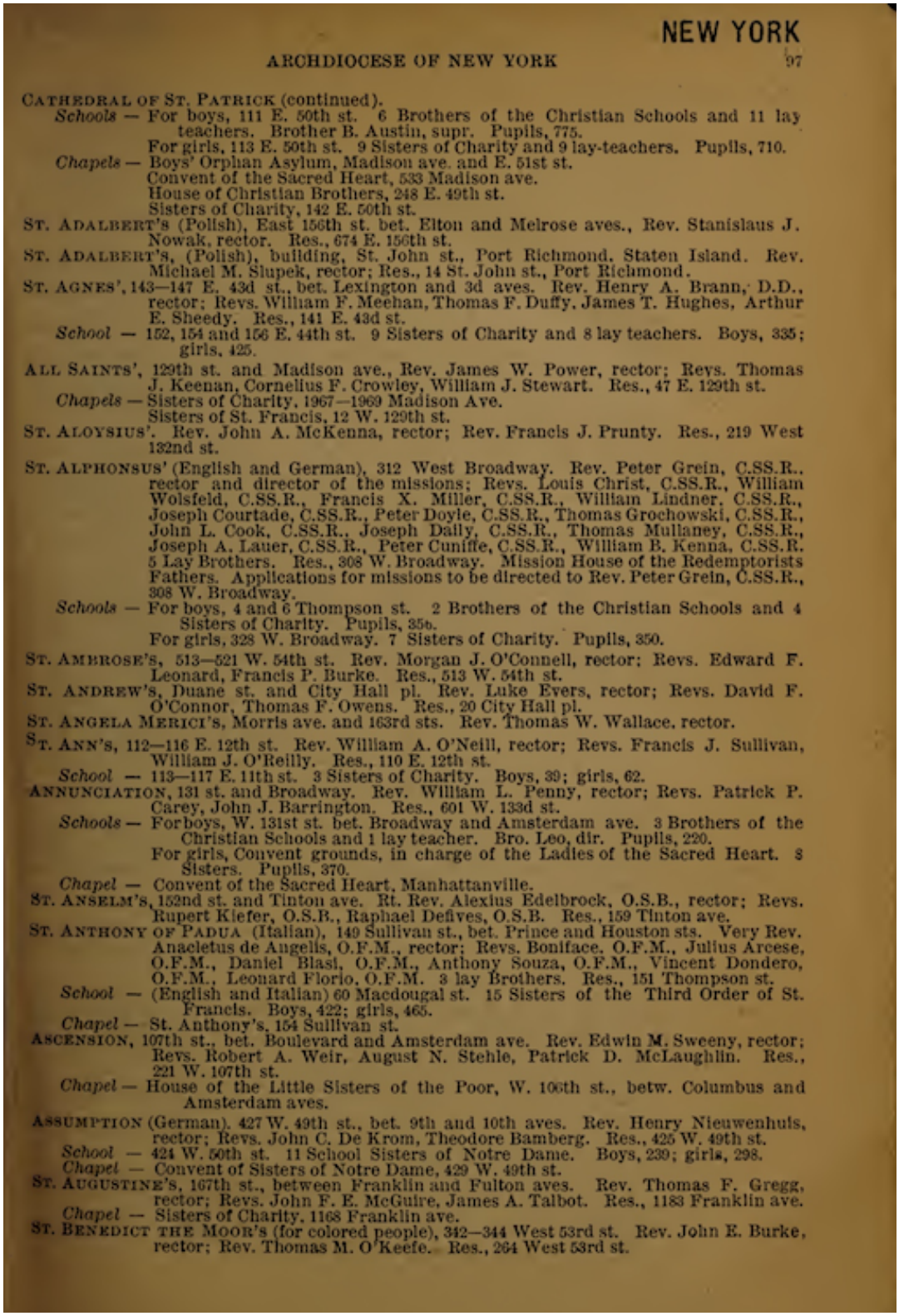
ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA (German), S. Canal st. and 24th pl., Rev. Peter Fischer, pastor; Rev. F. P. Neumann. Res., 2437 S. Canal st.
School — 7 School Sisters of Notre Dame (124 24th Place). Sister Leonina, dir. Pupils, 721.

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.

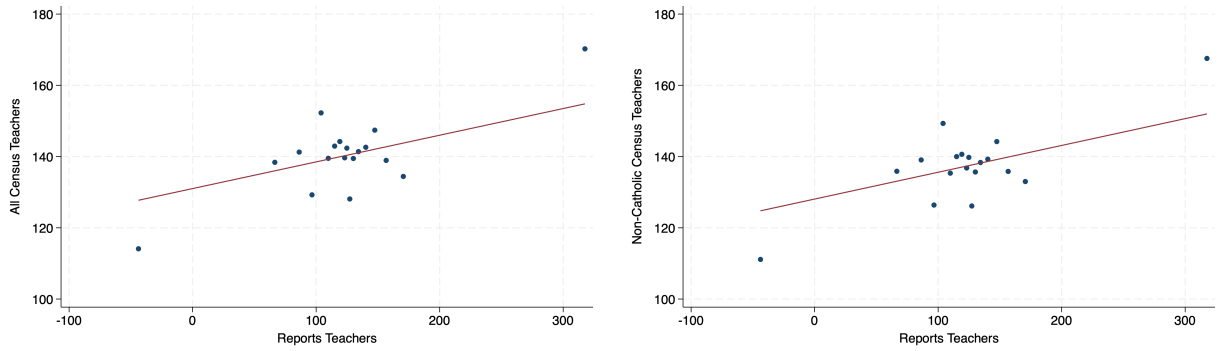
Figure A.6. Sample I of the 1901 Report of the Commissioner of Education

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

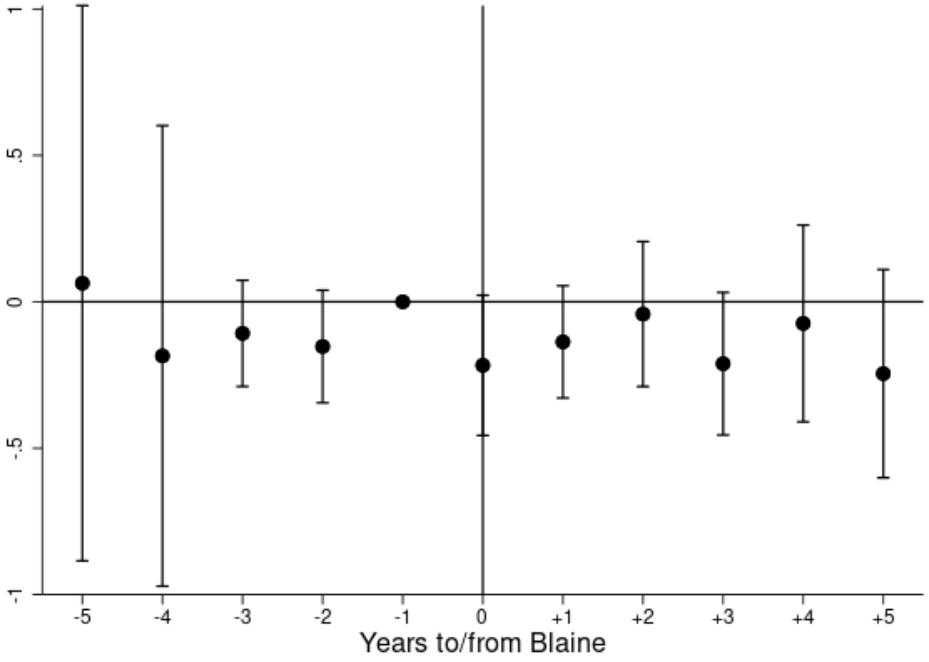
(A) All Census Teachers (B) Non-Catholic Census Teachers



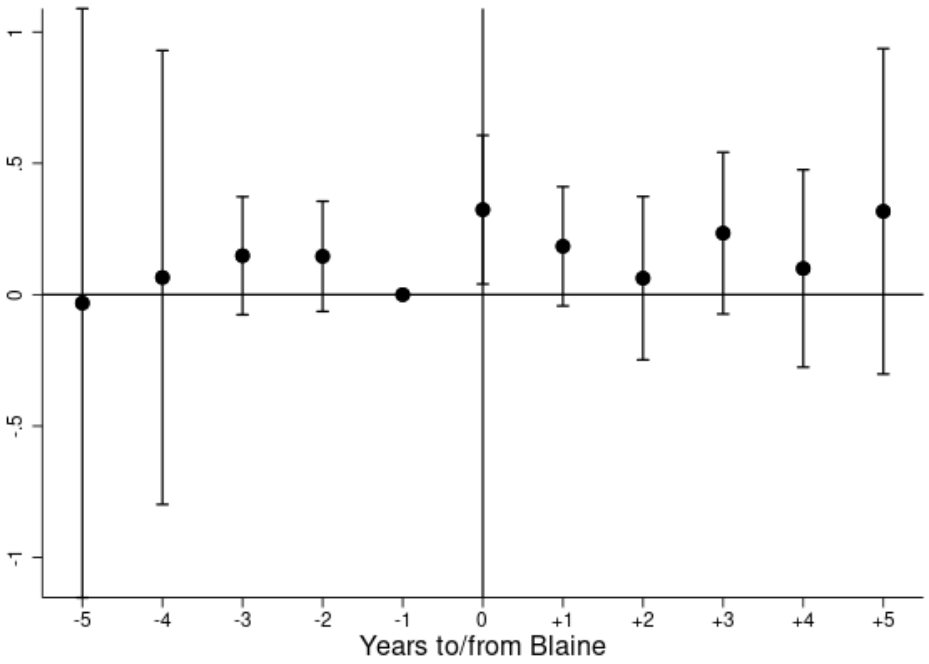
Notes: The figure plots the relationship between the number of public school teachers reported in county-level *Superintendent of Public Instruction* reports (x-axis) and teacher counts constructed from the U.S. Census (y-axis). Panel A uses all individuals reporting teaching as their occupation in the 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. Blaine Amendments and Children's Names: Household Fixed Effects

(A) American Name Index (ANI)



(B) Catholic Name Index (CNI)



Notes: The figure plots the coefficients, with corresponding 95% confidence intervals, on the interaction between birth-year-relative-to-Blaine bins and the pre-Blaine Catholic immigrant population (standardized within year). Panel A reports results for the American Name Index (ANI), while Panel B reports results for the Catholic Name Index (CNI). Controls include child sex, age, and birth order, as well as mother's age and years in the United States. All specifications include county and birthplace fixed effects, state×year fixed effects, and 1870 county characteristics interacted with year dummies, are restricted to households with at least one child born in each of the pre-Blaine ($k \in [-5, -1]$) and post-Blaine ($k \in [0, +5]$) windows, and additionally include household fixed effects. The reference year is $k = -1$ (one year before Blaine adoption).

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		
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)
Residential integration	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)
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)
Speak English	Dummy = 1 if the respondent speaks English; ages 15–64; scaled 0–100	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
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	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
American Name Index	Mean American Name Index (ANI) of U.S.-born children in the household	U.S. Census of Population (Ruggles et al., 2024)
Catholic Name Index	Mean Catholic Name Index (CNI) of U.S.-born children in the household	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 to a Native	3.512	18.41	0.000	0.000	100.0	2,608,421
Endogamous Marriage	61.46	48.67	100.0	0.000	100.0	2,608,418
Catholic Marriage	64.37	47.89	100.0	0.000	100.0	2,608,418
Residential Integration	31.42	46.42	0.000	0.000	100.0	4,982,019
Naturalized	50.59	50.00	100.0	0.000	100.0	4,857,281
Speak English	64.96	47.71	100.0	0.000	100.0	11,299,943
In Labor Force	93.31	24.98	100.0	0.000	100.0	6,354,196
Log Occupational Score	3.111	0.330	3.135	1.099	4.382	5,423,572
American Name Index	35.49	18.71	34.83	0.000	100.0	998,524
Catholic Name Index	64.59	20.55	66.75	0.000	100.0	998,524

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 on Schools and Pupils: Sample

	Baseline	Drop largest	≥100 Cath.	Common Sample	Excluding Germans	Catholic Children	2nd Gen.	Non-Catholics
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Catholic pupils (log)								
Blaine on ×	-0.197***	-0.247***	-0.197***	-0.197***	-0.194***	-0.208***	-0.213***	-0.384***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.101)
Observations	67,155	66,123	36,946	67,155	64,496	64,716	74,737	67,155
Adjusted R-squared	0.768	0.746	0.763	0.768	0.755	0.772	0.764	0.767
Avg. Outcome	68.096	64.045	113.913	68.096	62.740	70.498	61.648	68.096
Avg. Cath. imm.	0.938	0.773	1.672	0.938	0.806	0.041	1.987	1.093
Panel B: Catholic schools (log)								
Blaine on ×	-0.100***	-0.197***	-0.101***	-0.137***	-0.091**	-0.106***	-0.110***	-0.221***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.023)	(0.038)	(0.034)	(0.037)	(0.084)
Observations	71,932	70,511	40,915	67,155	69,237	69,433	79,674	71,932
Adjusted R-squared	0.826	0.802	0.822	0.785	0.818	0.832	0.824	0.826
Avg. Outcome	0.899	0.745	1.473	0.586	0.824	0.929	0.822	0.899
Avg. Cath. imm.	1.333	0.935	2.313	0.938	1.146	0.059	2.739	1.367
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Blaine interaction coefficient on Catholic community size (col. 8: on non-Catholic community size, placebo). 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 on Schools and Pupils: Specification and Clustering

	Baseline	County Trends	Stacked DiD	Levels	IHS	SEA Cluster	State Cluster	Unweighted
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Catholic pupils (log)								
Blaine on ×	-0.197***	-0.309***	-0.224***	-7.522***	-0.102***	-0.197***	-0.197***	-0.193***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.047)	(2.304)	(0.019)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.048)
Observations	67,155	41,286	231,329	67,155	67,155	67,155	67,155	67,155
Adjusted R-squared	0.768	0.818	0.836	0.752	0.781	0.768	0.768	0.632
Avg. Outcome	68.096	52.465	48.248	68.096	68.096	68.096	68.096	68.096
Avg. Cath. imm.	0.938	0.896	1.093	0.938	0.938	0.938	0.938	0.938
Bootstrap p-value							0.103	
Panel B: Catholic schools (log)								
Blaine on ×	-0.100***	-0.196***	-0.165***	-0.563***	-0.028**	-0.100**	-0.100**	-0.162**
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.034)	(0.029)	(0.044)	(0.175)	(0.011)	(0.040)	(0.048)	(0.070)
Observations	71,932	44,051	245,049	71,932	71,932	71,932	71,932	71,932
Adjusted R-squared	0.826	0.872	0.878	0.924	0.898	0.826	0.826	0.662
Avg. Outcome	0.899	0.786	0.742	0.899	0.899	0.899	0.899	0.899
Avg. Cath. imm.	1.333	1.416	1.703	1.333	1.333	1.333	1.333	1.333
Bootstrap p-value							0.353	
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. Schools and Pupils by Catholic Population

	Quintile 1		Quintile 2		Quintile 3		Quintile 4		Quintile 5	
	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N
N. (1,000) schools	0.001	6,027	0.001	6,033	0.002	6,020	0.003	6,023	0.007	6,005
N. (1,000) pupils	0.120	4,740	0.170	4,703	0.206	4,953	0.328	5,183	0.529	4,294
Avg. pupils per school	98.85	4,740	123.1	4,703	121.5	4,953	148.1	5,183	173.3	4,294
Avg. nuns per school	3.264	6,027	3.670	6,033	3.713	6,020	4.568	6,023	5.963	6,005
Avg. lays per school	0.305	6,027	0.272	6,033	0.287	6,020	0.357	6,023	0.718	6,005
Pct. nuns of teachers	85.84	4,745	88.40	5,253	91.26	5,449	92.64	5,600	92.63	5,716
Avg. nuns per pupil	0.075	4,740	0.086	4,703	0.072	4,953	0.065	5,183	0.067	4,294
Avg. lays per pupil	0.008	4,740	0.008	4,703	0.006	4,953	0.005	5,183	0.008	4,294

Notes: Sample restricted to county-years with at least one school and to observations with sample==1 (regression estimation sample). Quintiles 1-5 based on `pb_tot_ca_i`, the county's pre-Blaine (baseline) Catholic immigrant population. N. schools and N. pupils are normalized by total county population (`cpop`), not by Catholic population.

Table A.7. Additional Assimilation Results

	Endogamous Marriage	Catholic Marriage	Residential Integration
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	-0.365***	-0.426***	0.379***
	(0.076)	(0.077)	(0.032)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	-0.206***	-0.104	0.049**
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.056)	(0.072)	(0.023)
Observations	2,068,160	2,068,160	3,983,501
Adjusted R-squared	0.489	0.491	0.180
Avg. Outcome	61.33	63.95	30.41
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.68	1.68	0.78
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. All columns use the same specification as column 4 of Table 5, including an interaction between school-age exposure and the pre-Blaine Catholic community size. The sample, controls, and fixed effects are as described in Table 5. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.8. Robustness on Speak English and Occupational Score: Specification and Clustering

	County Trends	Stacked DiD	Drop Largest	≥100 Cath.	Cath. Kids	SEA Cluster	State Cluster	Exposure Dummy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Speak English								
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15)	0.478***	0.770***	0.645***	0.476***	0.466***	0.477***	0.477***	5.867***
	(0.112)	(0.155)	(0.117)	(0.109)	(0.112)	(0.140)	(0.067)	(0.776)
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15) ×	0.405***	0.348***	0.469***	0.390***	0.435***	0.409***	0.409***	3.009***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.046)	(0.070)	(0.153)	(0.046)	(0.054)	(0.049)	(0.086)	(0.323)
Observations	5,214,975	22,818,393	3,254,763	5,053,979	5,214,975	5,214,975	5,214,975	5,214,975
Adjusted R-squared	0.242	0.243	0.240	0.237	0.240	0.239	0.239	0.241
Avg. Outcome	65.05	66.70	64.94	65.02	65.05	65.05	65.05	65.05
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.44	1.22	1.42	1.43	1.44	1.44	1.44	
Share Ever Exposed								0.24
Bootstrap p-value							0.004	
Panel B: Log Occupational Score								
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15)	0.002***	0.006***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002**	0.018***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15) ×	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.009***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Observations	4,347,208	18,238,770	2,747,790	4,211,230	4,347,208	4,347,208	4,347,208	4,347,208
Adjusted R-squared	0.131	0.110	0.159	0.117	0.126	0.126	0.126	0.126
Avg. Outcome	3.11	3.13	3.08	3.12	3.11	3.11	3.11	3.11
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.00	0.55	1.03	0.99	1.00	1.00	1.00	
Share Ever Exposed								0.17
Bootstrap p-value							0.153	
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Interacted specification. Outcomes in percentages. Col. (2) reports the stacked DiD specification. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses, except col. (6) SEA-level and col. (7) state-level; col. (7) also reports wild bootstrap p-value (999 reps). Col. (8) replaces the continuous years-of-exposure treatment variable with a binary indicator for ever being exposed to Blaine adoption between ages 5–15; "Share Ever Exposed" replaces "Avg. Exposure Yrs." in this column. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.9. Robustness on Married to Native and Naturalized: Specification and Clustering

	County Trends	Stacked DiD	Drop Largest	≥100 Cath.	Cath. Kids	SEA Cluster	State Cluster	Exposure Dummy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Married to Native								
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15)	0.264***	0.164***	0.212***	0.262***	0.268***	0.266***	0.266***	0.878***
	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.043)	(0.165)
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15) ×	-0.075***	-0.120***	-0.124***	-0.073**	-0.100***	-0.075***	-0.075*	-0.485***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.041)	(0.140)
Observations	2,068,163	8,977,049	1,231,512	2,026,872	2,068,163	2,068,163	2,068,163	2,068,163
Adjusted R-squared	0.082	0.070	0.095	0.069	0.077	0.077	0.077	0.077
Avg. Outcome	3.42	3.20	3.92	3.29	3.42	3.42	3.42	3.42
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.68	1.15	1.80	1.67	1.68	1.68	1.68	
Share Ever Exposed								0.30
Bootstrap p-value							0.000	
Panel B: Naturalized								
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15)	0.723***	1.380***	1.022***	0.720***	0.728***	0.730***	0.730***	6.729***
	(0.122)	(0.162)	(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.118)	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.864)
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15) ×	0.401***	0.148**	0.651***	0.392***	0.424***	0.399***	0.399***	1.897***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.068)	(0.059)	(0.071)	(0.068)	(0.066)	(0.056)	(0.113)	(0.390)
Observations	3,897,978	16,262,738	2,466,289	3,772,122	3,897,978	3,897,978	3,897,978	3,897,978
Adjusted R-squared	0.313	0.305	0.315	0.312	0.312	0.312	0.312	0.312
Avg. Outcome	51.06	50.91	51.01	50.96	51.06	51.06	51.06	51.06
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	0.94	0.61	0.95	0.94	0.94	0.94	0.94	
Share Ever Exposed								0.17
Bootstrap p-value							0.004	
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Interacted specification. Outcomes in percentages. Col. (2) reports the stacked DiD specification. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses, except col. (6) SEA-level and col. (7) state-level; col. (7) also reports wild bootstrap p-value (999 reps). Col. (8) replaces the continuous years-of-exposure treatment variable with a binary indicator for ever being exposed to Blaine adoption between ages 5–15; "Share Ever Exposed" replaces "Avg. Exposure Yrs." in this column. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.10. Robustness on Mothers' Naming Analysis: Specification and Clustering

	County Trends	Stacked DiD	Drop Largest	≥100 Cath.	Cath. Kids	SEA Cluster	State Cluster	Exposure Dummy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: American Name Index								
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15)	0.168***	0.125***	0.191***	0.168***	0.167***	0.169***	0.169***	0.735***
	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.039)	(0.026)	(0.130)
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15) ×	-0.008	-0.010	0.016	-0.006	0.011	-0.005	-0.005	0.016
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.035)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.090)
Observations	790,467	3,388,857	471,929	777,162	790,467	790,467	790,467	790,467
Adjusted R-squared	0.107	0.126	0.094	0.106	0.106	0.106	0.106	0.106
Avg. Outcome	35.54	34.58	35.50	35.54	35.54	35.54	35.54	35.54
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.96	1.52	2.06	1.95	1.96	1.96	1.96	
Share Ever Exposed								0.35
Bootstrap p-value							0.018	
Panel B: Catholic Name Index								
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15)	-0.232***	-0.194***	-0.253***	-0.234***	-0.232***	-0.234***	-0.234***	-1.009***
	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.046)	(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.038)	(0.029)	(0.133)
Blaine Exposure (Age 5–15) ×	0.003	0.012	-0.043	-0.001	-0.023	-0.003	-0.003	-0.202
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.043)	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.145)
Observations	790,467	3,388,857	471,929	777,162	790,467	790,467	790,467	790,467
Adjusted R-squared	0.099	0.136	0.090	0.098	0.098	0.098	0.098	0.098
Avg. Outcome	64.43	64.62	64.81	64.45	64.43	64.43	64.43	64.43
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.96	1.52	2.06	1.95	1.96	1.96	1.96	
Share Ever Exposed								0.35
Bootstrap p-value							0.008	
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Robustness checks on the interacted specification. Mothers' naming analysis. Col. (2) reports the stacked DiD specification. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses, except col. (6) SEA-level and col. (7) state-level; col. (7) also reports wild bootstrap p-value (999 reps). Col. (8) replaces the continuous years-of-exposure treatment variable with a binary indicator for ever being exposed to Blaine adoption between ages 5–15; "Share Ever Exposed" replaces "Avg. Exposure Yrs." in this column. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.11. Robustness on Speak English and Occupational Score: Sample

	2nd Gen.	Census Tree	Church Presence
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: Speak English			
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.511***	0.185	0.477***
	(0.067)	(0.142)	(0.112)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.045	0.258***	0.409***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.049)	(0.057)	(0.047)
Observations	18,826,121	111,955	5,214,975
Adjusted R-squared	0.566	0.698	0.239
Avg. Outcome	79.18	67.81	65.05
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	5.87	0.90	1.44
Panel B: Log Occupational Score			
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.003***	0.003**	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.002***	0.001	0.002***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	9,379,019	415,444	4,347,208
Adjusted R-squared	0.174	0.092	0.126
Avg. Outcome	3.12	3.11	3.11
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	4.35	0.68	1.00
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Interacted specification. Outcomes in percentages. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Col. (1) includes second-generation Catholic immigrants. Col. (2) uses the Census Tree linked sample, with treatment based on the earlier linked county. Col. (3) additionally controls for the presence of a Catholic church in the county. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.12. Robustness on Married to Native and Naturalized: Sample

	2nd Gen.	Census Tree	Church Presence
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: Married to Native			
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.656***	0.004	0.266***
	(0.086)	(0.144)	(0.031)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	-0.241***	-0.266**	-0.076***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.068)	(0.129)	(0.028)
Observations	4,646,009	36,532	2,068,163
Adjusted R-squared	0.160	0.058	0.077
Avg. Outcome	15.30	7.64	3.42
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	5.45	2.92	1.68
Panel B: Naturalized			
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.671***	-0.102	0.730***
	(0.117)	(0.067)	(0.123)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.350***	0.154***	0.399***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.061)	(0.052)	(0.068)
Observations	3,897,978	372,177	3,897,978
Adjusted R-squared	0.312	0.042	0.312
Avg. Outcome	51.06	87.42	51.06
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	0.94	0.38	0.94
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Interacted specification. Outcomes in percentages. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Col. (1) includes second-generation Catholic immigrants. Col. (2) uses the Census Tree linked sample, with treatment based on the earlier linked county. Col. (3) additionally controls for the presence of a Catholic church in the county. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.13. Robustness on Mothers' Naming Analysis: Sample

	2nd Gen.	Census Tree	Church Presence
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Panel A: American Name Index			
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.162***	-0.294	0.169***
	(0.035)	(0.292)	(0.029)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	-0.066***	0.208	-0.007
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.015)	(0.206)	(0.014)
Observations	1,085,015	5,987	790,467
Adjusted R-squared	0.135	0.005	0.106
Avg. Outcome	38.48	41.62	35.54
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	3.66	3.02	1.96
Panel B: Catholic Name Index			
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	-0.227***	0.530*	-0.234***
	(0.034)	(0.316)	(0.027)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.094***	-0.189	-0.002
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.020)	(0.265)	(0.018)
Observations	1,085,015	5,987	790,467
Adjusted R-squared	0.136	0.013	0.098
Avg. Outcome	60.97	57.84	64.43
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	3.66	3.02	1.96
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Robustness checks on the interacted specification. Mothers' naming analysis. Standard errors clustered at the county level in parentheses. Col. (1) includes second-generation Catholic immigrant mothers. Col. (2) uses the Census Tree linked sample, with treatment based on the earlier linked county. Col. (3) additionally controls for the presence of a Catholic church in the county. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A.14. Robustness: Alternative Occupational Score Measures

	Song Score	Ward-Adj. Song Score	Ward-Adj. Song Score (Nativity)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15)	0.004	0.009***	0.006*
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Yrs. with Blaine (Age 5–15) ×	0.030***	0.009***	0.009***
Std. n. Cath. imm. (τ_{pre})	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Observations	4,346,826	4,346,826	4,346,826
Adjusted R-squared	0.045	0.104	0.144
Avg. Outcome	3.41	3.54	3.08
Avg. Exposure Yrs.	1.00	1.00	1.00
Individual Controls	✓	✓	✓
County FEs	✓	✓	✓
State × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
County chars (1870) × Year FEs	✓	✓	✓
Ever treated (1872–1920)	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Interacted specification (col. 5 of the main exposure-years table). All three measures rank micro-occupations by mean literacy within 10-year birth-cohort cells (normalized 0–100 within cohort and smoothed across adjacent cohorts), and differ only in how finely those cells are defined: col. (1) ranks by micro-occupation × cohort only; col. (2) ("Ward-adjusted") further conditions on race and Census region, netting out cross-region/race differences in occupational structure; col. (3) further conditions on nativity (native vs. foreign-born) and is the project's baseline alt-occscore measure. Standard errors clustered at the county level. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.