Eastern Michigan University
DigitalCommons@EMU

Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations

Master's Theses, and Doctoral Dissertations, and Graduate Capstone Projects

3-19-2012

Theocratic governance and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA

Charles L. Muwonge

Follow this and additional works at: http://commons.emich.edu/theses

Part of the Education Commons

Recommended Citation

Muwonge, Charles L., "Theocratic governance and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA" (2012). *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations*. 406.
http://commons.emich.edu/theses/406

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses, and Doctoral Dissertations, and Graduate Capstone Projects at DigitalCommons@EMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@EMU. For more information, please contact lib-ir@emich.edu.

Theocratic Governance and the Divergent Catholic Cultural Groups in the USA

by

Charles L. Muwonge

Dissertation

Submitted to the Department of Leadership and Counseling

Eastern Michigan University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Dissertation Committee:

James Barott, PhD, Chair

Jaclynn Tracy, PhD

Ronald Flowers, EdD

John Palladino, PhD

Ypsilanti, Michigan

March 19, 2012

Dedication

My mother Anastanzia

Acknowledgments

To all those who supported and guided me in this reflective journey: Dr. Barott, my Chair, who allowed me to learn by apprenticeship; committee members Dr. Jaclynn Tracy, Dr. Ronald Flowers, and Dr. John Palladino; Faculty, staff, and graduate assistants in the Department of Leadership and Counseling at EMU – my home away from home for the last ten years; Donna Echeverria and Norma Ross, my editors; my sponsors, the Roberts family, Horvath family, Diane Nowakowski; and Jenkins-Tracy Scholarship program as well as family members, I extend my heartfelt gratitude.

March 29, 2012

Ypsilanti, Michigan

Abstract

This study investigated how the Roman Catholic Church, as a bureaucratic organization, governs the widespread and divergent Catholic cultural groups in the United States. The purposes of this research were (a) to examine the nature of the ecclesiastical governance structure in the Vatican, (b) to explore the nature of the American Catholic cultural environment, (c) to analyze the types of relationships between the divergent American Catholic subcultures, and (d) to establish ways in which ecclesiastical authorities in the Vatican govern the American Catholic cultural environment.

This study was historical in nature and longitudinal in scope. This study examined the relationship between the ecclesiastical authorities in the Vatican and various Catholic subcultures (Spanish, French, Irish, German, Polish, Italians, and others) as they emerged within the American Catholic community and the American society as a whole. In addition to data gathered from literary sources, ethnographic observations were conducted during visits made by the researcher to more than 300 churches in 40 states in the U.S. Whereas prior studies emphasized the top-down bureaucratic dimension of ecclesiastical governance, this study explored the multi-dimensional (vertical and horizontal, intra and inter) processes that shaped the relationship of subcultures in America with the centralized governance system of the Catholic Church in Rome.

Culture and governance were key concepts in the conceptual framework for this study. Six cultural categories were used to examine the Catholic cultural environment in America: (a) demographics; (b) tasks; (c) ideology; (d) cultural values expressed through symbols, heroes and heroines, sacred space, ceremonies, and activities; (e) education

structure; and (f) ecclesiastical leadership. Political theory was used to examine major conflicts and other governance issues as subcultures forged new relationships between the Church in Rome and American Catholicism.

The results from this longitudinal study showed that the nature of the governance relationship that evolved between ecclesiastical authorities in Rome and the divergent American Catholic subcultures was not entirely bureaucratic but of a negotiated order. Governance varied depending on circumstances of the divergent subcultures in America. The study also showed that, by nature, the Church, a global government, is a confluence of cultural, socio-political, and theological ideologies of the loosely coupled subcultures that subscribe to the Catholic value system. An implication for those holding hierarchical clerical positions in the church is that leadership is a process of learning how to negotiate one's status and cultural affiliation and membership because, whereas the church controls the production of clerics, the subculture will only accept a cleric who is cognizant of its cultural peculiarities.

Table of Contents

Dedication……………………………………………..…………..…………......II

Acknowledgments…………………………………..……………....……......III

Abstract…………………………………..……………………..……….…....IV

List of Tables……………………………………………………..…….…….IX

List of Figures…………………………………………………...……...............XIII

Chapter 1: Introduction……………………………………………………………1

Purpose of Study 2

Definitions of Relevant Terms 5

Organization of the Document 7

Chapter 2: Research Methods and Literature Review……………………………………8

Research Methods and Design Of The Study 8

Philosophical Foundation.. 10

Research Tradition 11

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework 12

Research Questions 16

Unit of Analysis 17

Literature Review... 19

Sampling Procedure in a Field Study.. 48

Attending To Moral, Ethical, and Legal Issues 51

Instrumentation 52

Data Content 54

Data Analysis Procedures 58

Validity, Dependability, and Credibility 59
Limitations 64
Chapter 3: Historical Background..........66
Jesus Era to The Middle Ages 67
Middle Ages to the Protestant Reformation 77
Cross-Atlantic European Immigration 94
Era of Politicization (1763 -1820) 127
Chapter 4: Immigration Period 1820-1920..........157
Organizational Culture 158
Irish Immigration 159
German Immigration 198
French Immigration 230
Italian Immigration 282
Chapter 5: Summary..........304
Purposes of the Study 304
Research Tradition 304
Conceptual Framework 305
Unit of Analysis 308
Attending to Moral, Ethical, and Legal Issues 308
Research Instrumentation 308
Data Needed 309
Data Analysis Procedures 311
Validity, Dependability, and Credibility 312

Historical Background 314

Chapter 6: Results and Conclusions....317

Research Questions 317

The Theocratic Governance Structure in Rome 317

The Roman Curia 318

The American Catholic Cultural Environment 320

Relationships Between American Catholic Subcultures 337

Theocratic Governance and the American Catholic Environment 364

Implications 374

Conclusion 375

Limitations 376

Recommendations for Future Studies 377

References 381

Appendixes....402

Appendix A : Approval of the Dissertation Proposal....403

Appendix B: Catholic and Protestant Geopolitical Divisions in Western Europe....404

Appendix C: Churches and Membership Foreign Language Alone or with English....405

Appendix D: Distribution of French Americans by State and Region of the U. S....406

Appendix E: French Canadian Tasks....408

Appendix F: (Arch) Bishops who Graduated from the American College in Louvain...409

Appendix G: Prelates in French Canadian parishes in the U.S....410

Appendix H: Religious Orders of Nuns Employed in Italian Parochial Schools....411

Appendix I: Immigration Demographics from 1820 – 1920....412

Appendix J: Ecclesiastical Provinces And Prelates, 1820-1920....414

List of Tables

Table 1. Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions 16

Table 2. Catholic and Protestant principalities. 86

Table 3. Percentage of Catholic Immigrants by Country (1820-1920)....................158

Table 4. Summary of Irish Origins and Sagas. 160

Table 5. Catholic Irish Immigrants (1820-1920). 161

Table 6. Summary of Irish Immigration Patterns. 162

Table 7. Irish Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1860-1920). 163

Table 8. Total Priests of Irish Descent by Decade. 165

Table 9. Summary of Irish Demographics. 165

Table 10. Summary of Tasks for the Irish. 169

Table 11. National (ethnic) Churches 174

Table 12. Summary of Irish Cultural Values. 175

Table 13. Summary of Irish Ideology. 177

Table 14. Summary of Irish Education. 180

Table 15. Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of Irish Descent by Decade. 182

Table 16. Ecclesiastical Structures Governed by Sacred Congregations. 188

Table 17. Summary on Irish Ecclesiastical Leadership. 192

Table 18. Irish Subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. 193

Table 19. Summary of German Origins and Sagas. 198

Table 20. Catholic German Immigrants (1820-1920). 200

Table 21. Geographical Distribution of German-born Americans by Region. 202

Table 22. German Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1850–1920). 204

Table 23. Summary of German Immigration Patterns. 205

Table 24. Priests of German Descent by Decade. 207

Table 25. Summary of German Demographics. 207

Table 26. Summary of Tasks for the Germans. 210

Table 27. Churches and Membership Using German Language Alone or with English. 217

Table 28. Summary of German Cultural Values....................217

Table 29. Summary of German Ideology....................218

Table 30. Benedictine Colleges in the United States in 1920. 220

Table 31. Summary of German Education....................222

Table 32. Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of German Descent by Decade. 224

Table 33. Summary of German Ecclesiastical Leadership. 225

Table 34. German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. 226

Table 35. Summary of French Canadian Origins and Sagas. 231

Table 36. Distribution of French Americans by Region of the United States. 233

Table 37. Catholic French Canadian Immigration 1820-1920....................234

Table 38. Summary of French Canadian Immigration Patterns....................235

Table 39. French Canadian Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1850-1920). 236

Table 40. Names and Membership of French American National Societies 237

Table 41. French Religious Orders Serving in the U.S. 238

Table 42. Summary of French Demographics. 239

Table 43. Summary of Tasks for the French Canadians. 241

Table 44. French Canadian Parishes in the U.S.. 243

Table 45. Churches and Membership Using French Language Alone or with English. 244

Table 46. Summary of French Canadian Heroes, Ceremonies, and Sacred Space. 244

Table 47. Summary of French Canadian Ideology. 246

Table 48. Catholic Parochial Schools in New England. 248

Table 49. Summary of French Canadian Education. 250

Table 50. Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of French Descent by Decade. 252
Table 51. Summary on French Canadian Ecclesiastical Leadership. 253
Table 52. French Canadian Subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. 254
Table 53. Summary of Polish Origins and Sagas....259
Table 54. Catholic Polish Immigration. (1820-1920). 260
Table 55. Polish Immigration to U.S. dioceses (1820-1920). 261
Table 56. Summary of Polish Immigration Patterns. 262
Table 57. Summary for the Section on Polish Demographics. 267
Table 58. Summary of Tasks for the Poles. 269
Table 59. Churches and Membership Using Polish Alone or with English (1916). 271
Table 60. Summary of Polish Cultural Values. 273
Table 61. Summary of Polish Ideology. 274
Table 62. Summary of Polish Education. 276
Table 63. Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of Polish Descent by Decade. 277
Table 64. Summary of Polish Ecclesiastical Leadership. 278
Table 65. Polish subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions....279
Table 66. Summary of Italian Origins and Sagas. 283
Table 67. Catholic Italian Immigration (1820-1920). 283
Table 68. Italian Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1870-1910). 284
Table 69. Summary of Italian Demographics. 288
Table 70. Summary of Tasks for the Italians. 292
Table 71. Churches and Membership Using Italian Language Alone or with English. 294
Table 72. Summary of Italian Cultural Values. 295
Table 73. Summary of Italian Ideology. 297
Table 74. Summary of Italian Education. 298

Table 75. Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of Italian Descent by Decade. 299

Table 76. Summary of Italian Ecclesiastical Leadership. 299

Table 77. Italian subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. 300

Table 78. Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. 307

Table 79. Irish subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions 323

Table 80. German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions 326

Table 81. French Canadian subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions 329

Table 82. German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions 332

Table 83. Italian subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. 336

Table 84. A Comparison of Demographic Data for Selected Subcultures 343

Table 85. A Comparison of Cultural Values for Selected Subcultures 351

Table 86. A Comparison the Task Structure for Selected Subcultures. 354

Table 87. A Comparison of the Education Structures of Selected Subcultures. 356

Table 88. A Comparison of Theocratic Governance for Selected Subcultures. 361

List of Figures

Figure 1. Governance structure for divergent subcultures. 14

Figure 2. Centralized governance, culture, and subcultures. 18

Figure 3 Institutional theory....................30

Figure 4 Inception of Christianity (1-313 A.D.). 68

Figure 5. Conflict in the early Christian organization 69

Figure 6. Christian Roman Empire 313- 800 A.D. 70

Figure 7. The Christian Roman Empire. 76

Figure 8. Iron Age of the papacy–Feudalism. 80

Figure 9. Catholic and Protestant Europe in the Middle Ages....................90

Figure 10. European market economies vs. tax extracting papal authority. 94

Figure 11. People of North America 1300-1500....................97

Figure 12. Major Spanish missions in the Southwestern United States....................99

Figure 13. A typical Spanish mission. 103

Figure 14. The civil hierarchy in New France 108

Figure 15. French triangular trade system. 112

Figure 16. English Settlements on the eastern seaboard. 115

Figure 17. The 13 British colonies....................117

Figure 18. British colonial trade routes....................124

Figure 19. American relationships with Rome in the colonial era....................127

Figure 20. America in 1750. 129

Figure 21. Second phase of the politicization era. 140

Figure 22. Era of politicization - English dominance in America. 156

Figure 23. Trails of Irish settlements. 164

Figure 24. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Irish....................197

Figure 25. Trails of German settlements....201

Figure 26. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Germans 230

Figure 27. Trails of French Canadian settlements. 235

Figure 28. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the French....258

Figure 29. Trail of Polish settlements. 262

Figure 30. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Polish. 281

Figure 31. Trails of Italian settlements. 284

Figure 32. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Italians. 303

Figure 33. Governance structure for divergent subcultures 306

Figure 34. Timeline of governance relations between Rome and American subcultures. 311

Figure 35. The Roman Curia 319

Figure 36. Catholics by country....337

Figure 37. Ethnic representation 338

Figure 38. Decadal net Catholic immigration. 339

Figure 39. Most habited cities (1910) 342

Figure 40. (Arch)Bishops for various subcultures. 360

Figure 41. Ethnic episcopal representation in provinces. 363

Figure 42. Theocratic governance and the American Catholic Environment. 367

Figure 43. Different governance relations for different subcultures. 368

Figure 44. Institutional and personal isomorphism. 373

Chapter 1: Introduction

The population of Roman Catholics worldwide exceeds 1.1 billion. This global community of Catholics is both centralized and decentralized; it is centralized in Rome around the Pope but also encompasses a multiplicity of cultural groups. The basic issue for me, as cleric and practitioner in this value system, was to make sense of how leadership in the Catholic Church governs cultural groups that are, by nature, extremely divergent and loosely coupled. The church faces a fundamental challenge and difficulty of designing a centrally organized system that also attends to the needs of a multiplicity of cultural groups.

This longitudinal field study in the United States, a country with more than 68 million Catholics, examines the relationship that exists between the divergent Catholic subcultures and the centralized ecclesiastical governance in Rome. This historical study, which spans a period of 400 years (1520-1920), analyzes the governance relationships that ensued as the divergent Catholic subcultures situated themselves in the United States and within the hierarchical bureaucracy in Rome. The historical account of the evolution of Catholicism in the United States is divided into three major periods: (1) Colonial [and missionary] era (1520-1763), (2) Era of politicization (1763-1820), and (3) Immigrant [ethnic] era (1820-1920).

The selection of 1920 as the closing year for this study is deliberate. Until 1920 immigration had been the single cause of the increase in Catholic population in the United States. After 1920, this dynamic changed, as considerable anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiments arose in the American populace. Open European immigration was replaced by a strict quota system of the National Origins Act of 1924, which introduced a dynamic that is beyond the scope of this study. A list of other factors follow here: World War I; second and

third generation immigrants, who were more exposed to the American way of life and English, less inclined toward ethnic values and norms, and more desirous to break away from isolationist tendencies in favor of Americanization; and intermarriages, even within Catholics; all contributed to the changing circumstances within the Catholic cultural environment. After 1924, population increase among Catholics was accounted for by birth rate, not immigration.

Purpose of Study

The purposes of this research were (a) to examine the nature of the ecclesiastical governance structure in Rome, (b) to explore the nature of American Catholic cultural environment, (c) to analyze the types of relationships between the divergent American Catholic subcultures, and (d) to establish ways in which ecclesiastical authorities in Rome govern the American Catholic cultural environment.

The goal of this study on the governance relations that exist between the church and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the USA was to create general knowledge, practical knowledge, and personal knowledge about fundamental difficulties of organizing the widespread cultural groups in the U.S.

Implications for expanding knowledge. To inform leadership practice, this study sought to fill a void in knowledge regarding how the central Roman Catholic Church governed Catholics in the U.S. Developing a conceptual framework and theoretical propositions that explained its workings led to understanding the rationale of the governance structure that connects the Roman Catholic Church and far-flung cultural groups. The study also provided clarity and details about the leadership role of the clerics in this value system.

As there appeared to be a serious lack of research and knowledge about the nature of the ecclesiastical governance of the wide-ranging Catholic cultures in the U.S. and in countries around the world, my goal was to add to the published knowledge base. Building on the foundation of prior studies, which emphasized the bureaucratic nature of ecclesiastical governance, this study sought to clarify and give details about the multi-dimensional aspect of governance relations that exist between the central Catholic Church and Catholic subcultures. The investigation into the various Catholic subcultures – their background, norms, values, beliefs, logic, and traditions – highlights the divergence within them and the dilemma faced by the church that relates to the subcultures in American Catholicism and society.

Implication for practice and educational leadership. This research focused on providing useful information on the unique nature, values system, beliefs, and logic of Catholicism, as well as the structure and scope of authority the Church has on adherents. The creation of an information resource will inform both authorities and adherents in the Catholic Church about constructive means and mutually beneficial methods of addressing and resolving contentious governance and cultural issues. The outcome of a repository of knowledge will facilitate a more constructive engagement between the church and various American Catholic cultural groups. This research will offer new insights into the dependency relationships – vertical, horizontal, and across hierarchies – that exist between the constituent cultural groups as they relate to a centralized governance structure based in Rome.

Personal value of the study. This research was personal! I am a Catholic priest who has served in the Catholic education system for more than 18 years. I was raised and groomed in the Catholic educational system. Structural ambivalences that I experienced both

as a church member and cleric in the Catholic Church were, in part, the reason I chose to explore the nature of governance in the Catholic Church. The study gave me a better appreciation of the logic behind the Catholic governance system. Completing a comprehensive study of this topic on ecclesiastical governance of the divergent cultures in U.S. provided a method by which to critically examine institutions. The knowledge and methodology gained through the dissertation experience enabled me to explore different Catholic environments with a relevant background and sense-making skills. The process entailed learning how to visualize and to attempt to explain phenomena and construct meaning by stepping outside of my own immediate environment to experience stimuli anew through the lens of informed organizational and administrative theory. Future opportunities to examine phenomena will be based on the methodology, research skills, and knowledge base that I have acquired during the reflective process of this research study.

I believe institutions do not change as quickly as individuals do. In reality, personal circumstance is the only variable that I am able to control. Ultimately, this study gave me a better appreciation of who I am, what I knew, and how I could create or alter meaning for myself and others – the things I could change and those I may not be able to change. Ultimately, I have a better appreciation of my leadership abilities, my strengths, and limitations as a professional. Upon the conclusion of this project, as I am certified to apply and generate theory for the task at hand and to lead educational organizations, the set of tools, concepts, and skills acquired in this research will assist in my decision-making to determine in which type of institutions in the Catholic Church I am best equipped to work.

Definitions of Relevant Terms

Canon Law: The body of officially established rules governing the faith and practice of the Catholic Church. Established by the Vatican, these rules provide the legal norms for governance of Catholic enterprises. The latest revision of the Code of Canon Law occurred under Pope John Paul II in 1983.

Catholic seminary: An institution that primarily educates men for priesthood. A seminary may be conducted at one of three levels: high school, college, or graduate. At the graduate level, a seminary can also be referred to as a *theologate* and is the final four to six years of study and formation before ordination. Seminaries can be diocesan, interdiocesan, provincial, or pontifical, according as it is under the control of the bishop of the diocese, of several bishops who send their students, of all the bishops of an ecclesiastical province, or of the Holy See. A seminary that receives students from several provinces or from dioceses in various parts of the country is called a central or a national seminary. The word *ecclesiastical* is reserved for schools instituted, in accordance with a decree of the Council of Trent, for the training of the Catholic diocesan clergy (Viéban, 1912).

Confluence: Enunciates the co-existence of cultural, socio-political, and theological ideologies in a way that causes (1) conflict, (2) confrontation, (3) persistence, and (4) resolution or finishing up among constituent groups.

Contextualism: Describes a holistic approach that offers both multilevel or vertical and horizontal, intra and inter and processual analysis of organizations. The vertical level refers to the interdependences between higher or lower levels of analysis upon phenomena to be explained at some further level; the horizontal level refers to the sequential interconnectedness among phenomena in historical, present, and future time.

Diocese: "A physical, geographic territory and the faithful who reside within the territory entrusted to the pastoral care of a bishop" (Canon 369, Code of Canon Law, Beal, Coriden, & Green, 2000, p. 506).

Ecclesiastical leadership: Governance or authority pertaining to or referring to the church.

Episcopal: In lower case form, relates to a bishop or to the hierarchy of church government in which authority is invested in bishops over priests and deacons.

Feudalism: A dominant social system in medieval Europe in which the nobility held lands from the Crown in exchange for military service and vassals were, in turn, tenants of the nobles, while the peasants (villains or serfs) were obliged to live on their lord's land and give him homage, labor, and a share of the produce, in exchange for military protection (Crowther, 1998).

Propaganda: Related to the Roman Curia, a division with responsibility for oversight of missions. From the root word to *propagate,* the term is an abbreviated form of The Sacred Congregation for Propagating the Faith established in 1622.

Roman Curia: The central administrative organization of the Roman Catholic Church headed by the Pope.

Theocratic Governance: Rule by God or by those ruling with divine authority.

Trusteeism: A concept relating to voluntary corporations formed by Catholic laymen to become lay trustees. The practice is the American Roman Catholic equivalent of congregationalism, as proscribed by their respective states and similar to the ancient Catholic practice of lay patronage in order "to purchase property, build churches, and organize their Catholic communities" (Carey, 1993, p. 27; Ahlstrom, 2004).

Organization of the Document

The introductory chapter comprises the purpose of the study and implications for expanding knowledge of the topic in general and for practice and educational leadership in particular. A discussion of the value of the study includes the researcher's personal orientation and journey to understanding a complex organization and the roles of leadership within. Chapter 1 concludes with a glossary of terms specific to topics throughout the document. Details of the methods employed in this study and a review of relevant literature related to concepts and theories that provided the foundation and structure for the research are the essence of Chapter 2. The extensive data gathered in this study are included in two chapters. The historical background begins in Chapter 3 with the inception of Christianity and continues through the ages of development of the Christian Roman Empire in Europe to the colonial era, periods of politicization, and emerging ecclesiastical environment of the major Catholic subcultures of the times. Chapter 4 offers further detailed and comparative definition of the subcultures and their governance relationship to the Vatican in the immigration period from 1820 to 1920. A summary of procedures and historical background are presented in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, findings related to the research questions and the theocratic governance of the central Roman Catholic Church and the American Catholic environment are followed by discussion of the evolution of and relationships between the various subcultures. Scholarly contributions, implications of the findings, limitations, and recommendations for further studies conclude the study.

Chapter 2: Research Methods and Literature Review

This study investigated the relationship between the centralized bureaucracy of the Catholic Church in Rome and the divergent subcultures of Roman Catholicism in America. Methods and procedures are discussed in Chapter 2, including organizing concepts drawn from the works of authorities in the field of culture and governance. The methodology and conceptual framework are foundational to the study as useful tools that enable the researcher to delve into the topic for the purposes of advancing existing knowledge in the field.

Research Methods and Design of the Study

The primary method of investigation for this study was an in-depth, longitudinal, field-based study in search of explanation, prediction, and control mechanisms in particular instances of the phenomenon of ecclesiastical governance of the diverse cultural groups of Roman Catholic parishioners in the United States.

The longitudinal research entailed examining various Catholic subcultures that settled in America over a period of 400 hundred years (1520-1920). My initial goal was to look at the vertical dimension of the ecclesiastical governance relations, how the subcultures interfaced with the centralized ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome. Second, this research examined the horizontal dimension of relationships within the divergent Catholic groups, the kind of interaction that would eventually define the nature of polity in the American Catholic cultural environment. Using the historical approach, I was able to look at the Catholic governance system in a contextualized way; my focus was not on ecclesiastical governance relations for an isolated pod of time but on the persistent relations that occurred naturally over an extended period of time (Stake, 1995).

The time frame of the research encompassed 400 years, beginning in 1520 when the first Catholic Spanish settlement was established in St. Augustine, Florida, and ending in 1920, the year that the trans-Atlantic immigration was irreversibly altered by the federal quartering policy. Data collection and analysis were organized into three eras: the colonial era 1520-1763, the era of politicization 1763-1820, and the immigrant era 1820-1920. The historical treatise on the different stages of American Catholicism – the inception, emergency, development, and Americanization (maturity) – provided an interconnected and contextualized data base that enabled me to make appropriate analysis of the governance relations. I examined individual subcultures and viewed them in relation to their place in American Catholicism and to the centralized ecclesiastical authority to which they were affiliated.

The concept of field research is broad. There is no single method or approach to conducting such research. Scott (1965) and others maintain that it is "the nature of the phenomenon under investigation and the objectives of the study which must determine the particular approach" of any field research (p. 265). Both in style and to some extent in content, I followed in the footsteps of Michels (1915), whose classic investigation of the oligarchical tendencies in socialist political parties and labor unions in pre-World War I Germany set the standard for field studies of organizations and their members (Scott, 1965).

Scott (1965) cited Michels (1915) and other organizational field researchers, such as Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1956), in presenting critical elements of field research related to organizational studies. The basic practice of such field studies is to observe, over time, naturally occurring organizations in an attempt to understand how the participants make sense of and arrange the organizations in which they function. Scott (1965) referred to such

field methods as observing human beings "on the hoof" as opposed to creating ad hoc groups for laboratory conducted research (p. 261). My primary purpose for conducting field research was to gain familiarity with the phenomenon under consideration and, perhaps, to gain new insights, which would inform practice and guide future research and understanding.

Field research also presumes interest in examining the network of relationships, which form the core of any organization, and making sense of how and why individuals within the organization conduct themselves. Scott (1965) emphasized the importance of understanding the group cultures that organizations develop and, specifically, of examining the "set of values and norms" individuals exhibit (p. 236). It is also important, according to Scott, to account for beliefs that cultural members may not even be aware that they hold. There may be unarticulated and unconscious values at work, which need to be brought to the surface in order to understand the phenomenon.

Philosophical Foundation

Ontological and epistemological considerations. Whereas methodology is concerned about how we gain knowledge within the context of the selected nature of reality, ontology raises questions about the nature of reality, and epistemology asks, how do we know the world? (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994). A goal in this study was to approach the ontology (the nature and form of reality) of my research by assuming that reality exists apart from human construction but is only imperfectly comprehendible due to basically flawed human intellectual mechanisms and the intractable complexity of the phenomenon. The epistemology (i.e., the relationship between the knower and the known) of my research was heavily influenced by a phenomenological and interpretivist approach. Social reality is seen

as a set of meanings that are constructed by the individuals who participate in that reality. Social phenomenon does not have an independent existence apart from its participants; rather it will have different meaning for the individuals who participate in the phenomenon or who subsequently learn about it (Robson, 2002; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2004).

Research Tradition

This study followed the research tradition of holistic ethnographers Franz Boas (1939) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1939). Holistic ethnography describes and analyzes all or part of a culture or community by describing the beliefs and practices of the group to show how the various parts contribute to the culture as a unified whole, even where the parts are loosely coupled (Jacob, 1987). Holistic ethnography examines socially shared, idealized rules and norms that serve as guidelines for actions, interpretations, and feelings (Barrett, 1984; Ogbu, 1981). In this study, special emphasis was also placed on the diversity that existed within the cultural system because individual subcultures apply institutionalized guidelines for behavior in specific ways. The socialization process of individuals who subscribe to a centralized value system is culturally differentiated and is based on the norms of a specific subculture. Subcultural attitudes persist and prevail over centralized norms. Individuals are socialized into their society in different ways and, therefore, are influenced by different subgroups within their society (Barrett, 1984). The holistic approach is useful for understanding a group's *way of life*, the distinctive traits of an ethnic group in relation to the Catholic Church of which it is a part.

The focus of my work, as a holistic ethnographer, was to explore, analyze, and describe the Roman Catholic culture as a whole, with the goal of understanding and

describing ways in which the individual subcultures within the Catholic value system are unique despite the fact that they subscribe to the tenets dictated by Rome. My goal was to examine how centralized ecclesiastical (cultural) dynamics influenced behavior without necessarily determining how individuals in a subculture conducted themselves. Description of culture and subcultures were meant to be both comprehensive and comparable, implying that the ethnographer addressed topics deemed by consensus to be important and also described the distinctive features of the culture (LeVine, 1973).

The holistic approach adopted for this study was borrowed from the concepts of contextualism (Pettigrew, 1990), which focuses on the multi-dimensional (vertical and horizontal, intra and inter) processes in which subcultures engage as they interface with a centralized governance system. The vertical level refers to the interdependences between higher or lower levels, and the horizontal level refers to the sequential interconnectedness among subcultures. Time and the historical events that occur within the subsystem (past, present, and future) also constitute a dimension for analysis. It is an attempt to catch reality, that is, people, cultures, and events in flight. This study does not look at events as isolated episodes, as historical events highlighted are interconnected in such a way that antecedent conditions shape the present and the emerging future. Thus, the study is categorized as an in-depth, longitudinal field, a study that examines an ongoing social phenomenon, which is not interrupted by experiments.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The church faces a fundamental challenge and difficulty of designing a centrally organized governance system that also attends to the needs of a multiplicity of cultural

groups. Organizational conflict and dilemma are age-old topics that Aristotle discussed in his philosophy of politics. Aristotle talked at length about the inalienable rights of the people which, when compromised, lead to conflict, the struggle of the many versus the few. Likewise, Abraham Lincoln, in his seventh and final debate against slavery on October 15, 1858, at Alton, IL., related conflict to "the eternal struggle between two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time... the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings" (Lincoln Institute, 2002-2012).

The conceptual framework in Figure 1 illustrates the dependency relationships–vertical, horizontal, and across hierarchies–that occur in the church, as the constituent Catholic subcultures interact with a centralized governance bureaucracy and within themselves. This conceptual framework casts a very different light on power relations as they are understood to occur in the Catholic Church. Rather than power being a function of simply top-down authority or bottom-up collective action, power is viewed as relational and negotiated, involving multiple lines and loops of interaction up, down, and across hierarchies that occur within and from without of an organizational field. The people are viewed as social actors who have the ability to operate strategically in organizational environments, despite real constraints and sharp power differentials (Crozier, Michel & Friedberg, Erhard, 1980; Crozier, 1971).

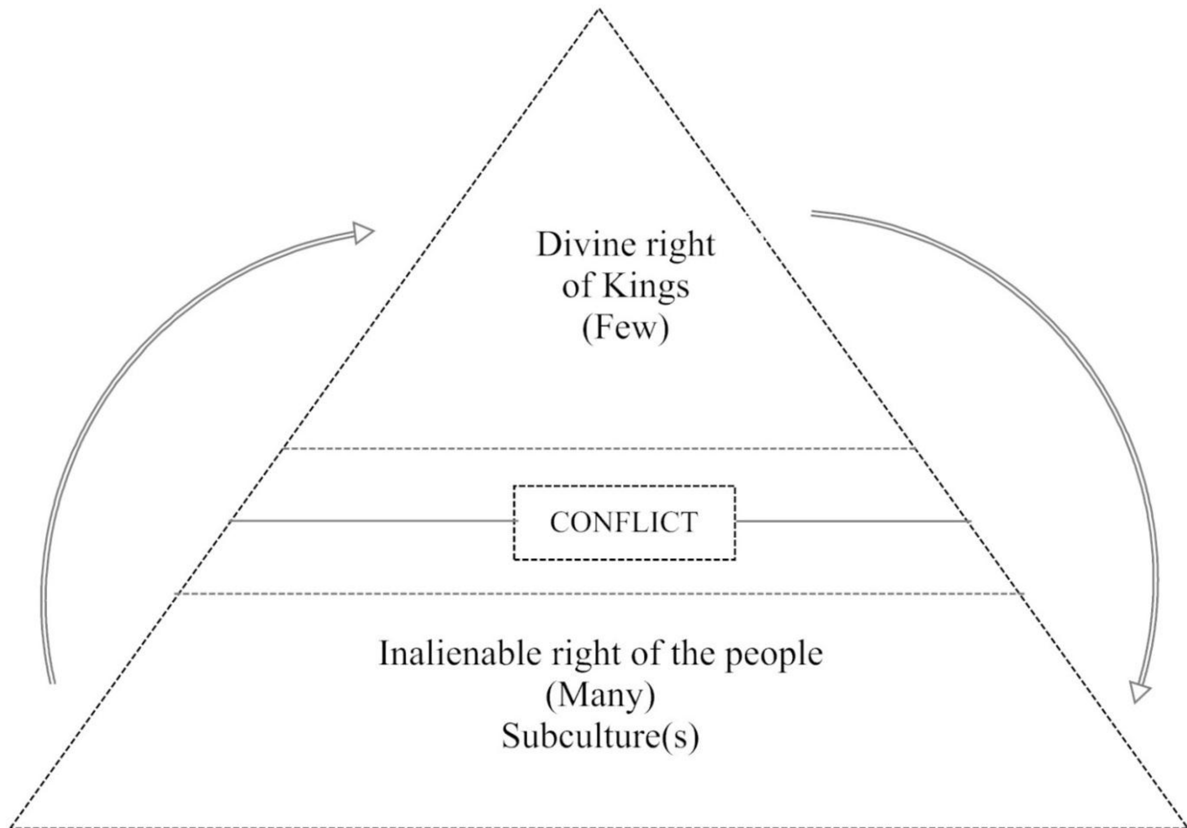


Figure 1. Governance structure for divergent subcultures.

The conceptual framework allows for consideration of what might occur when a state of conflict escalates. The dissatisfaction (and politicization) that ensues is a result of the masses asserting their rights. They rebel against the existing elite; this uprising leads to the displacement (replacement) of existing authority structures with a new group of elites.

Centralized control of divergent cultures is latent with conflict. Whose government is it? Whose church is it? These are key questions in organizational politics. The organizing conflict within the Catholic values system has the ecclesiastical authorities on one hand and the divergent cultural groups on the other. The church relies on the various groups for memberships (to fill the pews). Inversely, cultural groups, in order to exist as legitimate Catholic entities, rely on the church that confers clerical status to men who minister to them.

It is obvious that forces of tension and cohesion characterize the relationship between church and the multiplicity of subcultures affiliated to the church.

Culture and governance were key concepts in this study, which examined the relationship between the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome and the various Catholic subcultures as they situated themselves within the emerging American Catholic community and the American society as a whole. The interdependencies that occurred over time between these entities' subcultures were explicated using a set of interrelated concepts.

A conceptual framework to distinguish between members of different subcultures in American Catholic cultural environment was developed. Drawing from the list of the cultural categories presented by cultural theorists, the following were chosen as the most pertinent for the study of the American Catholic cultural environment: (a) demographics, (b) tasks, (c) ideology, (d) cultural values expressed by and enacted through symbols, heroes and heroines, sacred space, ceremonies, and activities, (e) education structure, and (f) ecclesiastical leadership. Data gathered in each of the selected categories for the five dominant immigrant subcultures–Irish, German, French, Polish, and Italian–became their story.

Essential to the fundamental purpose of this study, data gathered in this study documented the nature and type of ecclesiastical governance within each subculture and the relationship of the dominant subcultures to the centralized governance in Rome and the emerging ecclesiastical hierarchy in United States. Table 1 is a summary of the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 1

Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions

Categories	Variables/Concepts
Demographics	Origins and sagas Immigration patterns Settlement patterns
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category) Type
Cultural values	Heroes and saints Rituals and ceremonies Sacred space
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)
Education	Grade school education Higher education Seminary education
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese Episcopal representation Alternative in-group power structure

Research Questions

In this study, I explored the organizational entry of various Catholic subcultures into the Unites States, particularly examining the relationship that developed between these subcultures and the hierarchical bureaucracy in Rome.

The following exploratory research questions were addressed:

What is the theocratic governance structure in Rome?

What is the American Catholic cultural environment?

What is the relationship between American Catholic subcultures?

How have the ecclesiastical authorities in the Vatican governed the American Catholic cultural environment?

Unit of Analysis

As Figure 2 shows, the United States is one of the many ecclesiastical cultural environments under the centralized governance of the Vatican. The theocratic environment in the Vatican and the United States were my units of analysis.

CENTRALIZED GOVERNANCE
BUREAUCRACY

American Subculture Attributes

- Origins and sagas
- Demographic
- Tasks
- Symbolism
- Ideology
- Education
- Ecclesiastical leadership

CULTURE

Sub Culture

Figure 2. Centralized governance, culture, and subcultures.

Literature Review

Culture. Most of the available literature on organizational culture relates to corporate and educational institutions. Religious institutions with their relatively intractable governance culture hidden in condensational religious symbolism pose a challenge to researchers and are therefore not a popular topic for research. Topics that have been explored include church relationships with the schismatic sects and cults that subsist on the fringes of churches (Coleman, 1968; Johnson, 1987), a typology of religious organization, useful for the purposes of making comparisons between denominations (Scherer, 1988), and liberal and conservative subcultures in the Roman Catholic Church (Wilson, 1962; Hougland et al., 1979; Pogorelc et al., 2000). These topics of study and others in this category are insightful but fall short of providing an organizing framework for studying the American cultural environment in relation to the centralized ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome.

There are as many approaches to analyzing cultures as there are cultural anthropologists. For the specific purposes of this study that focused on the ways in which subcultures relate to a centralized governance system, the concepts of organizational culture proved most pertinent.

For a long time, culture in organizational theory occupied a marginal place relative to dominant rationalist frameworks. Early organizational researchers, whether primarily oriented toward theory (e.g., Weber, 1978) or practice (e.g., Taylor, 1912/1984), considered the core project of organization theory to be the development of universal laws, sanitized of cultural trappings, which could efficiently govern rational, instrumental organizations (Dobbin, 1994).

Perspectives that use the organizational culture approach to examining human relations have gained wide acceptance in the last two decades. Proponents of organizational culture research, as cited in Morrill (2008), include Stephen Barley, Gary Alan Fine, Peter Frost, Paul Hirsch, Joanne Martin, Andrew Pettigrew, Edgar Schein, Linda Smircich, and John Van Maanen. Collectively, this group drew their inspiration and conceptual groundings from cultural anthropology and interpretive sociology. They exhibited great diversity in conceptual leanings, levels of analysis, and topics. This diversity resulted in a loose confederation of approaches advocated by proponents of organizational culture who continue to grapple with the complex and elusive definition of culture and its attributes. This group of cultural theorists are unanimous about the indicators for organizational culture: shared symbols, rituals, coherent beliefs, stories, ideologies, language, values, practices, knowledge, or artifacts (Sackman, 1992; Smircich, 1983). Edgar Schein (1992), one of the most prominent theorists of organizational culture, gave the following very general definition of the culture of a group:

> A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (pp. 373-374)

Gareth Morgan (1986) described culture as "an active living phenomenon through which people jointly create and recreate the worlds in which they live." For Morgan, the three basic questions for cultural analysts are (a) What are the shared frames of reference that make organization possible? (b) Where do they come from? and (c) How are the shared frames created, communicated, and sustained (p. 141)? His list of what constitutes

organizational culture includes stories and myths about the history of the group; stated and unstated values; overt and implicit expectations for member behavior; customs and rituals; shop talk, typical language used in and about the group; climate, the feelings evoked by the way members interact with each other, with outsiders, and with their environment, including the physical space they occupy; and metaphors and symbols.

Culture and subcultures. Open systems and micro politics theories point out that group members may also belong to subcultures within an organization (Scott & Davis, 2006). Each constituent aspect of organizational culture can be seen as an important environmental condition affecting the system and its subsystems. Since organizations do have a shared history, they will normally base most of their day-to-day engagements on the values or assumptions that are common to the system as a whole. But sometimes, as normally is the case in many orchestra organizations, the subcultures have had different foundational experiences, and the group learning that occurs over time has produced very different sets of basic assumptions, which account for the peculiarity of the subculture in question. Using the open systems theory, contextualism, and the holistic perspectives, this study focused on subcultures within in a Catholic culture. Emphasis was placed on the relationships that existed between the individual subcultures as they became situated among other subcultures in a centralized Catholic governance structure.

Macro–micro-politics. The study of politics in the education sector entails the examination of macro-politics, the external forces that significantly influence the micro-politics, internal forces, within a particular educational institution. Marshall and Scribner (1991) believed that micro-politics focuses on the strains and tensions that stem from diverse sources of power, rival interests, and intractable conflict from within and without the schools.

Iannaccone (1991a) viewed concepts of micro-politics in two ways: as "the interaction in the school of administrators, teachers, and students" and "as the interaction between lay and professional subsystems" at the school building level (p. 466). This conflict involves the politics and pedagogy components; the values of community are the macrocosm influencing the microcosm of the school. Macro-micro-politics consideration serves as a means of gauging to what extent educational institutions actively engage in the authoritative allocation of values (Iannaccone, 1991a). Using concepts of micro-politics, as it is applied to the educational sector, this study explored how ethnic Catholic subcultures negotiated their place within Roman Catholic culture, the circumstances and environment in which the macro and micro collided and bonded without destroying the integrity of the relationship between Rome and various American Catholic subcultures.

Conflict. Members affiliated with the same organization interpret the behavior and language of other group members through their own subcultural biases. Each member's (or subsystem's) set of beliefs, values, and assumptions becomes their unquestioned reality; they then perceive behavior inconsistent with their own biases as irrational or even malevolent. Goffman (1959) posited that this perspective that highlights the existence of subsystems within a larger system points to the complexity of the basic foundations of life inherent in organizations. The cultural mix containing conflicting values and interests both subverts and facilitates the achievement of formal goals (Selznick 1948). In this context, scholars focused on the institutionalization of social values, as well as the day-to-day negotiation of meaning that occurs among organizational members (Strauss et al., 1963).

Though the goal of socialization is to perpetuate the culture, it is clear that the process does not have uniform effects. Individuals or groups of individuals respond differently to the

same treatment, and, even more important, different combinations of socialization tactics can be hypothesized to produce somewhat different outcomes for the organization (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

From the point of view of the organization, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) specified three kinds of outcomes: (a) a custodial orientation, or total conformity to all norms and complete learning of all assumptions; (b) creative individualism, which implies that the subjects learn all of the central and pivotal assumptions of the culture but reject all peripheral ones, thus permitting the subjects to be creative both with respect to the organization's tasks and in how the organization performs them (role innovation); and (c) rebellion, or the total rejection of all assumptions. If the rebellious subjects are constrained by external circumstances from leaving the organization, they subvert, sabotage, and ultimately foment revolution. Dissatisfaction theory elaborates on the process when the values, norms, and assumption of a specific subculture are given attention. The dissatisfaction that ensues is followed by a period of politicization and changes in the governance authority structure.

Cultural categories. Drawing from the list of the categories presented by cultural theorists, the following were most pertinent for the study of the American Catholic cultural environment: (a) demographics, (b) tasks, (c) ideology, (d) cultural values determined by symbols, heroes and heroines, sacred space, ceremonies, and activities, (e) education structure, and (f) ecclesiastical leadership. A brief summary table of data is shown at the completion of each cultural category for each of the five selected subcultures.

Demographics. Demographics were organized by country of origins, saga (experiences) leading to their relocation, immigration settlement patterns, population totals for each decade, and the population percentage of specific subcultures in the total Catholic

population from 1820 to 1920. This section focused on the historical, social, and normative components of sagas enunciated in Clark's (1972) definition of the term. An organizational saga is "a collective understanding of a unique accomplishment based on historical exploits of a formal organization, offering strong normative bonds within and outside the organization" (p. 178).

Cultural values. To understand the nature of organizational culture in religious institutions, it is necessary to appreciate the symbolism therein. Symbols take many forms; myths, missions, and values imbue an organization with purpose and resolve. "Myths are the story behind the story: they explain, express, legitimize, and maintain solidarity and cohesion" (Campbell, 1988, p. 254). They communicate unconscious wishes and conflicts, mediate contradictions, and offer a narrative anchoring the present in the past (Cohen, 1969). Symbols, according to Edelman (1985), are either referential or condensational. This section focused on condensation symbols, which evoke the emotions associated with the situation. They condense into one symbolic event, sign, or act, such as patriotic pride, anxieties, remembrances of past glories or humiliations, and/or promises of future greatness (p. 6).

Heroes and Heroines. Each culture possesses experiences (sagas) considered to be foundational and heroes and heroines associated with such experiences. "Cultural heroes are "living logos, human icons, whose words and deeds exemplify and reinforce important core values" (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 257). Modeling by leader figures permits group members to identify with their leaders and internalize the leader's values and assumptions. When groups or organizations first form (usually around a saga) there are dominant figures (founders) whose beliefs, values, and assumptions provide a visible and articulated model of how the group should be structured and function (Schein 1983). The joint learning, based on

the acts of the hero or heroine within the organization, gradually creates shared assumptions.

Catholics have a practice of venerating heroes (saints). In the eyes of adherents, a saint is a special example, a hero, a kind of mythical figure who embodies special virtues and can be proposed as a model for believers. There are more than 10,000 saints in the Catholic Church. Saintliness is formally accepted after a lengthy canonization process, which entails conduct of an investigation into the doctrinal purity, heroic virtue, and evidence of miraculous intercession of deceased persons. For the purposes of this study and for the layman, the focus on saints or heroism is on the person esteemed – their miracles, healing powers, or protection from disasters (Ferraiuolo, 2009).

Rituals. "As a symbolic act, ritual is routine that usually has a statable purpose, but one that invariably alludes to more than it says, and has many meanings at once" (Moore & Meyerhoff, 1977, p. 5). "Enacted ritual connects an individual or group to something mystical, more than words can capture. At home and at work, ritual gives structure and meaning to each day" (Bolman & Deal, 2008, p. 261). Humans create both personal and communal rituals; the ones that carry meaning become the dance of life. "Rituals anchor adherents to a center," Fulghum (1995) writes, "while freeing us to move on and confront the everlasting unpredictability of life. The paradox of ritual patterns and sacred habits is that they simultaneously serve as a solid footing and springboard, providing a stable dynamic in our lives" (p. 261). The power of a ritual becomes palpable if one experiences the emptiness of losing it.

Campbell & Moyers (1988) underscored this loss: Rituals are an integral part of a civilization; society suffers when rituals are lost.

Ceremonies. Ceremonies serve four major roles: They socialize, stabilize, reassure, and convey messages to external constituencies (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Historically, cultures have relied on ritual and ceremony to create order, clarity, and predictability, particularly around mysterious and random issues or dilemmas. The distinction between ritual and ceremony is elusive; as a rule of thumb, ritual is more everyday. Ceremonies are more episodic–grander and more elaborate–convened at times of transition or special occasions such as rain dances or harvest celebrations. Annual meetings invoke supernatural assistance in critical, unpredictable tasks of raising crops or building market share. Annual conventions renew old ties and revive deep collective commitment (Fulghum 1995).

Sacred space. Cultures do not only engage in ceremonies but also create sacred space where ceremonies are enacted and heroes celebrated. Myths transform a place of work into a revered institution in an all-encompassing way. Smith (2008), in his book, *Religion, Culture, and Sacred Space*, explored how places become not just spots on the map, but deeply meaningful. Ordinary geographical spots become sacred as human beings ascribe to them specific significance loaded with cultural meaning and sentiments. The process of rendering sacredness to ordinary space is reinforced by the shared stories and narratives a culture weaves around these places as a way of enhancing the distinctive character and identity of the subculture.

Places get assigned value and meaning as they are used as settings for the narratives that underlie identities. Human beings form deeply emotional attachments to places; they travel long distances to visit sites where an event occurred or where someone is buried. Over time, the emotional attachment to these places feels so deep that individuals are tempted to believe there is something inherently sacred about a certain plot of land, building, or space.

Smith (2008) concluded that sacred space is a human creation and a work undertaken by every culture to give meaning to the space surrounding it. The treatises on sacred space were used to explicate the relationship that existed between immigrant Catholic subcultures and the venues these subcultures designated as places of worship.

Ideology. Ideologies refer to unified and shared belief; a set of integrated assertions, theories, and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program (Selznick, 1949; Bendix, 1956; Price, 1968; Carden, 1969). This study sought to reveal cultural ideologies as reflected in each subculture's self-perception subsumed in the sagas, heroes, rituals, ceremonies, and sacred space they celebrated as a group.

Education. One of the ways through which cultures are perpetuated is by creating pathways that promote cultural reproduction. Institutions of learning serve as channels through which cultural assumptions and ideology are passed on from one generation to the next. This study looked at how educational institutions (grade schools, colleges, and seminaries) of the various subcultures served as a media for the transmission of cultural ideology.

Religion as a cultural system. Religiosity played a major role in the life of the European immigrant subcultures that settled in America. Clifford Geertz's (1993) essay, titled "Religion as a Cultural System," is an extensive discourse about the cultural dimension of religion. According to Geertz,

> Religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (p. 90)

From Geertz's (1993) definition of religion, this study developed a lists of attributes that apply to religiosity among American Catholic subcultures including language, saints to be honored, church architecture, the nature of piety, relationships between clergy and lay people, and the very nature of Catholicism as perceived by the subgroup. The Catholic ethnic groups, although different, subscribed to central tenets prescribed by Rome. Therefore, the subcultures had to find ways to negotiate their place within the centralized ecclesiastical structure in the United States and Rome.

Centralization in context of a diverse cultural environment causes conflict because subcultures within the Catholic Church are dissimilar in terms of values, histories, tasks, and ethnic, ideological, and political backgrounds. Each subgroup constantly socializes its group members in the ways of that particular community. Policies in the Catholic Church do not exist in isolation; policies are value-driven, perpetuating the values of the dominant subculture within the Catholic value system. This study was, therefore, an analysis of the dominant subgroups in the Catholic cultural environment, understanding the people by documenting cultural attributes and how they access the centralized bureaucratic machine to perpetuate specific strands of ideologies and values in the church. Other theories also relate to the phenomena under investigation.

The focus of this study was not on religion, per se, but on organizational politics within religious organizations. Theorists in the field of religion, including Geertz (1993), emphasized religious (cultural) attributes and dispositions that would in general be used in the process of examining specific religious organization.

Institutional Theory. The conceptual framework for this study is drawn, in part, from Parsons' (1960) and Thompson's (1967) concepts of rationality stratified into three separate levels, as shown in Figure 3.

Technical

Managerial

Institutional and cultural

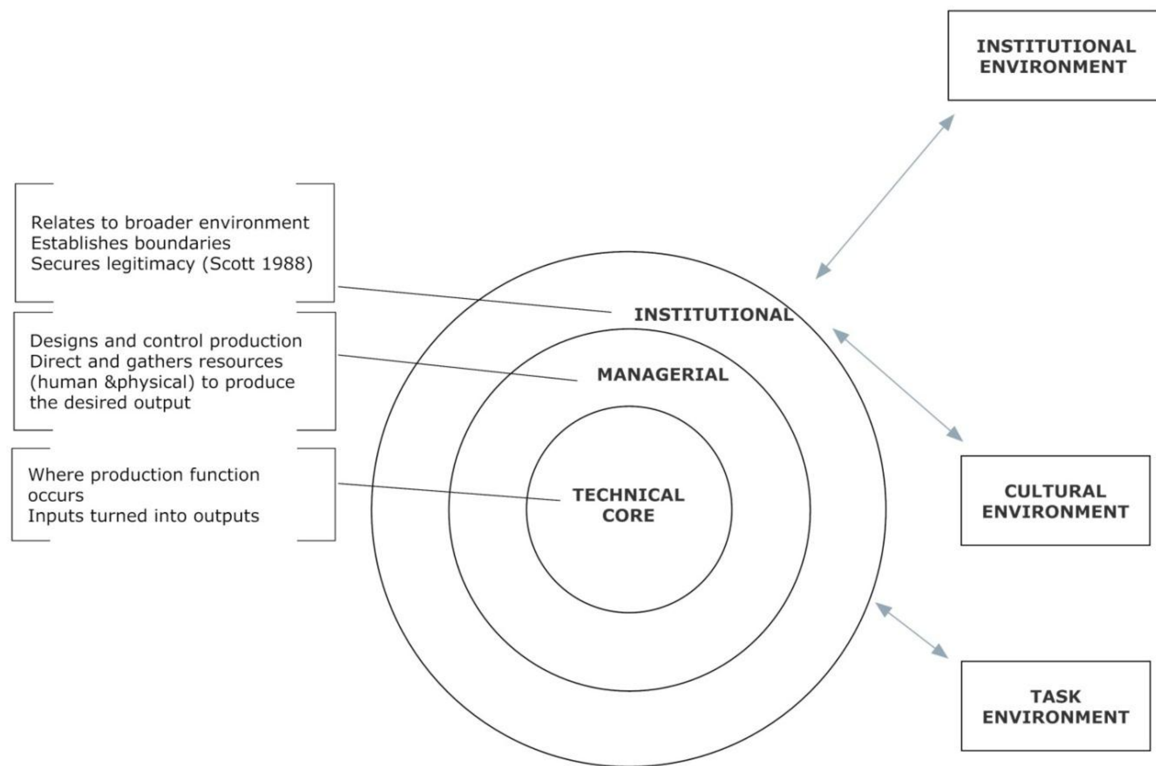


Figure 3. Institutional theory.

The technical level – the core. At the heart of the organization, basic activities occur that define the purpose and produce the outputs (Thompson, 2004). The technical core focuses on resource-based features and those mechanisms and rules that are used to control the work. Technical rationality seeks to identify and control the many cause/effect relationships that lead to the attainment of the complex cultural goals. To most effectively accomplish the goals, the core must, to some degree, be sealed off and isolated from outside

forces. The organization needs to remove as much uncertainty as possible from its technical core by reducing the number of variables operating on it (Scott, 1998).

The managerial level. The managerial level refers to the organizational activities that control the systems of production and governance and the activities that direct and gather resources (both human and physical) to produce the desired output. Most issues of governance, that is the administration of the organization's internal affairs, take place at this level, especially as managers attempt to interact with the institutional or environmental level (Parsons, 1960). This is the level where institutional managers attempt to manage and control their environment acting as intermediaries responsible for an assortment of tasks, such as "boundary-spanning, boundary-setting, bridging, buffering," and other strategies (Thompson, 2004, pp. 20-21). Of special interest was the role of managers and the different buffering strategies and techniques they use to bring useful resources into the core and to keep out what they perceive as harmful. Resources at the managerial level are secured, and legitimacy is sought to service and advance the core.

The institutional level. Elements at the institutional level relate to the broader environment, establishing boundaries and securing the legitimacy of the organization (Scott, 1998). Theorists hold that there is a qualitative break between each of these levels because the functions at each level are fundamentally different; it is not a matter of degree of interaction, but of type.

The three-tier organizational theoretical framework guided the study toward understanding and analysis of the relationship between the centralized governing ecclesiastical bureaucracy and the divergent subcultures that subscribe to the Catholic value system. This study borrowed from Thompson's (1967) institutional theory as applied to

schools to explain the core, managerial, and institutional functions of each of the subcultures in this research. As in educational institutions, subcultures are based on a series of abstract systems of belief about the relationships among constituent members who, according to Thompson, are in an ongoing process of negotiations.

Task environment. Task environment refers to everything outside of those activities controlled by the organization. Not everything in the environment is directly related to the organization or the task it attempts to perform. Some parts of the environment are relevant to the organization and its task. Thompson identified those parts where the organization is directly impacted as the "relevant or task environment" (Thompson, 2004, p. 32). The task environment is the part relevant to goal setting and attaining, where the exchange of input and output takes place. The task environment includes competitors, customers, employer, regulatory groups, and suppliers. Organizations are "dependent on some elements of the task environment in proportion to the organizations need for resources, or in an inverse proportion to the ability of other elements to provide the same resource" (Thompson, 2004, p. 30).

It is in the task environment that the organization establishes a domain, a claim that organization stakes out for itself. This may include a range of products, population served, or service rendered. The domain identifies the "points at which an organization is dependent on inputs from the environment" (Thompson, 2004, p. 26). Attaining a viable domain requires finding and holding a position recognized as more worthwhile than any alternatives (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). When this position is established, a domain consensus forms. The domain consensus defines a set of expectations both for members of the organization and those with whom they interact, regarding what the organization will and will not do. In other words, this domain consensus helps to explain why the organization exists (Thompson, 2004).

The relationship between an organization and its task environment is one of exchange. If what the organization offers is not desirable, it will not receive the inputs necessary to survive (Thompson, 2004). Organizations are constrained by the environment. Any given organization needs to remove as much uncertainty as possible from its technical core by reducing the number of variables operating on it if it is to effectively accomplish its goals. Organizations survive to the extent that they are effective. Effectiveness derives from the management of demands of various interest groups upon which the organization depends for resources and support (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Isomorphism. DiMaggio and Powell stated, “Isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions” (1983, p. 149). In this study, the organizational goal is to achieve increasing compatibility with both the cultural and institutional-environmental characteristics. In contrast to the population ecology approach, which concentrates on environmental selection, isomorphism is interested in adaptation; it means change of self or changes from within to suit the demands of either the culture or the institution.

DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) explanation of isomorphism emphasizes adaptation but does not suggest as did Hannan and Freeman (1977) that managers' actions are necessarily strategic in a long-range sense. Indeed, two of the three forms of isomorphism involve managerial behaviors at the level of taken-for-granted assumptions rather than consciously strategic choices. In their treatises on isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) are “more concerned with the menu of possible [rational] options that managers consider than with their motives for choosing particular alternatives” (p. 149). The theory of

isomorphism addresses “not the psychological states of actors but the structural determinants of the range of choices that actors perceive as rational and prudent” (p. 149).

Political theory. Political theory guided the research to identify major conflicts and other governance related issues that ensued as various subcultures became situated within the church and American Catholicism. This study examined the divergent cultures from anthropological, functionalistic, and cognitive perspectives.

Politics is the process through which a society’s persistent and conflicting cultural values are translated into policy. The transmission of conflicting social values into policy requires a set of arrangements by which a particular society governs itself, mainly its constitution and especially its policy-making processes. Two major components to consider in political theory are polity and the policy-making process. Polity looks at the set of arrangements by which a particular society governs itself. It is defined by the relationship between its classes of people and its politics as well as its citizenship structure (Iannaccone L. , 1991a). Policy-making processes articulate the authoritative allocation of values (Easton, 1957). This study on organization politics explores the types of conflict that occur as a result of dissatisfaction within constituent members.

Relative citizenship. Marshall (1964) defined citizenship as “status bestowed on those who are fully members of a community. Relative citizenship is based on a presupposition that different categories of individuals possess different statuses equal with respect to the rights and duties with which their status are endowed” (p. 84). Citizenship theory examines organizational membership strata and hierarchies. Citizenship within a stratified society results in a differentiated treatment of group members depending on the extent to which the rights of specific constituent groups are recognized. When citizenship is determined, defined,

and implemented by groups with power, and when the interests of marginalized groups are not expressed or incorporated into civic discussions, the interests of groups with power and influence will determine the definition(s) of citizenship and public interest. Groups with power and influence often equate their own interests with the public interest. This is the basis of an elitist citizenship structure. Banks (2008), in his explanation of how citizenship classes arise, stated, " Groups with power and influence often equate their own interests with the public interest"(p. 132). Once the interests of a particular group are institutionalized as the norm, an elitist citizenship structure is formed. Citizenship in the church is stratified (clergy, religious, and laity) and gender-based; there are privileges and responsibilities attached to members in each citizenship class.

Related to relative citizenship is the concept of boundary-setting. According to Thompson (1967) and Scott (1998), institutions seek to seal off their core technologies from environmental influences, to secure stability, determinateness, and certainty in environments that contain unknowns and uncertainties (Scott, 1998).

Principle of subsidiarity. The term *subsidiary* as applied in this study is in part derived from the Principle of subsidiarity enacted by Pope Pius XI in the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno (15/05/1931). Principle of subsidiarity states:

> Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do.

The basic tenet of this pronouncement is that nothing that can be done as well by a smaller and simpler organization should be done by a larger and more complex organization.

In other words, any activity that can be performed by a more decentralized entity should be. The immediate implication of the principle of subsidiarity in terms of governance and control is that, in an attempt to keep centralized control of a multiplicity of cultures, the church will tightly manage institutions at the center while allowing room for enterprise, subordination, and subsidiarity in institutions on the fringe. The goal of accessing the principle of subsidiarity assisted me in the process of explaining the type of governance relationship that existed between specific subcultures and the centralized bureaucracy in Rome.

Related to the Principle of subsidiarity is contingency theory, which argues that there is no single best way to organize (Galbraith, 1973). Rather the appropriate organizational structure depends on the contingencies confronting the organization. These contingencies variously include the technology used by the organization, the environment in which the organization operates, the task performed, and the organization's size (Pfeffer, 1978; Morgan, 1986). Using contingency theory, this study examined ways in which various subcultures persisted in a centralized governance structure based in the Vatican.

Policy-making process. The policy-making process examines the authoritative allocation of values (Easton, 1957). It was important in this study to establish how the policy-making machine functioned in the Catholic Church and to explore historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the Catholic value system to determine where institutional policies originated and who accessed and manipulated the policy-making machine to promote specific values and norms. The following major policy-making streams led to an understanding of process theory as it relates to the church.

Bureaucracy. Ecclesiastical governance is grounded in a rational and mechanistic view of organizational theory. Morrill (2008) cited Weber's (1978) classic description of

"ideal-typical" rational-legal bureaucracies as rule-governed, hierarchical meritocracies with specialized career lines and rational accounting methods (p. 18). "Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs… are raised to the optimum point" (Weber, 1978, p. 973).

This study borrows from the treatise on bureaucracy to explain how the ecclesiastical governance structure, which consists of hierarchal bureaucrats enforcing standardized procedures and protocols perpetuated by rules, regulations, Canon Law, decrees, and dogmas, is organized.

Alternative decision making processes. This section is a continuation on policy-making processes about the rational, negotiated, and confluence approach to the policy-making process. These three approaches, which are labeled as alternative decision-making processes in the church, apply to the findings section of this study.

Rational Model. A rational decision-making process is one that is logical and follows an orderly path from problem identification through to a solution. The rational model assumes rationality of decision-makers and emphasizes maximal profits with minimal costs. Steps to a rational decision-making process vary depending on theorists and the field of study, but procedures will generally touch on the following: (1) define goals; (2) ascertain all alternatives to reach goals; (3) examine the alternatives in terms of their outcomes, costs, and benefits; and (4) make a best choice among the alternatives so that optimal outcome is achieved (Vroom & Yetton, 1973; Vroom & Jago, 1988).

The democratic process is related to the rational stream of policy-making. In democratic organizations, the power to rule rests with the populace. This power may be

exercised through representative forms of management, where stakeholders are formally represented in decision-making processes as in systems of codetermination or coalition government and in forms of worker or shareholder control. Democratic power may also be exercised directly through participative forms of rule where everyone shares in the management process (Morgan, 1986).

Negotiated order. Strauss (1963) and his colleagues' psychiatric hospital study of everyday negotiations among diverse occupational groups (doctors, nurses, patients, lay workers) about the meanings, routines, and tacit agreements of work became the basis for the negotiated order approach to organizations. Their work drew from Blumer's (1986) theory on symbolic interactionism that centers on the construction of meaning in organizations via social interaction Blumer. A negotiated order approach, according to Strauss (1963), is one that looks at the structural context within which negotiations takes place and type of sub-processes of negotiations that occur. These sub-processes entail "making trade-offs, obtaining kickbacks, compromising toward the middle, paying off debts, and reaching negotiated agreements" (Strauss 1978, p. 237). The negotiated order approach considers the varieties of negotiation contexts: (1) The number of negotiators, their relative experience in negotiating, and whom they represent; (2)whether the negotiations are one-shot, repeated, sequential, serial, multiple, or linked; (3) the relative balance of power exhibited by the respective parties in the negotiation itself; (4) the nature of their respective stakes in the negotiation; (5) the visibility of the transactions to others, that is, their overt and covert characters; (5) the number and complexity of the issues negotiated; (6) the clarity of legitimacy boundaries of the issues negotiated; and (7) the options to avoiding or discontinuing negotiation: that is, the alternative modes of action perceived as available. Strauss discussed at length about the

various mechanisms used during negotiation, such as coercion, persuasion, manipulation, appeals to authority, or manipulation of contingencies.

Negotiated existence in relation to boundary-spanning. The Church has a boundary-setting structure just as the cultures do. Seminarians trained by the church are constantly negotiating their dual status as members of their home culture as well as serving as ecclesiastical representatives in various cultural contexts. The treatise on boundary-spanning therefore became important because it explained the role of the priest who has to negotiate this dual status without compromising one or the other. And for the church, it meant making appointments that were agreeable to parishioners of a specific cultural group to avoid the reoccurrence of protestations that characterized American Catholicism at its inception.

Symbolic use of politics. The symbolic use of politics, as Edelman (1985) proposed, is evident in the Catholic governance structure. He explored a somewhat different dimension surrounding the structures, processes, and functions of politics. He believed politics involved more than the manifest struggle between organized interest (cultural) groups and the conflicts that arise around the distribution of scarce resources. Approaching the study of politics from this limited context, Edelman argued, is to miss some of the most important functions served by politics and to fail to understand some of the key aspects of how political systems operate.

The central theme of Edelman (1985) is that much of what politics does is symbolic rather than concrete. The structure, settings, and activities of politics serve important symbolic functions of reassurance, threat, and hope in addition to providing some persons or groups with concrete benefits. Political analysis, he argued, should proceed at two different, but related, levels. For a few, politics is indeed a means for getting (or losing) specific tangible benefits. For the great majority, however, it is essentially a spectator sport. “Politics

is for the 'mass public' a passing parade of abstract symbols, yet a parade which our experiences teach us to be a benevolent or malevolent force that can be close to omnipotent. But for the 'elites,' who participate directly in public affairs, politics is merely an instrument for manipulating the objective world to win certain tangible benefits-money and power" (p. 5). Church politics thrives on symbolic personality and ritualism to socialize members who subscribe to this value system. Once socialized, adherents become gracious spectators of the symbolism perpetuated by the elite – recipients of specific tangible statuses and benefits that the Catholic values system offers to its top-tier citizens. When the symbolic use of politics becomes ineffectual, the inevitable outcome is conflict and renovations as the public masses take revolt against the elitist system of governance.

Confluence. George Brown (1971) introduced the concept of confluent education, "the term for the integration or flowing together of the affective domain" (feelings, emotions, attitudes, and values) and "cognitive elements" (the intellect, the activity of the mind in knowing) "in individual and group learning– sometimes called humanistic or psychological education" (p. 3).

Confluent education describes a philosophy and a process of teaching and learning in which the affective domain and the cognitive domain flow together, like two streams merging into one river, and are thus integrated in individual and group learning. It also includes learning experiences where interplay between affectivity and cognition may exist and where appropriate degrees of frustration and tension from this interplay are seen as desirable conditions for healthy growth and development. The unending interaction of self with universe produces an interplay sequence of conflict, confrontation, persistence, and resolution or finishing up.

The approaches–rational, negotiated order and confluence–highlight the multi-dimension spheres of governance relations. In observing the governance structure in the Catholic Church from a distance, one may be bought to believe that it is constituted of stable, unchanging bureaucratic systems of relationships. The studies on the church in relation to its environment and the divergent subcultures pointed to the fact that these relations were ultimately dependent upon the agreement of the parties and were constructed through a social, rather than entirely policy-driven, process. This understanding led to one inevitable conclusion: that organizations are ultimately driven by the environment; as the environment goes, so does the organization.

Legitimacy. Subcultures that subscribe to Catholicism cannot subsist as a Catholic entity without the permission of the ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome. An organization is said to be legitimate to the extent that its means and ends appear to conform to social norms, values, and expectations. Subcultures in the Catholic Church require more than material resources and technical information if they are to survive and thrive in their social environments. They also need social acceptability and credibility: "Individual organizations (subcultures) have to exhibit culturally approved forms and activities, in order to receive support from normative authorities" (the Catholic Church; Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975, p. 58). A legitimate organization, then, is one that is perceived to be pursuing socially acceptable goals in a socially acceptable manner; given this normative quality, efficiency and performance alone are not sufficient (Epstein and Votaw 1978). Legitimacy is conferred upon or attributed to the organization by its constituents (Perrow 1970). Legitimacy justifies the organization's role in the social system and helps attract adherents, resources, and the continued support of other constituent groups within the organization (Parsons 1960). In this

light, legitimacy is considered a resource. The theory of legitimacy was instrumental in understanding how the various subcultures are affiliated to the centralized ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome. Using the theories pertaining to centrality and marginality, this study was able to gauge how close or distanced specific cultural groups were in the Catholic Church.

Centrality and marginality. The theories on centrality and marginality were used to determine the standing of the divergent Catholic subcultures within the Catholic Church as a whole and American Catholicism in particular. Theories on centrality and marginality gauge relative importance of subsidiary institutions to their parent organization. Robledo (1978), building on concepts from Clark (1968), proposed a series of indicators that measure a unit's importance to its parent organization. A unit that was core to the organization, valued, and supported, was termed central; its position in the organization was one of centrality. A unit operating from an opposite position was termed marginal, and its position connoted marginality. In this study, indicators used as predictors of the culture's relative place of importance were adopted from Robledo's conceptualization of centrality: demographics, prestige, status (rank), dedicated space, legitimacy, and position (location).

Theories relevant to conflicts. One important area to immediately understand in any conflict is the distribution of power and how distributed power is exercised. Morgan (1997) identified key sources of power: formal authority, use of organizational structure, rules and regulations, control of decision process, control of knowledge and information, control of boundaries, control of scarce resources, ability to cope with uncertainty, control of technology, symbolism and the management of meaning, and structural factors that define the stage of action. In this study, it was critical to determine which cultural constituencies

institutionally or sub-institutionally used which types of power and in what ways to understand the situations where conflict was present.

Three approaches can be used to manage conflicts: (a) privatize the conflict, (b) define the conflict, or (c) socialize the conflict (Schattschneider, 1975). The visibility of the conflict is determined by whether the conflict is privatized or socialized; to privatize a conflict is to maintain control and keep the conflict invisible, a tactic used more often by the powerful side. Privatizing is achieved by restricting the scope of the conflict and working to keep the conflict out of the public arena. A second option to manage a conflict is to define the conflict, which allows the person defining the conflict to either privatize or socialize the conflict, essentially determining who engages in the conflict. There are an overwhelming number of conflicts in society; however, many do not fully develop due to stronger conflicts that come to the forefront (Schattschneider, 1975). If a conflict is socialized, the goal is to get more people involved in the conflict, which is achieved by appealing to the public. Socialization is often a tactic used by the weaker party; it is an effort to seek help from others in order to strengthen one's side of the conflict. Once the public is successfully drawn into a conflict, the outcome is a period of dissatisfaction (revolution) followed by the displacement or replacement of the existing authority structure.

Dissatisfaction theory. Perry (2008) cited Mosca (1939) and Michels (1911) about a sociological and political process in which inevitable conflict between the ruler and those governed leads to politicization and ultimate change in leadership. Development of the process may evolve over long periods of time, perhaps centuries. Citing the history of Roman aristocracy, the period of the Roman Low Empire, and India's caste system, Mosca (1939) generalized that long-standing stable societies tend to be ruled by those who assumed

an inheritance for their position. “All ruling classes tend to become hereditary in fact if not in law” (p. 599). Mosca continued,

> The whole history of civilized mankind comes down to a conflict between the tendency of dominant elements to monopolize political power and transmit possession of it by inheritance, and the tendency toward a dislocation of old forces and insurgence of new forces. (601)

Upheaval, according to Mosca (1939), may result when new social and political forces gain public acceptance and offer change as a means to redress dissatisfaction among the governed. However, Mosca opined that the process of reestablishing new governance moves toward stability versus the discomfort of conflict, as the society “gradually passes from its feverish state to calm” (p. 602).

Although Mosca (1939) stated that the governing group declines when circumstances render them ineffective in the social environment, Michels (1911) believed that governing entities tended to persist in spite of societal change. His words became known as Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy, explaining the phenomenon of domination by the governing body. Michels' (1911) work about the nature of complex organizations indicated that hierarchically organized bureaucracies reflect the idea that “the price of increased bureaucracy is the concentration of power at the top and the lessening of influence by rank and file members” (p. 16). Further, Michels stated that “those elected to represent others tend to neglect their constituency and become part of the ruling oligarchy” (p. 17). Lipset (1962) cited Michels' (1911) view that “dominant minorities, whether in society at large or in organizations, must primarily be interpreted as following a logic of self-interest of exploiting the masses to maintain or extend their own privilege and power” (p. 35).

Key (1949) expanded upon Mosca's (1939) conclusions about the period of quiescence preceding conflict and politicization leading to change. Key questioned what conditions were present when voters maintained the status quo versus the "conditions [that] permit sharp and decisive changes in the power structure" (p. 18).

Lutz & Innaccone (1978) described the cycle of political turmoil in a local school district. In a period of social, economic, or political change in the community, those involved in the change expect change in policies to meet new needs. Although policy changes may be effected, politicization motivates actions of special interest groups to replace school board members and the superintendent. New leaders create new policies to meet community demands, and the community returns to stability, a period of quiescence, the length of which depends on subsequent changes that occur in the the community and the inertia of those involved to reinstitute political turmoil as opposed to the status quo.

Connection to the politics in the Catholic Church. The church is an oligarchical governance system, in which idealistic and democratic leaders can become enthralled with their elite positions and are more inclined to make decisions that protect their power than to represent the will of the group they were designated to serve. This study adopted concepts from Lutz and Iannacone's (1968) study on dissatisfaction theory to explain what happens when the democratic rights of the masses are compromised by the elite.

The work of Mosca (1939), Michels (1911), and Key (1949), developed by Lutz and Iannacone (1968), help to explain the era of political turmoil that occurred in the Catholic Church in the time frame selected for this study. The elite leadership (political, economic, and ecclesiastical) tended to protect their own interests over political and religious wellbeing of those to whom they were assigned, eventually joining in the inertia of the top-level

officials and moving toward more conservative positions. Over time, given changes that occurred in every aspect of the society, the gap widened between the expectations of the masses and the interests of the elite. Dissatisfaction increased, politicization intensified, and structures of authority were reorganized.

Economics of dissatisfaction. In examining dissatisfaction as it relates to ecclesiastical governance structure, this study also borrowed from the economic approach advanced by Adam Smith (1776) and formalized by Iannaccone (1991b). The economic approach holds that state-supported religious monopolies behave inefficiently in many ways, thereby opening up the possibility of entry by more efficient competitors. It treats the medieval Roman Catholic Church as a firm that provided religious and legal services and used its market power to extract rents from its customers. It asserts that by the late Middle Ages, the Catholic Church was pricing its product too high, thus advancing the prospects of market-entry by rival Protestant churches.

The approach maintains that the medieval church controlled and manipulated doctrine and rules in order to increase its revenues. One result was that benefits to church members were reduced by a church-directed policy of price discrimination that put believers on the margin of defection. The advent of Protestantism as a belief system meant that consumers seeking redemption could take a more direct and less expensive path to salvation. Protestantism made redemption cheaper, and it increased benefits to believers by reducing transaction costs. In the Middle Ages, the successful entry of Protestant sects required a flatter pricing structure. Therefore, rather than introduce a whole new belief system, Protestant religions adopted core Christian teachings (e.g., the Bible) but simplified many of the details and eliminated the temporal connections of the Catholic Church's belief structure.

Resource Dependency Theory. Resource dependency theory rests first on assumptions that organizations are composed of internal and external coalitions that emerge from social exchanges that are formed to influence and control behavior. Second, the environment is assumed to contain scarce and valued resources essential to organizational survival. As such, the environment poses the problem of organizations facing uncertainty in resource acquisition. And third, those organizations are assumed to work toward two related objectives: acquiring control over resources that minimize their dependence on other organizations and control over resources that maximize the dependence of other organizations upon themselves. Attaining either objective is thought to affect the exchange between organizations, thereby affecting an organization's power. A major component of my research looks at how the different Catholic subcultures, in a bid to remain competitive in the American environment, managed their dependencies and increased their leverage within the church and American Catholicism.

Synthesis of the conceptual framework. This study on organizational culture was an investigation about how divergent subcultures persisted under the umbrella of a church whose goal is to enforce centralized ecclesiastical religious tenets. Catholic ethnic groups subscribed in various ways to the centrally prescribed ecclesiastical tenets and sought ways and means through which they could coexist in that ecclesiastical structure.

Employing the organizational politics approach was of paramount importance in this study. Organizational politics examines cultural values, polity, and the policy-making process in institutions. Using organizational politics, the study sought to establish what the dominant subcultures within the Catholic value system were; polity and citizenship structure; how the policy-making process was designed; which subgroups accessed the policy-making process

to promote specific cultural biases; which cultural categories (language, saints, church architecture, piety, clergy) eventually became mainstream Catholic thought; and the type of conflicts that ensued as constituent subcultures, which perpetuate policies in contradistinction to existing centralized governance policy norms tried to persist in the church. Policies in the Catholic Church do not exist in isolation; these policies are value-laden and perpetuate the values of the dominant subculture that is able to access the political machine to foster specific trends within the Catholic value system.

A political analysis indicates that the type of governance that exists in Church hierarchy is both oligarchical and theocratic. The citizenship structure consists of clerical leadership endowed with divine privileges on one hand and the laity (masses) asserting their inalienable democratic rights on the other. Periods of dissatisfaction are inevitable in the Catholic Church because of the built-in dilemma and conflict that arises because of the prevalence of divergent values, a tiered citizenship structure, and a governance structure which attempts to centrally organize divergent cultural groups which, by nature, are loosely coupled.

Sampling Procedure in a Field Study

This field study started with selection of data. LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch (1992) differentiated between data selection and data sampling. Sampling systematically extracts a portion of data from a pool of data that adequately represent the larger group. Selection pertains to extracting smaller subsets of data from a pool of data that may be chosen non-probabilistically. This field study about ecclesiastical governance of divergent Catholic cultures relied on the selection of specific data rather than sampling.

This study focused on major historical events related to the evolution of Catholicism in the United States. Special emphasis was placed on the role of major European ethnic groups (Spanish, French, Irish, German, Italians, and Polish) in the inception of the ecclesiastical governance structure in American. These ethnic groups were selected because they were dominant among Catholic cultural groups during the foundational eras in American history.

A field study explores a cultural system within its natural surroundings, setting, or context. Longitudinal field studies investigate a phenomenon over time through detailed and in-depth data collection from multiple sources (Creswell, 2003). Field study research is a useful means to study a phenomenon like the evolution of the ecclesiastical governance system. Changes in the governance structure are a phenomenon that is intricately entangled within the cultural, economic, socio-political, theological, and ideological context. To organize the study of the phenomena with this level of complexity, the researcher drew upon organizing concepts from the field of culture and governance theory.

Miles and Huberman (1994) described field study samples as data that were purposively selected and not randomly collected, especially if the study is theory-driven. Key theories in the conceptual framework for this study came from cultural and political theory. Contextualization theories (Pettigrew, 1990) were applied to data pertaining to eras in a multi-directional way attending to vertical, horizontal, and inter-organizational relatedness within the organization population.

Because of the longitudinal aspects of this study, the researcher collected historical data from various primary and secondary sources–the library, journal and archival literature, and information from the sponsoring church body. Employing the *within-case* sampling

procedure, data were collected that was consistently and dependably reported through documents. As the study progressed, the researcher narrowed the selection of data to a specific group of reliable components, and as eras emerged, each period had comparable data collected and reported so that sampling was nested within the era. An example of this would be the persistent emergence of traits such as origins, settlement patterns, tasks, traditions, ideology, education system, and governance, which characterized the divergent subcultures in the context of American Catholicism.

The sampling process became more recursive or iterative in nature as the research process continued to employ the interpretive methodology in a contextual mode of inquiry. Barott (2001) referred to this as the scientific venture (SV) of social research. The four pillars on which the scientific venture revolves are (a) the phenomenon (which in this case is the American Catholic environment) about which empirical data is gathered, (b) concepts relevant to making sense of the phenomena, (c) the conceptual framework used or how a set of inter-related concepts are utilized in this particular study to make sense of the phenomenon, and (d) the hypothesis testing which entails the use of empirical data to determine whether the thesis that was proposed at the beginning of the research holds. The SV is based on a system of self-checks that oblige the researcher to monitor for the veracity of data and appropriateness of concepts used to explain data. New questions that arise during the course of the data collection process may necessitate changes in the direction of inquiry or elicit deeper analysis of the category of data and theories used. This research study on the ecclesiastical governance of the multiplicity of subcultures sought to use Catholic institutions of higher education. However, preliminary analyses showed that there were no Catholic institutions of higher education per se because universities and colleges in the U.S. were in

fact started by the different ethno-Catholic subcultures that sought to use these institutions as a means for cultural reproduction. From this point on, the focus was on the various subcultures and how they situated themselves in the American ecclesiastical environment.

When this new pattern emerged, further inquiry was made into the data collection process to ascertain whether with the new demographic configuration the expanded dimensions of power relations (vertical, horizontal, and across hierarchies) between Rome and the various subcultures were accounted for. This led to reorganization of figures, tables, analyses, and summaries based on theories and a conceptual framework relevant to the task at hand.

Last, near the end of the data analysis for this study, it became apparent that the researcher needed to use another means of analysis to examine how the power relationships between the Vatican and American subcultures had evolved in a multifaceted way based on power, chance, accident, negotiated order, or even through confluence.

Attending to Moral, Ethical, and Legal Issues

Moral, ethical, and legal issues involved my responsibility to conduct research in a manner that does no harm and respects individuals. As a researcher, I used professional etiquette and integrity in all aspects of the research process. I also had an awareness of a power relationship that existed in my role as a cleric and school chaplain working with other clerics and laity within the Catholic value system, and this awareness guided my practice. The Human Subjects Review process through Eastern Michigan University is designed to "safeguard the rights and welfare of all individuals involved as subjects in research" (EMU Board of Regents, 1978, p. 1). Institutional review boards, such as the EMU Human Subjects

Review Board, were instituted by the federal government to protect research participants (Gall et al., 2005). The process of the board review was completed, and approval from the board was obtained prior to data collection (See Appendix A).

Instrumentation

An instrumentation plan appropriate to the organizational population had to be created to facilitate the timely gathering of data and formulation of conclusions to answer the research questions. Once the type of data needed to answer the research questions had been determined, the researcher embarked on developing a plan to facilitate the process of how, where, and when to gather the data and, further, how to implement analysis of the collected data.

Unobtrusive measures of data collection coupled with the use of physical traces (evidence people intentionally or inadvertently leave behind in various ways as they traverse their physical environment), non-participant observation, and other documentary sources were pivotal in this study (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). The goal was to use means that minimized direct elicitation of information from research subjects, as I was cognizant that engaging in reactive (obtrusive) measures, such as interview and questionnaires, would compromise the outcome of this study. Data collection was conducted in a naturalistic setting without the introduction of any formal measurement procedures. The naturalistic and indirect measures used were based on the researcher's inventiveness, imagination as an academician, and experience acquired working as a member in the organization.

Documentary sources included archival and other types of secondary sources,

institutional documents, historical accounts, websites, artifacts in the public domain, and population data bases. Naturally, as in any research process, serious errors are possible when using archival data; however, in the course of this study, the researcher was able to recognize and control erroneous propositions through data triangulation. Webb and Weick (1979) suggested that in some instances, ceremonial citation acquired through unobtrusive measures can be turned into substance. They warned against organizational theorists' over-reliance on obtrusive self-reports that tend to exclude crucial populations from inquiry, postpone cross checking of propositions, inflate apparent consequentiality, and impose homogeneity of method that create the false impression that findings of field research are method-specific. Alternative forms of data collection in naturalistic settings and observational and archival approaches offer greater appreciation of elusive aspects of organizations that would have been otherwise overlooked by more direct methods.

Role of the researcher. As it has been frequently emphasized in qualitative paradigms, the researcher is the evaluative instrument. Being aware of how I am calibrated and how I process inputs was critical to understanding the outputs in the forms of inferences drawn in this dissertation. Glesne (1999) effectively noted that monitoring subjectivity is not synonymous with controlling for subjectivity or trying to keep it out of one's work, for that is virtually impossible. I was the mediator of constructive meaning and values. The monitoring of my subjectivity was an attempt to be aware of the ways in which it might have distorted my conclusions.

Because I am a Catholic priest, my perspective was biased and my interaction with the divergent cultural groups was complicated. I am aware of my rank within the Catholic citizenship structure, but I also have an endearment to my humble and cultural African

background. I am an African priest privileged to live in the United States. I am constantly negotiating my position of privilege and responsibility, of being born in a poor country and living in a developed country, and my dual loyalties of being both a clerical and a clan (cultural) leader. Like any first-generation American, I am torn between enjoying the privileges in the U.S. and the responsibility of helping the people that I left back home in Uganda and other developing countries. I need to make compromises because of my dual status, especially as I strive to be a loyal cleric and clan member. The struggle with which I am faced at the micro level is the same struggle I have observed at the parochial, diocesan, and global (macro) level. That is why, in conducting this study, I lean towards a more negotiated approach and the confluence of ideologies and loyalties. There are no easy answers, but the empirical data in this study show that the two concepts of negotiation and confluence present a practical way of dealing with divergent cultural trends that persist in a centralized governance system.

Data Content

This study was historical in nature and, because of the longitudinal scope of the phenomena measured, the dependency relationships – vertical, horizontal, and across hierarchies – that exist between the constituent cultural groups as they relate to a centralized governance structure based in Rome were sought. Thus, the primary activity was to determine what data existed on a constant basis. When the researcher mapped out the subjects of study historically, he understood the consistently available data types that would provide information. The researcher then was guided by the persistent trends, as drawn from conceptual framework, to gather data concerning the organizing principle and bias, the core

technologies, the environmental influences, and the leadership activities.

The mapping of historic moments in the life of an organization also marks where to investigate to locate critical events that sparked change. Unlike survey researchers or experimentalists, whose data constituted pre-categorized elements, the researcher in this study accepted the task of developing categories to hold data as patterns emerged that would contribute to the conceptual framework adopted from cultural and political theory. The research study proceeded in a systematic way, starting with the examination of a set of generalized documents and then narrowing down to more specific sets of documents combined, a process that moved the analysis from descriptive to a more focused study and, thereafter, to a more purposeful selection of aggregate data detailing the dependency interrelatedness that existed between Rome and American Catholic subcultures. This study required both descriptive narration and the quantification of certain types of descriptive statistical data, including the changes in Catholic cultural population and citizenry (clergy, religious, and laity), dioceses, and other vital statistics that tallied economic and education related progress that occurred in the organization population over time. These data were organized and displayed in charts and graphs and included the following:

1. Number of Catholics during the different era
2. Number of Catholics in the dominant American Subcultures
3. Number of ecclesiastical administrators (bishops and priests)
4. Number of dioceses

The researcher used these official statistics and quantitative data to suggest patterns and trends that led up to critical events of change and to demonstrate dominant dependency relationships that existed between Rome and American subcultures.

Explanations of change, Pettigrew (1995) asserted, cannot be "tied to a single event or set of discrete episodes" (p. 94) because such explanations fail to provide insight into the processes resulting from the many environmental influences that form a context in which change events or episodes occur. Therefore, the researcher augmented these descriptive statistics with careful reading of church documents and national and global histories affecting governance of divergent American subcultures. In their discussion of internal documents, Bodgan and Biklin (1992) asserted that official documents are formulated with the biases of the promoters and can, therefore, often portray the subject in an inaccurate manner. This admonition helped the researcher to approach these documents prepared to filter information for such bias. Internal documents of the Catholic Church disclosed information about governance and internal rules and regulations, but they also assisted the researcher in establishing values and qualities that persisted in the organization through time.

This study had to be established within boundaries, especially necessary for a longitudinal case study. The first boundary established that this field study concentrated on breadth rather than depth, as in a single case study. The study was also bounded by a certain period of the organization's life, from the colonial time from 1520 to 1920. This established a beginning point, from which to follow the interaction of events to measure effects and change, and an end point, which provided a place in time to begin a retrospective investigation to gather events into an account that makes the conclusion understandable (Miles & Huberman, 1994). With these boundaries in place, the researcher chronicled events that took place and established clear connections to later outcomes. Using this instrumentation, the researcher was able to reveal the connected change events in context through process analysis.

Participant observation. In the field research, or "participant observation" (Scott, 1965, p. 286), my goal was not to conduct formal lengthy observations in particular settings but, instead, to gather as much information about different American cultural settings as possible in a relatively non-systematic and unstructured manner. I conducted observations in about 300 parishes in 45 states over seven years. In addition, my research involved a cross-case analysis in the more recent tradition of Denzin (1989, as cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994). Denzin extolled the benefits of multiple exemplars and the benefits that such an approach provides in enhancing synthesis, as essential elements and components are more easily and powerfully discernible in such a research design. An unstructured design allows for generalization to a greater extent and a more exact description of the ways in which experiences of specific cultural groups are framed by local conditions (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

This researcher employed the activity of a participant observer in place of conducting interviews. An attempt during the initial stages of this research to investigate the issue of cultural differentiation using interviews in the organization population proved futile because, for the most part, the responses to interviews were self-referential and the content calculated. Data gathered through structured interviews tended to diminish the reality of cultural differentiation while over-emphasizing ideological components of Christian unity. In other instances, prospective individuals were reluctant to grant private interviews, and others were hesitant to critique a governance system that, they said, was of divine origin and formed by an unbroken succession of bishops dating back to Jesus Christ himself.

The researcher was, however, invited and able to participate in some conversations with specific individuals within the various organizations, predominantly those still actively

engaged in cultural segregation and who expressed special pride in the persistent behaviors of their cultural identity. The researcher feels that the observations and informal conversations were invaluable to the development of this study. The field notes from these activities served as a way to triangulate information from documents and helped him to understand governance and culture in the Catholic value system.

Data Analysis Procedures

After each wave of data collection, I synthesized my historical account, observations, and field notes, meaningfully dissecting them, then placed them within the organizational theories, and looked for relationships, themes, and units of meaning. Data were analyzed using Glaser's (1976) constant comparative method, as summarized by Glesne (1999). Data were then coded from observations and documents under category headings, which captured theoretical properties and themes, as suggested by the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. This process involved different levels of definition and sorting of apportioned data, grouping the data into categories, and then attaching the categories to the conceptual framework. Data were analyzed in these categories in the search for inherent meanings or patterns. The meanings and inferences extracted were grounded in concrete observation. The blending of codes that occurred was a natural product of the advancement of my thoughts and understanding, letting data lead the investigation.

When the essential features were detailed and identified, the next step was to identity how the features interacted. Identified relationships transformed the data as it pointed to themes following the process of Wolcott (2008).

Interpretation, after the data were analyzed, entailed transcending factual data and, by

cautious analysis, beginning to probe for conclusions. Theory and personal experience were helpful to me in this final stage of data interpretation. All attempts were made to ensure that both my data and assumptions maintained a high degree of validity to ensure the accuracy of my final conclusions.

Validity, Dependability, and Credibility

Validity in qualitative research is better related to the characteristic of trustworthiness wherein findings accurately represent "the socially constructed reality of the participants" (LeCompte, Millroy, & Preissle, 1992, p. 644). Trustworthiness is documented when other researchers recognize the value of findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The goal of this study was to analyze the governance relations that exist between the Vatican and the divergent American Catholic subcultures, with the highest degree of *trustworthiness, consistency,* and *neutrality* as discussed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). Jones, Torres, and Arminio (2006) said that continuity and congruence in all elements are vital to establishing trustworthiness in a qualitative study. Essential to those concepts is the process of *member checking*, review by members of the population upon whom findings are based. Authenticating and confirming research findings adds congruence to the researcher's interpretations and enhances the research (Jones et al., 2006). According to Schram (2006), the subjectivity of the ethnographic researcher is an element of trustworthiness. In my observations of ethnic cultures in the American Catholic environment, member checking was important. Members of the Catholic community of clerics and laity were able to review findings and provide feedback. Empirical data gathered in field notes were a tool to record and be able to recollect impressions, specific incidents, contrasts, and comparisons between and among the diverse

ethnic group cultures. A continual search for disconfirming evidence and constant monitoring for the influence of personal bias were also essential to my quest of enhancing the validity of my findings.

Sharing my preliminary observations and the concepts I intended to employ with my dissertation seminar group sparked their interest and provided a means of confirmation for this viable research. Eisenhart & Howe (1992) suggested that another way to increase trustworthiness and validity is for researchers to ascertain that the categories used are meaningful and reflect the way they experience reality. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the three criteria for evaluating the trustworthiness of qualitative data are (a) that it is gathered after prolonged engagement, (b) that the observations were persistent, and (c) that the data are triangulated.

Prolonged engagement and persistence. Prior to the conclusion of this study I had a prolonged engagement with this phenomenon. Before relocating in the United States I was a lecturer at the National Seminary in Katigondo, Uganda. My position as a seminary professor gave me firsthand experience in the inner workings of the ecclesiastical governance system whose strength lies in the control of the production of priests.

In the U.S., I have been a student in Department of Educational Leadership at Eastern Michigan University for the past eleven years, and the focus of my graduate project has been on Catholic governance systems. My current assignment as chaplain at a Catholic grade school during the work week has facilitated my research on weekends when I have been able to conduct Mass for area priests on vacation. In the course of my duties, I have spent a great deal of time talking with members of the Catholic community and examining the parochial setting of these communities. Further, my profession as a Catholic priest has given me access

to the culture of various American Catholic communities in an intimate way, one in which deeper feelings and opinions, typically masked from outsiders, have been exposed. Persistence of observations is documented in my work for the past eight years as substitute priest.

In that role, I have traveled to more then 300 churches in more than 45 states in the U.S. Using unobtrusive measures of data collection, I was able to conduct my research on the divergent Catholic subcultures in the United States. I acquired firsthand information unavailable in the existing literature and was exposed to multiple sights and multiple instances of confirming and disconfirming evidence. Thus, I had no doubt that I had attained the moment of saturation when I came to the conclusion of the data collection process.

Triangulation. Berg, as cited in Glesne (1999), described the triangulation as a means of incorporating and relating multiple sources of data to enhance the validity of the research findings. The use of multiple sources of data allows the researcher to check for congruence and consistency of data (Glesne, 2006; Wolcott, 2008). The historical dimension of this research was augmented by data collection in unobtrusive observations of multiple participants in multiple locations, literary accounts of the experiences of past generations, site visits, conference attendance, internet web sites, informal conversations, and secondary documents. My narrative sought to provide a rich, thick description of the phenomenon to allow the reader to comprehend the research context as fully as possible (Creswell, 2003).

Internal and external validity. Internal validity is problematic for qualitative research, particularly longitudinal studies, because variables or biases linked to the subjects, the environment, and the researcher are likely to change over time, posing threats to internal validity. However, Creswell (2003) concurred with Merriam (1998) that validity in

qualitative studies is strengthened when the findings reflect accuracy and a close approximation of reality. Astute observation, careful recording of changes and self-awareness by the researcher is important, but, in general, measurement of internal validity in qualitative research is different from that of quantitative studies (Gall et al., 2005)

Multiple data collection methods were used in this study, including contextualized historical research, unobtrusive measures, observations, document analysis, and artifacts (Glesne, 2006). Findings were verified and my understanding of the American cultural environment was increased by member checking. Specifically, I shared impressions, observations, and conclusions about the ecclesiastical governance and the power relations with members of the Catholic community clerics and laity. Their constructive criticism and disconfirming evidence helped me to refine and develop an accurate representation of the social phenomenon.

External validity is concerned with whether the findings of the study are generalizable to Catholic subcultures in other countries. Although findings in some studies may be generalizable to other individuals, settings, or times (Gall et al., 2005), this study is unique to the United States, an area with a comprehensive history. Ecclesiastical governance relationships of American subcultures cannot be generalized to other areas. However, Yin (1994) pointed to the analytic generalizability of the link between theory and evidence. The set of organizing concepts used in this study can be applied to cultural settings in other countries as tools to explore power relations in these milieus.

This study explored the divergent Catholic subculture in the United States and the ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome as it relates to these subcultures. Other countries could study their subcultures by determining the distinguishing characteristics of these cultures and

noting how cultural peculiarities impact and determine the power relations in their evolution with the Vatican. Further, there is analytic generalizability based on the concept that people act based on the meanings held by individuals. However, the particular meanings are not generalizable for this study, as different cultures have different meanings (Yin, 1994).

Credibility, dependability, and reliability. Reliability refers to "the extent to which research findings can be replicated" (Merriam, 1998, p. 207). Reliability is problematic because qualitative research draws structure from the findings, the reverse of the process for quantitative research, in which structure is the foundation for the search for evidence. Though results in a qualitative study may not be replicated, it is important to provide a detailed account of the process that led to the findings.

Terms of dependability, credibility, and plausibility are more applicable to qualitative studies. The diligence of the researcher is largely responsibility for building these characteristics in qualitative research findings through reasonable judgment, perseverance in time devoted to the observation of the phenomena, and corroboration of multiple sources of data (Hammersley, 1990; Merriam, 1998). Wolcott (2008) provided a guide to the process of credible ethnographic research that includes details of data collection and identification of emergent themes used in the analysis.

Plausibility focuses on the interpretation and findings. When findings are reasonable and probable, the findings meet the test of believability (Hammersley, 1990). Hammersley summed up credibility and plausibility, saying, "No knowledge is certain, but knowledge claims can be judged reasonably accurately in terms of their likely truth" (p. 610). I enhanced the dependability and credibility of the study by utilizing field notes as a means of

documenting activities and observations. Field notes grounded the findings, providing a basis for cultural inferences.

Limitations

Like all studies, this research had limitations. The data are restricted to divergent Catholic subcultures in the United States of America. The specific data are not generalizable to other countries or religious institutions or even other denominations; however, the study provides a set of organizing concepts that have analytic generalizability. The data gathered in this study provide in-depth knowledge specific to Catholic subcultures in the U.S. A comparable study in another country would reveal differences that give each geographical ecclesiastical jurisdiction a unique personality. The study would likely conjure some similarities in governance relations.

Another possible limitation of the study was my role of serving as the primary research instrument. I had to be conscious to not take cultural elements for granted and to work to fully explore familiar and unfamiliar cultural elements. A third limitation of the study is the ambiguity of culture as a concept. To combat this ambiguity I have attempted to delineate the parameters of the use of the concept of culture and how it applies to religious organization, specifically the Catholic Church in the United States of America. After much research, I believe that culture is a mental construct, which was most appropriate for this study (Wolcott, 2008).

Despite these limitations, the study provided useful data and insight regarding the culture of the divergent Catholic subcultures in United States, the relations that exist between the centralized bureaucracy in Rome and the subcultures, and the conflict these relations

cause. This study can inform hierarchical ecclesiastical leaders and the laity in the Catholic Church about the nature of the American cultural environment and the ecclesiastical governance system therein.

Chapter 3: Historical Background

Governance in the Catholic Church is a product of history. Thus, part of this study was a historical treatise on the evolution of the governance structure and control mechanisms in the church. This segment is a historical account of events leading to the cross-Atlantic period and the colonial era. Catholicism under the leadership of Jesus Christ had very humble beginnings as a breakaway sect from Judaism. Christ's followers survived his crucifixion and the Roman-initiated persecution; after 300 years, Christians were reconstituted as part of the Christian Roman Empire by Emperor Constantine.

In the ascent to glory, clerics of the Roman Catholic Church were implicated in perpetuation of the tax-extracting feudal system, which the emerging European principalities rejected in favor of market-driven economies. The result was a Europe split along Catholic tax-extracting principalities versus the Protestant market-driven principalities. The historical foundation for this study included an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Catholic value system from the Judaic cult, identifying the groups of people who held these values, and the conflict that ensued. Further study examined the ascent of Christianity to European dominance and the Roman Catholic institutional policy-making stream that resulted. The study notes specific cultures that accessed and utilized the policy-making machine to promote specific agendas, and how the policy outputs of the centrally organized institution of the Church was enacted in the divergent subcultures under their surveillance.

Jesus Era to the Middle Ages

Inception of Christianity (1-313 A.D.). About 29 A.D., when Israel was under Roman Imperial rule, a Jewish religious sect was formed under the direct charismatic leadership of Jesus, son of a carpenter. Jesus formed a guild comprising 12 men who would become his assistants (Apostles) in his ministry. His audience and adherents were marginalized and ostracized individuals in Jewish society: fishermen, prostitutes, tax collectors, and sinners.

Through the process of apprenticeship and mentoring, Jesus instructed his assistants. Jesus taught and transmitted his ideology by speaking to his followers informally and in predominantly deserted places and along the banks of the Sea of Galilee. This subculture of first Christians, although grounded in existing Jewish teachings, advocated a new kingdom and kingship in contradistinction to the religious, intellectual, and political ideology of the time.

Jesus' teaching of a new kingdom threatened to displace the authority of the existing Jewish religious establishment and of Pontius Pilate, the Roman legate at the time; the prospects of a new king could have been construed as Israel's revolt against the political presence of the occupying Roman imperial forces. Pilate, at the prompting of the Jewish religious establishment, condemned Jesus' teaching and bound him over to be executed by crucifixion on the cross. The areas pertinent to the early Christians are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Inception of Christianity (1-313 A.D.).

Synthesis. Conflict, as depicted in Figure 5, arises when the democratic rights of the many are compromised by the divine right of the few. In the case of Christianity, it was the marginalized members of Jewish society on one hand and the Jewish religious establishment and the Roman Imperialists on the other.

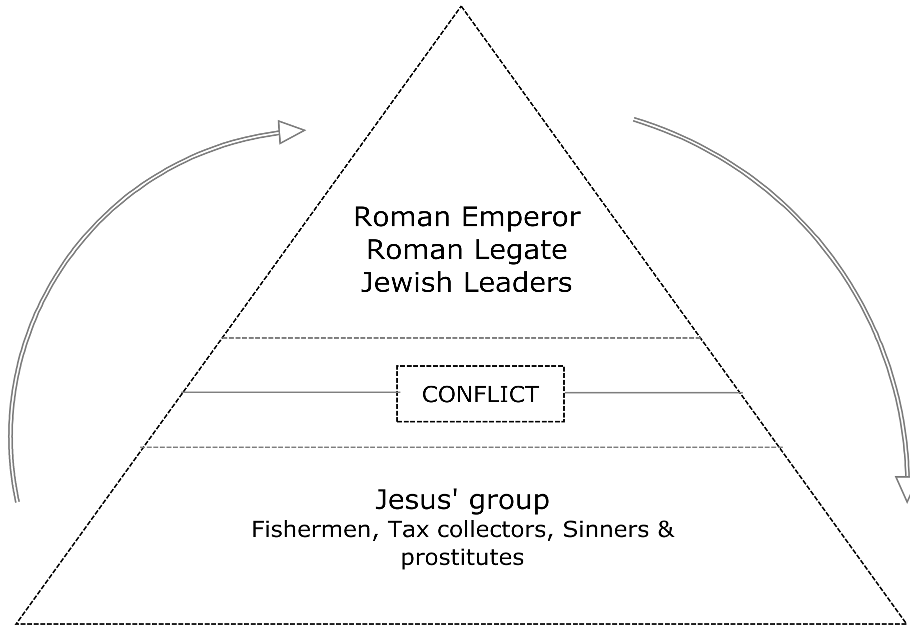


Figure 5. Conflict in the early Christian organization

In the eyes of the authorities at the time, Christianity was a cult, an outgrowth of the Jewish religion and, therefore, a rebellion against established Jewish religious norms and the seated imperial establishment of Rome. The cult leader was condemned to death by crucifixion, and his followers persecuted. Many of them died as martyrs for their beliefs in Christian doctrine. The form of dissatisfaction that Jewish and Roman authorities tried to suppress by crucifixion and persecution persisted among Christ's followers leading to a change in the authority structure.

Post-Jesus Era (29 – 330). After the crucifixion of Jesus, the Apostles perpetuated His teaching and ideology in response to Jesus' commission, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations …. Teach them to observe all that I have commanded you…" *Matthew 28:19-20* (NSV).

Audience. Jewish converts who embraced the teaching of Jesus constituted the audience in the early Christian movement. The growth of Christianity led to the

establishment of Christian communities in many parts of the Roman Empire as highlighted in Figure 6: Antioch, Tarsus, Constantinople, Thessalonica, Philippi, Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Alexandria, Cyrene, Carthage, and others. It was in Antioch that followers of Jesus Christ were first called Christians (*Acts 11:26;* NSV).

Figure 6. Christian Roman Empire 313- 800 A.D.

Location. The Apostles' travels from city to city culminated in the founding of a Christian community in Rome, the world's capital and center of western civilization at the time. The Christian community in Rome continued to play a central role among the adherents to Christianity, mainly because of Rome's association with Simon Peter, head of the College of Twelve Apostles. Communities associated with the presence of an Apostle (Patriarchs) formed in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome.

Venues (for instruction). At the beginning of the apostolic era, the venue for Christian gatherings continued to be informal; groups of Jesus' followers generally gathered in private homes to listen to the Apostles' instruction and to celebrate their rituals and ceremonies. Out of these impromptu gatherings evolved more stable communities under the patronage of the Apostle; such communities later came to be called the Seats of the Patriarchs.

Transmission of ideology. Transmission of the ideology was by oral tradition, but as the number of followers grew, the Apostles adopted literary means, writing exaltations in the form of letters to adherents who were difficult to reach; these letters would be circulated in Christian communities.

Ideology. In terms of ideology, the teachings of the Apostles (the eyewitnesses) focused on relating their personal experience of Jesus' messages and activities. Most of the followers who began as Jewish converts to Christianity continued to adhere to Jewish practices such as observing the Jewish Sabbath and attending the synagogue before attending Christian rituals on Sunday. Over time, Christians developed a distinctive character that emphasized the life of Jesus Christ as it was relayed in the New Testament scriptures. The result was a new ideology with its own traditions, beliefs, values, norms, and practices, which eventually became articles of faith for Christians. Apostles like Paul and John, in order to make Jesus' story more appealing to the sophisticated Greek audiences, began to use existing philosophical frameworks in their teaching.

Relation to existing secular authorities. Christians became increasingly antagonistic to the emperor and authorities of the Roman Empire. The message of the imminent return of Jesus Christ the King posed a threat to the emperor, and Christian ideology gradually

displacing the existing Greek philosophy was also contentious. Early Christians suffered sporadic persecution because they refused to worship the Roman gods or to pay homage to the emperor as divine. In 64 A.D., under the reign of Emperor Nero, full-fledged persecution of Jesus' followers led to the martyrdom of many Christians. The persecution did not deter Christ's followers from giving up their life for their faith.

This era marked the end of the oral transmission and the beginning of the process of committing to writing the account of the life and teachings of Jesus. Literary means in the form of narratives of Jesus' life, exaltations, and admonitions began to replace face-to-face encounters with the Apostles. Literary transmission and preservation of Jesus' teaching became imperative because of the persecution; the Apostles–the eyewitnesses to Jesus' active ministry–were faced with the prospect of imminent death. Further, the growing number of adherents to Christianity made it practically impossible for the aging apostles to physically attend to the new communities, which were scattered all over the Mediterranean region (including North Africa). The Christian population grew by 40% each decade, from about 1,000 Christians in the year 40 to 7,530 in 100, to a slightly more than six million in 300, and 33 million in 350 A.D. (Stark, 1997).

A Theocracy and Christian Roman Empire (313 – 800). Despite persecution, the Apostles' effort to spread Christianity culminated in Christian communities in many parts of the Roman Empire, the establishment of a strong presence in Rome (the center of civilization at the time), and, by 300 A.D., prominent and authoritative presence in the western sector of the Roman Empire. It is estimated that there were 33 million Christians in an empire of 60 million people (Aquilina, 2004). Unlike the eastern part of the Roman Empire, with its capital in Constantinople under Constantine's direct surveillance, the western sector, with its

capital in Rome, lacked a coordinated economic system that could be policed and taxed by a central government. “Unable to collect taxes, the authorities in Constantinople could not maintain a currency and pay the legions” in the West (Johnson, 1987, p. 127). There was a vacuum in the governance structure that could only be filled by the Christian Church. Thus, Christianity was eventually co-opted by the Empire. The result of this gradual Christian upward movement was the establishment of a new authority structure with a Christian hierarchy and the Emperor on one hand and the subjects in the Christian Roman Empire on the other.

Relation to existing secular authorities. With the edict of Milan in 313 A.D., Emperor Constantine gave full legal recognition to Christian ideology and authority in the western part of the Roman Empire and decreed complete toleration by the State of anyone who was Christian; “All previous anti-Christian decrees were revoked, places of worship and seized property were restored,” and compensation was provided (p. 67). The adoption of Christianity as the state religion by Theodosius I in 380 A.D. led to the rise of Christendom in the Byzantine Empire.

Theocratic governance. Christendom in the Byzantine Empire was a patchwork of relatively independent Christian schools of thought represented by more than 300 bishops. Each school claimed authenticity through its affiliation to persons in the development of Christianity, especially the Apostles or other eyewitnesses to Jesus Christ. To consolidate his position as Emperor against the divisive independent Christian schools, Constantine organized the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. His goal was for Christians to agree on contentious ideological issues such as the divinity of Jesus and the date for the celebration of Easter, which threatened the integrity of Christendom.

Constantine's engagement with Christianity was the beginning of a theocratic system of governance that culminated in the formation of the Christian Roman Empire. Christianity was instituted as the state religion, and church officials, previously persecuted by the state, became part of the political machine responsible for policing those who subscribed to non-Christian beliefs and practices that threatened Christendom.

Transmission of ideology. The transmission of Christian ideology was augmented by the works of Christian theologians such as Augustine of Hippo, who developed what is referred to as classical Christian philosophy, largely by synthesizing Hebrew and Greek thought. In particular, he drew from the Greek thinker Plato, Neo-Platonism, and stoicism, which he altered and refined in light of Christian teaching and the Bible. Augustine, through his writings in *The Confessions* and later, *The City of God,* encouraged the development of a total Christian society (Portalie, 1907), building the kingdom of God here on earth (the City of God) in preparation for Jesus' return. The Church should embrace every aspect of society and contain the answer to every question. Augustine sketched an outline of a Latin-Christian system of knowledge in which every aspect of human creativity and intellectual endeavor was related to Christian belief. Theologians throughout the Middle Ages continued to elaborate the matrix produced by Augustine (Johnson, 1987).

Venues (for instruction). In his own house near the cathedral, Augustine of Hippo (354-430) established a cathedral school or clerical monastery where his clergy lived, were prepared, and were later elevated to ministry. A few years after it was founded, the clerical monastery gave ten bishops to various Sees in Africa. The example of St. Augustine was soon followed in Milan, Nola, and elsewhere. One of the most outstanding cathedral schools

was near the Lateran Basilica in Rome, where, from an early age, many students were prepared to serve as future bishops and popes (Viéban, A, 1912).

Students. Students during this era were boys and young men attached to the service of a particular church or cathedral. Some students were recruited from other Christian communities in the Roman Empire. The majority were being prepared to take up episcopal positions in their respective home churches.

Faculty. The bishop was the chief instructor. He was assisted by his priests in active ministry who, besides discharging their functions and exercising duties of the minor orders, taught the boys and young men attached to the service of a church.

Ideology. Students enrolled in theological studies learned how to engage in theological discourse based on Augustine's theological treatises that integrated Platonic categories into Christian doctrine. Practical and pastoral studies during this era emphasized preparation of clerics for duties as custodians of the church, reading and explaining Holy Scripture, catechumens for baptism and administering sacraments.

Synthesis. During an era of dissatisfaction, the voice of the majority prevails; despite the persecution of adherents, Christianity experienced growth leading to the establishment of Christian communities in many parts of the Roman Empire (See Figure 7). The Apostles' effort to spread Christianity culminated in the establishment of a strong presence in Rome, the center of civilization at the time. By 300 A.D., and the Christian belief system had become a force to contend with in the western part of the Roman Empire. Christianity and the ascent of its authority figures was eventually co-opted by the Empire, as shown in Figure 7.

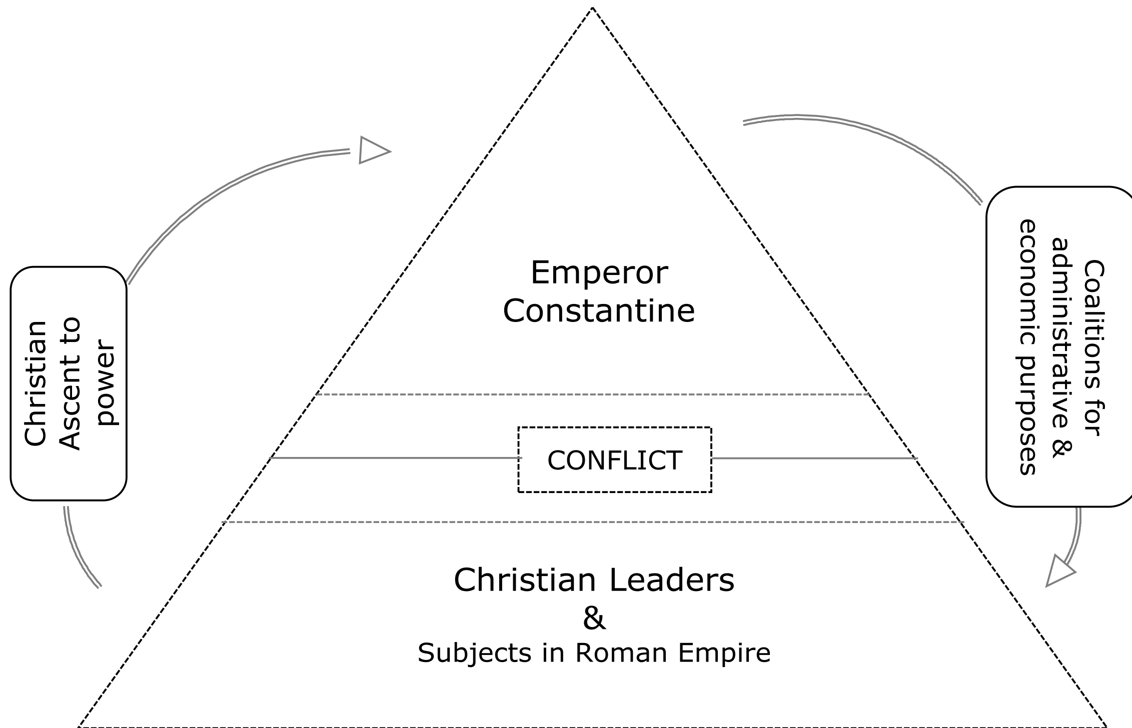


Figure 7. The Christian Roman Empire.

Christianity was declared the religion of the state, leading to the formation of the Christian Roman Empire. The community of Christians, who were previously the marginalized members of society, now constituted the majority. The authority structure once monopolized by the Roman imperialists became juxtaposed with the Christian elite, ecclesiastical and religious leaders, who condemned religious practices such as magic and sorcery in the Christian Roman Empire.

The Christian Roman Empire enforced adherence to Christianity by corporal punishments. At the peak this era of religio-political power, ecclesiastical authorities used forceful means such as crusades and the inquisition in the name of promoting the adherence to Christianity. The influence of the Christian authority structure continued to grow; by 800 A.D. the Emperors (Charles the Great and Otto) were crowned by the Pope.

Middle Ages to the Protestant Reformation

Theocratic governance: Church and state. New relationships between the Holy See and the Frankish kingdom were the primary determinant of profound change in the history of Western Christianity in the eighth century. The Eastern Empire, which still had important dominions in Italy, had for centuries been the secular protector of the papacy and of its territories–the so-called Patrimony of St Peter–which had always been under threat from restless neighbors, especially the Lombards. But this protection became more and more ineffective as the Empire, growing ever-more easternized and worn out by constant pressure from Islam, paid less and less attention to the West. In need of a new *secular arm*, the papacy looked toward the western kingdom of the Franks (Orlandis, Christianity in Feudal Europe, 2008).

By the time Charlemagne was crowned Emperor in 800 A.D., a theocratic form of governance was already in place. The Pope, now a kingmaker, bestowed the crown. Otto 1 (936-73) of the Germanic monarchy, like his predecessor Charlemagne a century ago, was crowned Emperor in Rome in February 962 A.D., and thus, a German Empire succeeded the Carolingian as the Christian Empire of the West (Orlandis, Christianity in Feudal Europe, 2008). The Church had integrated the system of government with Christian teaching and practice and made the ruler a functionary of Christian theology (Johnson, 1987).

Through much of the Middle Ages, monarchs, aristocrats, and other people of wealth faced intense social pressure to enter the Catholic faith. The practice of papal investiture, which gave popes veto power over monarchs, meant that a good relation with the church, at least formally, was often a prerequisite to acceptance by the governed.

“Iron Age” of the papacy (feudalism). During medieval times (800 - 1400), church authorities, by virtue of their status (pope, cardinals, and bishops), were part of the elite who perpetuated Feudalism, a dominant social system in medieval Europe (Schenk, 1953). In a feudal system, the nobility held lands (fief) from the Crown in exchange for military service, and vassals were, in turn, tenants of the nobles, while the peasants (villains or serfs) were obliged to live on their lord's land and give him homage, labor, and a share of the produce, in exchange for military protection.

Clerics, the custodians of the basic Christian communities, engaged in the same type of activities as stewards, the oversight of peasants (serfs) living on land rented out to them by the nobility. Because of the network or relationships that existed between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities on one hand and the peasants on the other, Christianity was implicated as co-conspirer and avenue for perpetuating the structure of feudal society. Political ambition, greed, and moral decadence prevailed among the elite, leading to an era historians have called the *Iron Age* of the papacy. The period was characterized by mutual interference among the elite and secular nobles meddling in ecclesiastical affairs and vice versa, all in pursuit of personal ambition at the expense of the impoverished rent-seeking communities of tenants.

Mechanisms of control. As with any monopoly, the aim of the medieval church was to eliminate internal and external competition. It used various mechanisms of control to accomplish this objective, including political and social pressures against unorthodox dissenters, e.g., heretics, and rival sects, such as Judaism and Islam. “It also denounced magic and superstition, which had been practiced from early pre-Christian times. Excommunication, crusades, burning dissenters on the stake, and the inquisitions are

examples of ways that church authorities dealt with internal and external threats" (Ekelund, Hébert, & Tollison, 2002, p. 649).

Synthesis. Figure 8 is an illustration of the feudal structure of the middle ages. The tiered political structure with tax-extracting ecclesiastical officials and monarchies at the top and the impoverished masses at the bottom could not stand. The oppressive and tax-exacting policies of the church were soon contested by Martin Luther, who acquired a large following of the masses dissatisfied about the state of affairs. The masses rebelled against papal authority. In the era of dissatisfaction, in which the masses sought to replace the tax-extracting elite, leaders of the emerging European market economies used the reformation to justify cessation of relationships with papal authority. The rebellion of the masses was co-opted by the monarchies, which sought to break the political monopoly of Rome over Europe. As a result, a new elite constituted of leaders of Protestant Europe emerged.

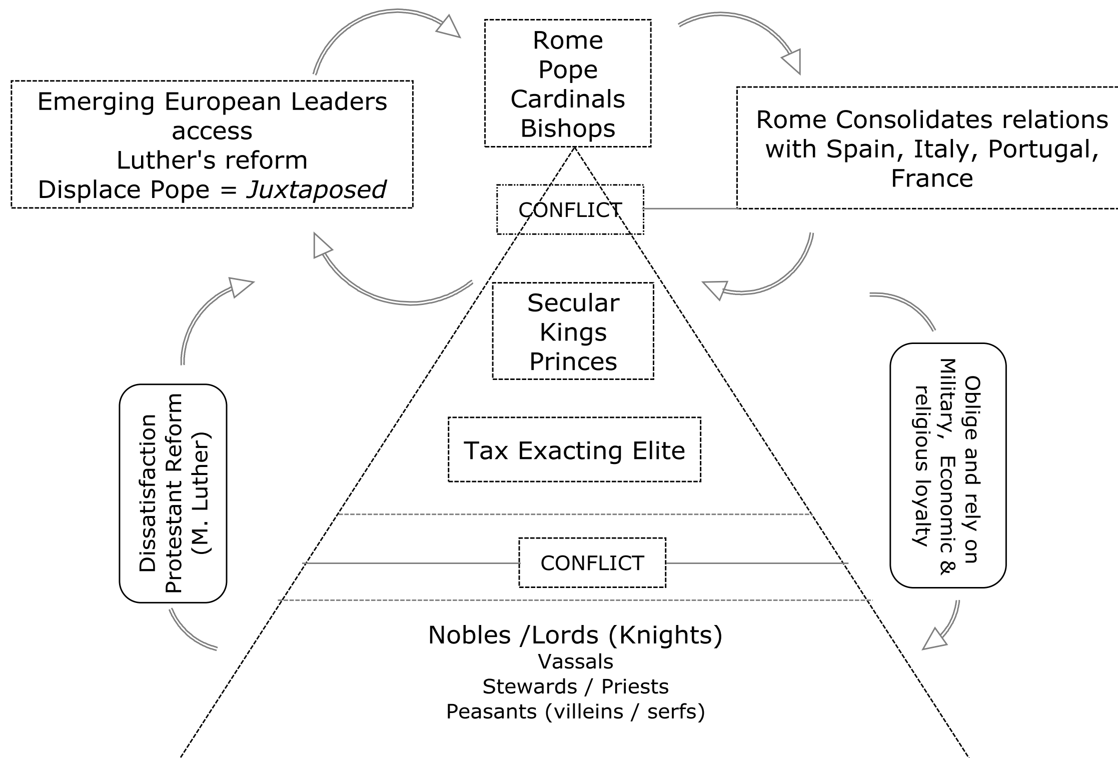


Figure 8. "Iron Age" of the papacy–Feudalism.

Ideological transmission–the medieval university. The medieval universities in cities such as Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and others grew out of local episcopal schools and attracted students (ecclesiastics or members of religious orders and lay) from various provinces and various parts of Europe. The spheres of learning were dominated by Christianity, and the disciplines of theology, philosophy, and canon law were held in high regard. Scholarship sought to link faith and reason so that rational analysis could be applied to the support of Christian doctrine. Theology began to develop as a systematic discipline, and the liberal arts became the path to the revealed truth.

University governance, funding, and accreditation. Most of the universities and colleges established in this era were under the guardianship and surveillance of the church and the Roman Pontiff, who appointed the Chancellor as his representative. St Thomas

Aquinas said, “In the matter of universities the authority belongs to the chief ruler of the commonwealth and especially to the Apostolic See, the head of the universal Church, the interest of which is furthered by the university" (Pace, 1912, p. 6; Kennedy, 1912). By the 12th century, the church prevailed in matters of higher education, where Latin, the official language of the church, was used. Church coffers were the main contributors to university endowments and salaries of professors. University curricula and degrees throughout the Christian world had to be authorized and approved by the Pope and the church. This particular arrangement began to change with the extensive growth, national sentiment, and the Protestant Reformation.

Students. The political and intellectual dynamics of this era created a two-tier citizenship, which comprised the elite (clergy, wealthy, politically dominant, and professional class) on one hand, and the masses (peasants, tenants and the poor) on the other. In a deliberate effort to perpetuate their special status, the elite accessed universities, monasteries, and cathedral schools, which at this time were gradually turning into special centers of learning (Flowers, 2006). The education of the vast majority, therefore, was more and more neglected, while the privileged few enjoyed the highest intellectual advantages available but received little or no spiritual training. The colleges maintained good discipline of students for a while, but soon the lives of ecclesiastical students at the universities were no better than that of the lay students. College curricula were deficient in character formation and the pastoral preparation for future church ministers (Viéban, 1912).

Relation of the church to existing secular authorities. The Middle Ages were also times when the church and secular authorities constantly vied for the upper hand. In 787, Charlemagne ordered that all monasteries and cathedrals open their schools to every boy in

the empire who desired an education (Augenstein, Kaufman, & Wister, 2003). Charlemagne built and endowed schools because he needed trained clergy to convert the Frisians, Saxons, Slavs, and Avars and more priests for the Frankish people who were already nominally Christian (Johnson, 1987). The entanglement between church and state continued to grow, so that by 1516, French, Portuguese, and Spanish monarchs had control over the naming of Catholic bishops in their territories. It was not always clear who controlled whom.

This era was also plagued by moral corruption and abuse of position in the Roman Catholic Church. Many bishops were secular princes, and the Church appeared to be closely identified with the interests of the elite (MacCaffrey, 1914b). Some in the priesthood were guilty of abuses of privilege and responsibility, including simony (using one's wealth or influence to purchase an ecclesiastical office), pluralism (holding multiple offices simultaneously), and absenteeism (the failure to reside in the parish they were supposed to minister). The practice of celibacy, which was imposed by the church on the priesthood, was often abused or ignored, leading to immoral conduct on the part of the clergy. Secular-minded, ignorant priests corrupted their position by neglect or abuse of power (Petty, 2005).

Preamble to the reformation–religious orders. "Early religious orders, such as the Dominicans and Franciscans, were instituted in response to particular heretical beliefs, especially those that focused on the wealth and aggrandizement of the church and its leaders in the presence of grinding poverty of the masses" (Ekelund, Hébert, & Tollison, 2002, p. 650). The emergence of these orders that "preached a life of sacrifice and restraint in response to charges that the church had become worldly and venal" attests to the extent to which church officials had been compromised by the pursuit of wealth and power (p. 650).

Religious orders were a subtle protest against the elitist trend prevalent in the church

in the Middle Ages. Members committed themselves to a life of poverty, obedience, and chastity, renouncing worldly pursuits to fully devote their lives to spiritual work. The religious movement, with its emphasis on denouncing worldly pleasure, was an attempt to re-entrench the church to Christ's tenet of servant-leader who said, "Go sell all that you possess… and come and follow me" (*Mt. 19, 21, NSV)*. Examples of monastics and religious life include Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Augustinians. Monastic schools that resulted from the training of these new religious orders had more of a spiritual and ascetic focus and, in time, these schools became centers for scriptural or theological studies. The ideas of monastics only came to bear in the 15th century at the time of the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther, one of the greatest advocates for the Protestant Reformation, was a German Augustinian monk.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) argued that the Bible, not the Pope, was the central means to discern God's word, that justification (salvation) was granted by faith alone; thus, indulgences, good works, and the sacraments were not necessary to be saved. Luther challenged the prevailing authority structure on the contentious doctrines of purgatory, penance, and indulgences (Ekelund et al., 2002). Luther's goal was to bring about religious reform within the church. He sought to return to pure teaching, which he believed could be attained through the study of scripture alone (Pace, 1980). He advocated for the abolition of scholastic theology and universities, which he denounced as the devil's workshops. He was also unsympathetic to the growing intellectual discourses that promoted humanism over scholasticism.

Luther's religious reform came at the peak of a period of dissatisfaction; the renovations brought about by the Reformation were re-defined by ambitious political leaders

in Europe, who for a long time, had failed to break the ecclesiastical dominance over Europe. In the name of religious reform, leaders of the emerging European principalities were able to use the dissatisfaction among the peasants to justify the cessation of their political affiliation to Rome.

During this era of political and religious turmoil in Europe, many German rulers chose to become Lutherans and converted their kingdoms to Lutheranism. After breaking with the Catholic Church, these rulers seized lands previously owned by Catholic monasteries in their kingdoms. Without Catholicism in a kingdom, church taxes no longer flowed outward toward Rome. Protestant rulers of the kingdom could impose their own church taxes and keep the money for themselves; thus, Protestant rulers became s stronger and the Catholic Church weaker.

Nationalism. Besides the corruption of the Middle Ages, the era leading to the Reformation was characterized by a growing sense of nationalism and regional rivalries, which culminated in the break with papal authority. Regarding this era, Ekelund et al., (2002) believed Catholic Church policies that promoted sale of indulgences (the price to heaven) resulted in the creation of the Lutheran doctrine that posited alternative pathways to heaven, which did not require adherents to subscribe to such practices. Apparently, Protestantism presented a "much simpler, direct, and relatively inexpensive path to salvation" (p. 657). Luther's influence, and ambitious political rulers seeking to extend their power and control at the expense of the church, further aggravated the shift. There were growing political sentiments among rulers of emerging nations that the Holy See should hand over to them the nomination of bishops, modify old laws regarding exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxation, trial of clerics, and right of sanctuary; and that the Holy See should submit its

pronouncements to the Royal Exequatur before these could have the force of law in any particular state (MacCaffrey, 1914a).

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) and the Concordat wrung from Pope Leo X by Francis I of France in 1516, the Concordat of Princes in 1447, the new demands formulated by the Diet of the Empire, the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire in England (1453), and the concessions insisted upon by Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain (1482) were clear proofs that absolutism was destined to prove fatal to the liberty of the Church and the authority of the Holy See (MacCaffrey, 1914a).

Catholic and Protestant Europe. In the context of growing national sentiments in Europe, Ekelund et al., (2002) and his colleagues hypothesized that Europe was divided into two predominant *nationality principalities:* the first was based on rent-seeking societies faithful to papal authority that rejected Protestantism and the second were profit-seeking societies that embraced Protestantism. In his sociological study, Swanson (1967) depicted the geopolitical divisions common in Western Europe at the time Protestantism emerged. An excerpt from that study is shown in Table 2. Panel A includes those societies that remained Catholic, and Panel B those that became Protestant. Column 1 shows the year at which the issue of religious choice was finally decided. Column 2 indicates the establishment date of the political regime in place at the time of final settlement. Column 3 indicates whether the regime enforced primogeniture or similar laws of succession. Primogeniture was closely associated with principalities that perpetuated Catholicism (Panel A). Protestant principalities (Panel B) generally embraced the concept of inheritance, which ensured that all children (including females) were included in inheritance and that wealth was more widely dispersed than would be implied under strict observance of primogeniture. Swanson's complete list of

societies in various geopolitical divisions in Western Europe in the Middle ages is shown in Appendix B.

Table 2

Catholic and Protestant Principalities.

Civil, Governments, Religious choice, and Primogeniture			
Society	Final Settlement (1)	Regime Establishment (2)	Primogeniture (3)
A. Catholic			
France	1685	1460	yes
Ireland		1350	yes
Poland	1607	1490-1573	yes
Spain		1492	yes
B. Protestant			
Denmark	1536	1523	no
England	1553	1400-1485	no
Hungary	1540	1500	no
Scottish Lowlands	1560	1470-90	yes

Swanson (1967) An excerpt of Geopolitical Divisions in Western Europe in the Middle Ages

Catholic Europe. The medieval Roman Catholic Church preserved its incumbent monopoly status in semi-feudal societies of the predominantly low-income people (peasants), who were targets of the church's discriminatory policies, and strong landed-class (nobility) intent on preserving the existing status, which kept wealth in their hand.

The principalities that remained Catholic: Austria, Bavaria, France, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and the city-states of Italy retained a strong nobility that typically made deals with the church and routinely engaged in rent-seeking activity. According to Ekelund et al., (2002) the nobility in rent-seeking societies were hostile to the creation of new wealth; they limited access to land and emergent market opportunities. The nobility in these societies was

"essentially parasitic, deriving its patronage from the monarch, who kept its powers in check" (p. 661).

The strategies used by European principalities to keep power and wealth in the hands of the nobles varied. The nobles in Austria and Bavaria "were part of the expansive Hapsburg Empire, in which the Ottoman menace generated a strong desire to keep family estates intact" (p. 661). The contrast between the rich and the poor was greatest in France because the monarch exercised absolute power over subjects in that country. Spain and Portugal, though not as heavy-handed also maintained a centralized monarchical governance structure based on the French pattern. In Ireland, power and wealth was kept in the hands of the few who were mostly English absentee landowners. The Italian city-states each had a separate nobility, "but all nobles derived their wealth from land, which was preserved by the institution of primogeniture" (p. 662).

Protestant Europe. By contrast, the principalities that embraced Protestantism constituted nations characterized by the emerging profit-seeking economies of Europe, which offered opportunities for increased market participation among less favored economic classes. Where the power of the monarch was relatively weak and ownership of property was widely dispersed, an ever-growing middle class was able to take advantage of new profit opportunities. The distribution of wealth in such societies was constantly changing, making it more difficult for the church to sustain its control of these emerging economies. Societies in which political and economic power was decentralized rather than centralized presented impediments to the ongoing profitability of the medieval church.

In Bohemia, the "nobility expelled the clergy from the Diet and appropriated most of the wealth of the church even before the advent of Protestantism so that the church was

powerless in the face of the new religion" (Eberhard, 1992, p. 32). In Prussia and the German territories, as elsewhere in medieval times, "the wealth of the nobility was based on land, but ancient custom sanctioned the right of each noble to apportion his private holdings at will among his sons, regardless of their birth order" (Ekelund et al., 2002, p. 662). In the Middle Ages, weak emperors and fragmented politics characterized German principalities. On the whole (except for regions such as Bavaria), Germany was distinctive for developed urban life that was evident in its "dense network of almost 2,000 towns, spread more or less uniformly" across the German countryside (p. 662). These towns enjoyed a high degree of economic and political autonomy and offered freer access to business opportunities than their counterparts in France or Italy (Scribner, 1994).

Scandinavia had a long-standing constitutional tradition that limited the power of the monarch. Land was valuable there, not so much for the crops or livestock it could support but for the minerals that lay below the ground. Land was not entailed, and there were few impediments to the transfer of lands held by the nobility. Moreover, it was extremely rare for the Swedish nobility to enter the church. The Swedish aristocracy was mostly a working aristocracy of bureaucrats, soldiers, and sailors, whose livelihoods depended on good jobs and fair promotions (Roberts, 1953).

The Reformation came to England for the same basic reason that it came to other parts of Europe; Rome's ability to maintain its discriminatory pricing system in England became steadily eroded by the dispersion of wealth. By 1530, the Church of England was ripe for takeover, and Henry VIII applied the circumstances of the changing political landscape in his favor.

Henry VIII and his father were members of the Tudor family. Henry, stubborn,

impatient, and cruel, ruled England from 1509 to 1547. In the previous century, before the Tudor monarchy, there had been war among England's nobles. Henry was determined to keep the peace and to keep the Tudors on the throne.

Though many times married, Henry failed to produce a son (Speilvogel, 2008). Henry “married six queens; he divorced two and beheaded two” (Pollard, 2007, p. 1). When wife Catherine gave birth to one surviving daughter, Henry asked the Pope to annul his marriage, allowing him to marry again and father sons, instead of the daughter, who would be heirs to the throne. A complicated and significant political situation contributed to the Pope’s refusal to grant the annulment. Catherine was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and the aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor. The Pope chose to maintain his relationship with Spain, the strongest Catholic kingdom at that time (Speilvogel, 2008).

Henry commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, the highest bishop in England at the time, to annul the marriage. The Pope excommunicated Henry. The ensuing battle changed the political and religious landscape in England and ended the dominion of the Pope as Head of the Church. With Henry’s decree in 1534, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which declared the King Head of the Church of England. All priests and bishops in England were commanded to accept Henry as the new head of their church. Bishops and nobles who disagreed with the king were imprisoned in the Tower of London; many were beheaded. The most famous, Sir Thomas More, was executed in 1535. Henry redistributed some land formerly owned by the Catholic Church in England to his nobles, which ensured their loyalty to him and to the Church of England (Spielvogel, 2008). Catholic and Protestant nations in Europe in the Middle Ages are shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Catholic and Protestant Europe in the Middle Ages

Ideological transmission. With the rise of nationalism in Europe, academic institutions became less international, less dependent on Rome, and more local in their student intake. Among intellectuals in favor of humanism, Catholic scholastic thought and clericalism began to be perceived as an obstacle to learning and truth. Previously, most universities and colleges were under the guardianship of the church and the Roman Pontiff, but this began to change. Universities located in regions that were still loyal to Catholicism (France, Italy, and Spain) preserved their chairs of ecclesiastical science. These formed the intellectual model adapted in the United States of America (Pace, 1980).

Counter Reformation and the Council of Trent. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) was the Papacy's response to the political, religious, and intellectual events leading to the Protestant Reformation. One of the Council's priorities was to reform the priesthood through the seminaries for the training of clergy. The basic structure of the ecclesiastical seminary

was proclaimed during Twenty-third Session of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and has remained the fundamental law of the Church for the education of priests with some amendments by popes and canon law. The outcome of this process has been a set of specific rules and regulations about the nature, constitution, and operation of the seminary: that is student, faculty, and management attributes and roles; erection and sustenance of facilities and the students therein; and the role of the bishop as the overall director of seminary operations. Substantive direction from the Council of Trent included the following:

Every diocese is bound to support, to rear in piety, and to train in ecclesiastical discipline a certain number of youths, in a college to be chosen by the bishop for that purpose; poor dioceses may combine, large dioceses may have more than one seminary.

In these institutions are to be received boys who are at least twelve years of age, can read and write passably, and by their good disposition give hope that they will persevere in the service of the Church; children of the poor are to be preferred.

Academic formation–Besides the elements of a liberal education [as then understood], the students are to be given professional knowledge to enable them to preach, to conduct Divine worship, and to administer the sacraments.

Moral formation–The Tridentine Council was also concerned with the moral formation of the candidates to the priesthood. It required the seminarians to wear the clerical garb and to be tonsured upon their entrance into the seminary. They were expected to attend Mass every day, to confess their sins once a month, and to receive the Eucharist in accordance with the counsels of their spiritual directors. On feast days, they were required to assist at the celebrations at the cathedral and other churches within the diocese. Seminarians found to be disorderly, incorrigible, and disseminators of evil morals were to be punished

severely and, if necessary, expelled.

Professorships of theology at the seminary should not be conferred on any except those with doctorate, masters, or licentiate degrees in theology or canon law.

Seminaries are to be supported by a tax on the income of bishoprics, chapters, abbeys, and other benefices.

The bishop is entrusted with the administration of the seminary, and he is to visit the institution often to see whether things are being conducted according to the decrees of the Council. In the government of the seminary, the bishop is to be assisted by two commissions of priests, one for spiritual and the other for temporal matters.

The decree on seminaries went so well that at the end of their deliberations the fathers of the council congratulated one another, and several declared that, had the council done nothing else, this would be more than sufficient reward for all their labors. A historian of the council, Cardinal Pallavicini, does not hesitate to call the institution of seminaries the most important reform enacted by the council (Viéban, 1912).

Synthesis. The tipping point of ecclesiastical dominance was the introduction of the sale of indulgences, which forced the already over-stretched population of the emerging European principalities to look for less expensive paths to heaven. The oppressed majority, dissatisfied about the status of affairs, exercised their democratic right to overthrow the tax-extracting minority of ecclesiastical and secular elite. A new power elite structure resulted, not of the peasants but of the political leaders of the emerging European principalities,who used Martin Luther's Protestant Reformation as a means to break away from Rome. Figure 10 shows the European authority system that resulted; the rent-seeking societies faithful to the Catholic faith and papal authority on one hand and the profit-seeking societies under a

Protestant authoritative structure on the other.

Rome continued to assert its authority over the Catholic rent-seeking European principalities but had to initiate a differentiated form of governance structure for each principality. The result was a negotiated ecclesiastical bureaucracy. From this time forward, Roman Catholicism had to contend with European Protestant authorities. The Counter-Reformation and Council of Trent were a battle against the Protestant value system (Waterworth, J., 1848).

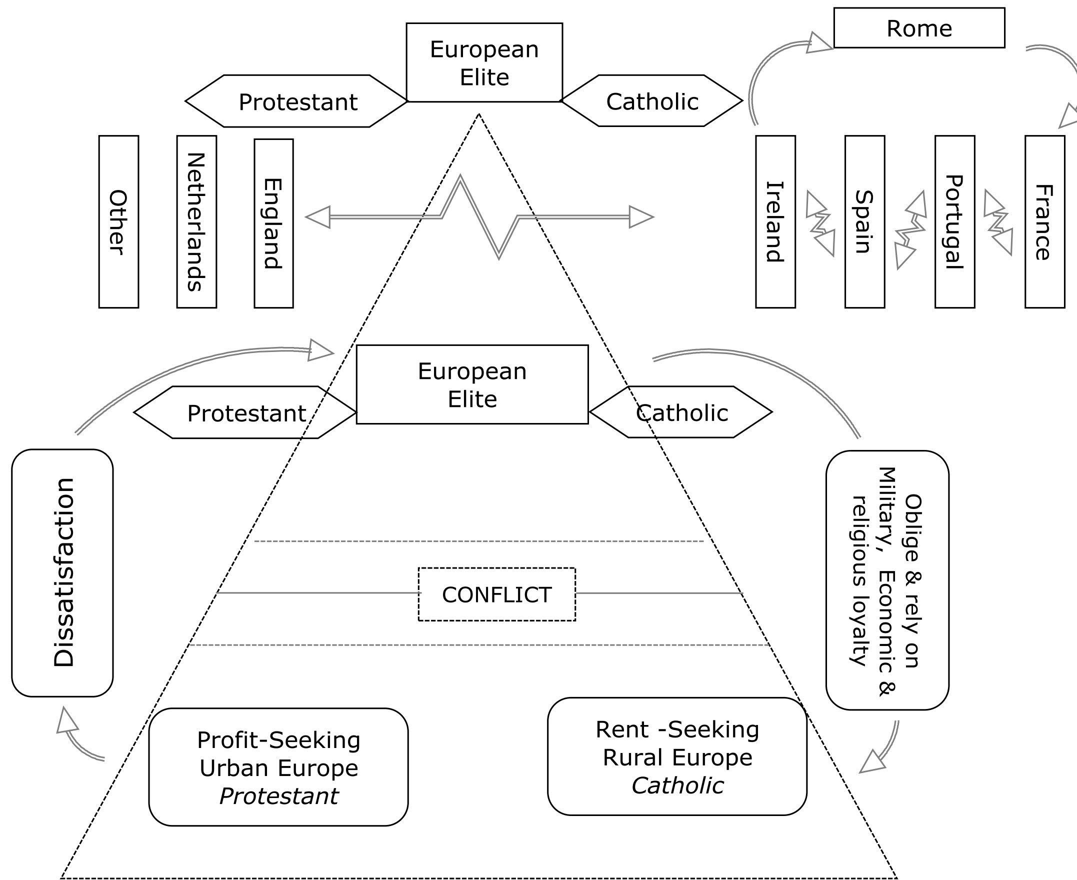


Figure 10. European market economies vs. tax extracting papal authority.

Cross-Atlantic European Immigration

The historical account of the evolution of Catholicism in the United States is divided into three major periods: 1) Colonial [and missionary] era (1520-1763), 2) Politicization era (1763 -1820), and 3) Immigrant [ethnic] era (1820-1920). The treatise focuses on the relationship between the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome and the various Catholic subcultures as they became situated within the emerging American Catholic community and the general American community. Five major topics formed the basis of this study: (1) The evolution of ecclesiastical leadership for the diverse American cultural groups, (2) the American church leadership transition away from being a surrogate of European Catholicism,

(3) the inception of Catholicism in Maryland, (4) the forms of relations that evolved as American Catholicism interfaced with Rome and, (5) American Catholicism perpetuated through the training programs for priests in the U.S.

This cultural story relates “the adaptation of this rapidly westward expanding and multinational immigrant church to an individualistic democratic society” (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 546).The story of growth and extension can only be likened to the earliest days of Christianity when, in the freshness of youth and vigor of apostolic zeal, the church laid hold of the Roman Empire (O'Gorman, 1895).

Colonial Era (1520-1763). The first era of European cross-Atlantic immigrations was characterized by extensive conflict between warring political and religious factions. The major conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism was augmented by considerable internal strife between constituencies within the Catholic immigrant population. From the onset of the cross-Atlantic immigration to the end of the 1750s, every colony founded on the eastern seaboard, except Maryland, reproduced the Old World model of a single, European established church. The English in Virginia, Swedes on the Delaware, and the Dutch in New Netherland each transferred their state churches to the New World (Bonomi, 1986). The Catholic Church continued to lose its influence on European principalities and nations that opted out of Catholicism after the Protestant Reformation. However, the church consolidated its hold over European nations that remained Catholic (Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France), encouraging the monarchs in those principalities to engage in overseas missionary activities.

The discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus presented opportunities for trade, colonization, and prospects of finding the elusive passage to China by way of the Atlantic. Various European principalities commissioned cross-Atlantic voyages and began to

lay claim on American territory. At the inception of the cross-Atlantic immigration (1500 A.D.), “about two million first-nation people lived in present-day North America... spoke about 300 languages and called themselves thousands of different names” (Spielvogel, 2008, p. 590). “The Americas were then home to more than a fifth of the world's people. Central Mexico, with 25 million inhabitants, had the highest population density on earth at the time” (Woodward, 2011, p. 26). As Figure 11 shows, North and Central America included some of the most complex and advanced cultures, including the Inuit, Huron, Iroquois, Hopewell, Missipian, Algonquin, Cherokee, Natchez, Hidatsa, Mandan, Tungit, Haida, Chinook, Pomo, Chumash, Cohuilla, Navajo, Hohokam, Apache, Pueblo, and Hopi among others who thrived on farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering (Lee, 1990).

Although primarily agricultural, some cultures built elaborate urban centers. Various tribes were connected across the continent by trade and enjoyed a high standard of living compared to the European visitors. As described by Woodward (2011), “they tended to be healthier, better fed, and more secure, with better sanitation, health care, and nutrition.” Pueblo people in New Mexico built sophisticated, multi-level adobe homes around central markets. “The Aztecs' capital in Central Mexico, Tenoehtitlan, was one of the largest in the world, with a population of 200.000, a public water supply fed by stone aqueducts, and palaces and temples that dwarfed anything in Spain” (p. 26).

Figure 11. People of North America 1300-1500

The Spanish.

Origins. At the insistence of Ferdinand and Isabella, "Pope Alexander VI issued two bulls, Inter *Caetera I and II,* which granted to Spain land not under Christian rule" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 37). Spain's claim on the Americas was further enhanced by the Treaty of *Tordesillas* of 1494, in which the Spanish and Portuguese divided the globe between themselves. To consolidate these gains and regulate the new empire, a House of Trade and a governing Council of the Indies, established in 1503 and 1524 respectively, were organized in Spain (Robertson, 1922).

Settlement patterns. Spanish colonization of the western hemisphere "began in the Antilles, along the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. It took root on the mainland in 1521

when Hernando Cortes conquered Mexico City, the most important Native American urban center in the New World. Soon after the victories of Cortes, vast amounts of gold and silver began to flow to Europe from Spain's empire in America" (Lee, 1990, p. 42). Beginning the following year, the conquerors rebuilt Mexico City as a Spanish municipality. From here, the Spanish fanned out to North and South America in the hope of finding wealthy empires like the Inca and Aztec and minimizing foreign–French, English, Russian, or American Indian–encroachments upon their southern American empire.

The first permanent settlement in what would become the United States was finally established at St. Augustine, FL, in 1565 by Pedro Menendez de Aviles to protect the sea route of treasure ships (Rajtar & Goodman, 2007). Many more settlements were erected elsewhere. Figure 12 shows the location of the most prominent missions: Taos, NM, Santa Barbara, CA, Tucson, AZ, San Antonio, TX, and Nuestra Seňora and San Miguel in LA. The Spanish colonizers and explorers were accompanied by Catholic Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries who established missions in the regions of present day Florida, Georgia, Texas, New Mexico, California, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (Middleton, 2003).

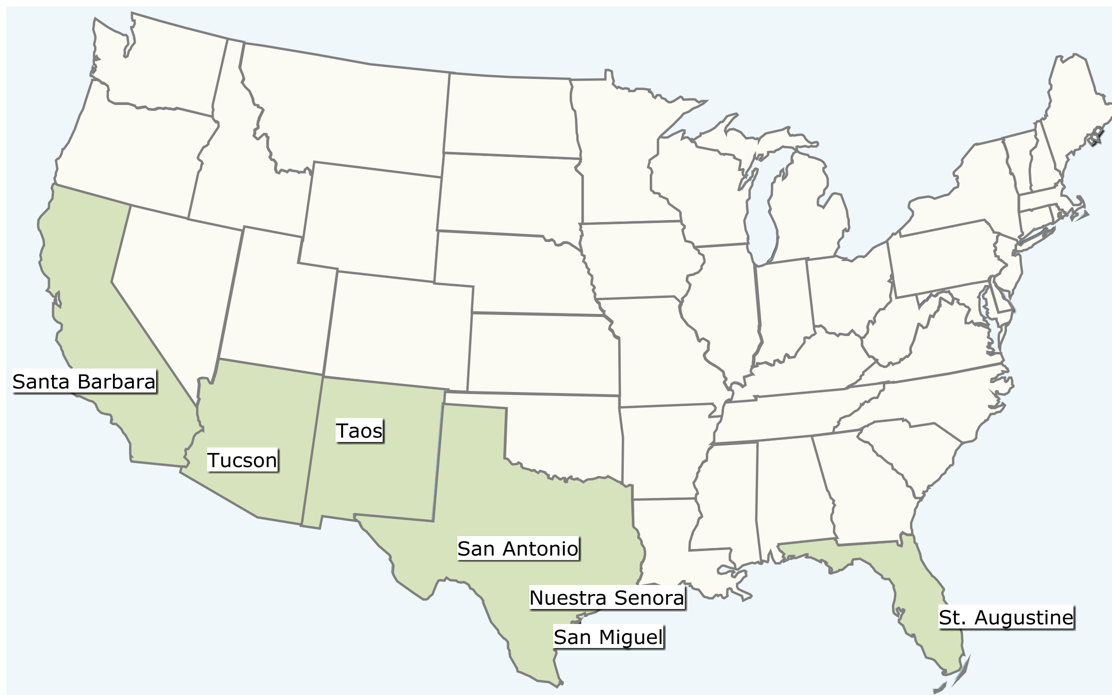


Figure 12. Major Spanish missions in the Southwestern United States

Demographics. The Spanish created new cities and towns, most often on the sites of Indian population centers they had destroyed. By 1574, the Spanish "had created nearly 200 cities and towns with a total urban population ranging from 160,000 to 200,000" (Lee, 1990, p. 42; West, n.d.).

Governance–secular. All the conquered territories from Florida to Honduras, the legacy of Isabella of Castile, were, in 1527, "put under the supervision of the *audiencia* of New Spain, with headquarters in Mexico City" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 38). After 1535, the chief administrative officer was the viceroy. A similar office was established for South America five years later. Beneath the viceroy were governors appointed in more settled areas or captains-general in areas requiring military defense. The hierarchy extended downward to "the *alcaldes, mayores,* and *corregidores*, who represented royal authority in towns and

metropolitan districts" (p. 38). At the lowest level were the various municipal offices, which, though elective at first, soon became appointive.

Colonial administration was held accountable to the crown by means of short terms, the requirement of detailed reports, and a constant flow of royal inspectors who strove to maintain strict control. In this way, the absolutism of the Spanish monarch reached out into the New World, but because of the enormous difficulties of supervision, "the fruits of autocratic paternalism–graft, venality, and the decay of civic concern–were evident from first to last" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 38). The sheer size of the settled areas and primitive means of communication led to a large degree of local control, which "deliberately and inadvertently, often served to defeat royal orders" (Lee, 1990, p. 43).

The Spanish believed that the effective means of establishing Spain's legal claim to the acquired territory was to build military establishments known as *presidios*. According to Benton (1998), presidios protected harbors and the chain of missions founded by the Franciscan Order. In theory, the missionaries would protect indigenous populations from any violence on the behalf of future colonists. The indigenous people were allowed to form "Native American councils" for the purpose of maintaining law and order in the missions (Lee, 1990, p. 44).

Governance–ecclesiastical. Churchmen were important at every level of the social and political structure in New Spain. "The spirit of Spanish Catholicism forged in the long campaign against Jews and moors, was transplanted to the New World with little attenuation of either its fierce orthodoxy or its ardent piety" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 39). A series of papal concessions to the Spanish monarchs, known as "the *Real Patronato,* granted to the Spanish king ecclesiastical powers that were extraordinarily large and virtually made him a vice-

pope" with authority to collect tithes, present candidates for church office, and review the decrees of councils and synods held in the Indies (p. 39).

As part of the Vatican's plans in 1518 to enhance the presence of Catholicism in the Spanish-controlled territories, Pope Leo X established the Diocese of all Cuba, which included also the Spanish colonial territory of Louisiana and Florida. Later, the Diocese of New Orleans was established in 1793 as a suffragan of Cuba, and Bishop Luis Ignacio Marie de Penalvery Cardenas-Porro, the man selected by the Spanish monarch, was appointed to serve as its first prelate. The original territory of New Orleans Diocese comprised the ancient Louisiana Purchase and East and West Florida, being bounded on the north by the Canadian line, on the west by the Rocky Mountains and the Rio Perdito, on the east by the Diocese of Baltimore, and on the south by the Diocese of Linares and the Archdiocese of Durango (Points, 1911).

At the recommendation of King Charles V, Rome established the Diocese of Mexico in 1527. The diocese was placed under a prelate selected by the King. Don Juan Zumarraga became the first Bishop of Mexico. Six years later, Zumarraga was designated Archbishop of Mexico with affiliated Dioceses of Oaxaca, Michoacan, Tlaxcala, Guatemala, and Ciudad Real de Chiapas, as suffragans (Ryan, 1919). To attend to the Spanish missions that had been established in the southwestern part of America, Rome appointed Francisco Garcia-Diego y Moreno to serve as prelate for the two Californias in 1840.

The church and state partook of the same spirit, sought the same goals and, to a large extent, employed the same methods (Lee, 1990). Popes Alexander VI and Julius II approved and supported the Spanish conquest of a large portion of the Western Hemisphere, but "news of the oppression of native populations spread, leading to criticism of both the atrocities of

the Spanish rule and the idea itself. However, the involvement of the religious orders deflected this criticism because the Spanish conquest could then be justified by the necessity for spreading the faith" (p. 42). During the colonial period, several orders missionized the vast territory of Spanish America; of these, the Franciscans and Jesuits were the dominant forces within the five major mission territories on the North American frontiers (Lee, 1990). Thus, with the cooperation of the church, Spain transmitted its culture to the Americas and reinforced its political control through religious establishments.

Spanish missions. Although their major objective was to spread Christianity among the natives, the missions also served as a force for spreading Spanish culture and political control. According to Lee (1990), the aim of these missions was to make converts and taxpaying citizens of the indigenous peoples they conquered. "Essentially, the missionaries strove to change the nomadic Native American into an urbanized Spaniard," which was done by the use of "gifts and persuasion and safety from enemies" (p. 44). The protection offered to Indians was also the protection of the Spanish royal domain. Thus, the mission was an important adjunct of the military.

"Once in the mission, the lives of the Native Americans revolved around work and prayer. Many missions served as industrial-agricultural schools where natives were taught manual trades such as carpentry, tanning, weaving, and farming skills" and, after a period of five to seven years, they were deemed ready for baptism (p. 44). Depending on location and the productivity of the soil, Spanish missions "operated ranches, orchards, sugar-cane fields, produced cloth and leather goods" (p. 44).

A mission, as Figure 13 illustrates, did not simply consist of a church, but was a complex of buildings that housed a whole community. The drawing of a typical mission in

California shows the church and other buildings surrounding the patio. Missions served as bases for both administering colonies and spreading Catholicism. The major pattern for the mission was a group of buildings arranged around a quadrangle. The church was usually the largest of the buildings, commonly occupying a major portion of one side of the quadrangle. Because of the often hostile environment in which they were located, many of the early missions were defensive in character, with massive construction and blank walls.

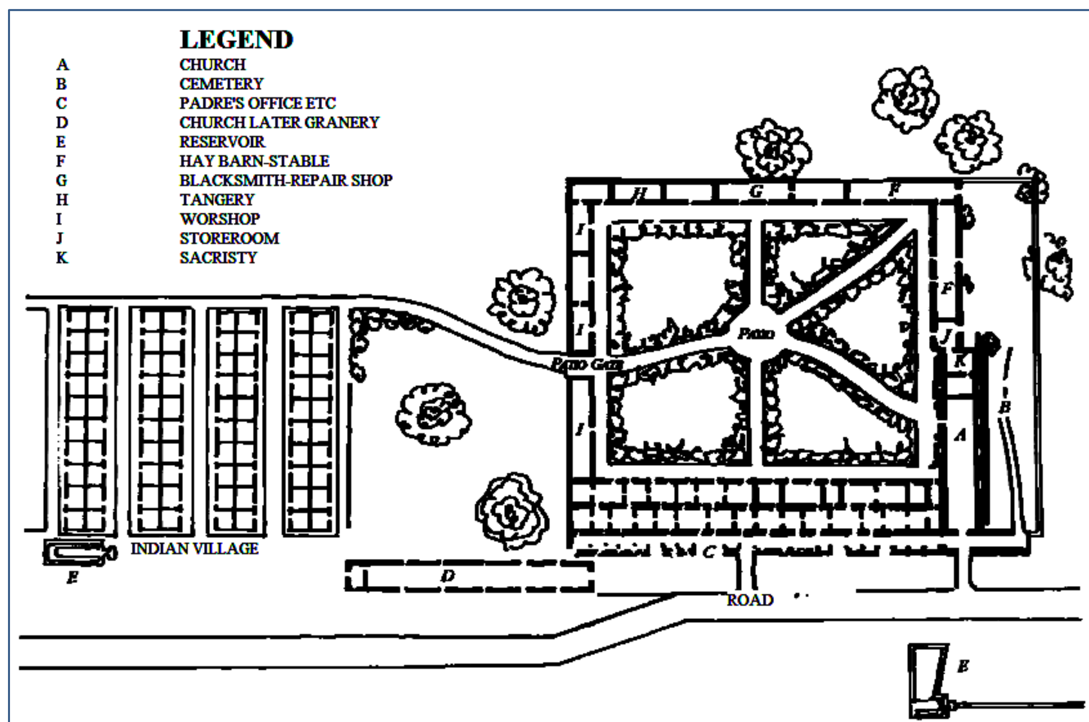


Figure 13. A typical Spanish mission.
Source: Rexford Newcomb, The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses Of California, 1924, as cited in Lee (1990, p. 44.)

The oldest mission in the U.S., Nombre de Dios, is located in St. Augustine, Florida, where the first mass was celebrated in 1565 (Rajtar & Goodman, 2007). When the missionary effort reached its peak by 1675, there were 66 Franciscan missions along the coasts of Florida and Georgia, and westward near Tallahassee. From the late 17th to the early

19th centuries, an additional 44 Franciscan mission stations were established in Texas. The first mission founded in New Mexico, built at Paraguay in 1581, was followed by a further 51 missions, while those in Arizona reached a total of 19. The chain set up by Father Serra, in California, after laying the foundations of San Diego de Alcala on July 16, 1769, eventually totaled 23. Apart from other buildings for worship, such as those erected in Louisiana, the Spanish missionaries built no fewer than 203 missions. Most outstanding of the Spanish mission were, the San Xavier del Bac mission in Arizona, the San Jose mission in Texas, and Santa Barbara mission in California (Fernández-Shaw & Piña-Rosales, 1999).

Carey (1993) reported the longevity of the missions; Florida lasted 198 years (1565-1763), New Mexico 230 years (1598-1680; 1692-1840), Texas 134 years (1659-1793), Arizona 142 years (1700-1842), and California 65 years (1769-1834) (p. 3). The Jesuits occupied Lower California and Arizona until their expulsion in 1767. After that year, the Franciscans dominated the entire borderlands.

By the 1800s, Spanish culture and Catholicism were deeply ingrained in the southern United States. Neither the scheme of the U.S. to annex Mexico's territory in the Mexican-American War in 1840 nor to annex Puerto Rico in 1898 compromised Catholicism in these territories, which remained predominantly Catholic in their religious constitution.

Trade. After the Spanish expeditions that led to acquisition of major territories in South America and establishment of Mexico, conquerors sent home gold and silver from the Aztec and Inca empires, which had been overrun by Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro. Beginning in 1546, Spain benefitted from trade in precious minerals extracted from Potosí (Bolivia) and Zacatecas (Mexico). By the late 16th century, silver from the Americas accounted for a fifth of Spain's total budget. After the conquest of Mexico, rumors of golden

cities (Quivira and Cíbola in North America and El Dorado in South America) motivated several other expeditions. Many explorers returned without having found gold, or finding it much less valuable than was hoped. The precious minerals were soon depleted, and the Spanish authorities had to find alternative ways to justify costly trans-Atlantic voyages.

Spanish trade thereafter was based on agricultural commodities in demand in Europe. Livestock and agricultural crops were imported; using indigenous labor, the Spanish colonists and missionaries established self-sustaining agricultural settlements, ranches, orchards, and sugar cane fields for export of agricultural products that fueled the Spanish cross-Atlantic trade.

The French.

Origins. In 1523, a French pirate ship intercepted a Spanish fleet carrying gold back to Spain from the Aztec Emperor, Montezuma. When the Spaniards protested, the King of France kept the treasure and replied, "Show me the clause in Adam's will by which he divided the world between my brothers of Spain and Portugal" (Miller, 1958, p. 36). In total disregard of the Treaty of Tordesillas, French cross-Atlantic voyages began in 1534, when Verrazano and Cartier were commissioned to embark on a mission to explore the northern part of the American coast and the St. Lawrence River. Francois I, the King of France, ordered Jacques Cartier to find two things: "a shipping route to the Orient to allow French traders to import silk and other fine products to Europe and precious gems and metals such as gold to make France rich" (Sebestyen, New France, 2007, p. 6).

Settlement patterns. French explorers, Verrazano, Cartier, Champlain, Father Jacques Marquette, Louis Joliet, and LaSalle, led the way to settlements along the St. Lawrence and other major rivers and strategic locations leading into the heart of the American continent.

During this time, French settlements, like Tadoussac (1600), were formed at strategic locations along the entry points to what later became New France.

Like Cartier a century before him, “Samuel de Champlain originally set out to find riches for France and a route to the Orient” (Sebestyen, 2007, p. 7). Beginning in 1603 and for the next 32 years until his death, Champlain’s many Atlantic Ocean voyages were productive for France. The first phase was foundational, leading to the formation of French settlements in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604 and Quebec in 1608 (Woodard, 2011). Champlain traveled with the fur-traders along the St. Lawrence River and explored the Great Lakes region from New York down to Lake Champlain. Further exploration led to other French settlements, Trois-Rivieres in 1634 and Montreal in 1642.

In 1660, France began a policy of expansion into the interior of North America, which led to the formation of a new administrative district of New France, called Louisiana. In 1673, French explorers, Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette, began to explore the upper Mississippi. In 1682, Robert Cavelier La Salle traveled down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, claimed the entire Mississippi River valley, and named this region Louisiana in honor of King Louis XVI (Miller, 1958). In 1684, a French fleet of four ships led by La Salle, “set sail from France bound for the lower Mississippi, which he had explored from the north two years before” (Wood, 1984, p. 294). The French forces, 300-strong, landed on the Texas coast in Spanish territory, establishing an alternative route that connected French Louisiana territory to France by sea (Weddle, 2011); the French then had access to a wide variety of lakes and rivers, which extended from northeastern Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and were able to use the St. Lawrence, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers and the Great Lakes to transport their precious cargo.

Further into the interior of New France, French forts in strategic locations facilitated commercial transactions with the interior. Major forts served as strongholds for a French retreat in case of threats of attack from the native people. The forts were located on waterways to provide transport of fur east to Montreal or Quebec City–Fort Richelieu (1641), Fort Chambly (1665), Fort Saint Louis (1670s), Fort Frontenac (1673), Fort Bourbon (1697), Fort Detroit (1701), Fort Michilimackinac (1715), Fort Rosalie (1716), Fort de Chartres (1720), Fort Orleans (1723), Fort Saint Pierre (1731), Fort La Reine (1738), Fort Beuharnois (1739), Fort Dauphin (1741), and Fort Duquesne(1754).

The ten districts of Louisiana Territory were: New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alabama, Natchez, Yazoo, Natchitoches, Arkansas, Illinois, and Michigan (History of Sault Ste. Marie, MI., 2010). During the colonial period, French Louisiana territory bordered the Great Lakes, particularly Lake Michigan and Lake Erie on the north. On the east, the French colony was separated from the thirteen British colonies by the Appalachian Mountains. The Rocky Mountains region marked the western extent of the French claim, and Louisiana's southern border was formed by the Gulf of Mexico, which served as the port for the colony.

Governance–secular. In 1663, Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, established a royal government of civil and religious hierarchy in New France (Basxan, 1980). According to Sebestyen (2007), the civil hierarchy included “the king, the viceroy, and the minister of the navy who did not live in New France, but made important decisions about it” (p. 25). In the governance structure that was formed (See Figure 14), “the sovereign council made rules and laws regarding day-to-day affairs in the colony,” while the “governor appointed members to the council, and the intendant saw that its rules and laws were obeyed” (p. 25).

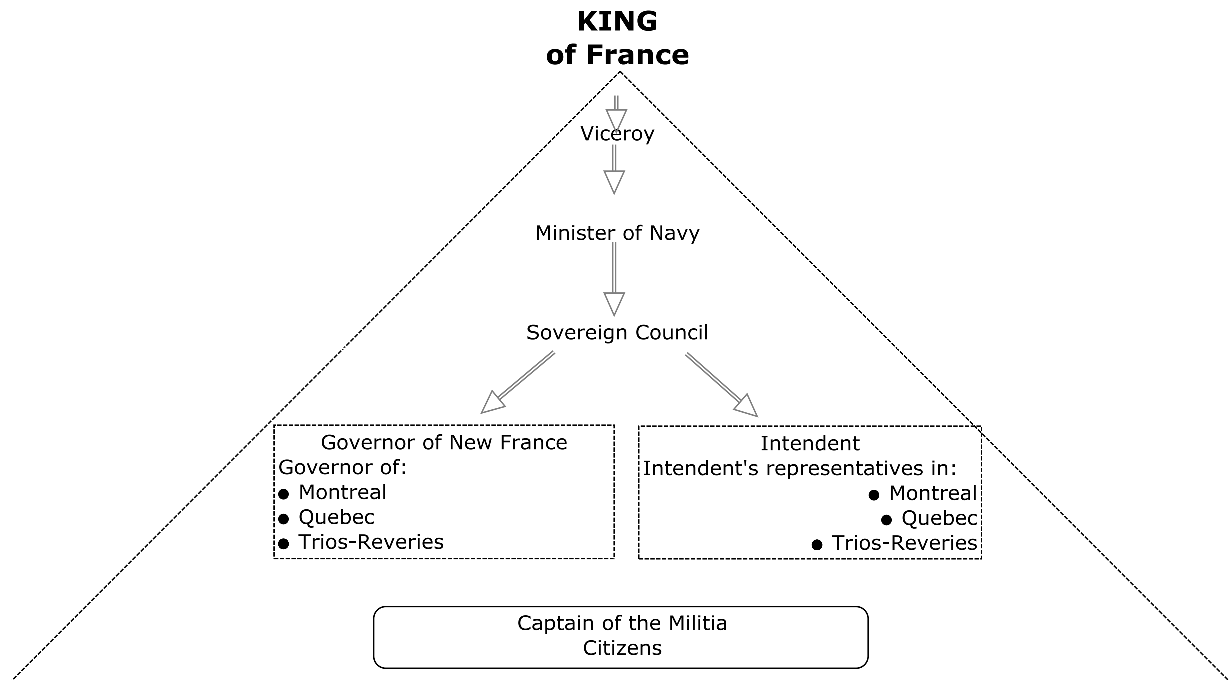


Figure 14. The civil hierarchy in New France

Citizenry. Citizens included the fur trappers and traders, farmers, fishermen, and groups of French settlers (*seignour)* and habitants), some of whom (*filles du roi* or single women) had been enticed by large cash payments to relocate in New France. The group of farmers who settled in New France came from Brittany and Normandy and later from Perche, Poitou, Picardy, and other locations in France. Every expedient was tried to encourage immigration, but the men who arrived in the New World were usually in the fur or fish trade, or in the service of the government, and the women were often departed criminals like Manon Lescaut. The French, indeed, "made their lack of numbers and refusal to clear the soil and settle like the English an argument to win over the Indians to their side" (Sinclair, 1999, p. 28).

Governance–ecclesiastical.

Missionary orders. The explorers and traders were followed by French missionary orders who spread the Roman Catholic religion to the First Nations people and established schools. The goal of the King and bishops in France was to ensure that settlers in New France were Roman Catholics. The Gallican church and state enjoyed an alliance in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries that made it very difficult, at times, to distinguish political, commercial, and missionary goals; the three were so intertwined that the successes and failures of one depended upon those of the other two. According to Carey (1993), "Church and state used each other to advance their own causes, even when those causes were not entirely compatible or reconcilable" (p. 7). In 1629, prompted by the overarching presence of Catholicism and the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, adviser to Louis XIII, the French monarchy forbade non-Roman Catholics from migrating to New France, and French Protestants were required to renounce their faith before they were allowed to settle in New France. Francois Xavier de Laval strictly enforced this ruling after his elevation to episcopal status stating, "to multiply the number of Protestants in Canada would be to give occasion for the outbreak of revolutions" (Woodard, 2011, p. 40). Catholics in New France were favored by the sectarian French policy that ostracized French Calvinist Protestants (Huguenots) who constituted 10 % of the French population at the time. The failed attempt to secure full freedom through the Edict of Nantes (1598) resulted earlier in their evacuation of the country; thus, Huguenot refugees settled in New York, Massachusetts, South Carolina, and many western European countries.

French missions. New France was missionized by the Jesuits, Recollects, Capuchins, Ursulines, and other religious orders. The Recollects, ascetic Franciscans, arrived in 1615,

and a steady stream followed in later years–Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in Sainte Marie (1634) and Ursulines in Quebec (1639). Known to native peoples as the *Black Robes*, the Jesuits predominantly missionized among the Huron, which caused a rift between the missionaries and other rival native groups such as the Iroquois. The goal of the Jesuits was to get immersed in the lives of the natives and win them to Christianity by "persuasion and example" rather than coercion (Woodard, 2011, p. 35).

Jesuit missionaries "tried to adapt themselves to the nomadic Indian life but soon abandoned this procedure because it proved ineffective in establishing a stable Christian life among the tribes" (Carey, 1993, p. 8). Failing that tactic, they attempted to evangelize the Indians by introducing a sedentary lifestyle that was more appropriate than tribal customs and practices for teaching Christian rituals and morality. Jesuits built "missions they called *reductions*"….and "prayer huts (or churches) within the Indian tribal territories and, like the Spanish, tried to develop a regular cycle of Christian life and discipline within a Christian communal context" (p. 8). Despite such diligent efforts, the number of actual converts remained small. Jesuit missionaries' sincere efforts to take Christianity to the native population were often met with indifference and sometimes with brutal hostility and torture, including the martyrdom of Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brebeuf, and others.

Another form of hostility against the French settlements stemmed from the spread of maladies as influenza, smallpox, and measles brought to the Indians by French Jesuits, European settlers, and missionaries. Many Europeans were tortured and killed (Woodard, 2011). The Indians had no natural immunity to those diseases and died by the hundreds, later by the thousands. By 1650, the Huron's numbers were so drastically depleted that they were nearly wiped out by their weaker, traditional enemy, the Iroquois. Further resistance to the

Jesuits came from other French traders who felt the Jesuit stance on distribution of alcohol to the natives compromised the success of colonial activities.

The Jesuits fared poorly during the 18th century, in both North America and Europe. In an age of widespread anticlerical feeling, the Jesuits were singled out for special disparagement. Some of the antipathy had been earned by their overzealousness, but rival churchmen and political figures were also motivated by the close relationship between the Jesuit order and the Pope. In 1773, Pope Clement XIV, a Franciscan, gave in to political pressure and dissolved the Jesuit Society. The dissolution of the Jesuit community had a negative impact on their mission in the new territory because the Jesuits had to abandon the missions they had started (Pollen, 1912).

Diocese of Quebec. At first, all French clergy in America were missionaries who came from France. In 1659, François de Xavier Laval was appointed by the ecclesiastical authorities to serve as the first Apostolic Vicar of New France. In 1674, Laval was appointed first Bishop of Québec by the Pope (Sebestyen, 2007). Laval reported to the Diocese of Rouen in France; thus, New France now constituted an independent ecclesiastical entity with its own hierarchy.

One of Laval's most important goals was to make New France self-reliant in terms of priest personnel. He hoped to accomplish this by establishment of a seminary in 1663 for the training of diocesan priests. Diocesan clerics of the emerging Canadian church under Bishop Laval worked hand-in-hand with missionary order societies that continued to take their orders from their own leadership in Canada and Europe. Quebec was the structural backbone of the colonial church, but most of the parishes were established for the French: "Cahokia (1698), Biloxi (1699), Detroit (1704), Mobile (1710), New Orleans (1718), Vincennes

(1734), Duquesne (1754), and a few other places" were generally run by missionaries and far removed from the center of ecclesiastical power and supervision (Carey, 1993, p. 7).

Governance structure in New France was based on a two-tier system, with great concentrations of civil and ecclesiastical power at the top and uneducated people below who possessed little civic consciousness but had a strong attachment to their church. Obedience, humility, chastity, and religiosity were the ideals repeatedly stressed by church and government leaders (Basxan, 1980).

Trade. Commercial activities in the New France were designed so that the colony could only trade with its parent country or with other French colonies–the "French Triangular Trade System" (Sebestyen, 2007, p. 38). The French traded European manufactured items such as firearms, hatchets, metal, brandy and other highly prized items in return for animal skins, fish, and wood as illustrated in Figure 15.

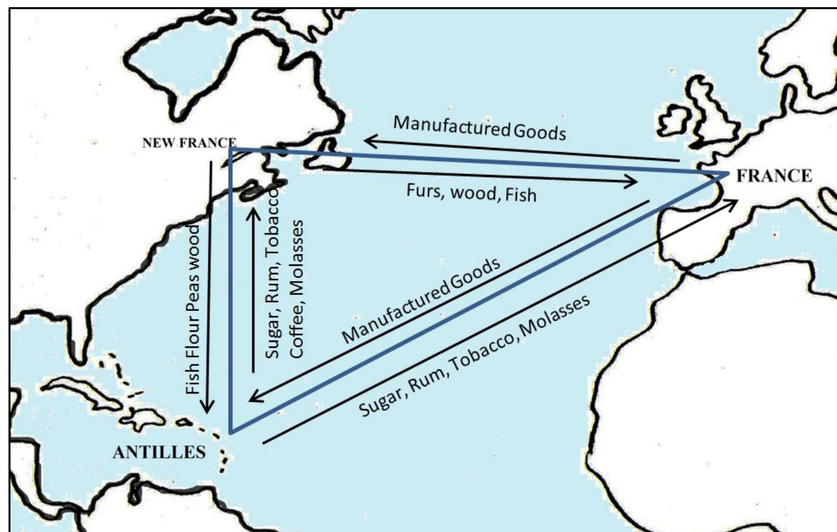


Figure 15. French triangular trade system.
Source: Sebestyen, 2007, p. 39.

The relationship between the Jesuit missionaries and fur traders was not always amicable. The Jesuit missionaries objected strenuously to the introduction of alcohol into

Indian society. The Jesuits in France lobbied hard to restrict the traders' activities but were generally unsuccessful. The French missionaries argued that French brandy inebriated natives, rendering them unlikely candidates for conversion to Christianity. The fur interests argued successfully that if French alcohol were banned, it would be replaced by rum manufactured in the British colonies.

Overall, the French used the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Rivers in a great strategic plan to dominate the fur trade of the northern continent by a system of forts and Indian alliances along the two vital rivers. Their forts kept the interloping English and Dutch pinned along a narrow coastal strip stretching from Nova Scotia to Georgia, while the Spanish held the Caribbean coast from Florida to Mexico (Sinclair, 1999).

Demographics. In 1660, the population of New France was 2,500, and by 1734, it had increased to 37,700 (Basxan, 1980). At the time of the Seven Year War, "only 50,000 Frenchmen and their Indian allies stood against England and the colonists who were 1,300,000 strong" (Sinclair, 1999, p. 26).

The English.

Origins and settlement patterns. The goal of the British Imperialists during the colonial era was to establish a presence on the eastern seaboard based on English political and economic colonial principles. During the period leading to the American Revolution (politicization), it was evident that a deliberate effort was made by the government to ensure that English trade and capital, English language and literature, and an English administrative and legislative system dominated the region. The English colonial presence was consolidated by clergymen, investors, lawyers, and public officials who were reared and trained in England and who had unmistakably been planted in America to replicate the culture from

their English homeland (Erickson, 1980). Between the years 1628 and 1642, “approximately 80,000 English people, an estimated 2 % of the entire population, departed from the British Isles” (p. 322). The greater majority (58,000) settled on the mainland of North America or in the Caribbean Islands.

Attempts to create stable settlements on the eastern seaboard began in 1606 soon after “the Crown chartered the Virginia Company of London, a joint stock company,” which divided the territory between two of its competing branches, the London and Plymouth companies (Earle, 1992, p. 481). As Figure 16 illustrates, the former was granted permission by King James I to plant a colony between latitudes 34°and 41° North; the latter was to establish a colony between latitudes 38° and 45° North. The overlapping territory was declared open to settlement by either company as long as neither company established a colony within 100 miles of the other ("British Colonies" History of the United States, 2003). The two companies were responsible for financing the establishment of self-sustaining colonial settlements and commercial enterprises to promote the growth of the trans-Atlantic trade.

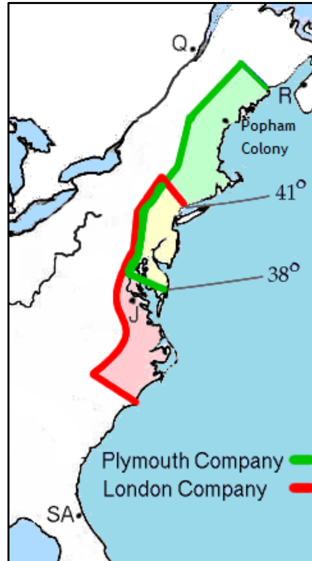


Figure 16. English Settlements on the eastern seaboard.
Source:British Colonies" History of the United States. (2003). Retrieved March 30, 2012, from web-books.com: http://www.web-books.com/eLibrary/ON/B0/B52/14MB52.html

The overlapping area is shown between the 38th and 41st parallel. The location of the Jamestown Settlement is shown by "J." Company-sponsored English settlements were established in "Virginia (1607), Plymouth (1620), Massachusetts Bay (1630), Maryland (1632), Connecticut (1635-1636), and Rhode Island (1636)" (Erickson, 1980, p. 322). In subsequent decades, as the population grew and colonization extended farther afield, regions evolved into separate colonies; the New England (in the north), middle, and southern colonies. Connecticut emerged in 1662, and New Hampshire in 1679. In a reverse process, the original settlement of Plymouth became absorbed into Massachusetts in 1691, and Vermont and Maine remained part of Massachusetts until 1791 and 1820 respectively. Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams in 1636, when a group of refugees from the Massachusetts Bay Colony left the colony to seek freedom of worship. Roger Williams acquired land from Native Americans and established the town of Providence.

Middle colonies consisted of territory that was reconstituted as New York, the New Jersey colony after the cessation of New Netherland, and the colony of Pennsylvania. The Southern Colonies comprised Maryland, Virginia, the colony of Carolina, (which later split into North Carolina and South Carolina), and Georgia, which was founded in 1733 for poor people and debtors. Figure 17 shows the territorial boundaries of the states that evolved during the colonial period. English colonies of the North and South remained apart from one another by climate, temperament, habit, and way of life. The Calvinist businessman or preacher was the ideal of the North, while the gentleman planter was the ideal of the South.

Figure 17. The 13 British colonies.

Governance–secular. "Three separate forms of constitutional authority served as the basis for political power in British North America, where the provinces were divided among charter colonies, proprietary colonies, and royal colonies" (Purvis, 1999, p. 188). In a charter colony, the King granted permission to joint stock companies who financed their settlements

and established the rules under which the colony was to be governed. The colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts Bay were charter colonies.

In a proprietary colony, favorites of the British crown were awarded huge tracts of land to supervise and develop in the New World. Charles II used proprietaries as a device to repay political and economic debt incurred in his tumultuous ascent to the throne. Vast tracts of land in New York were granted by Charles II to his brother in 1664; Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn by Charles II in 1681, and Maryland was granted by Charles I to proprietor George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who was also sympathetic to English Catholics. New Jersey was given in two parcels by James, Duke of York, to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and in 1663, Carolina was granted by Charles II to eight proprietors.

For many years Great Britain allowed American colonies freedom to run their local affairs. In each colony, men who owned property elected representatives to a legislature. Colonial legislatures passed laws and levied taxes for the purpose of conducting governmental affairs. However, the governor of a colony could veto laws passed by the legislature; colonial gubernatorial appointments were made by the King.

Royal Colonies were controlled by the Crown who was also responsible for appointing a governor, a council to assist him, and colonial judges who were usually granted life terms of office. During the period leading to the politicization, the Crown leaned towards centralization. As a result, the royal colonial governance structure became the standard form of English colonial rule.

The colony of Maryland. English settlers to America were overwhelmingly Protestant during the colonial period. Although colonial founders intended to comply with the policy to establish churches according to the Protestant English tradition (Bonomi, 1986), Catholic

settlers inevitably arrived with Protestant relatives, friends, and sympathizers; thus ensuring a rapid growth in Catholic populace.

Carey (2004) and Bonomi (1986) reported on the inception of the proprietary colony of Catholicism in Maryland. In 1633, Cecilius Calvert, entitled Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, “who had inherited his father George's possessions and intention to establish a colony in the New World, obtained a charter from King Charles I that made Calvert the sole proprietor, and acknowledged his laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian Religion, and also the Territories of our Empire" (Carey, 2004, p. 10). Maryland’s charter was established with mixed political, commercial, and religious purposes. Thus, Calvert's two ships, “the Ark and the Dove, set sail and landed in Maryland in 1634” (p. 10). Of approximately 150, “mostly Protestant persons on board, passengers included “Calvert's brother, Leonard, who was appointed Governor of the new colony, three Jesuits priests, and a number of young Catholic investors” (p. 10). Calvert appealed to Protestants and Catholics to invest in the Maryland project, but received the greatest financial support from the young Catholic gentry. Although the colony was granted by the authority of a Protestant king, no Protestant ministers came with the first expedition; in fact, ministers of the Church of England would not appear in the colony until 20 years later.

In Calvert’s colony, Catholics assumed power to implement proprietary policies, although they were outnumbered ten to one (Bonomi, 1986). Tolerance for Catholicism lasted for a while; however, in 1645 an aggressive Protestant faction, which intermittently gained power during political scuffles, “eventually forced the Catholic government to flee the colony; two Jesuit priests were seized and sent to England in chains (p. 22).

Lord Baltimore, viewing this turbulent scene from his home in England, intervened as

he “foresaw the destruction of his fragile colony by the forces of intolerance and religious factionalism” (Bonomi, 1986, p. 22). In his desire to fortify for English Catholics the haven that had been created between the colonies of Virginia to the south and New Netherland to the north, “he appointed Protestant William Stone Governor in 1648” but also “submitted a new code of laws, which he urged the Maryland Assembly to adopt without alteration” (p. 22). Flowing from this intervention, “the assembly, which met in April 1649 with a slight Catholic majority, seized the moment and wrote a number of new laws, foremost among them the *Act Concerning Religion.*” The legislation “incorporated a statement on religious toleration, very likely taken from Lord Baltimore's code, which completely inverted the traditional formula for social stability”. Instead of stability in a single established church, the statement noted that "the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion has frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence" to peaceable government. Furthermore, Christians in Maryland were no longer to be “troubled, molested, or discountenanced because of religious belief, or forced to participate in religious observances against his or her consent" (pp. 22-23).

Catholic presence remained strong in Maryland despite Protestant-led disturbances in 1645, 1660, 1676, and 1681. Catholics maintained prominence in financial and political affairs in the colony, at least during most of the 17th century (Carey, 2004); however, “the fall of the Catholic King James II and the support given by William and Mary” to a more coherent British-based colonial policy set back the progress Catholics had made in instituting Catholicism in a predominantly Protestant territory (Bonomi, 1986, p. 24). Maryland became a royal colony in 1691, about the same time that agitation in both Maryland and London led to the eventual formal establishment of the Church of England as the official religion. These

events, coupled with the suppression of the Jesuit order, curtailed the growth that Catholicism attained in Maryland during this era.

Governance–ecclesiastical leadership. The Catholic ecclesiastical governance structure in England was downgraded following the Protestant Reformation. Until the year 1850, the episcopal jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church in England was given the status of Vicariate Apostolic of the London District. Anglicanism became the official religion of the state, with the King serving as the Head of the Church in England. As a result, the English ecclesiastical territory in Maryland was also reduced to the status of a vicariate under the surveillance of an ecclesiastical administrator named Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

Pollen (1911) related that King Henry VIII broke relations with the Pope in 1534; hence, Parliament enacted an injunction requiring his citizens to take, accept, and repute the King as the Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603) promulgated The *Act of Supremacy* in 1559 requiring all subjects, especially Catholic bishops to choose between taking the *Oath of Supremacy*, denying the authority of the Pope, or risk forfeiting their episcopal sees. According to Burton (1910), during the period following immediately the introduction of the Act, Marian priests ministered to Catholics, saying Mass and giving the sacraments in secret, substituting for bishops who either fled or were imprisoned. A fully-fledged persecution of Catholics broke out during the reign of Elizabeth I; more than 80 priests and laymen were martyred in London, and a far larger number perished in various other prisons.

Burton reported that after the death of Bishop Bonner as a prisoner in 1569 there was no episcopal government in England. Thus, the Holy See downgraded the Catholic Church in

England to the status of Vicariate Apostolic of the London District, subsequently appointing Thomas Goldwell (1598–1585), George Birkhead (1608–1614), William Bishop (1623–1624), and Richard Smith (1625 -1655). Six years following Smith's arrival in England April 1625, two warrants were issued for his arrest in August 1631; he was forced to resign and flee to France, where he eventually died in Paris in 1655. Thereafter, until the accession of James II no Vicar Apostolic was appointed and jurisdiction continued to be exercised by the chapter, a body consisting of the most experienced priests from all parts of England (Burton, 1910).

Part of Calvert's entitlement as proprietor of the Maryland charter was the power to erect and found all churches and chapels and exemption from all laws of mortmain (Fogarty, 1986). The first clerics who arrived in Maryland in 1634 were Jesuits of the English province who had been invited by Calvert to provide for the religious needs for his subjects. Calvert invited the Jesuits to join the colony and, appealing to their missionary zeal, indicated that he wanted them to evangelize the Indians. Though they were priests, Fathers Andrew White, John Altham (alias Gravenor), and Brother Thomas Gervase were enlisted as laymen for fear of negative sentiment that existed against Catholicism at the time (Carey, 2004).

Father Thomas Copley (alias Philip Fisher), who arrived in 1636 was appointed Superior of the Jesuit Catholic missions in the colony, subordinate to the Apostolic Vicar in England. The Jesuits "were primarily responsible for sustaining and developing Catholic spiritual life not only in Maryland but also in Pennsylvania, where Irish and German immigrants established Catholic communities at Conewago, Goshenhoppen, and Philadelphia" (Carey, 2004, p. 11). The Jesuits "built plantation manors, bought and sold black slaves to farm their plantations," and managed their temporal affairs in a way that

“enabled them to enjoy a certain amount of de facto separation from the proprietor” of the colony, the local Maryland government, and the landed gentry who controlled the Jesuits in England (p. 11).

Trade. Great Britain controlled the colonies’ trade according to the ideas of mercantilism. Figure 18 illustrates the raw materials such as tobacco, rice, indigo, wheat, lumber, fur, deerskin leather, fish, and whale products exported by the American colonies. These were shipped to Great Britain and traded for manufactured goods such as clothing, furniture, and goods from Asia, such as tea and spices. England viewed its North American colonies as an economic resource, and passed Navigation Acts in 1600 to prevent colonists from trading with other countries. Under these laws, the colonists had to sell their raw materials to Britain even if they could get a better price elsewhere. Any goods bought by colonies from other countries in Europe had to first be taxed in England before being sent to the Americas (Spielvogel, 2008). The goal for the Crown was, “to establish a framework for England’s colonial economy: colonial exports… as well as imports henceforth had to pass through English ports on their way to or from other nations and had to be transported in English or colonial ships” (De Vries, 1976, p. 237).

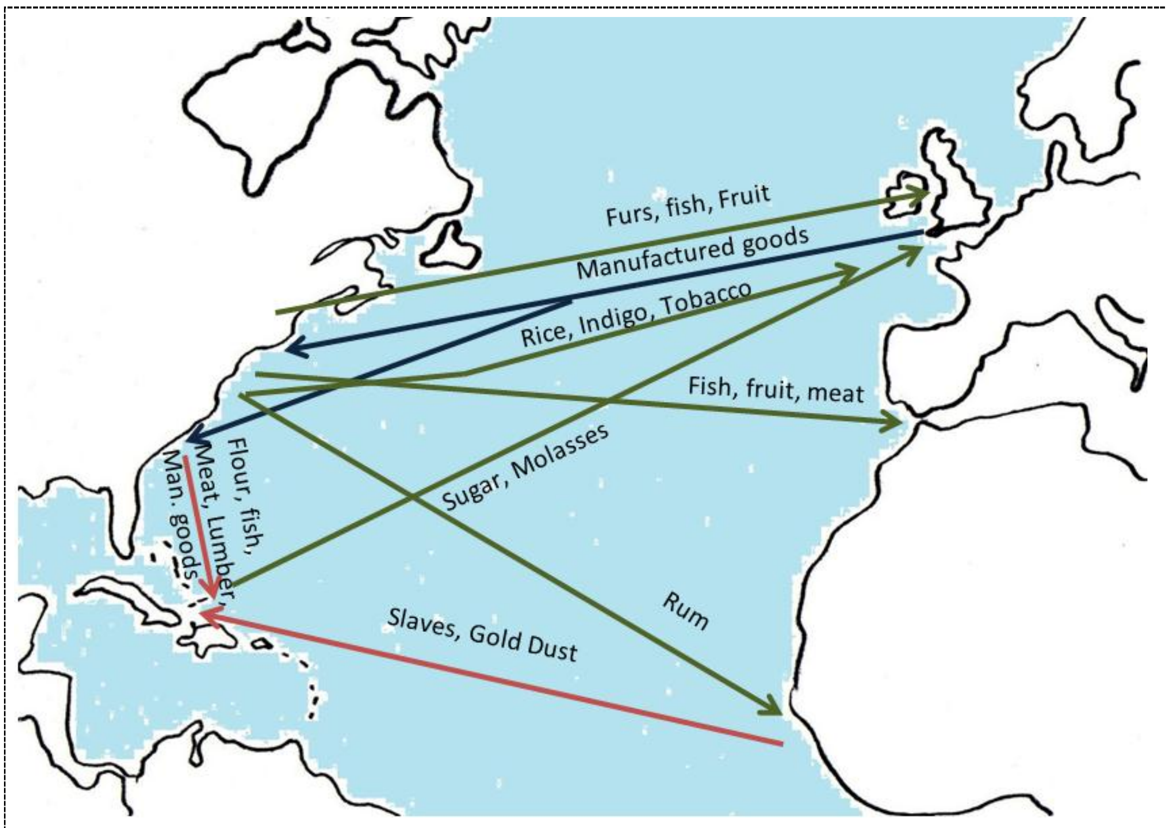


Figure 18. British colonial trade routes.
Source: Spielvogel, 2008, p. 695

Synthesis. The discussion of the colonial era in this study (1521-1763) focused on the dominant European colonial powers of this period; the Spanish, French, and English; and their settlement in America–a land that for centuries was inhabited by the Native Indians. In addition, the study examined the relationships that existed between the Vatican in Rome and these European subcultures as they became situated in America.

Spain. Spain enjoyed a close relationship with the Vatican; Rome delegated to the Spanish monarchy governance authority over matters related to ecclesiastical affairs and policies in the colony. The Spanish King enjoyed a special status equivalent to being a Vice-Pope evidenced by the endorsement of Rome for Spain's decision to establish two new dioceses, Cuba and Mexico in 1517 and 1528 respectively as suffragans of the Archdiocese

of Seville in Spain. Clerics in some territories of colonial Spain were, for most part, Spanish Franciscans and Jesuits.

France. France's allegiance to the Vatican was strong. New France was a vast territory extending deeply into the United States of today. French settlers had to be Catholic; non-Catholics had to denounce their faith before they were allowed to relocate in New France. Adviser to Louis XIII in 1692, Cardinal Richelieu forbade non-Roman Catholics from migrating to New France.

Governance of ecclesiastical affairs in the colony was delegated to Vicar Apostolic Francois Xavier de Laval (1679 -1674), who reported to the ecclesiastical authorities of Rouen Diocese in France. In 1674, Rome elevated the Vicariate of Quebec to the status of a diocese, with Laval serving as its first bishop. French missionaries–Jesuits, Collects, Capuchins, and Ursulines–were in charge while Laval started the process of training diocesan priests.

English. Unlike their Spanish and French neighbors, English Catholics settlers planted and sustained their religion in the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania without the benefit of governmental financial or its legal support (Carey, 2004). From the time of Henry VIII, Catholicism was suppressed in England; thus, colonial officials were to ensure that settlers in the colonies on the eastern seaboard were of the Protestant persuasion.

The first Catholics in the English colonies were Jesuit missionaries who settled in Maryland. Governance of Catholic Church affairs in the English colony was by a Jesuit Superior who also served as Vicar Apostolic reporting to the Vicar Apostolic in England (whenever the religio-political circumstances permitted). "Unlike their coreligionists to the north and south, the English Jesuits by the 1640s had abandoned efforts to evangelize and

serve the Indians in Maryland, and concentrated their religious efforts upon the Catholic colonists." "During the first 150 years, 113 Jesuit priests and 30 brothers served within the Maryland Province" (Carey, 2004, p. 10).

Ecclesiastical governance policy over the colonial territory. From the account of the colonial era it is clear that the Catholic Church was faced with the dilemma of trying to enforce centralized governance over the divergent cultural groups under its auspice. The history reveals that Rome created a governance relationship tailored to the particular circumstances that prevailed in each subculture of Spanish, French and English colonial territories. The ecclesiastical governance policy for each culture depended on religio-political circumstances of the colony, and religious activities were tied to the grand political plan of the sponsoring European principality, each of which was intent on either enhancing or suppressing Catholicism over their portion of acquired American territory.

Religion in New Spain and New France was an instrument played by the European colonialist; missionizing and colonialism went hand in hand. Each religious order serving in the missions was part of the colonial plan of their European principality. Conflict arose when members of the same religious orders reporting to different jurisdictions met on disputed territory. The commonality that members of a religious order shared was compromised by the political interest of the countries in which they were placed. Thus, conflict was inevitable among the various Jesuit communities; Jesuits of the New Spain province stood in opposition to the Jesuits of New France province; as the English ex-Jesuits did for both groups. During colonial times, national sentiments were much stronger than religious affiliation.

The Holy See did not have a centralized governance scheme for the American continent. Rather, each of the three Catholic European principalities represented in America

was under an individualized ecclesiastical arrangement congruent with each European principality's stance and relationship with the papacy in Rome. Figure 19 illustrates the relationships of American settlements with Rome in the colonial era.

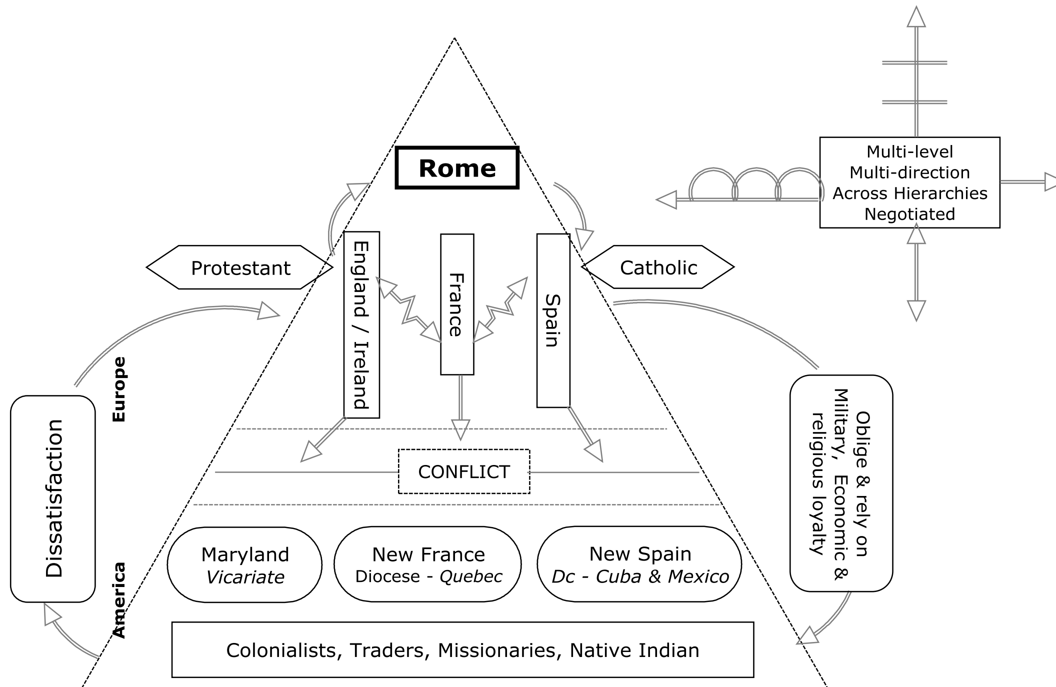


Figure 19. American relationships with Rome in the colonial era.

Era of Politicization (1763 -1820)

Introduction to the war era. The era of politicization is divided into two phases: In the first phase, the English gain dominance over the French and Spanish, and the second phase, popularly referred to as the era of the American Revolution, was an era of the *assertion of citizenship rights* by the English colonists on the eastern seaboard–a rebellion against the English imperial system of rule.

After winning American independence in 1776, British-American colonists who had rebelled inaugurated a federal system of rule, which retained streaks of the English system of

rule; English became the national language, and soon the English subculture dominated the policy-making process in the United States of America. Due to their rate of growth and fertility, the number of English settlers in America increased faster than the French and Spanish.

By 1750 and the period leading to the era of politicization, the three major European principalities at the time–Spain, France, and England–were all well-established in the Americas and focused on consolidating their colonial interests, each in their acquired territory of jurisdiction. French influence remained strong in the north and the Louisiana Territory, Spanish influence continued in the south, whereas the English dominated the eastern seaboard, which comprised the 13 original states. During the first phase of politicization, the English gained dominance over Dutch settlements as well. Figure 20 shows the territories held by the dominant colonial powers.

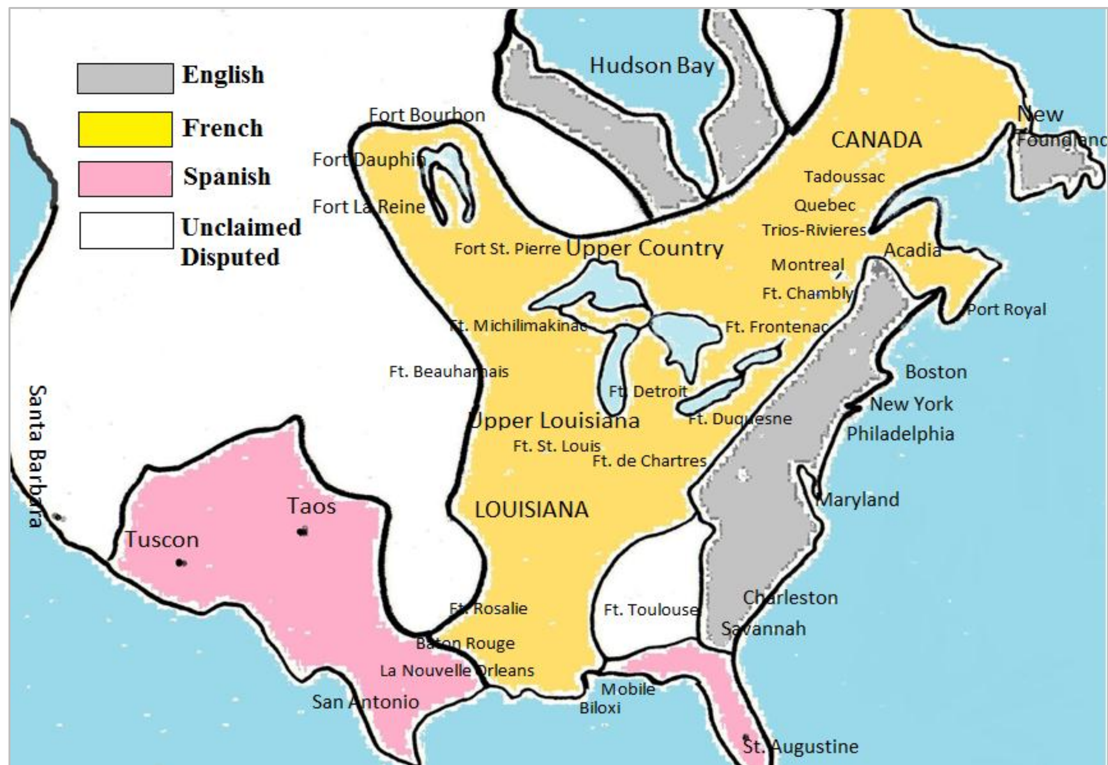


Figure 20. America in 1750.

The first phase of era of politicization (1750–1662). During the first phase of this era, the Spanish, French, and English engaged in military confrontations to extend their claims over the American territory. In an era characterized by a state of war and confusion, political and religious jurisdiction over the various parts of United States moved from one cultural group to another.

Dutch. The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam on the site of present-day New York New Amsterdam was erected on the best natural harbor on the Atlantic; its pass, which went through the "mountains toward the Great Lakes along the course of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, gave the Dutch an alternative route to the interior, free from the ice that made the St. Lawrence River useless in winter" (Sinclair, 1999, p. 20). New Amsterdam, "also had the

advantage of splitting the English Atlantic colonies in half; an alliance between the French and the Dutch would have ruined English chances in the New World" (p. 20).

In 1664, New Amsterdam fell to the English as the spoils of war and was renamed New York (Sinclair, 1999). After the Dutch had been ousted from New Netherlands, the region became the British colony of New York and the British were then able to maintain a comprehensive fur business empire south of the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, and Lake Erie.

French. In 1660, French explorers, Pierre Esprit Raddison, Medard Chouart, and Sieur des Groseilliers discovered the Hudson Bay and in 1670, after being reprimanded by the French Governor for this unauthorized expedition, "promptly made a deal with England" (Miller, 1958, p. 37). The English immediately set up the Hudson's Bay Company to conduct commerce and to find the elusive Northwest Passage to China. Allied with the Iroquois Indian tribe, the Hudson's Bay Company aimed to dominate the fur trade north and west of New France. The alliance played a role at the peak of the conflict between the French and the English when the aggressive Iroquois fought with the English against the French who had offended the Iroquois by siding with their traditional enemies, the Huron (Sinclair, 1999).

The English colonial dynamic, in contrast to that of the French, very successfully settled newcomers in America. Many wanted to settle in the New World, and a nucleus of flourishing states kept the lines of immigration open. "The fertility of the colonists was extraordinary; 20 children in one family was not a rare phenomenon" (Sinclair, 1999, p. 26). By the mid-18th century and the final struggle with the French, the English colonies' population numbered about 1,300,000; this number nearly doubled by the time of the American Revolution. European farmers from many countries flocked to America for free

land offers; before the American Revolution, about 33% of white persons on the east coast were born in a foreign country, and one in four did not originate in the British Empire.

The English, especially in Virginia and the Carolinas, finding Indians too aggressive and unsuitable as labor, imported Black prisoners from Africa following the example set by planters in the Caribbean islands. "By 1724, Black slaves outnumbered White people in South Carolina by a ratio of 2:1; forty years later, slaves were nearly half of the population of Virginia" (Sinclair, 1999, p. 21).

As the rapidly growing English populace sought to extend their influence farther west across the Appalachian Mountains, they were constrained by the French who had established forts and trading posts along the Ohio River valley and the Louisiana Territory. In the winter of 1753-54, the English sent George Washington to demand that the French vacate the Ohio territory claimed by England. The scramble for America was reminiscent of the conflicted relationship that existed between the European nations elsewhere in the world at this time.

The beginning of the 1700s was characterized by a growing rivalry between the French and British and Catholics and Protestants both at home and abroad. "Louis XIV's ambition was to make France the most powerful nation in Europe; thus, he engaged in a series of protracted wars against Prussia (Germany) and Britain" (Sebestyen, 2007, p. 50). Each war seemed bigger than the one previous. France's victory over Britain in North America would have symbolized a major victory for Louis XIV. "One of the most important wars between France and Britain was the War of the Spanish Succession, in which European countries fought to prevent France from taking over Spain and its colonies" (p. 50). In 1700, the King of Spain died childless, and Louis XIV "claimed the throne for his Bourbon grandson" (Arnade, 1962, p. 32).

The merger of Catholic France and Spain posed a threat to the rest of Europe. The War of the Spanish Succession was "fought between 1702 and 1713 and led to France's loss of Acadia" after the peace treaty at Utrecht in the Netherlands (Sebestyen, 2007, p. 50). "Although most of Acadia was transferred to the British in the Treaty of Utrecht, the island now known as Cape Breton was retained by the French," which they named Ile Royale (p. 50). However, the transfer of Acadia to the British marked the beginning of a series of campaigns that culminated in the cessation of France's control of eastern North America when the French surrendered to the British under Lieutenant Colonel William Amherst In 1762.

The Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The Seven Years' War is also known as the French and Indian War because of the cooperation between the French and Native Indian people in the fight against the British forces. "In 1701, thirteen hundred representatives of more than 40 First Nations peoples met leaders of New France in Montréal. A treaty, called the Great Peace of Montréal was signed, wherein both sides agreed to cooperate with each other in the future" (Sebestyen, 2007, p. 47). It meant that many First Nations peoples would not help the British–the enemies of the French (Havard, Aronoff, & Scott, 2001).

The British campaign to oust France began in 1754 with an attack by George Washington, then a lieutenant colonel in the British colonial militia. The militia was instructed to overrun the Forks of Ohio, the point at which the Ohio River is formed by the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahelea Rivers. "Washington arrested a detachment of French soldiers," but during the scuffled that ensued several French officers including Ensign Joseph Coulon de Jumonville were murdered (Cave, 2004, p. 118). "Soon after, Washington and his men were besieged … by a superior French force….Washington

was forced to sign a document confessing to the murder of Jumonville" (p. 118). This was followed in June 1755 by a British expedition on Fort Duquesne by Major General Edward Braddock. During this time, the British continued their assault on French interests at sea and in the Ohio Valley, seizing ships, and harassing and capturing French loyalists.

The third British act of aggression was the assault on Acadia in the Battle of Beausejour, followed immediately by the expulsion of the Acadians. "The British urged the Acadians to take an oath of allegiance to the British King, but he was an English Protestant, and French Roman Catholic Acadians refused to take the oath" (Sebestyen, 2007, p. 51). "Between 1755 and 1760, about 10,000 of the 12,000 Acadians were expelled from the region; the majority relocated in the French colony of Louisiana" (p. 51).

These three acts of British aggression contributed to formal declarations of war in spring 1756 (Fowler, 2005). For a while the French forces were able to ward off British attacks in the Hudson Valley and another key fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island; however, the British, with superior military power, overran and defeated the French forces at Louisburg and Quebec in 1758 and 1759 respectively. The French governor surrendered to British commander General Jeffrey Amherst, and Quebec came under British control. French forces retreated to Montreal, where on September 8, 1760, they surrendered in the face of overwhelming British numerical superiority.

French attacks on Newfoundland in 1762 were foiled by British troops at the Battle of Signal Hill. This final battle of the war in North America forced the French to surrender to the British under Lieutenant Colonel William Amherst. Fortier & McLoughlin in 1910 wrote that by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, New France was ceded by France to England, as well as the city of Mobile, and the part of Louisiana on the left bank of the Mississippi River, with

the exception of New Orleans and the island of Orleans. A few years after the Treaty of Paris in 1776, the victorious British who controlled all of eastern North America reconstituted the territory of New France as British Canada.

Spanish. Arnade (1962) believed Spain's colonial policy of overreliance on St. Augustine Fort in Florida for military support of the Spanish missions in America's hinterland was "the most important cause of English success and Spanish failure" (p. 37). St. Augustine was susceptible to attacks from the Protestant Carolinians who considered Catholic Florida to be a religious and economic threat to their well-being. Arnade listed many reasons that James Moore was ready to invest all his energy into an expedition into St. Augustine:

1. St. Augustine could be attacked by way of Apalache, where there was no fort to conquer.
2. The Spanish military garrison in Apalache was weak and ineffectual.
3. Direct communication between the French and the Spanish colonies would be interrupted.
4. Intertribal warfare between English-dominated Indians and those of Apalache could be started.
5. The Apalache Indians could be easily weaned from Spanish rule.
6. Many missions, hated symbols of Catholicism, could be destroyed to provide a victory for Protestantism and emotionalism.
7. The Apalache Indians could provide a new market for the Carolina traders.
8. Valuable cattle ranches would provide a good war bounty.
9. The main Spanish road system would fall into English hands.

10. Mighty St. Augustine would be completely isolated.
11. Moore, always interested in Indian slaves for his plantations, would be able to double or triple his slave supply.

In September 1703, although the Carolina legislation was unwilling to invests its resources, the attack on Apalache was the only logical plan of a renewed attack on Spanish Florida. The Carolina legislature approved Moore's expedition that culminated in disruption of Spanish relations with the native people as well as the destruction of Spanish missions and infrastructure, which in turn led to the incapacitation of the Spanish stronghold in St. Augustine. From 1703 until 1706, "Moore and his band rampaged through Apalache, burning buildings and committing atrocities of all sorts besides hunting Indian slaves" (Arnade, 1962, p. 35). By August 1706, "the Carolinians had destroyed everything in Spanish Florida from the Apalachicola to the St. Johns River" Spanish presence in America was confined to St. Augustine and its immediate surroundings (p. 36).

The events leading to the secession of New France were followed by the Spanish in Florida. Afraid that the events following the Seven Years' War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) might lead to a British assault on Florida, Spain ceded the province of Florida and all the country to the east and south-east of the Mississippi to Great Britain in exchange for Manila and Havana (Fortier & McLoughlin (1910). Thus, from 1763 through 1784, Britain occupied St. Augustine, where during their occupation, the Spanish fortress, Castillo de San Marcos, was renamed Fort St. Mark. Florida remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Spanish bishops despite being under political control of the English.

The second phase of the era of politicization (1763 -1820). During the second phase of the era of politicization (the time of the American Revolution), the English colonists

engaged in a period of war for the *assertion of citizenship rights* against English imperial power over the British American colonies on the eastern seaboard.

British. The American Revolutionary War began in 1763 after a series of victories by British forces at the conclusion of the French and Indian War. Great Britain at this time claimed ownership of vast holdings in British North America. In addition to the 13 original colonies, 22 smaller colonies were ruled directly by royal governors. The Crown had also gained New France, which had been reconstituted as British Canada, Spanish Florida, and the Native American lands east of the Mississippi River. The royal governance system in place controlled the selection of judges and functions of courts while curtailing the power of the elected assemblies in the colonies. King James II, "ordered the New England colonies, New York, and New Jersey to be merged into a single authoritarian megacolony called the Dominion of New England," which was backed by British troops and placed under a governor, Sir Edmund Adros (Woodard, 2011, p. 73). The British Quartering Acts required British soldiers to be quartered in American homes at the expense of residents. To restrict the westward movement of the colonists, "a royal proclamation in 1763 banned colonists from usurping the Indian lands on the other side of the Appalachians" (p. 118).

British economic policies provoked the most deeply felt grievances and the most effective American response. The British government sought to minimize defense costs by shifting a greater portion of expenses associated with protection the American territory to the colonists. Between 1764 and 1767, London initiated a series of taxes on goods imported into America: The Sugar Act of 1764, covering wine and textiles as well as sugar; the Stamp Act of 1765, a stamp duty on legal documents and newspapers; and the Townshend Acts of 1767, taxes on glass, lead, paper, paint and tea (Sinclair, 1999, p. 34). These royal policies were

extremely unpopular in America. In retaliation, the colonists organized effective boycotts of British goods. Because the colonies lacked elected representation in the governing British Parliament, many colonists considered the laws to be illegitimate and a violation of their rights as Englishmen. *No taxation without representation* was a central theme in the colonial argument, and tea became a symbolic substance at the heart of the conflict. A new Tea Act in 1773 heightened the tension.

"On December 16, 1773, an organized mob threw £11,000 worth of East India Company tea into Boston Harbor" (Woodard, 2011, p. 119). This event became known as the Boston Tea Party to which the Crown responded with the "Intolerable Acts," which closed Boston harbor until an indemnity was paid, revised the Charter of Massachusetts, provided for trial in England for capital offenders, and insisted on the quartering of troops on the local population" (Sinclair, 1999, p. 35).

In 1765, "the first intercolonial congress against the Stamp Act" was convened (Sinclair, 1999, p. 35). Groups of colonists organized into Committees of Correspondence, which led to the formation of Provincial Congresses in most colonies. In the course of two years, the Provincial Congresses or their equivalents rejected the British Parliament, effectively replaced the Royal British ruling structure in the colonies, and convened the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, September, 1774 (Woodard, 2011).

The British Parliament asserted its authority by sending British combat troops, dissolving local governments, and imposing a system of direct rule over the colonies by Royal officials. Consequently, the colonies mobilized militias, and fighting broke out in 1775. The inhabitants of the 13 colonies of British America were split into three groups: the patriots (Whigs, Rebels, or Revolutionaries), loyalists, and those who opted to take a neutral

stance. The conflict that ensued created a new dynamic in the 13 colonies. The revolution was an ideological movement of the dominant Protestant (non-Church of England) denominations that sought and received the cooperation of people of other religious persuasions who united in the fight for freedom, exercised tolerance for one another, and worked to develop legislation more cognizant of religious diversity.

In the Second Continental Congress, representatives from each of the original 13 states, "formally adopted the revised Declaration of Independence on July 4th 1776" which rejected the British monarchy in addition to its parliament (Cogliano, 2009, p. 94). The declaration established the United States, which was originally governed as a loose confederation through a democracy, with representatives selected by state legislatures. In the meantime, the British continued to assert their authority over the British American colony, which led to more armed conflict.

During a period when the Revolutionary War was going badly, Washington asked John Carroll to join a mission to Canada to seek the support of the French for the colonies. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were the others on the four-man mission. Although the mission failed, it established a relationship with the French, much influenced by the Catholic faith they held in common with the Carrolls (Carter, 2001).

At the peak of the conflict, American patriots solicited assistance from Britain's European rivals; the French (1778, 1781), Spain (1779), and the Dutch (1780) allied with the patriots, leaving the British Empire to fight a global war alone. This meant that in addition to fighting the patriots, Britain had to contend with the blockade of the Atlantic made up of a combined hostile French and Spanish fleet (Weintraub, 2005; Mackesy, 1993). The alliance with the French bore fruit in 1781 at Yorktown, where the largely Catholic-financed French

fleet's "control of Virginia waters led to the surrender of [British General Charles] Cornwallis" whose surrender finally brought the war to an end (Sinclair, 1999, p. 44).

The American Revolution came to an end in 1783 when a peace treaty (Treaty of Paris) between Britain and the U.S was signed. Britain acknowledged the U.S. as sovereign nation constituting the land east of the Mississippi River and south of the Great Lakes, though not including Florida (Gascoigne, 2001).

After 1783, the United States gained new land from European countries, neighboring countries (such as Mexico), and Indian tribes through purchases, wars, and treaties, and the forced removal of Indian tribes from the lands they previously inhabited. The geographical extent of the U.S. and the population therein dramatically increased by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, followed by the "Adams–Onís Treaty of 1819," in which the purchase of Florida was ratified, while the Oregon Treaty of 1846 established the boundary line of the 49th Parallel between the Rockies and the continental shore" (Graebner, 2001, p. 234). The republic of "Texas, having established its independence in 1836,… entered the Union in 1845" (p. 234). The United States acquired present-day California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and part of Colorado and Wyoming in a peace treaty in 1848 following a dispute with Mexico. Thus, except for the small territory acquired by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, at the end of the Mexican War, the United States reached full continental development, not including Alaska added in 1867 and Hawaii in 1898 (Shaughnessy, 1925). As Figure 21 illustrates, it took 176 years–from 1783 to 1959–for all 50 states to become part of the United States of America.

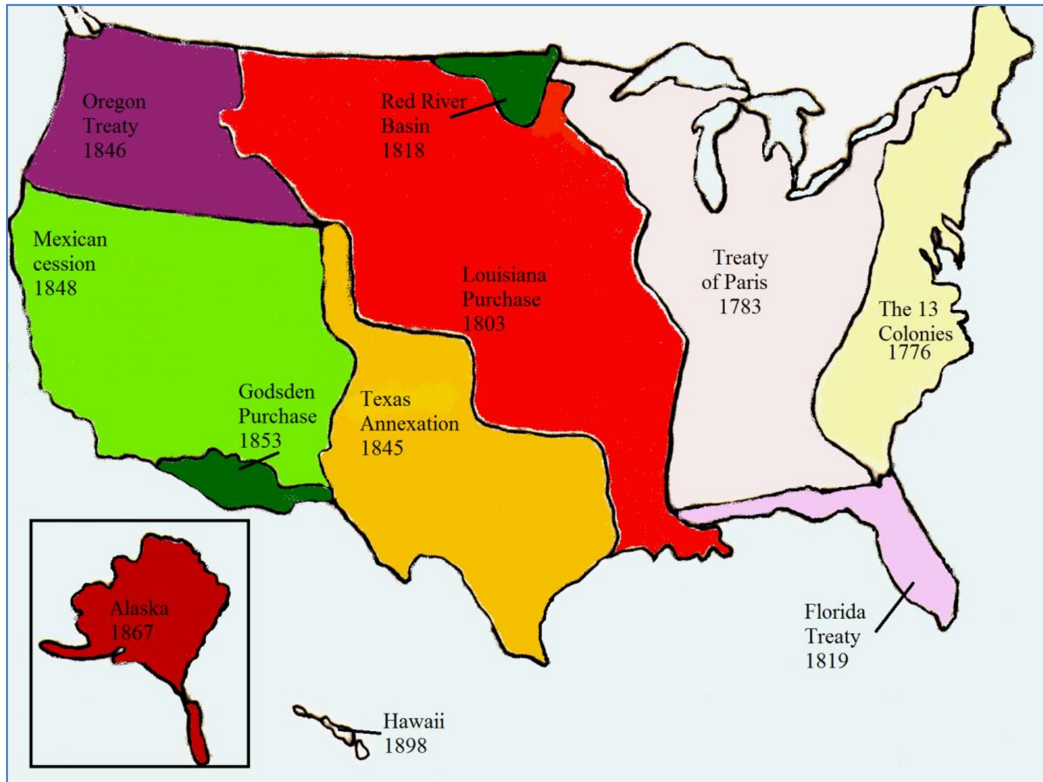


Figure 21. Second phase of the politicization era.

Porous ecclesiastical boundaries. During the period leading to the era of politicization, the southern territory governed by Spanish colonial authorities was under the jurisdiction of the Dioceses of Cuba and Mexico established in 1518 and 1527 respectively by the Spanish monarchy and endorsed by Rome (Ryan, 1919; Roberts, 2009). French colonial territory in the northern part of America was under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Quebec established in 1674 (Woodard, 2011). The era of politicization saw transitions and changes (sometimes back and forth between principalities) in ecclesiastical jurisdictions and boundaries, especially in the Louisiana territory. Ecclesiastical territories once under the French or Spanish hierarchical jurisdiction were reconstituted and placed under a different authoritative structure (French, Spanish or English); but at the end of the era of politicization the English colonists' dominance eventually prevailed over the French and Spanish. The

American Catholic Church largely conformed to the English-speaking Catholic Church centered in Baltimore, Maryland.

English governance of Catholic. At the inception of the Colonial Era, Roman Catholicism was illegal in most English colonies, and Catholics were prohibited from holding public office or to vote (Power, 1958). Even Baltimore's Maryland colony, which from its inception was tolerant to Catholicism, was reconstituted as a royal colony during the reign of William and Mary. Catholics therein were "banned… from public office and the military" (Woodard, 2011, p. 80). Legislation, such as the Act Concerning Religion of 1649 in Lord Baltimore's Maryland and the Declaration of Independence in 1776 after the English colonists' politicization of America, greatly diminished anti-Catholic sentiments and biases. By the 1790s, the Catholic settlements formed as a result of the combined effort of the explorers and missionaries were thriving.

The political developments in America made it practically impossible for bishops and superiors of religious orders based in Europe to effectively attend to the immediate pastoral and sacramental needs of the emerging Catholic communities in the English colonies. After 1758, Richard Challoner, "Vicar Apostolic of London District, with jurisdiction over the American colonies persistently pressed the Vatican to provide closer regulation than he could exercise from afar" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 528). John Carroll of Maryland became the first American Bishop. Pope Pius VI invested Carroll with authority to oversee the ecclesiastical affairs in the emerging U.S. Catholic community and particularly the suffragan dioceses under the archbishopric of Carroll that had formed in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown.

Catholics in Baltimore, Maryland. In an era when Catholics were marginalized, John Carroll's Irish roots and his tolerance for people of other religious persuasions gave him added advantage over other clerics vying for leadership of the Catholic Church in the English colonies. Further, John Carroll was the cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the only Catholic of the 56 "makers and signers" of the Declaration of Independence and a close associate of George Washington. He was also regarded as the wealthiest of all the colonists (Leonard, 1918, p. 24).

O'Donovan's (1908) account of John Carroll in the Catholic Encyclopedia stated that he was born at Upper Marlboro, Maryland, on January 8, 1735, joined the Society of Jesus in 1753, and was ordained a priest in 1769. When Pope Clement XIV issued the Bull suppressing and dissolving the Society of Jesus in 1773, all Jesuits in the American colony were placed directly under Vicar Apostolic Challoner's authority as secular priests. O'Donovan related how John Carroll returned (26 June) to Maryland where he lived in his mother's home. At that time there were no public Catholic churches in Maryland because of laws that discriminated against Catholics, so Father Carroll began clandestine missionary work in Maryland and Virginia.

In the meantime, "relations between England and America were steadily deteriorating and most Catholics apparently shared the outrage of their countrymen at Parliament's new taxes and tightened colonial administration" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 528). Catholics were actively involved in the politicization process leading to American independence because they had every reason to expect that in an independent America no one church could exercise dominance over the others.

Organizing an American Church. On June 27, 1783, Carroll and 25 other ex-Jesuit priests met at Whitemarsh, MD, for a series of meetings. The group was concerned about the hostility against the Society of Jesus still entertained in the Vatican and the kind of sentiments the appointment of an ordinary bishop by Rome could cause in the new republic. These Irish men were also cognizant that Rome was considering appending Maryland to either the Diocese of Québec in French Canada or the Diocese of Florida under the jurisdiction of a Spanish prelate. The group organized into a "Select Body of Clergy" and adopted a constitution regulating their affairs (p. 529). English jurisdiction over America was terminated, and as a result, the group refused to accept assignments by Father Lewis, then Superior of the Jesuits in Maryland and Vicar-General of the Vicar Apostolic of London (or the Western District). In their deliberation, they focused on effective ways and means of carrying out missionary work in the emerging nation, strategies that would enable clerics to keep their property intact, and the formulation of regulations that would bind clergy in Maryland (Herbermann, 1907). The urgency of persons with ecclesiastical authority to confer the sacrament of confirmation, bless oils, and grant faculties and dispensations was perceived as paramount in importance at this time. However, in the mind of the Maryland Presbyterate, it was not the opportune time to have a bishop, so the group proposed that the duties ordinarily performed by a bishop be delegated to a superior elected by majority from among the missionaries.

The deliberations of the Maryland priests were followed by the unanimous selection of Father Carroll as their first Superior for the missions in the 13 United States of America. On June 6, 1784, Pope Pius VI in Rome confirmed the selection of John Carroll Superior of the Missions in North America and invested him with episcopal powers to give confirmation

(O'Donovan, 1908). He was asked to send a report of the State of Catholicity in the United States. His first report indicated there were “about 25,000 Roman Catholics in the United States, 16,000 in Maryland, 7,000 in Pennsylvania, 1,500 in New York, and 200 in Virginia” (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 531). Carroll had no way of knowing what remnants of Catholicity there were beyond the mountains. Obviously the Maryland presbyterate preference was for a democratically elected governance structure. The pre-existing leadership structure of the Jesuit Superior Father John Lewis, who up to this point reported to the Vicar Apostolic in London, was rendered obsolete.

O'Donovan’s (1908) reported that in February 1785 Carroll accepted the Pope's appointment as Prefect Apostolic and took up residence in Baltimore. Republican sentiments ran high; for this reason Catholics in Maryland insisted on de-emphasizing their affiliation to the Vatican. In negotiation with Vatican authorities, Carroll urged that some method of appointing church authorities be adopted by Rome that would not make it appear as if the hierarchy in U.S. received appointments from a foreign power.

O'Donovan (1908) further related that Pope Pius VI elevated Carroll to the rank of Bishop on November 6, 1789. The consecration of Carroll took place in Mr. Weld's chapel at Lulworth Castle, England, August, 15, 1790, at the hand of the Rt. Rev. Charles Walmesley, Senior Vicar Apostolic of England. Bishop Carroll’s appointment did not go without contestation. Quite clearly, it was impossible for Carroll to assert his authority and retain control of “an undisciplined situation where congregations of Roman Catholic ethnic subcultures in America, north and south, were organizing and calling in extern priests from Europe at their own pleasure” (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 531). Carroll’s episcopal status was disputed by Catholics in other parts of the country. The matters had to be resolved in civil

court where Bishop Carroll won the Fromm Case (Shea, 1888, p. 488). In 1798, Judge Addison, President of the Court of Common Pleas of the Fifth Circuit of Pennsylvania, decided that "The Bishop of Baltimore has the sole episcopal authority over the Catholic Church of the United States (p. 450)." In his conclusion of the case Addison stated, "Every Catholic congregation within the United States is subject to his inspection; and without authority from him no Catholic priest can exercise any pastoral function over any congregation within the United States (p. 450)."

In 1808, Ahlstrom (2004) reported a drastically increased Catholic community in the United States, "estimated at 70,000 [congregants] serviced by 70 priests and 80 Roman Catholic churches" (p. 535). In the same year, Carroll was elevated by the Vatican; thus becoming the first American Archbishop (with suffragan sees at New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown) in charge of the United States Catholic Church and the missions in New England. Benedict Flaget, a French Sulpician became Bishop of Bardstown and Jean-Louis Anne Madelain Lefebvre de Cheverus (another Frenchman) became the Ordinary of Boston Diocese. At the time, the New York See was embroiled in turmoil stemming from trusteeism and did not receive a sitting bishop (John Connolly) until 1815.

John Carroll was a compromise candidate, able to navigate within the predominantly Protestant leadership in Maryland. Well known for his Unitarian approach to Christianity, Carroll was an advocate for general and equal toleration of people of other denominations and believed that free circulation to fair argument was the most effectual method to bring all denominations of Christians to a unity of faith. His work on unity was published at Annapolis in 1784, and is the first work written and published by an American Catholic in the United States (O'Donovan, 1908).

Carroll's role in the inception of a Catholic presence in a predominantly Protestant part of America is associated with his proximity to the political institution in Baltimore. In his explanation of Carroll's Unitarianism, O'Donovan (1908) explained how actively Carroll was involved in municipal affairs, especially in establishing Catholic and non-Catholic schools, as President of the Female Humane Charity School of the City of Baltimore, one of three trustees for St. John's College at Annapolis, founder of Georgetown College (1791), head of the Library Company, a pioneer of the Maryland Historical Society, and President of the Trustees of Baltimore College (1803). Carroll presented to Congress the need of a constitutional provision for the protection and maintenance of religious liberty. Thanks is due in part to him for the provision in Article VI, Paragraph 3, of the U.S. Constitution, which declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and the first amendment, passed the same year by the first Congress, that, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" (Pritchett, 1981, p. 122).

French. During the period leading to the era of politicization, the northern territory under French colonial influence was under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Quebec established in 1674. French Catholic presence remained strong in Canada following the ratifications of numbers 25 and 28 of the Quebec Articles of Capitulation signed on September 18, 1759 (A collection of the acts, 1870). Sebestyen (2007) said that fearful of what had occurred to the French Catholics in Acadia after the English had forced the Acadians to relinquish their affiliation to Rome, the Catholic Bishop of Quebec, as part of the terms of surrender, asked the outgoing French Governor to present General Amherst with a list of demands to protect the inhabitants of Quebec. The agreement between Catholics and

the incoming administration stipulated that the Catholic religion would be allowed to continue, the churches throughout New France "would not be damaged, and the religion could continue as an important part of life of the people" (p. 57).

The vast territory of Louisiana located between the Rockies and Appalachian mountains was a source of contention, as the various colonial authorities sought to have greater influence in this area with its large portions of unclaimed land. From the inception of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of New France, the Louisiana territory was considered to be under ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Quebec Diocese, explored and missionized by the French. In the era of politicization, when the scramble for all and pieces of this Louisiana territory began, ecclesiastical authorities in Rome were caught between the fights in America having to discern which colonial principality (French, Spanish, or English) reigned over portions of this highly contested territory. For the Holy See, this meant engaging in negotiation with the reigning colonial principality, working with colonial authorities in-charge, endorsing (appointing) clerics who would serve as prelates, and demarcating ecclesiastical boundaries accordingly.

The claim of the Bishop of Quebec over the Louisiana territory was constrained because of vastness of the region and shortage of personnel. It was practically impossible for priests from the Diocese of Quebec to effectively manage this vast territory. Thus, in greater part, the priests who ministered in the Louisiana mission territory were men and women of the various religious orders: Jesuits, Capuchins, Carmelites, Collects, and Ursulines.

Fortier and McLoughlin (1910) in their historical account on Louisiana stated that as part of the solution to servicing this vast region, the Quebec Diocese on May 16,1722, divided the Province of Louisiana, into three spiritual jurisdictions: the first, comprising all

the land from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Wabash and west of the Mississippi was allocated to the Capuchins, whose superior was to be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec and was to reside in New Orleans; the second extended north from the Wabash and belonged to the Jesuits, whose superior, residing in the Illinois country, was also to be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec in that department; and the third comprised all the country east of the Mississippi from the sea to the Wabash, and was given to the Carmelites, whose superior was also Vicar-General and usually resided at Mobile.

The authority of the Bishop of Quebec over the Louisiana territory was undermined in 1762 by the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau, in which King Louis XV of France secretly ceded Louisiana to King Charles III of Spain. As Fortier and McLoughlin (1910) related, these arrangements contradicted terms of the 1763Treaty of Paris, in which the Territory of New France was ceded by France to England, along with the city of Mobile, and the part of Louisiana on the left bank of the Mississippi River, with the exception of New Orleans and the Island of Orleans.

After Treaty of Fontainebleau was ratified, the region of Louisiana, with a predominantly French population, passed into the hands of the Spanish ecclesiastical and secular authority (Fortier & McLoughlin, 1910). The Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, the Right Rev. James José de Echeverría, assisted by Spanish Capuchin missionaries replaced the French Jesuit. Don Antonio de Ulloa, the man appointed by the authorities in Spain to serve as Governor arrived in New Orleans on March 5, 1766.

Louisiana territory under Spanish ecclesiastical authorities. Brasseaux (1985) wrote that the “Treaty of Paris (1763) provided an 18-month grace period during which Acadians detained in British territory could relocate on French soil” (p. 26). Many of these immigrants

moved to Louisiana, taking their Catholic faith with them. The French Catholics fleeing the English rule, however, were to discover later that their move would entail living side-by-side for the next 20 years with their Spanish co-religionists in a land governed by Spanish political and ecclesiastical authorities.

The Louisiana Purchase under French Napoleon Bonaparte. At the peak of the French Revolution, in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso of October 1, 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte reclaimed from Spain the huge territory in the middle of America which Spain had acquired from France in 1762. First Consul Bonaparte promised his friends, the Spanish authorities, that there would never be a reason for Louisiana to be given over to a third power (Fleming, 2003). The return of Louisiana to the French was to be effected after France met certain conditions and stipulations and, for this reason, the Holy See deferred the re-demarcation and appointment of a French bishop for the region.

According to Points (1911), while Spain was preparing to evacuate after the actual transfer of the province, Napoleon Bonaparte sold Louisiana to the United States for 15 million dollars. A general state of confusion resulted, as De Laussat, the French Commissioner, who had just arrived in New Orleans on March 26, 1803, to take possession of the province in the name of France, came to terms with the state of affairs. His role then was to formally surrender the colony to the United States commissioners, which he graciously did on April 20, 1803.

Louisiana territory under the English ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Very Rev. Thomas Hasset, representative of the outgoing Spanish ecclesiastical administration met with the Spanish clergy serving in the diocese to ascertain whether they preferred to remain in Louisiana and to prepare an inventory of the vestments, and other articles in each parish

church which had been given by the Spanish Government (Points, 1911). Father Hasset wrote to Bishop Carroll on December 23, 1803, "saying that the retrocession of the province to the United States of America impelled him to present, for Carroll's consideration, the present ecclesiastical State of Louisiana, not doubting that it would soon fall under his jurisdiction" (p. 10). The ceded province consisted of 21 parishes, some of which were vacant. Hasset wrote, "Of twenty-six priests in the province only four had agreed to continue their respective stations under the French Government; and whether any more would remain under that of the United States only God knew" (p. 10).

To ensure that the Ursuline Catholic presence was not compromised by the incoming American authorities, the community of the Ursulines on March 21, 1804, addressed a letter to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, in which the nuns solicited the "passage of an act of Congress guaranteeing that their property and rights" would be preserved by the incoming administration (Points, 1911, p. 10). President Jefferson complied with their request. Soon after the 1803 sale, the Vatican asked Bishop Carroll to initiate the process that would lead to the reconstitution of Spanish Louisiana as an American ecclesiastical province. Points stated,

> The Holy See placed the Province of Louisiana under Bishop Carroll, who was directed to immediately send to the New Orleans Diocese either Rev. Charles Nerinckx, or a priest administrator invested with the rights of an ordinary to serve as caretaker of the diocese pending further instructions from the Propaganda, the administrative arm of the Church in Rome with jurisdiction over missionary territories. (p. 10)

In 1806, a decree of the Propaganda confided Louisiana to the care of Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, assigning to him the role of Administrator Apostolic. Carroll appointed Rev.

John Olivier Vicar-General of Louisiana and Chaplain of the Ursuline Nuns at New Orleans. "On August 18, 1812, Carroll appointed Rev. Louis V. G. Dubourg Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Two Provinces of Florida" (Points, 1911, p. 11).

New Orleans' trustee problem. While Dubourg was on an 1812 fundraising trip in Rome, the French trustees in charge of New Orleans' Cathedral attempted to obtain a charter through the secular judicial system depriving the bishop of the ownership of the cathedral. "Because of the hostility displayed by the clergy and trustees, Dubourg petitioned the Propaganda after his consecration as Bishop in Rome, to allow him to take up his residence in St. Louis while the issue of New Orleans' Cathedral trusteeism was being resolved" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 533).

Spain. During the period leading to the era of politicization, the southern Spanish colonial territory was under the jurisdiction of the Dioceses of Cuba and Mexico established by Rome in 1518 and 1527 respectively. The Spanish missionaries developed five major mission territories on the North American frontiers, and worked to convert the Indians to Christianity. Carey in 2004 wrote that though the duration of these Indian missions varied from territory to territory, they all passed through three similar phases of historical development: "establishment and organization, a golden age of success and prosperity and, because of various internal and external problems, a period of decline and ruin from which they never rebounded, even though some Spanish Catholic influence lingered on in these territories" (p. 3). "The Florida missions lasted 198 years (1565-1763), in New Mexico 230 years (1598-1680; 1692-1840), in Texas 134 years (1659-1793), in Arizona 142 years (1700-1842), and in California 65 years (1769-1834)" (p. 3).

Louisiana territory and the Floridas under Spanish authorities in Havana. By virtue of the 1762 Treaty of Fontainebleau, in which King Louis XV of France secretly ceded Louisiana to King Charles III of Spain, the Louisiana territory was under Spanish ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Fortier & McLoughlin, 1910). In 1787, The Spanish Crown with due consultation with the Holy See divided the Diocese of Santiago de Cuba, creating the dioceses of St. Christopher of Havana, Louisiana, and the Floridas under the leadership of Spanish prelates; the Right Rev. Joseph de Trespalacios of Porto Rico as Bishop, and the Right Rev. Cirilo de Barcelona as Auxiliary, with a special assignment to oversee Louisiana and the two Floridas (Points, 1911). Louisiana, which started out as a territory under French ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was for a period of time under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Diocese of Havana.

Louisiana territory and the Floridas become a separate See. The King of Spain petitioned Pius VI on May 20, 1790, to erect Louisiana and the Floridas into a separate See. Because of the special standing of Spain in the Vatican, the Pope on April 9, 1793, decreed the dismemberment of the Diocese of Havana, Louisiana, leading to the formation of the Provinces of East and West Florida (Points, 1911).

St. Louis of New Orleans becomes a separate See. The 1793 decree that Points (1911) discussed provided for the erection of the See of St. Louis of New Orleans, which was to include all the Louisiana Province and the Provinces of East and West Florida. The King of Spain appointed Luis Peñalvery Cárdenas to serve as the first Bishop of St. Louis of New Orleans. In a report to the King and the Holy See after his arrival as Bishop in a French territory under Spanish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Cárdenas decried the level of religious indifference he found. He lamented how tightly the people clung to their French traditions

and heritage; his assessment of the situation in New Orleans was that the King of Spain possessed “their bodies but not their souls” (p. 9).He declared, “Even the Ursuline nuns, from whom good results were obtained in the education of girls, were so decidedly French in their inclination that they refused to admit Spanish women who wished to become members of their order, and many Ursuline nuns were in tears because they were obliged to read spiritual exercises in Spanish books” (p. 9).

The 1763 Florida dual authority system–An English political system served by Spanish ecclesiastical authorities. As noted in an earlier section, the events leading to the secession of New France were followed by the Spanish in Florida. The Spanish feared that the events following the Seven Years’ War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) might lead to a British assault on Florida. Consequently, Spain chose to leave all of Spanish Florida to Britain in exchange for Manila and Havana. Thus, from 1763 through 1784, Britain occupied St. Augustine. During the British occupation, the Spanish fortress, Castillo de San Marcos, was renamed Fort St. Mark. For a period of time, Florida remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Spanish bishops despite being under English political control.

1783 British brief return of Florida to Spain before the final exit. St. Augustine was returned to Spain by the Treaty of Peace of 1783, and the fort was again named the Castillo de San Marcos. The King of Spain made efforts to provide for the future of Catholicism in that ancient province; however, during this era, Spain continued to lose control of many of its colonial possessions and, in 1819, Florida was permanently ceded to the United States (Lemmon, 1992). When Florida became a U.S. territory in 1821, the Castillo de San Marcos became Fort Marion, named after Francis Marion, a Revolutionary War hero.

Bishop Dubourg's area of ecclesiastical jurisdiction then extended from Louisiana to all of the Florida territory, which had previously been under Spanish jurisdiction. At the prompting of the bishops of the United States, "the Dioceses of Louisiana and the Floridas were divided, establishing a See at New Orleans embracing Lower Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida" (Points, 1911, p. 11). From this time onward, the United States Catholic Church was responsible for establishing the institutional church in those areas. They erected dioceses and sent bishops to Galveston in 1842, Santa Fe and Monterey in 1850, St. Augustine in 1857, and Tucson in 1868 (Carey, 2004).

Synthesis

This section dealt with the era of politicization (1763 -1820). At the beginning of this era, the Spanish, French, and English collided in their efforts to gain authority over various parts of the American territory. Political and religious jurisdiction moved from one cultural group to another in an era characterized by a state of war and confusion. At the end of the first phase of politicization, the English colonists prevailed over the French and Spanish. During the second phase of this period the English colonists rebelled and declared their independence from England. The term politicization is most appropriate because at the end of this period, the political values of the English colonists prevailed over the values of the French and Spanish subcultures.

The emergence of the cross-Atlantic trade contributed directly to the growth of western Europe through the economic effects of trade, but also indirectly by inducing fundamental institutional change. Cross-Atlantic trade in British colonial territories altered the balance of political power by enriching and strengthening commercial interests outside of the royal circle, including various overseas merchants, slave traders, and various colonial

planters. Trade led to the emergence of political institutions that protected merchants against royal power (Acemoglu, Johnson, & Robinson, 2005).

In an era when British imperial authorities tried to preserve the status quo, revolt was inevitable, as dissatisfied subjects created a new economic and political order. The American Revolution was, therefore, a time of politicization and assertion of citizenship rights by English colonial subjects seeking to dominate America and secede from the British royal authorities. The political process adopted after the revolution was oligarchical; it exploited the dissatisfaction of the masses against the royal authorities only to create a new elite authoritative structure dominated by English politicians and Irish ecclesiastics in the United States.

The English Catholics strategically poised on the eastern seaboard, intent on minimizing any simulation of external imperial and ecclesiastical interference in the affairs of the new American republic, de-emphasized their affiliation to Rome. Through a process of a democratic election, they appointed their first Bishop, John Carroll (with ecclesiastical authority over the 13 colonies); in 1789, Pope Pius VI endorsed Carroll's appointment. That the era of politicization had given English republicans advantage over other cultural groups accelerated Carroll's ascent to the leadership of American Catholicism. English dominance of America also meant that American Catholicism and governance therein had, to a large extent, conformed to the English Catholic Church centered in Maryland. Rome, cognizant of the sensitive political situation in the new republic, sought to facilitate the well-being of the emerging Catholic community in Maryland. Figure 22 illustrates the political relationships between Rome and American colonies in the era of politicization

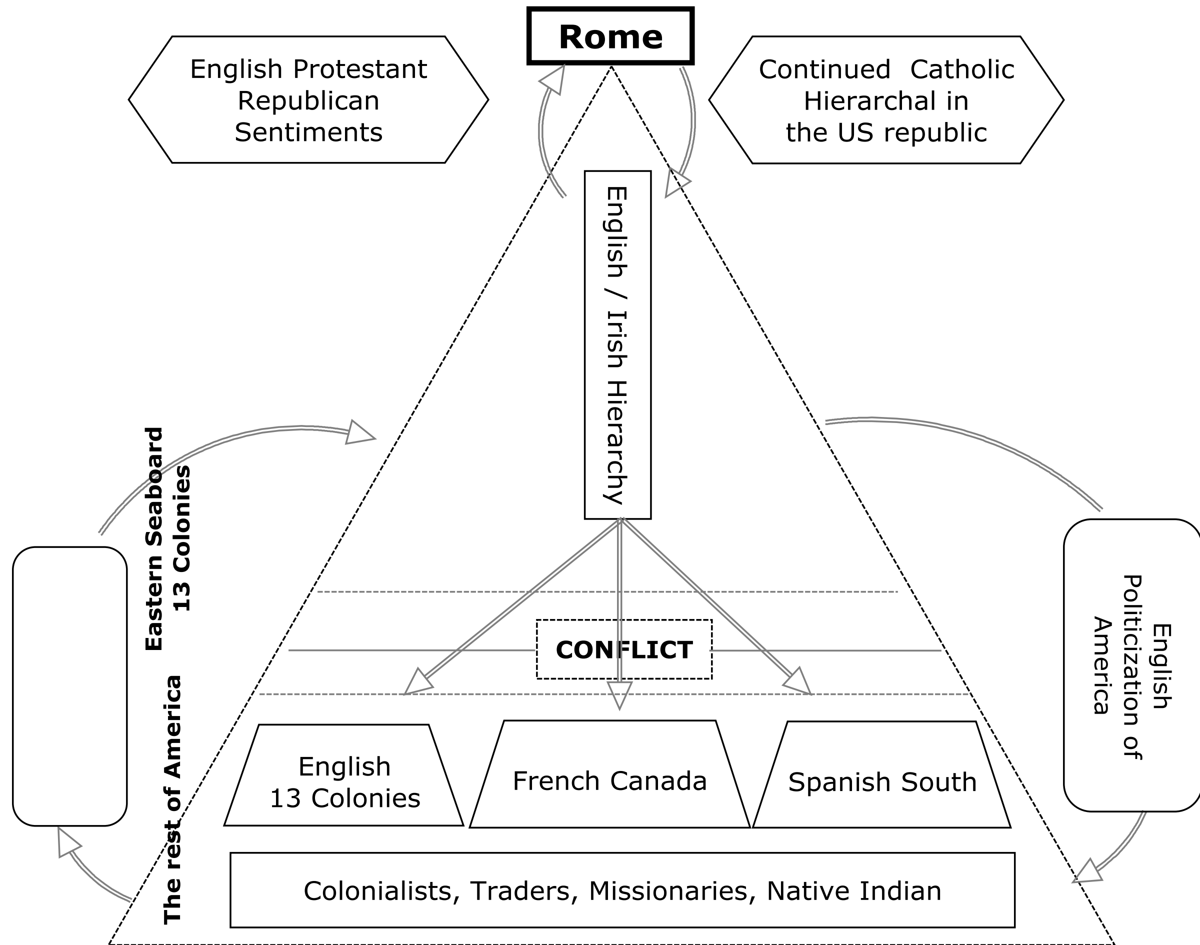


Figure 22. Era of politicization - English dominance in America.

The relationship between the church and the republican Catholics was negotiated. The democratic process to elect John Carroll, an Irishman, as the first American Bishop was conducted as though not from Rome, a *foreign* European power dreaded in Protestant America. The Irish Catholics subtly created a singular pathway to Rome and instituted themselves as official beholders of the Catholic hierarchical structure in the United States, a gesture that generated legal disputes from other Catholic constituencies in the U.S. That English was the language of the republic and of the Irish gave the Irish Catholics an added sense of entitlement to the face and voice of Catholicism in Protestant America.

Chapter 4: Immigration Period 1820-1920

This study examined the European immigration of the latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. In 1785, Bishop Carroll's report to Rome estimated the total population of white (English) Catholics in the United States to be about 23,000, or considerably less than one percent of the total population to whom 34 priests ministered. At the beginning of the Immigration era (1820), that number had risen to about 100,000, and over the next 100 years (1820-1920), the Catholic population in America grew to an estimated at 20 million, or about 20% of the total American population, elevating Catholicism to the largest Western religion in the country (Sinclair, 1999). In 1920, the number of priests had grown to 21,643.

During this era, a rapid influx of European immigrants from Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Poland, Austria-Hungary, and German territories with a strong Catholic presence settled in the United States. French-Canadian and Mexican Catholics migrated into America in large numbers, adding to the remnants of the French and Spanish Catholic presence of the Colonial era. Table 3 lists the countries that produced most of the Catholic immigrants; 95% of the entire immigrant population from Belgium was Catholic, whereas only 20% of the entire population of immigrants from Canada was Catholic. Notably, the Irish, Germans, Italians, and Austria-Hungarians each accounted for over four million Catholic immigrants (Shaughnessy, 1925; Portier & Killen, 2011).

Table 3

Percentage of Catholic Immigrants by Country (1820-1920).

Country	Average % of Catholics	Totals from country of origin (1820-1920)
Belgium	95	137,542
France	90	532,765
Italy	90	4,196,880
Spain	90	137,907
Portugal	90	222,721
Mexico	90	296,649
Ireland	82	4,358,106
Poland	75	165,182
Austria-Hungary	67	4,068,803
Germany	35	4,250,499
Canada	20	81,000
Others		1,377,496
Total (in 1920)		19,825,550

Source: (Shaughnessy, p.244)

During the immigration era (1820 -1920), Catholicism thrived, fueled by the influx of Europeans. Parishes, dioceses, and archdioceses (provinces) were created, and clerics (priests, bishops, and archbishops) were appointed to head them. At the close of this era (1920) 96 dioceses were divided into 14 ecclesiastical provinces: Baltimore, Oregon, Saint Louis, New Orleans, New York, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Santa Fe, Chicago, St. Paul, and Dubuque (Corrigan, 1916).

Organizational Culture

Concepts from cultural sociology guided the investigation about how the various immigrant subcultures became assimilated into the American Catholic environment.

Questions about the nature and behaviors of subcultures led to six categories as a framework for the study: (a) demographics, (b) tasks, (c) ideology, (d) cultural values, (e) education structure, and (f) ecclesiastical leadership. Research using this outline yielded a comprehensive picture of specific subcultures, including their origins, immigration and settlement patterns; work; values and beliefs enacted and expressed in symbols, heroes, and heroines, ceremonies, sacred space and activities; ideologies, beliefs, assumptions, and traditions; how cultural ideologies were taught and perpetuated; and, the nature and type of ecclesiastical governance among them. Special emphasis was placed on the relationship of the dominant subcultures (Irish, German, French, Polish, and Italian) to the centralized governance in the Vatican and the emerging ecclesiastical hierarchy in United States.

Irish Immigration

Demographics.

Origins and sagas. Cecil Woodham-Smith's (1962) historical account of *The Great Hunger* gave an elaborate account of the immigration to America of more than four million Irish in the century after 1820. Life on the Emerald Isle had become unendurable as population pressure increased. Food was scarce, agricultural methods backward, prices and wages disastrously low, taxation heavy, and government by absentee English landlords unbelievably ruthless and intolerant. "During the 1830s, over 200,000 Irish arrived in the United States." The quality of life in Ireland continued to deteriorate after 1845; "a succession of cold, damp summers and a mysterious blight ruined the potato crop on which life itself depended and, as a result, about 1.5 million people died" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 541). Fleeing from the Great Irish Famine of 1845-1852, about a million Irish emigrated to the

U.S. and Canada from the provinces of Muster, Connaught, Ulster, and Leinster in Ireland (Shaughnessy, 1925). Table 4 shows the origin and the primary circumstance contributing to the great numbers of Irish immigrants.

Table 4

Summary on Irish Origins and Sagas.

Origins	Ireland
Sagas	The potato famine in Ireland

Immigration patterns. The impressive immigration movement steadily expanded the Irish-born population of the United States until it peaked at 1.8 million in 1890. According to Shaughnessy (1925), an average of 82% of the total immigrants of Irish descent was Catholic. As shown in Table 5, it is estimated that between 1820 and 1920 more than 3.5 million (3,583,049) Irish Catholics settled in the United States. Together, the Irish born in United States between 1820 and 1920, converts to Catholicism, and Irish who were added to the United States territories in its westward expansion brought the total number of American Irish to about four million people. Although Irish-born Americans declined by almost 45 % in the three decades after 1890 to slightly more than one million by the end of the period, the population of second generation Irish exceeded 3.3 million by 1900 and remained above three million until the 1920s.

Table 5

Catholic Irish Immigrants (1820-1920).

Period	Irish Immigration	Catholics
1820-1830	50,724	41,594
1831-1840	207,381	170,052
1841-1850	780,719	640,190
1851-1860	914,119	749,578
1861-1870	435,778	357,338
1871-1880	436,871	358,234
1881-1890	655,482	537,495
1891-1900	403,496	330,867
1901-1910	339,065	278,033
1911-1920	145,937	119,668
Total	4,369,572	3,583,049

Source: (Shaughnessy, 1925)

From the time they left the homeland, during the course of the transatlantic voyage and finally arrived in America, Irish immigrants were helped by kinship networks, which had emerged to facilitate the smooth transition of the sojourner into the new world. "Most of the emigrants shared surnames with fellow passengers" or "traveled with individuals from the same place," which suggests that the majority of immigrant groups consisted of the blood relatives (Bli, 1980, p. 532). The most important function of such networks, as Bli (1980) related, "was the provision of money to pay fares as relatives in Ireland "pooled resources to send out younger and more energetic family members," who after settling in America, "then earned and remitted sufficient funds to pay the fares of those who remained behind" (p. 532). Immigrants arrived in phases; usually the husband or oldest son joined friends or relatives and sent funds home for other family members to make the journey.

Once in America, Irish immigrant families from neighboring areas in Ireland tended to cluster in areas where distinct Irish parishes and neighborhoods were already in existence. Some new arrivals in New York were lucky enough to find *cultural brokers,* Irish grocers and saloonkeepers who extended credit and gave advice that kept them from the grasp of notorious Irish *runners* (Bli, 1980). Preying on newcomers, runners met "the 30 to 40 immigrant ships that arrived every day… seized the luggage and rushed the newcomers to run-down, Irish-owned boarding houses." "What little money the new arrivals had was soon spent on lodging, drink, and counterfeit railway tickets to the interior. Penniless, the immigrants were left on their own" (McCaffrey, 1985, p. 79).

Besides the cultural brokers, immigrants were assisted by fraternal, charitable, and religious organizations. "By publicizing meetings and social events, the immigrant press made newcomers aware of secondary social agencies in the neighborhood and also helped maintain ties with the homeland by providing extensive news of Ireland" (Bli, 1980, p. 532).

Table 6

Summary of Irish Immigration Patterns.

Statistics	4 million
Peak	1851-1860
	Networks
	Brokers
	Clusters

Settlement patterns. The Irish became the most urbanized group in America, as few became farmers. Irish immigrants of this period largely favored the rapidly growing large cities throughout the North, particularly railroad centers and mill towns. While the majority of Irish immigrants remained in the Northeast, generally after spending some time in eastern

cities, a significant proportion continued inland; some went on to the Pacific Coast states. The westward Irish constituency consisted mainly of the young, skilled, literate, and generally more resourceful newcomers. By 1880, more than a third of the Irish-born in the United States resided in areas other than the East Coast. The ten most popular urban cities for the Irish immigrant and the population of Irish therein are shown in Table 7. (Bli, 1980).

Table 7

Irish Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1860-1920).

City	1860	1890	1900	1920
New York	260,450	75,156	75,102	20,345
Philadelphia	95,548	10,935	98,427	64,590
Boston	45,991	71,441	70,147	57,011
Chicago	19,889	70,028	73,912	56,786
San Francisco	9,363	30,718	15,963	18,257
Pittsburgh	9,297	26,643	23,690	13,989
St. Louis	29,926	24,270	19,421	92,440
Jersey City	7,380	22,159	19,314	12,451
Providence	9,534	19,040	18,686	11,900
Cleveland	5,479	13,512	13,120	94,780
Total	92,857	33,215	27,782	442,549

Source: (Bli, 1980, p. 533)

Figure 23 shows the trails leading to populous areas settled by Irish immigrants.

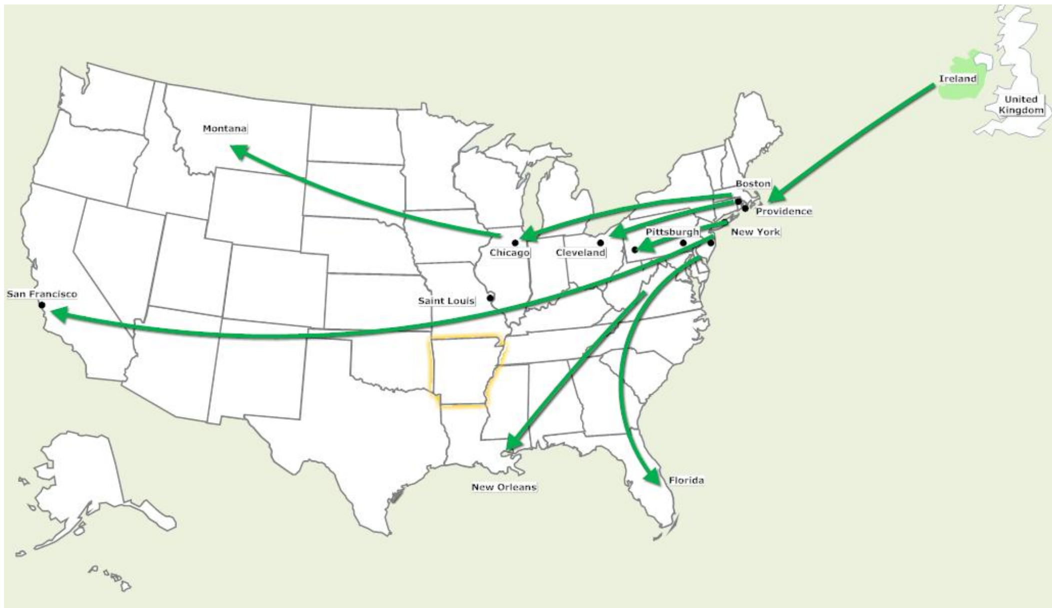


Figure 23. Trails of Irish settlements.

Religious denominations. At the beginning of the immigration period, Catholics were still a minority. Due to the shortage of priests, ecclesiastical authorities were unable to provide sacramental services to the immigrants. Thus, Irish immigrants solicited missionary priests (Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Capuchins) from their home country. Until the 1880s, the Catholic parish was primarily a religious institution. Things began to change as the city expanded and immigrant neighborhoods developed. "The parish was transformed into a community institution" with numerous societies specifically designed to attend to the social, recreational, charitable, and educational needs of the Irish immigrants (Dolan, 2010, p. 112).

Priests. According to Dolan (2010), on average more than one third of the clergy in the United States were of Irish descent. In 1870, the number of priests of Irish descent approximated 1,134; in 1920 this number had risen to 6,306. Accounting for these numbers is the high enrollment of Irish in United States' seminaries where "80 % of the priests ordained

between 1875 and 1924" were of Irish descent (p. 108). In addition, "seminaries in Ireland continued to send priests to the United States; 1,200 arriving in the time period between 1900 and 1949" (p. 231). Table 8 shows a detail of numbers of Irish priests by decade. Table 9 summarizes information from the Irish demographics section.

Table 8

Total Priests of Irish Descent by Decade.

Year	Priests of Irish descent
1870	1134
1880	1800
1890	2750
1900	3596
1910	4965
1920	6306

Table 9

Summary of Irish Demographics.

Parish	Maryland 1734
Settlement	90% urban
Missionary	Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Capuchins
Priests	30%

Tasks. Over a period of time, groups of people acquire skills for various jobs and engage in activities to survive and persist in specific types of environments. Irish immigrants situated on the east coast "provided the nation's rapidly expanding urban areas with an army of unskilled laborers and much of the leadership of the Catholic Church, big-city politics, and

the labor unions" (Bli, 1980, p. 524). Bli stated that in 1850, an average of 8% of Irishmen (14 % in San Francisco, 12 % in Los Angeles and 6 % in Boston) held white-collar positions as clerks, clergymen, politicians, labor union officials, or school teachers. In the category of skilled labor were artisans such as carpenters or blacksmiths. Semiskilled newcomers were generally employed as bartenders, porters, soldiers, or proprietors who usually dealt in liquor or owned a boarding house.

Agricultural tasks. Irish immigrants shunned the countryside. Based on McCaffrey's (1985) findings "the vast majority had been also been ignorant farmers" working under "the oppressive Anglo-Irish landlord system in Ireland" which "had robbed them of ability and ambition" (p. 78). Psychologically, too, the American farm was uninviting. "If I had [in Ireland] but a sore head I could have a neighbor within every hundred yards of me that would run to see me," one Irishman reflected in a letter home from rural Missouri. "But here everyone gets so much land, and generally has so much, that they calls them neighbors that live two or three miles off" (p. 78).

Bishop J. L. Spalding (1880) estimated that "only 8 in 100 of the Irish emigrating to the United States have been employed in agricultural pursuits, a percentage smaller than that of the emigrants from any other country, the remaining ninety-two going to make up the tenement-house population in the larger cities" (p. 113). He asserted further that "the agricultural settlers became more by accident than from choice, following the lines of the railroads or the canals on which they labored, saving their wages and buying lands" (p. 166).

The tendency of the Catholic Irish to congregate in large cities was attended by consequences so injurious, both morally and materially, to the well-being of the immigrants that, as Condon, Devine, O'Connor, Atteridge, & Meehan (1910) reported, efforts were made

at times to withdraw them from the large cities in which they arrived and to re-settle them on the land. Condon, et al, in their account on the Irish, highlighted what various American bishops did to help the Irish immigrant relocate in rural America. Bishop Fenwick of Boston planted a colony in Maine, and Bishop Reynolds of Charleston, S. C., diverted some of the immigrants from Liverpool to his diocese. About 1848-1850, two French bishops, Mathias Loras of Dubuque and Joseph Cretin of St. Paul, induced and helped many of the Irish to settle in the States of Iowa and Minnesota and, in 1850, Bishop Andrew Byrne of Little Rock welcomed a colony of Irish Catholics brought from Ireland by Father Hoar of Wexford. Of this group, only a small number remained in Arkansas, the rest moved to Iowa, where they established a colony known as New Ireland (Condon et al., 1910). In Upstate New York, the Great Lakes area, the Midwest, and the Far West, some Irish immigrants became farmers or ranchers by joining Catholic or Irish colonization projects organized in the second half of the 19th century (Bovée, 2010).

Urban task (non-agricultural tasks). The vast majority (92%) of Irish immigrants settled in urban centers where they engaged in various jobs and tasks offered by the manufacturing, construction, mining, service, and other sectors. Bli, (1980) estimated that in 1850 "almost 4 of 5 newcomers settled in the more urbanized East coast states" (p. 532). Large numbers of the Irish sought work in New England mill towns such as Holyoke, Lowell, Worcester, and other towns in Massachusetts, where the more endowed Protestant owners of textile mills and other commercial enterprises welcomed the new low-wage workers. Irish "worked at laying sewer lines, digging foundations for new buildings, paving streets with cobblestones, or loading and unloading cargo from the many ships docked along the city's wharves" (Dolan, 2010, pp. 39-40). The large Erie Canal project was one example

where Irishmen constituted the bulk of the labor force. Irish men mined coal in Pennsylvania, gold in California, and copper in Montana.

In the service sector, A large fraction of Irish Catholic women took jobs as maids in middle-class households and hotels, and the remainder worked in mills and factories, often replacing black women.. Physical challenge and economic security drew the Irish into the armed services, big-city police, and fire departments. As early as 1854, “an estimated 98 of the 150 police officers in New Orleans' First District were born in Ireland” (McCaffrey, 1985, p. 82).

Irish immigrants were at the bottom of the social scale in the 1820s. The newcomers sought back-breaking and low-paying entry jobs in America’s new city slums. Resigned to whatever employment opportunities available, many worked in conditions disruptive to family life. The obstacles were not only hard work, poverty, and miserable living conditions, but also the contumely, “discrimination and prejudice” and insulting condescension of their Protestant and Anglo-Saxon employers who depicted the Irish “with such terms as savage, bestial, and simian” (Dolan, 2010, p. 54). By 1900, their situation had drastically improved; the majority had good jobs with earnings about equal the average wages of their neighbors. They were heavily concentrated in the building occupations and dominated plumbing and plastering trades. The Civil Service, especially the U.S. Post Office, became an Irish redoubt. Irish men, “along with Jews, claimed a leadership role in the trade-union movement, and union jobs were typically passed from father to son” (McCaffrey, 1985, p. 83). By 1920, the occupational distribution of Irish-born males reflected the diverse development of industrial America. A summary of the ranks and types of employment for Irish immigrants is shown in

Table 10. After 1945, the Catholic Irish consistently ranked toward the top of the social hierarchy, credited especially to their high rate of college attendance.

Table 10

Summary of Tasks for the Irish.

Ranks	Professional		8%	Clerical, political & union leaders
	Skilled		12%	Trades
	Unskilled		80%	
Types	Agriculture		10%	Farming , ranches,
	Other	Factory		Mills, textile
		Construction		Canal, rail, Sewer,
		Mining		Coal, gold, copper
		Services		Households, hotels, post office, law enforcement
		Craft / trades		Carpentry
		Other		Lumber, plumber, plaster

Cultural values (Irish ethno-Catholicism).

Heroes and saints. Saint Patrick (AD 387-493) is considered the Patron Saint of Ireland, who after being prompted in a dream, "we beseech thee, holy youth to come and walk among us once more," brought Christianity to the Irish (Walsh, 1991, p. 83). According to legend, Saint Patrick used a shamrock to explain about God. The shamrock, which looks like clover, has three leaves on each stem. Saint Patrick told the people that the shamrock was like the idea of the Trinity–that in the one God there are three divine beings: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The shamrock was sacred to the Druids, so Saint Patrick's use of it in explaining the Trinity appealed to converts to Christianity. The shamrock has always been the most common and popular Irish artifact in the United States. St Patrick's feast day is celebrated each year on March 17th and is both a Holy Day and a national holiday in Ireland.

In Irish enclaves in the U.S., St. Patrick's Day celebrations were marked by religious and secular festivities. Archbishop of New York John Hughes presided over St. Patrick's Day religious ceremonies in 1853. "His homily was an oration on the significance of the occasion before a crowd of worshipers at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York" (Moss, 1995, p. 125). Hughes dwelt on Saint Patrick's success in converting "a pagan into a Christian nation," which in his view "had zealously maintained and propagated Catholic doctrines since, despite extraordinary misery and oppression" (p. 125).

"Turning to the condition of the Irish immigrant community in America, Archbishop Hughes sought spiritual value in the immigrants' famine-induced emigration from Catholic Ireland" as Moss (1995) related:

But the very misfortunes of a temporal kind that have fallen on Ireland have sent forth the children of that unhappy land to every clime and to every latitude, from the north to the south pole; and wherever they are found ... not only do they cherish fond memory for the apostle of their native land, but they propagate it, and make the infection as if it were contagious, so that those who would not otherwise have had any knowledge of St. Patrick become thus desirous to enter into those feelings, and to join in celebrating the anniversary festival of the apostle of Ireland (p. 125).

On that special day, religious services were followed by a St. Patrick's Day parade in which groups of military and civic societies participated, accompanied by spectators, who were representative of the complex Irish social structure. Participants paraded from East Broadway, through Central Park, and down to Canal Street. Patriotic speeches highlighted the valor of past and fallen Irish heroes against all foes, including the English foul, and concluded by praising the United States and vowing the loyalty of the Irish-American

militias to the “starry flag of liberation”. In the evening, a number of fraternal organizations and eating clubs held their annual dinners in honor of the day (Moss, 1995, p. 125).

Rituals and ceremonies. Rituals popular among Irish immigrants included the Irish (Celtic) Blessing, the Irish meal (consisting of corned beef, cabbage, and potatoes), and the ‘Mass rock.’ Irish tradition of the Mass rock and Station Mass celebrated in Irish homes re-enacting 18th century events when the Penal Law against Irish Catholics was passed in Ireland (Nolan, 1983, p. 425). The Catholic Church was oppressed and public ceremonies involving Catholic clergy were banned. Many Catholic churches were either destroyed or put to use by the Protestant Church during the period following the Battle of the Boyne (1690). Catholics gathered in the open countryside at a designated spot marked by a rock to celebrate Mass. The priest or “bishop of the diocese often came stealing along the sea edge in a small boat and entered the cave. On a rocky ledge at the foot of the pit he said Mass for his flock, who knelt on the grass in the sunlight above, guarded by sentinels and guided by the soft sound of the bell that told of the progress of the Holy Sacrifice” (Lockington, 1922, p. 48). In the course of the celebration the assigned persons on guard kept a look-out from strategic points in the landscape to ensure that the congregation was kept safe from an assault from the English Protestant establishment.

Endogamy. Marriages, which also served as a rite of passage into adulthood, played an important role in preserving the Irish diaspora mentality. “Boston had highest rate of Irish in-group marriage among all other groups in the city” and “records of Catholic marriages among the Irish living in Los Angeles between 1850 and 1870 show that Irish men made a real effort to marry Irish women” (Bli, 1980, p. 534). In Wisconsin in 1880, “newcomers from Ireland were among the three foreign-born groups most likely to choose spouses of the

same national background" (p. 534). Liberal Irish, especially those in the upper strata of society, had a tendency to engage in exogamy. Towards the end of the immigration era, the Irish like others in Catholic subcultures moved toward cultural integration and were less inclined towards endogamy. Endogamy among the Irish therefore dropped sharply in the four decades after 1880. By 1920, "only 73 % of Irish-born men in the United States were married to Irish-born women" (p. 535).

Sacred space. The introduction of the concept of national parishes and ethnic churches in the United States was in response to a religious crisis in American Catholicism caused by irreconcilable religious biases among the divergent ethnic communities. Each Catholic subculture sought to establish churches (sacred space) where members could exercise cherished religious traditions without undue restriction or interference. "A national parish is a parish established to serve a particular ethnic group; it has no strict boundaries" (Burns , 1994, p. 397). In the United States, national parishes were established to meet the devotional needs of immigrants who sought to participate in the liturgical ceremonies of the church but were constrained by their inability to use the English language which, after the United States acquired independence, was considered to be the official language in the new republic. Regarding sacred space, two monuments of cultural significance deserve mention: Baltimore Cathedral and St. Patrick's Cathedral New York.

The Baltimore Cathedral. John Carroll, an Irishman, was the first American Archbishop. In 1806 as Archbishop, Carroll blessed the Cornerstone of the monumental Baltimore Cathedral and Basilica of the Assumption, also known as the 'Mother Church of Roman Catholicism in the United States.' The Basilica, constructed by and for the Irish subgroup, was the first metropolitan cathedral in the United States. It was designed by

Benjamin Henry Latrobe (architect of the U.S. Capital), and dedicated by Archbishop Ambrose Marechal in 1821 (Williams, 1997, p. 61).

St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York. Saint Patrick's Cathedral (1853-79) was the creation of two men: Archbishop Dagger John Hughes (another Irishman), who actively organized and armed his Irish followers against the threat of nativist violence, and James Renwick, Jr., the Episcopalian architect of great reputation and imagination. Hughes "chose a location on the outskirts of the city where, in an open field in the summer of 1858, surrounded by a crowd of more than 100,000 cheering Catholics, mostly Irish, he laid the cornerstone of St. Patrick's Cathedral" (Dolan, 2010, p. 111).

Hughes wanted, in his own words, "To erect a Cathedral in the City of New York that may be worthy of our increasing numbers, intelligence, and wealth as a religious community, as a public architectural monument, of the present and prospective crowns of this metropolis of the American continent." The result, expressed grandly in white marble was unlike anything the city had yet witnessed (Williams, 1997, p. 69).

Of the 5,416 territorial parish churches that existed in the United States in 1916, 3,355 were presumably Irish; these English-language churches, although considered open to Catholics emanating from the various subcultures, were predominantly Irish in constitution. In New York, "the Rome of American Catholicism, 23 of the city's 32 parishes were Irish by 1865" (Dolan, 2010, p. 108). Boston Catholicism was even more Irish, with over 90 % of the parishes in the diocese having an Irish clientele. Chicago Catholicism was not much different. Of all the parishes in the U.S. established between 1833 and 1915, almost half (89 of 202) were Irish (p. 108).

In principle, wherever Irish parishes existed, they remained territorial parishes and,

therefore, legally open to Catholics of other ethnic backgrounds. Thus, reports on ethnic (national) churches, do not list a category for the Irish subculture. Table 11 shows ethnic churches and members in five subcultures with the highest numbers. At least 12 more European cultures built national churches in the U.S. that offered some ethnic-language services in addition to services in English. A complete list is shown in Appendix C.

Table 11

National (ethnic) Churches

	Alone		With English		Total	
Language	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership
German	206	191,347	1,684	1,481,343	1,890	1,672,690
Italian	149	420,511	327	1,095,307	476	1,515,818
Polish	466	1,165,064	269	260,129	735	1,425,193
French	200	478,255	499	548,711	699	1,026,966
Spanish	530	378,748	311	273,496	841	652,244

Source: Shaughnessy, 1925 p. 218.

Ethnic Churches and Membership Using Foreign Language Alone or With English.

The ecclesiastical authorities of the American Catholic Church, who were predominantly Irish and English-speaking, sought to move other Catholic subcultures towards integration and Americanization, which meant embracing the English language as well. Thus, the Irish were not always supportive of the policy of national parishes.

Table 12

Summary for Irish Cultural Values.

Heroes(saints)		St. Patrick's
Ceremonies		St. Patrick's
Space	Ethnic churches	The Baltimore Cathedral
		St. Patrick's Cathedral New York
		3,355 mixed ethnicity - Irish & non-Irish

Ideology.

Anglophobia. The ideological peculiarities of the Irish Catholics revolve around the immigrants' history of polarization, which can be generally attributed to an historic English Protestant phobia for Irish Catholics' affiliation to Rome and a history of marginalization and oppression by the English before and after the Irish arrived in America.

Irish cultural heritage was rooted in foundational experiences in the homeland of Ireland, the most significant being the potato famine and the struggle of the Irish people to overcome English dominance and prejudice. The Irish were viewed by the English as a "permanently depressed proletariat who perceived themselves as owing allegiance to Rome" (Bli, 1980, p. 541). Thus the term, *fighting Irish,* grew out of the desire for the Irish in the U.S. to actively (and aggressively) engage in tasks to improve the plight of their countrymen and women who, first and foremost, had been compromised by foreign occupation of Ireland, and second, as immigrants, had to work hard to earn a place in America's society.

Diaspora mentality. The enormous amounts of money sent from the United States to Ireland attested to the strength of family relationships; however, the Irish maintained a diaspora mentality. Bli (1980) stated:

> For the last half of the 19th century, remittances–over $8 million in some years–exceeded the amount required to pay all emigrant fares. This massive flow of cash helped ensure the survival of the smallest and most unproductive landholdings in traditional areas of Ireland. The large-scale Irish peasant movement to the New World, therefore, was not a mindless flight from intolerable conditions, but within the limited range of alternatives, a deliberate departure of generally literate individuals who were very much concerned with the survival and well-being of family and friends remaining at home (p. 532).

Irish elitism. Speaking the same language as their English countrymen and living in close proximity to them gave Irish Catholics an advantage over other cultural groups in their adopted country. This proximity and advantage was evident in the Irish dominance of the American Catholic hierarchy. "Irish hegemony in the American Church meant that the Irish brand of Catholicism would become the standard for others to follow" (Dolan, 2010, p. 147). In 1890, when Catholics numbered 7.3 million, most bishops were Irish. In time, bishops from other ethnic backgrounds were included in the American Catholic hierarchy, but the Irish presence in American ecclesiastical ranks remained strong.

The Maryland Irish establishment living close to their Protestant relatives evolved into a love-hate relationship–the love of their special privilege arising from shared space with the English on the eastern seaboard, shared republican sentiments, and language–the hatred

from the deeply engrained distrust that the English held against the Catholics' connection to the papacy.

Irish cultural heritage stemmed from centuries of severe religious oppression, strong tribal or clan loyalty, and relatively little intellectual or cultural background viz-a-viz their Catholicism. Because of this background, the Irish who also dominated American Catholic hierarchy produced a church totally loyal to the teaching authority yet somewhat unimaginative regarding its role in American society (O'Connell, 1991).

Table 13

Summary on Irish Ideology.

Conservative	Anglophobia	Diaspora mentality
	Irish Elitism	Political & linguistic

Education.

Grade school education. In the 1840s, Irish Catholics were under constant threat by legislation that promoted Protestant values in public schools. Archbishop John Hughes of New York began a crusade against the Public School Society of New York. He condemned the Protestant character of existing instruction, particularly their practice of reading the King James Version of the Bible, and also demanded a share of public funds to be allocated to Catholic schools (McCadden, 1964).

For Irish Catholics, the motivation was based largely on memory of British oppression, whereas their antagonists were dominated by the English Protestant historic phobia against papal interference in civil affairs. Because of the vehemence of this quarrel, the New York Legislature passed the Maclay Act in 1842, which "weakened the city's Protestant Public School Society but refused to finance Catholic schools" (Dolan, 2010, p.

49). Hughes responded by building an elaborate parochial school system, which stretched to college level for English-speaking Catholics, setting a policy that was adopted by other Catholic communities in large cities (McCadden, 1966). To reduce the stigma attached to being Irish Catholic, schools worked to build self-worth among Irish students by providing textbooks that told stories about the history and culture of Ireland.

Higher education. Irish Jesuits established a network of colleges in major cities, including Boston College, Fordham in New York, and Georgetown (Schroth, 2008). Boston College was established in 1863 to appeal to urban Irish Catholics. It offered a somewhat limited intellectual curriculum because the Jesuits of the late 19th century were wary of the radically changing world and, thus, limited intellectual study to Thomistic philosophy. In these institutions the pursuit of spiritual and sacramental activities remained strong above intellectual life; thus, Harvard Law School would not admit Boston College graduates to its law school. Fordham (founded in 1841) and other Catholic colleges began to extend their curriculum beyond the traditional offering; a new science building in 1886 lent more legitimacy to the science curriculum there. In addition, a three-year Bachelor of Science degree was created (Gallagher, 2007).

Seminary education.

Location and professoriate. The Diocese of Baltimore under the leadership of Bishop Carroll established the first seminary in America. Carroll solicited the assistance of the members of the Society of Saint Sulpice in France who, at the time, were in the process of fleeing Napoleon’s French Revolution (Eaton, 1982). The Sulpicians were a distinguished French community of priests with missionary zeal, educational talent for diocesan priests, and competent instructors for priests, teachers, and some students; but, most important, they

were endowed with administrative ability to give financial aid to the emerging American Church. In the summer of 1791, Charles Francois Nagot and three other priests of the Society of St. Sulpice, along with five seminarians, all recently arrived from Paris, launched a program of priestly formation at what became known as St. Mary's Seminary for the first American diocese in the United States (White, 1993). This initial group of teachers was joined by nearly a hundred other emigrant priests from France. For nearly two decades, St. Mary's remained the primary seminary of the American Catholic Church, as its graduates assumed many positions of usefulness and prominence.

Students. At the time, local Catholic communities seldom produced seminarians. Student enrollment at St. Mary’s Seminary was low and mixed, as most of the seminarians were immigrants recruited from European seminaries. The majority of immigrants who crossed the Atlantic Ocean did so in pursuit of wealth and freedom from religious persecution. Generally, immigrants were adventurous people less inclined toward church work (Ahlstrom, 2004). In Maryland, the lack of enough ecclesiastical students forced the Sulpicians in charge of St. Mary’s Seminary to receive lay Catholic and Protestant students; consequently, the seminary became a mixed college. French students fleeing the French Revolution were embraced by the predominantly French faculty at St. Mary’s Seminary.

Funding. Funds were scarce; therefore, a crucial first step in founding a seminary was acquiring a grant of funds from a European mission society, which enabled a bishop to either construct or purchase a small church for use as a cathedral along with a residence. Financial constraints forced St. Mary’s Seminary to operate an ecumenical institute to boost student enrollment and provide the needed funding for the seminary formation program for Catholic priests.

Curriculum. The priestly formation programs of this era were flexible, individualized, and allowed for a balanced mix of theory and praxis. For the practical part of their seminary formation, students engaged in pastoral work in local communities, including teaching part time in Catholic schools. The intellectual training of seminarians during this era may have been somewhat deficient, according to the Tridentine norms, but their priestly character was molded by daily intercourse with the self-sacrificing pioneer bishops and priests. The programs conformed to the needs of an emerging church, and the great demand for priests in the new nation dictated that seminarians be educated quickly to serve immigrant flocks. As early as 1813, Bishop John Carroll favored conferring holy orders on "as many as can be trusted to receive them, though they may not have studied all the Treatises of Divinity, provided they know the obvious and general principles of moral Theology…" (White, 2001, p. 26)

Table 14

Summary of Irish Education.

Grade Schools	Private Catholic school system vs. the public system
College	Irish Jesuit Colleges
Seminary	Irish working with French Sulpicians

Ecclesiastical leadership.

Diocesan governance structure. Uncustomary circumstances surrounded the appointment of the first American prelate of Baltimore, Irishman John Carroll. The predominantly Irish Presbyterate in Maryland, cognizant of the republican sentiments at the time, negotiated with Rome for the appointment of the bishop to be conducted through

democratic channels. Ultimately, the appointment was made to seem as though it was not conferred by a foreign authority (Rome). In 1789, Carroll became the first American Bishop with jurisdiction over the colonies on the eastern seaboard. His appointment abrogated the previous ecclesiastical administrative structure that placed Catholics in Maryland under the Vicar Apostolic of the London District in England.

In 1808, the Diocese of Baltimore was raised to the status of an Archdiocese with New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown as suffragans. From these five ecclesiastical jurisdictions, American Catholicism began a westward and southward expansion. By the year 1920, there were a total of 96 dioceses in the U.S. divided into fourteen ecclesiastical provinces: Baltimore, Oregon, Saint Louis, New Orleans, New York, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Santa Fe, Chicago, St. Paul, and Dubuque.

Episcopal representation. From the inception of the Catholic hierarchical structure in American to the year 1920, prelates of Irish descent played a key role in the ecclesiastical affairs, holding 147 (44%) of the 335 episcopal positions assigned, as Table 15 illustrates. During the same period, a total of two American bishops were elevated to the rank of *Prince of the Church* (Cardinals); all were of Irish background.

Table 15

Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of Irish Descent by Decade.

Period	Irish	Total no. of positions
1820 - 1830	10	20
1831 - 1840	3	32
1841 - 1850	15	61
1851 - 1860	13	92
1861 - 1770	14	121
1871 - 1980	16	156
1881 - 1890	23	211
1891 - 1900	25	260
1901 - 1910	19	305
1911 - 1920	9	335
Total	147	

During this era, Irish dominance of the decision and policy-making processes in American Catholicism persisted. At the time of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829), only two of the nine prelates constituting the hierarchy were of Irish birth; at the Third Council (1837), there were four; in 1846, of the 23 dioceses represented in the Sixth Council, ten sent bishops of Irish origin; and in 1852, 15 incumbents of the 27 Sees were Irish. In 1876, the hierarchy of the Church included four archbishops and 28 bishops who were Irish by birth or descent. In 1906, of the 14 provinces constituting the territorial divisions of the Church in the continental United States, nine were governed by archbishops of Irish blood, and 48 bishops of the 78 dioceses in these provinces were Irish. The country had two Irish cardinals: John McCloskey, formerly Archbishop of New York, and James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore (Condon et al., 1910).

Alternative in-group power structure.

Lay trusteeism. Lay trusteeism "had its roots in Carroll's episcopacy but became much more volatile and assertive after his death, becoming the first major internal test of American Catholic identity in the new republic" (Carey, 1993, p. 27). It became known in Catholic circles that America's first bishop had been appointed through a democratic process. At a time when republican sentiments were high, constituent groups within the church were concerned about how they were going to become genuinely American, which meant exercising their democratic rights, and still maintain some degree of continuity with a church grounded in a bureaucratic and hierarchical ecclesiastical governance structure.

The lay trustees were involved in organizing their parish communities, which entailed; (1) the formation of voluntary corporations in accordance with the laws of their respective states, (2) purchase of property, (3) the construction of churches, and (4) securing immigrant priests to minister to them. Tensions arose between bishops who sought to assert control over the governance of church affairs and the lay trustees who wanted to assert control over the newly formed local parish corporations.

Between 1810 and 1840, Boston had its share of tensions, as Bishop Fenwick tried to address this problem. In 1808, the New York See was embroiled in turmoil stemming from trusteeism and did not receive a sitting bishop (John Connolly) until 1815, but it was in Philadelphia that trusteeism raised greater problems. Michael Egan, appointed as Philadelphia's first Bishop, "was unable to assert his authority over the cathedral priests" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 537).

After Egan's death, Henry Conwell, the aged Vicar General of Armagh in Ireland, was appointed to deal with the trustee crisis in Philadelphia, an effort that contributed to his death.

(Ahlstrom, 2004). At the center of the tensions in Philadelphia was “William Hogan, a handsome priest who came from Ireland in 1819, the year of Conwell's consecration as Bishop” (p. 537). Ahlstrom, (2004) gave a detailed account of the Hogan affair:

Hogan had been granted faculties as a priest in Saint Mary's Church by the interim administrator of the diocese, but these faculties were withdrawn after he publicly ridiculed the new bishop. The trustees of the cathedral church supported the priest, who, in turn, intensified his attack, accusing the bishop of exceeding the canonical limits of his authority (as, indeed, several bishops had done). Hogan also urged Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore to call a provincial council to rule on these matters, but he then outdid himself and forged a pastoral letter ascribed to Bishop Conwell (p. 537). Further, Ahlstrom related,

> Conwell retaliated, admonishing the congregation and threatening Hogan with excommunication if he should exercise his faculties. Since Hogan, at the trustees' urging, did not desist, he was excommunicated in May 1822. The trustees then went still further and published an Address of the Committee of Saint Mary's Church of Philadelphia to their Brethren of the Roman Catholic Faith throughout the United States of America, on the Subject of a Reform of Certain Abuses in the Administration of our Church Discipline (p. 537).

In patriotic terms, the lay trustees saw ecclesiastical authorities as *foreign* representatives sent among them by the Junta or Commission of Rome. The lay trustees advocated for democratic processes that would enable parishioners to select priests and bishops from among their own citizens. Ahlstrom (2004) reported that they accused the existing bishops of being “a disgrace to our religion,” victims of “superstition, and ignorance.” The goal of Hogan and the trustees was to “establish an independent Catholic

Church of some sort" (p. 537).

the Vatican intervened decisively sending a "condemnatory brief, *Non sine magno,"* signed by Pope Pius VII, which declared "Father Hogan's pastoral acts to be null and void… Hogan, after showing some reluctance, continued the struggle for a while, but he later resigned, became a lawyer, and married in 1824. He died without the offices of the Church in 1848" (p. 537).

After Hogan's resignation, the trustees continued the conflict by gaining the services of two other priests, Angelo Inglesi and Thaddeus O'Meally, for another year. In an attempt to bring the conflict to the end the Bishop worked out a compromise proposal that allowed the parishioners to have a say in the selection of pastors for Saint Mary's which, together with a confusing counter declaration by the lay committee, found its way to Rome. A decree of the Propaganda approved by the Pope reprobated this agreement. And as Ahlstrom (2004) related, the decision to negotiate with the trustees cost the Bishop his episcopal position:

Bishop Conwell was called to Rome and ordered not to return to his diocese. He did return, however, and was pardoned, but he was not allowed to exercise his episcopal functions. In 1831, Rome appointed 34 year-old, Irish-born, educated in Rome cleric, Francis Patrick Kenrick (1796-1863) to replace Conwell and to deal with the problem that had broken two bishops and left a vast diocese in undeveloped disarray (p. 538).

Romanization. During the period following immediately the era of politicization, Rome permitted the republican rationale to influence the appointment of ecclesiastical leaders in the American Catholic Church and the enactment of policies therein. However, at the peak of the immigration era, the centralized bureaucracy in Rome began to enforce a more uniform ecclesiastical governance policy over diverse Catholic subcultures in the

United States.

Papal Infallibility. In 1870, Vatican Council I proclaimed the dogma of the pope's infallibility with the qualification that it pertains to faith and morals only when he speaks *ex cathedra* [Canon 749 paragraph 1] (Beal, Coriden, & Green, 2000). On the same occasion, the council declared in unqualified terms the pope's "immediate" power over the entire church. The dogma carried major implication for the American hierarchy. The dogma defined hierarchical subordination and true obedience of bishops in matters related to ecclesiastical governance, discipline, and ideology. Pope Pius IX convened the First Vatican Council on June 29, 1868. In his *Syllabus of Errors* released on December 8, 1864, he condemned the emerging liberal political and ideological thought of his time (Bettenson & Maunder, 1947).

Ideological control. During the immigration era, Americanism, which referred to a set of interrelated ideologies that, among other things, promoted the separation of church and state was condemned by the Vatican. Americanism also suggested that the "church should accept the best of modern thinking, integrate it with traditional belief, and use the newly constructed belief system for the church's evangelical mission" (Gleason, 1995, p. 13). Americanism, according to Flinn (2007), "was a catch-all term used to describe a variety of attempts by 19th-century American church leaders, notably John Ireland, James Gibbons, and John J. Keane (1839-1918), to adapt Catholicism to American values" (p. 18). Flinn stated that Americanism as an ideology "often included support for separation of church and state, state schools, and labor unions," and was a source of "great controversy among American Catholics" (p. 18). Modernism, which attempted to examine philosophy, theology, and Biblical exegesis in light of modern thought and research, was associated with Americanism. The heresy of Americanism was condemned by Pope Leo XIII in the Apostolic Letter *Testem*

Benevolentiae (Witness to Our Benevolence) of January 22, 1899, addressed to Cardinal James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.

Pope Pius X's condemnation of theological modernism in 1907 and the imposition of the oath against modernism on seminary faculties in 1910 asserted a control over Catholic intellectual life in which the Holy See set its face resolutely against many aspects of modern scholarship in theological and Biblical studies that were thought to undermine church teaching.

Code of Canon Law. The Pope's *immediate* jurisdictional authority over the entire church took effect in 1918 by the Code of Canon Law. Empowered by the Code, Roman congregations gained a degree of *infallibility* as they carried out their administrative work in the name of the Pope. Church officials at the local level could scarcely challenge or question the supplementary decrees based on the Code coming from Rome, no matter how short sighted they sometimes were, without appearing to be disloyal to the church.

Through the relevant canons of the Code of Canon Law, the universal church had for the first time a blueprint for the seminary, defining its nature and purpose, naming its officials, including the new office of Spiritual Director, listing the subjects in the major seminary curriculum, setting the number of years of study, and requiring all candidates for Holy Orders to take seminary studies.

The Sacred Congregations. A special department headed by Cardinals appointed by the Pope was created to oversee the activities of various ecclesiastical structures. These congregations were created to re-enforce the governance authority of the central bureaucracy in the Vatican. They include (but are not limited to) the Congregation in charge of the areas shown in Table 16.

Table 16

Ecclesiastical Structures Governed by Sacred Congregations.

	Congregations *(for)*
1.	Bishops
2.	Catholic Education
3.	Causes of Saints
4.	Clergy
5.	Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments
6.	Doctrine of the Faith
7.	Evangelization of Peoples
8.	Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life
9.	Oriental Churches

Seminary formation. The Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, which Pope Benedict XV created in 1915, subsequently issued regulations to the Catholic world's seminaries, commanding new courses in certain subjects and mandating specific practices. The Popes of the era, Pius X, Pius XI, and Pius XII, issued major documents affirming the church's traditional teaching on the priesthood and included exhortations for priests to acquire greater holiness and learning. The steady stream of decrees and documents left the impression that the Pope and his officials were responsible for articulating ideas on the priesthood and seminary.

By the late 1920s, the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities began to check up on seminaries by requiring bishops to report every three years on the seminaries within their dioceses. The triennial report took the form of a questionnaire inquiring about courses, names of faculty with their degrees, course offerings, numbers of students, numbers of library books, the sports available, and so forth. On the surface, the inquiry does not seem

very penetrating, but the answers enabled Roman officials to determine if the Code's seminary canons and the congregation's regulations were being observed.

American College in Rome. In 1853, the Holy See intervened in U.S. Church affairs on issues pertaining to seminary training. the Vatican assigned nuncio to Brazil, Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, with the primary task of identifying "abuses that existed with the American seminary formation programs," second, to "tactfully call them to the bishops' attention" and third, to "report on the conditions he found" (White, 2001, p. 27). He was also to sound out the United States government on the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations.

Bedini's recommendation to the Vatican. Bedini's report began by describing the US Catholic presbyterate as largely constituting immigrant clergy attending to and perpetuating the needs of people from the their country of origin, pointing out the obvious fact that "For the most part they are European and not American, and each one has the customs and prejudices of his own nation" (White, 2001, p. 27, p. 28). In his view, developing an American clergy by improving the existent American seminary based on Pope Pius IX's model of the formation of national (ethnic) colleges (French, Irish, Latin American, and Polish to reinforce Roman loyalties) was not a feasible way of resolving the problem of American seminaries. Bedini's solution to U.S. clergy issues: "The single most important thing that would satisfy every desire, achieve every purpose and would give the greatest enthusiasm to America would be an American College in Rome" (p. 28).

American College. The seminary model proposed by Bedini was not meant to replace the existing seminary models in the United States. An American College in Rome would accord church hierarchy in the Vatican greater authority over the presbyterate in the United States. The authorities in the Vatican would have greater control over the preparation and

eventual appointing of clergy earmarked for episcopal office in the US. Bedini anticipated that the American College in Rome would have several advantages over its counterparts in the United States: Location, students, curriculum and professoriate, and governance..

Location. The fact that the college would be located in Rome also meant that the Roman Catholic spirit would be assured among priests and people in Protestant America, “citing the record of other national colleges in Rome as proof” (White, 2001, p. 28). A Roman college was seen as a means of insulating seminarians from American practices that were sometimes perceived as fatal to their vocation.

Students. Students for the American College in Rome would be chosen from among the best seminarians in the U.S. and would constitute students for most part earmarked for episcopal positions in the U.S. The offshore college “would ‘facilitate and encourage vocations to the priesthood’ because the number of American seminaries was not sufficient and the seminarians attending them returned to their homes during the summer, a practice ‘sometimes fatal’ to their perseverance in the seminary” (White, 2001, p. 28). While eliminating the latter danger, a “Roman college would educate students at a lower cost than seminaries in the United States” (p. 28).

Curriculum and professoriate. The college would provide a “wider, more complete and more solid curriculum” and professoriate instead of the unsatisfactory scholastic exercises Bedini witnessed in American seminary programs. Bedini believed that the proper education of future priests lay in Rome “where the means, the resources, the occasions for perfecting oneself in learning, in spirit and zeal abound" (White, 2001, p. 28).

Governance. The Vatican’s oversight of the college would ensure that the presbyterate for America was receiving appropriate priestly training and not compromised by the

emerging wave of Americanization. The college would become the means by which the Holy See would be able to know the American Clergy better in its representatives and, thus, continue to exercise its authority over them. This would enable the Vatican to make a more informed decision when it came to selecting new bishops for the church in the U.S. The college would be the logical place to prepare future bishops for the many U.S.

The inception of the American College in Rome. The inception of the American College in Rome occurred in 1854 when Pope Pius IX met the delegation of four U.S. bishops attending the solemn definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Pius IX expressed his desire for an American College in Rome. He followed up with a letter to U.S. archbishops in February 1855, written by the prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Giacomo Fransoni stating that the Pope "had reached the conclusion that the project should be recommended; and he has willed by this letter of the Sacred Congregation to urge Your Grace to enter into consultation with the other bishops for the erection of the proposed college" (White, 2001, p. 29). The American Pontifical College in Rome opened on Humility Street on December 7, 1859, with an enrollment of twelve American students.

Table 17

Summary on Irish Ecclesiastical Leadership.

(Arch)Diocese	1789: 1st Diocese (Arch)Bp. Carroll 1808: Archdiocese
Episcopal representation	147 positions - 40%
Alt. in-group governance structure	Trusteeism (democratic / Congregationalism)
Alt. out of-group governance structure	Romanization; Papal Infallibility, Ideological control, Canon Law, Congregations, Seminaries

Table 18 summarizes Irish categories, concepts, and dimensions.

Table 18

Irish Subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Categories	Variables/Concepts		Dimensions
Demographics	Origins and sagas	Ireland	
		The potato famine in Ireland	
		The era of Politicization	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	4 million (82% Catholic)
		Peak	1851-1860
			Networks, Brokers, Clusters
	Settlement patterns	Parish	Maryland 1734
		Settlement	90% urban
		Missionaries	S.J., O.P, O.F.M &O.F.M. Cap.
		Priests	30%
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	8%
		Skilled	12%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	10%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	St. Patrick's	
	Rituals and ceremonies	St. Patrick's	
	Sacred space	Baltimore & New York Cathedrals	
		60 % of churches in U.S.	
Ideology	Conservative	Anglophobia	Diaspora mentality
		Irish Elitism	Political & linguistic

Table 18. *Irish Subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions Continued*

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Education	Grade school education	Parochial vs. Public system	
	Higher education	Irish Jesuit colleges	
	Seminary education	Irish working with French Sulpicians	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	1789: 1st Diocese (Arch)Bp. Carroll 1808: Archdiocese	
	Episcopal representation	147 positions - 44%	
	Alternative in-group (out of group) power structure	Trusteeism Romanization	Catholic Congregationalism (republican sentiments)

Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Irish.

Direct negotiations with Rome. The governance relations between Rome and the Irish at the beginning of the immigration era was of a negotiated order. Immediately after the American Revolution the republican sentiments were still very high. The ex-Jesuit Irish Catholics in Maryland side-by-side with their protestant and republican countrymen sought to minimize any transaction that would render Catholics suspect of subordination by a foreign king, which in this case was the Pope. After a period of intense negotiation between the ex-Jesuits on the eastern seaboard and the bureaucracy in Rome, the Irish were permitted to appoint the first American Bishop, John Carroll, by democratic means abrogating previous governance arrangements that placed the American ecclesiastical environment under an apostolic vicar reporting to London. Rome's cognizance of the pivotal role of the English-speaking ex-Jesuit Irish Catholics strategically situated in the young republic endorsed John Carroll's election, thus appointing him to serve as the first American Catholic Bishop.

Immediately after the inception of the American hierarchical ecclesiastical structure, parish churches were established by the initiative of various immigrant communities. These parishes were established as independent corporate agencies under the leadership of democratically elected lay boards of trustees. The controversy of lay trusteeism that ensued in the American Catholic environment was a result of bishop seeking to reclaim previously self-governing ecclesiastical communities from the hands of democratically elected lay trustees. Lay trustees and clerics who did not comply with these ecclesiastical governance procedures were excommunicated by the bishops.

The ethnic, demographic, and linguistic advantage of the English-speaking Irish clerics (over other subcultures) in the American cultural environment and the ecclesiastical

hierarchal ranks statistically shows in the Irish dominance of the American hierarchy, which during this era stood at 44%. The early peak arrival of Irish immigrants (1850 -1860), that 80% of the Irish were cradle Catholics, and high numbers of clerics within their numbers contributed to the Irish's ability to compare favorably in the American hierarchal structure.

Top-down process of Romanization. Toward the end of the immigration era, the Vatican embarked on a campaign to enforce a more centralized policy for the governance of the American ecclesiastical environment. Its strategy was to exert various mechanisms of control such as the decree on Infallibility of pope (1870); Code of Canon Law (1907); control of ideology that translated in the condemnation of Americanism, modernism and secularism; and decrees on seminary formation which culminated in the establishment of the American Pontifical College in Rome. Figure 24 illustrates the pattern of governance between Rome and the Irish.

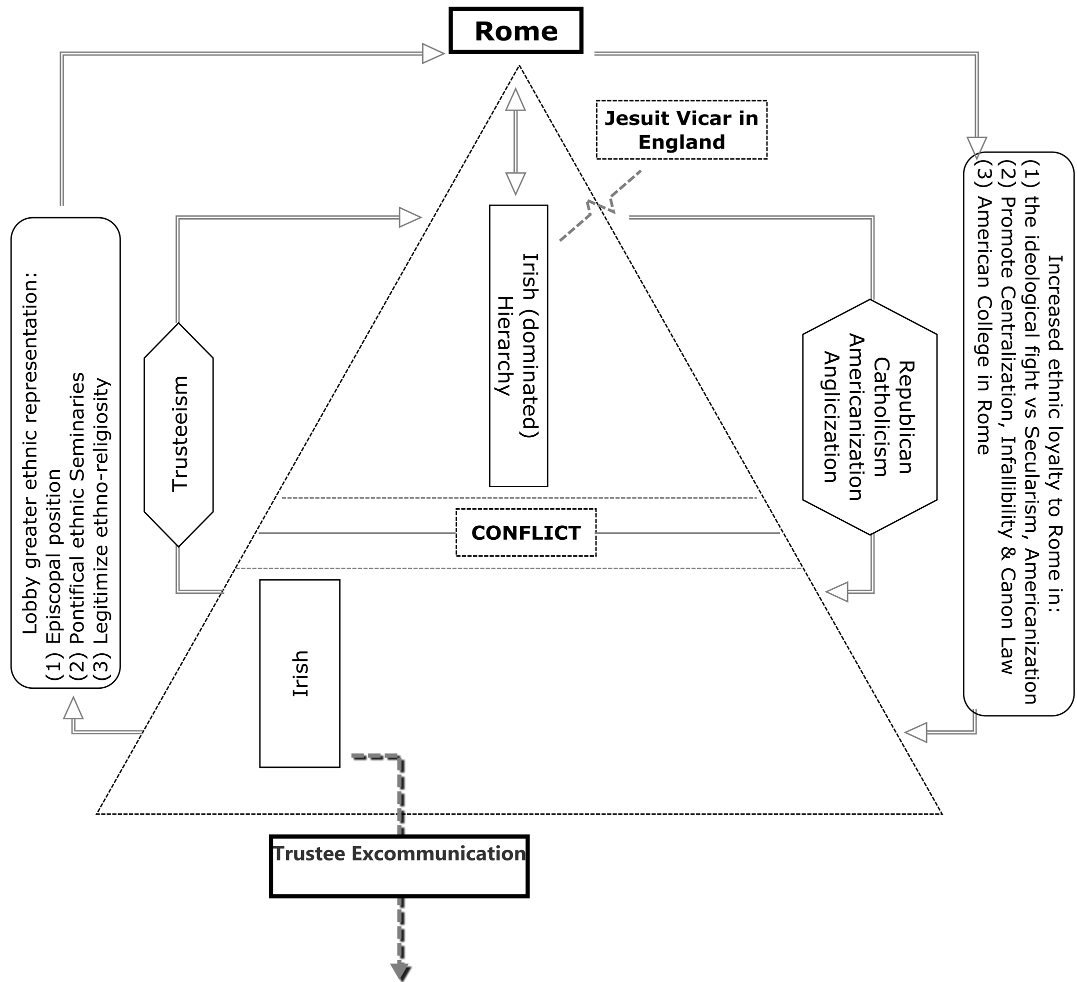


Figure 24. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Irish.

German Immigration

Demographics.

Origins and saga. Conzen (2003) believed that “over 2,000,000 Roman Catholics from German-speaking Europe” settled in the United States during the second wave of the cross-Atlantic mass migration (p. 45). Germans with a Roman Catholic background constituted approximately one-third of all German immigrants (Shaughnessy, 1925). Small numbers of Germans settled earlier in the United States during the intervals of peace between 1775 and 1815, but it was not until 1816-1817 when the disastrous harvests coupled with the Napoleonic wars stimulated a new wave of large-scale German migration.

Religion-motivated immigration occurred during the earlier part of the 19th century when German Chancellor Bismarck instituted his official policy of anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf* (the struggle for culture) to weaken the hold of the Roman Catholic Church in German territories. The clergy and religious were among those who were particularly affected by this policy. “The slow diffusion of the Industrial Revolution into Germany, agricultural reform, and rural overpopulation made emigration for many farmers, traditional craftsmen, and small shopkeepers the most reasonable, even conservative, way of sustaining familiar habits” (Con, 1980, p. 412). Table 19 summarizes origins and sagas of German immigrants.

Table 19

Summary on German Origins and Sagas.

Origins	Germany
Sagas	Disastrous harvests & Napoleonic wars
	Kulturkampf

Immigration pattern. The peak period for German emigrants bound for the United

States occurred between 1835 and 1910. During the immigration period "over 90 % of all German emigrants registered were bound for the United States" (Con, 1980, p. 412). Decadal German migration increased dramatically from under 6,000 in the 1820s to more than 950,000 in the 1850s, to a high of 1,445,181 in the 1880s. In his report on German immigration Con reported that, "In no decade between 1830 and 1890 did Germans constitute fewer than a quarter of all arrivals in the U.S.; in the 1850s and 1860s they made up more than one-third" (p. 411). According to his assessment, "the German element dropped well below one-twentieth in the first two decades of the 20th century before returning to higher proportions and then fluctuating again under the quotas of the 1920s, which favored old immigrants and severely restricted new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe" (p. 412).

The decadal statistics for Catholic immigrants of German descent in the third column of Table 20 were tabulated based on Shaughnessy's (1925) estimation that an average of 30% of the total German immigrants were Catholics. Adding the number of Germans born in United States between 1820 and 1920, those who converted to Catholicism, and Germans added to the United States territories in its westward expansion, the total number of American German Catholics was about 1,768,814 by the end of the immigration era.

Table 20

Catholic German Immigrants (1820-1920).

Decade	Total Immigration	Catholics
1820-1830	6,762	2,367
1831-1840	152,454	53,359
1841-1850	434,626	152,119
1851-1860	951,667	333,083
1861-1870	787,468	275,614
1871-1880	718,182	251,364
1881-1890	1,452,970	508,540
1891-1900	543,922	190,373
1901-1910	341,498	119,524
1911-1920	143,945	50,381
Total	5,533,494	1,936723

Mass German migration of the 1820s and 1830s was a "natural consequence of chain reaction, as trailblazers attracted and advised others whom they knew" (Conzen, 2003, p. 47). In addition, newspapers targeting prospective emigrants appeared in 1840s offering advice on travel, ports of entry, and an assortment of information that would facilitate a smooth and accelerated integration of a German immigrant into American society. German Catholics, like the "Westphalians and Bavarians who eventually settled in Missouri, the Eifelers in southern Michigan, and the Hanoverians in Ohio," who were preparing to relocate to the U.S. would form emigration colonies before leaving their home country (p. 48). Church officials were actively involved in directing their members to areas where ministers were available. Milwaukee's first Catholic bishop and missionary priests conducted recruitment campaigns that culminated in the creation of a German Catholic concentration in central Minnesota.

Settlement patterns. German immigration patterns are displayed in Figure 25.

Figure 25. Trails of German settlements.

In general, urban and rural German settlement patterns mirrored the locations of greatest opportunity. The result was a "widely dispersed but stable distribution of German immigrants, usually avoiding New England and the South in favor of the middle Atlantic, east north-central, and west north-central states" (Con, 1980, p. 414). Table 21 shows the percentage of German-born immigrants in various regions of the U.S.

Table 21

Geographical Distribution of German-born Americans by Region.

Region	Percentage of German-born		
	1850	1880	1920
New England	1.2	1.8	3.0
Middle Atlantic	36.0	30.0	30.1
East North-Central	39.1	39.8	35.1
West North-Central	9.0	16.6	17.4
South Atlantic	6.6	3.6	2.4
East South-Central	3.0	2.0	1.0
West South-Central	4.6	2.9	2.8
Mountain	-	0.6	2.0
Pacific	0.6	2.5	6.1

Source: (Con, 1980, p. 414)

Con (1980) stated, "Philadelphia was the chief port of arrival for German immigrants" (p. 407). Like other ethnic groups, they started out in the major urban centers of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston on the east coast; but after 1950, many embarked on the process of reconsolidation that gave rise to the German immigrant concentration in the middle Atlantic region.

In older cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, certain areas took on a distinctively German character, as immigrants "sought the convenience and comfort of neighbors who spoke the same language and patronized the same shops, churches, and social activities." In the "newer cities of the Midwest, Germans arrived early enough in sufficient numbers to dominate entire neighborhoods" (Con, 1980, p. 418).

New York City, one of the major ports of entry for German immigrants, always

comprised the largest urban German concentration (18% of the national total in 1880). "Many German immigrants simply found jobs after disembarking and remained there; the very size and heterogeneity of the city proved irresistible to those seeking to capture the cultural excitement of German cities" (Con, 1980, p. 415). "In 1880, the German population in Illinois (12%) followed New York, then Ohio (10%), Wisconsin (9.4%), and Pennsylvania (8.6 %)"… the ranking remained similar in 1920 (p. 414). Con reported that "Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, and Toledo were sufficiently central to national urban-industrial growth to maintain vital German communities for a longer period… Los Angeles was the one city where the number of German-born residents continued to increase as late as 1930" (p. 415).

Con's (1980) account of the Germans who migrated to the middle Atlantic region shows that, except for Pennsylvania and Kansas, Wisconsin always had the greatest proportion of Germans in its population; in 1920, numbers were well over three times greater in Wisconsin than their share of the total national population would have suggested. "Minnesota followed, but all the middle Atlantic, east north-central, and west north-central states, along with Maryland, had German proportions greater than the national average" (p. 414). Beyond "New Orleans only Texas had extensive German settlements in the south, the result of colonization schemes, favorable climate and soil, and generous land policies of the Mexican and Texas governments" (p. 414). The list of cities most habited by German immigrants and their decadal statistics is seen in Table 22.

Table 22

German Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1850–1920).

City	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
New York	56.141	119,964	151,203	163.462	210,723	324,224	278,137	194,155
Chicago	5,035	22,230	52,316	75,205	161,039	203,733	182,289	112.288
Milwaukee		15,981	22,509	31,483	54,776	68,969	64.816	39,771
Philadelphia	23,020	43,643	50,746	55,769	74,974	73.047	61,460	39,766
Detroit	2,836	7,220	12,647	17,292	35,481	42,730	44.675	30,236
Saint Louis	22,571	50.51	50.04	54,901	66,000	59.973	47,766	30,089
Cleveland	-	9,078	15,855	23,170	39,893	44225	41,408	26,476
Buffalo, N.Y.	-	18,233	22.249	25.543	42,660	49,812	43.815	20.896
San Francisco	-	6,346	13,602	19,928	26,422	35.303	24,137	18,514
Baltimore	19,274	32.613	35.26	34,051	40,709	33.941	26,024	17.461

The German strategy of clustering in rural America is another reason that cultural persistence occurred in most Midwestern states and in Texas. Con (1980) in his treatise on the German immigrant explains the process leading to the formation of the relatively insular German enclaves in the Midwest:

A nucleus established in an area not yet fully settled could support German churches, schools, local governments, and familiar social patterns, and lured other Germans to fill in the remaining land. When other settlers moved on, their land was taken up by German newcomers or children of the pioneers; community norms discouraged sales to outsiders.

Such numerical concentrations permitted urban Germans to create virtually self-sufficient neighborhood communities on the basis of shared activities, voluntary associations, and formal institutions. (Con, 1980, p. 415)

Thus, in helping impoverished German immigrants sheltered among them to carve

their way out of poverty, the Germans were more successful than many other 19th century immigrant groups. The goal was to preserve the ethnic nature of German Catholicism for future generations. Soon the German Catholic orphanage, hospital, cemetery, and the first German language Catholic newspaper were established in the United States in 1837, explicitly aimed at a national rather than a purely local readership. “Laymen found a unifying focus in the Central-Verein, founded in 1855, as a national union of parish mutual-benefit associations, and in a vigorous press which, beginning in Cincinnati in 1837 with Martin Henni's Wahiheits-Freund, by 1900 had produced 61 dailies and weeklies” (Con, 1980, p. 422).

Table 23

Summary of German Immigration Patterns.

Statistics	2 million
Peak	1881-1890
	Colonies
	Entreports
	German Triangle

Religious orders. German immigrant religiosity was re-enforced by members of religious orders who volunteered to serve in the American missions. Most religious who intended to work among the Native Indians later transferred their ministry to newly arriving countrymen. Conzen (2003) acknowledged Frederick Reese, who in 1827 published the first pamphlet in Germany explicitly promoting America as a site for Catholic settlement calling it the “new *Catholic Zion”* (p. 47). The growing German recruitment bid also targeted German-speaking religious orders. According to Conzen, those who responded included the Austrians (1832) who staffed German parishes and conducted parish missions to revive the immigrants'

flagging zeal; the Swiss Sanguinists (1843); and the Bavarian Benedictines, who in 1846 established a German-language seminary in Latrobe, PA, and whose abbeys and priories across the country in 1846 became “the spiritual, educational, and physical nuclei for numerous German rural settlements (p. 47).

Other orders of priests and brothers included the Fathers of the Most Precious Blood (1843), German Franciscans (1839), Capuchins (1856), and the Society of Mary (1849). German orders of nuns staffed parish schools and hospitals, including the various branches of the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood (1844), the School Sisters of Notre Dame (1847), and Poor Sisters of St. Francis (1858) (Schirp, 1909).

Under the auspices of the ecclesiastical leadership, German Catholicism transformed the religious landscape of America. Overall, roughly one-third of all Catholic parishes were German. The great majority of which were rural, though those in urban areas were admittedly larger in terms of membership (Conzen, 2003).

Priests. “Barely 50 German-speaking priests served the nation’s estimated 300,000 German Catholics in 1843. By 1869, there were a total of 1,169 German-speaking priests in the United States, of whom only 39 were known to be American-born; these German-speaking priests accounted for about 35% of all American priests at the time” (Conzen, 2003, p. 49). As Table 24 shows, German clerics immigrated in large numbers at the height of the Prussian *Kulturkampf* , reaching 2,067 by 1881, and continued to increase in the next 11 years to 2,882 by 1892. “The American-born proportion at 18% also signified a beginning transition to a homegrown clergy” (p. 49).

Table 24

Priests of German Descent by Decade.

Year	Priests of German Descent
1870	1,169 (71%)
1880	2,067
1890	2,882
1900	-
1910	-
1920	-

Table 25

Summary of German Demographics.

Parish	1799: consolidation – PA by D. Gallitzin
Settlement	65% urban
Missionary	Austrian Redemptorists, Swiss Sanguinists, Bavarian Benedictines, Franciscans, Most Precious Blood, and Capuchins
Priests	35%

Task.

Urban communities. Urban German immigrants (predominantly from the central and northeastern regions in Germany) included both skilled and unskilled workers. “The stereotypical 19th century German American was a skilled practitioner of a traditional craft–baker, carpenter, merchant, musician, butcher, brewer, distiller, cigar maker, cabinetmaker, or tailor–putting to good use a trade painstakingly learned in the Old World” (Con, 1980, p. 415). “German women who entered the labor market took service jobs as janitors, laundresses, nurses, servants, saloon and hotel keepers, peddlers, shopkeepers, bakers, and

tailors, while avoiding factory work and the kinds of sales and clerical jobs that required education or a knowledge of English" (p. 416). "By 1870, some 37% of the gainfully employed Germans had skilled jobs, 23% in professional and personal service, and 13% in trade and transportation" (p. 415)

Agricultural communities. "Although Germans in 1870 were only 4% of all American farm workers, slightly more than a quarter of all employed Germans were in agriculture, constituting more than 33 % of all foreign-born farmers. By 1900, Germans nearly owned 11% of American farms and accounted for almost 10% of the country's agricultural employment" (Con, 1980, p. 415).

Agricultural patterns. The typical 19th century German farmer lived up to his reputation as a solid, hard-working, and dependable citizen. Methodical and thrifty, he carefully chose land for a permanent family home, enriched it with the family's labor, and cultivated it for prosperity using skills learned in the homeland. While more restless neighbors moved on, "the traditional mind-set of the German peasants' familiar patterns of life and work endured (persisted), lending some truth to the stereotype and becoming the only ethnic culture to persist into the middle of the 20th century" (Con, 1980, p. 415).

America's wealth of land allowed farmers to fulfill the old country goal of helping their sons to acquire farms, often in the immediate neighborhood. "Intra-family assistance and transfer of land to children during the parents' lifetime adapted German goals to American circumstances, and fostered an unusual degree of persistence and expansion in many rural ethnic communities. Once established, clusters such as those in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and Texas" usually endured, intensified, and expanded over time (Con, 1980, p. 415).

Farmers relied upon family labor, avoided mortgage debts whenever possible, and exhibited relatively low rates of tenancy. Contrary to stereotype, Germans were not especially gifted in their choices of land. They settled on what was available, valuing access to market and nearby German urban settlements, and were less willing than many Yankees to gamble on future transportation improvements. Where they chose woodland over prairie, it was for the cheap housing, fencing, and fuel it afforded their labor-rich, cash-poor families. Their perception of the farm as property held in trust for succeeding generations encouraged intensive investment in buildings and soil conservation practices. "Even in clustered settlements, Germans planted the locally prevailing crops, and almost everywhere, they abandoned Old World village settlement patterns for the dispersed farmsteads of America. Differences in degree, not in kind, distinguished these from other rural communities" (Con, 1980, p. 415).

German farm families with many children functioned as an economic unit in America. Child labor was a valuable resource as children worked along with their parents; and it was not uncommon for youngsters to leave school early to maintain mutual support obligation. "The survival of such ideals in American cities led immigrant women to work in small-scale family enterprises and resulted in relatively early ages of leaving school, high rates of domestic employment among girls, apprenticeship among boys, and frequent family-operated businesses" (Con, 1980, p. 419).

Table 26

Summary of Tasks for the Germans.

Ranks	Professional	23%	Clerical
	Skilled	37%	Trades
	Unskilled	40% (1870)	
Types	Agriculture	35%	farming
	Other	Factory	
		Construction	Steel
		Mining	Coal,
		Services	Hotel, nurse, tailor
		Craft / trades	carpentry, merchants
		Other	distiller

Cultural values (German ethno-Catholicism).

German Catholic communities in America were predominantly rural colonies, characterized by a unique institutional parish structure, served by transplanted clergy, intent on perpetuating distinctive pieties carried over from across the Atlantic.

Heroes and saints.

Peter Paul Cahensly. One of the most celebrated heroes among German Catholic immigrants was Peter Paul Cahensly (1838-1923), a name that figured prominently in American ecclesiastical politics during 1891 and 1892. Cahensly was "a German Catholic merchant, a resident of Limburg am Lahn," who "between 1862 and 1868, while employed in his father's exporting business at Le Havre, the great port of departure for emigrants to the New World, was struck by the lack of provision for the spiritual and material welfare of Catholic emigrants" (Meng, 1946, p. 391). Cahensly had experienced first-hand how unsuspecting immigrants, exhausted by the cross-Atlantic voyage, fell into the hands of

"unscrupulous agents, landlords, and innkeepers who tricked and robbed them of, in many cases, both their spiritual and material goods" (Barry, 1952, p. 22).

Through Cahensly's advocacy, an agency for the welfare of the Catholic emigrant was formed and placed under the protection of St. Raphael the Archangel, patron of travelers. "This society *Der St. Raphaelsverein zum Schutze katkoliscker deutscher Auswanderer,* had a three-point program: to help the emigrant in every possible way before he sailed, during his voyage, and at the ports of debarkation" (Barry, 1952, p. 30). Cahensly sought the help of both the political and religious leadership in German and the United States.

German ecclesiastical officials such as Archbishop of Cologne, Paulus Merchers, and Karl Klein, Bishop of Limburg, were supportive of Cahensly's campaigns. Merchers resolve to help the immigrants was documented by the amount of financial assistance the archdiocese set aside for the cause. In 1872, Merchers assigned Reverend Schlosser, a priest of his archdiocese. The committee of German Jesuits, which at the time was constrained in terms of personnel appointed a layman by the name of Theodore Meynberg to serve as the agency's Hamburg ecclesiastical representative (Barry, 1952). Bismarck's regime and German political officials therein were reluctant to take any position on emigration. The German government was "positively opposed to emigration from the fatherland" as it would "drain manpower and weaken the national potential." Emigration was, according the government, "unpatriotic, and any assistance to the emigrant was looked upon as co-operation to the detriment of the nation" (Barry, 1952, p. 28). Thus, the petition presented to Archbishop John McCloskey of New York requesting ecclesiastical authorities in the U.S. to attend to the well-being of the immigrants landing in New York and directing them to neighborhoods where they could practice their faith did not receive a favorable response.

No doubt the agency was faced with serious opposition, but it was the unselfishness and obvious religious character of its activities that enabled it to make headway against this concerted opposition, thus winning for the St. Raphaelsverein a respected position on the waterfronts. The agency was able to construct chapels and lodging houses for immigrants. In addition, a network of services such as express agencies, banking and deposit services, mailing and letter writing services, message distribution, and counseling facilities. Most important was facilitation of thousands of religious services; Masses, sacraments, and spiritual solace, which immigrants were able to access in their mother tongue. It was these activities that justly won for Peter Paul Cahensly the title of "Father of the Emigrant" (Barry, 1952, p. 34).

Boniface Wimmer, Order of St. Benedict (OSB). Father Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B, born near Ratisbon, Bavaria, was a man of great influence among German immigrants in Europe and the United States. Prior to starting missionary work in the United States, Wimmer was affiliated with Metten Abbey in Bavaria, where he felt called to transplant the Benedictine Order from Europe to North America. His goal was to establish an abbey that would provide seminary training in the new world for the preparation of German-speaking candidates for the priesthood to care for the German immigrants. Wimmer arrived in America in 1846; in the next year he set out with four students and 14 laymen to settle in the Diocese of Pittsburgh where Bishop O'Connor granted him admission and jurisdiction over the parochial affairs of Saint Vincent Parish. Barry (1952) wrote about Wimmer's influence.

Father Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., founder of the American Benedictines, also called on his close friend Ludwig I of Bavaria, not only for funds, but also for his support and influence at Rome when Wimmer found himself at variance with Bishop Michael O'Connor,

of Pittsburgh (about brewing and selling beer as a way of fundraising for the Seminary project.) The King and the Ludwig Missionsverein were behind the project, and Wimmer felt confident that his foundation would in time be self-sufficient through the efforts of his new Benedictine family. Wimmer proceeded to enlist the support and protection of his patron, the King of Bavaria, who, in turn, ordered his ambassador at the Holy See to intervene with the Pope and the Propaganda in favor of the abbot's petitions. (p.16-17)

Archabbot Boniface died, on December 8, 1887, leaving an enduring legacy of dedicated service to German immigrants; he engaged in mission work and established Benedictine priories, abbeys, and institutions of learning in different parts of the country, all of which earned him the title “the Patriarch of German Catholic America” (Barry, 1952, p. 36). At Wimmer’s death, his missionary band of four students and 14 lay-brother candidates had grown into a large congregation with five abbeys, two canonical priories with 152 parishes, missions, and stations. Its members included three bishops, four abbots, two priors, 220 priests, and other religious of about the same number. (Oetgen, 2011).

Rituals and ceremonies. German parishes and parishioners of the 19th and early 20th centuries, whether east or west, urban or rural, had much in common: a deep attachment to ethnic roots, a Germanness that “linked language with survival, a genuine piety that found expression in the liturgy, devotional practices, and music” (Spalding, 1996, p. 37).

Universal to Germans, and copied by other American subcultures, was the German Christmas tradition, with its family focus, Christmas carols, gift-giving, Christmas tree decorations with ornaments and symbols of Christmastime, such as “Jesus in the manger, the Virgin Mary, Joseph, with the ox and ass,” a familiar scene in homes and churches (Tille, 1892, pp. 166, 170). December 25th celebrations were followed by a “Second Christmas”

(Boxing Day, as it is called in Europe), a time for public festivities after the first day of the holiday (Con, 1980, p. 426).

Other devotional practices included the German aggrandizement to the celebration of regular feasts listed on the church calendar. Among German communities, the feast of the Epiphany (revelation of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles) was marked by house-to-house visits conducted by young men wearing paper crowns, singing songs, and begging residents for treats. Lent among urban German settlements was ushered in by “Carnivals (Karneval or Fasching) marked with parades and masked balls” (Con, 1980, p. 426). Easter Sunday was followed by "Second Easter" (Easter Monday) festivities, an occasion for community festivities after each family’s intimate and reflective celebration of Easter. Easter festivities were “child-oriented, celebrated with colored eggs and an Easter rabbit” (Con, 1980, p. 426).

American Catholics of German heritage imported traditional Baroque pieties including, but not limited to, the annual parish fund-raising fair, devotion to votive chapels, and multi-parish pilgrimages to local shrines where miraculous occurrences once occurred. “In Steams County, MN, for instance, a chapel erected in thanksgiving for deliverance from a grasshopper plague became the focus for similar pilgrimages that immigrants celebrated in the Fatherland” (Conzen, 2003; Con, 1980, p. 426).

German immigrants delighted in “relaxation to accompany the Sunday rest; a love of nature and Sunday strolls, comfortable picnics and boisterous public feasts, songs, card games, dances, and family visits; all enjoyed over a glass of beer, wine, or schnapps.” “In a country devoted to Sunday blue laws and increasingly legislated temperance and prohibition, common commitment by the immigrants to a convivial lifestyle gave further coherence and content to the distinctive character of German American ethnic identity” (Con, 1980, p. 419).

At the peak of the sobriety campaign, “Bishop O'Connor, a representative of the Irish temperance movement, of which Father Theobald Matthew, O.F.M.Cap., was the leading figure, stood against the German Benedictine’s abbey of St. Vincent's in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania for operating a brewery” (Barry, 1952, p. 17). German Abbot Wimmer previously sought and was granted permission by Rome to operate the abbey as an independent entity exempt from its diocesan ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Exemption by the Holy See also meant that the abbey could engage in fundraising activities which, in this case, meant the brewing and wholesale distribution of beer. O’Connor believed that at a time when Catholics were susceptible to the “bigotry of Protestant temperance fanatics…. all American churchmen should abstain from alcoholic beverages” (Barry, 1952, p. 17).

Sacred space. American German-language Catholic parishes were located from coast to coast, though most were concentrated in the Midwestern archdioceses of, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Chicago, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Nebraska, some were also found in Alabama and Texas (Conzen, 2003).

German architecture. According to Wishart (2011), immigrants of German descent who settled in in America’s Great Plains created a distinctive architectural and cultural heritage that is portrayed in the thousands of churches, barns, houses, and commercial buildings that were constructed. The architectural heritage evident in the churches built by German immigrants was an expression of an elaborate and ritualistic liturgy richly embellished with German stipples, artifacts, and music.

By the second half of the 19th century, the Roman-inspired Rundbogenstil architecture of religious and commercial buildings was spread throughout Germany and widely throughout the Great Plains. Bavarian architect Friederich von Gärtner (1792–1847)

used the Romanesque Revival style in the Ludwigskirche, the Bavarian Court and State Library, and the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. The Rundbogenstil church featured the basilica plan with prominent half-circle or segmented arches that form doors, windows, and cornices on plain building surfaces of brick or stone. The elaborate church structure of St. Bonaventure Catholic Church in Raeville, Nebraska, constructed of brick by the Omaha architect Jacob M. Nachtigall in 1917, is a Rundbogenstil church with arcades of arched openings on its towers and west entry and along its aisled nave, transepts, and apse. The other trait that distinguishes German Rundbogenstil churches in the Great Plains are their unique stained-glass windows. For example, St. Anthony of Padua Catholic Church in Wichita, Kansas, built in 1905 and called the "German Church," displays magnificent stained-glass religious scenes designed in Germany, shipped in pieces, and reassembled in grand windows under round-arched openings of brick (Wishart, 2011).

Language. Protestants and Catholics agreed for different reasons that "language saves the faith" and, therefore, strove to retain the use of German as long as possible (Barry, 1952, p. 10). The use of the German language was necessary for the subculture to shield its members from secularization and "preserve their faith from outside contamination" (Con, 1980, p. 422). Religion and ethnicity were intimately bound together and mutually supportive in the national parishes. Among the Germans, this close association between religion and ethnicity was especially evident, and soon the two were so inextricably joined together that the loss of language was tantamount to the loss of faith; and faith, it was alleged, "would be preserved only through the preservation of the German language and German religious traditions" (Dolan, 1972, p. 360). As McAvoy (1960) observed, the German immigrants wanted separate churches in which their traditional religious observances and customs would

be conducted, where they could hear sermons in their mother tongue, go to confession as they had learned to confess from early childhood, and take an active part in parish life through their beloved societies. Table 27 shows the distribution of 1890 Catholic churches with numbers of German-speaking only and those wherein German and English were used together. By the end of the 19th century, more than 2,250 parishes were purely German and the rest mixed in terms of membership (Shaughnessy, 1925).

Table 27

Churches and Membership Using German Language Alone or with English.

	Alone		With English		Total	
Language	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership
German	206	191,347	1,684	1,481,343	1,890	1,672,690

Source: Shaughnessy, 1925, p. 218).

Table 28

Summary of German Cultural Values.

Heroes(saints)		Cahensly, Wimmer
Ceremonies		G/Christmas
Space	Ethnic churches	206
	Ethnic & English	1684

Ideology.

German ethno-religiosity. "German Catholic immigrants and their descendants developed a culture at odds with that of other German Americans and a religious culture distinctive from that of other Catholics" (Conzen, 2003, p. 46). The distinctiveness and relative endurance of the German religious endogamy emerged from the immigrant encounter of a revitalized German Catholicism with an American republic undergoing its own process

of religio-cultural redefinition. Conzen (2003) believed there are four factors that were crucial in forming the German Catholic subculture: First, the relative success by the mid-1840s of German American efforts to support the Catholic migration and retain immigrants within Catholic auspices; second, the diaspora consciousness–the sense of still being part of a larger, German-rooted whole–cultivated through continuing ties to homeland Catholicism; third, the practical political obstacles, which Germans, along with other Catholics, presented to an America in the throes of evangelical self-redefinition; and fourth, the '*Kulturkampf'* mentality and separatist milieu formation that resulted. Germans were a self-conscious group of people who, on the whole, took pride in their professional ethic, as Barry (1952) pointed out when he said that the German settler enjoyed an excellent reputation among his neighbors for industry, thrift, and dependability. Many states, companies, and agents offered special concessions to attract German immigrants (p. 8).

Table 29

Summary of German Ideology.

Conservative	Ethno-religiosity	Separatist Conservative
	Language	"Language saves the faith"

Education.

Grade school education. Much to the dismay of American ecclesiastical hierarchy, whose policy was to create a system of parochial schools in opposition to the predominantly Protestant public school system, German Catholics in the Midwest, unlike Irish Catholics in New York, "turned tax-supported rural public schools into parish schools on the old country model as soon as they dominated local electorates and retained German customs of

administering parish property through a lay Kirchenrat rather than by the pastor alone" (Conzen, 2003, p. 50).

"In 1889 the Archbishop of Milwaukee and the bishops of two dioceses of Green Bay and La Crosse were natives of Germany." According to Wisconsin's 1889 Bennett Law, legal school attendance required basic subjects taught in English. The language in most parochial schools was German "The anti-Bennett Law agitation brought about the phenomenal union of Lutherans and Catholics upon a single platform" (Kellogg, 1918, p. 10). Con (1980) wrote that Germans and Lutherans together conducted well-organized protests and politicized the language issue. A coalition of German Catholics and Lutherans under the leadership of the Democratic Party produced a landslide for the Democrats, and Republicans dropped the issue until World War I (Kellogg, 1918).

Benedictine college. St. Vincent's Benedictine College in Latrobe, PA, was founded by Fr. Wimmer in 1846 for the purpose of educating German-speaking youth for the priesthood, but at the urging of Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, the college also recruited English-speaking Catholic students and those who had not received the call to a priestly vocation. Oetgen, (2011) reported that in the fall of 1849 there were 39 students in the monastery school, but in 1884 the number had grown to 286. The college had a large library, modern chemistry and physics laboratories, classical department, and a commercial department with eight post-graduate students who had finished the commercial course but wished to prepare more thoroughly for professional studies in law and medicine. There were 37 faculty members, all of whom were members of the Benedictine community. In 1870, the state legislature empowered the college at Latrobe to grant academic degrees like any college or university in the United States (Oetgen, 2011). Within ten years, five more Benedictine

colleges were opened by 1880, and, as Table 30 illustrates, at the end of the immigration era, 13 colleges had been established under the auspices of the Benedictines.

Table 30

Benedictine Colleges in the United States in 1920.

College	City	State	Founded
Saint Vincent College	Latrobe	Pennsylvania	1846
Saint John's University	Collegeville	Minnesota	1857
Benedictine College	Atchison	Kansas	1858
Saint Gregory's University	Shawnee	Oklahoma	1875
Belmont Abbey College	Belmont	North Carolina	1876
Conception Seminary College	Conception	Missouri	1886
Benedictine University	Lisle	Illinois	1887
Saint Anselm College	Goffstown	New Hampshire	1889
Saint Joseph Seminary College	Covington	Louisiana	1889
Saint Leo University	Saint Leo	Florida	1889
Saint Martin's University	Lacey	Washington	1895
College of Saint Scholastica	Duluth	Minnesota	1912
College of Saint Benedict	St. Joseph	Minnesota	1913

Adapted from the list of Benedictine colleges available on the Association for Catholic universities and colleges website (accunet.org)

Pontifical College Josephinum. The Pontifical Seminary Josephinum was founded by a Westphalian German immigrant priest, Monsignor Joseph Jessing, who once lived in Baltimore (1867), but later settled in Cincinnati, Ohio where a strong German-speaking community had formed. He entered Mount Saint Mary's Seminary in Cincinnati, and after three years of study, was ordained on July 16, 1870. He was immediately named Pastor of Sacred Heart Church, a German immigrant parish in Pomeroy, Ohio, a small mining town on the Ohio River. Fr. Jessing established St. Joseph's orphanage for the destitute German boys

in his parish, using funds donated by generous German Catholic immigrants. The orphanage, which was moved from Pomeroy to Columbus, Ohio in 1877, became the site of the present-day Pontifical Seminary Josephinum.

The Pontifical Seminary Josephinum was funded by the generosity of many German Catholics throughout the United States who, at the prompting of Jessing, donated funds to create a seminary for preparing priests to serve Catholic immigrant parishes in America. Relying on his fellow German immigrants for support, Jessing began a German-language newspaper, *The Ohio*, in 1873; Fr. Jessing was the sole journalist and publisher. Circulation increased rapidly, and the name soon changed to the *Ohio Waisenfreund* (Ohio Orphan's Friend). Jessing's paper met with great success and soon became one of the most widely read German-language publications in the United States. He used the newspaper as a fund raising organ.

The first group of students to attend Josephinum comprised four orphans and 19 other German boys from 11 states. For the first few decades of its existence, the Josephinum continued to focus efforts on recruiting German students and educating them to work among German-speaking Catholics throughout the United States. To ensure that his seminary would attend to the religious needs of the wide-spread Germans communities in the different parts of the nation, Fr. Jessing asked Pope Leo XIII to accept the ownership of the seminary as a pontifical institution. The request was granted on December 12, 1892. Thus, the Josephinum came directly under the authority of the Holy See and became the Pontifical College Josephinum. On June 5, 1894, the College was incorporated under the laws of the State of Ohio; and on June 14, 1894, it was chartered as a degree-issuing institution. In recognition of Fr. Jessing's dedication to the Church, Pope Leo XIII made him a Domestic Prelate with the

title of Monsignor in 1896. Monsignor Jessing died on November 2, 1899, a champion of the poor, dedicated to higher education, the priesthood, and service to God. Table 31 is a summary of German education in America.

Table 31

Summary of German Education.

Grade Schools	Catholicism in public school setting
College	German Benedictine colleges
Seminary	Josephinum Columbus, OH

Ecclesiastical leadership.

German Jesuits on the eastern seaboard reconsolidation in rural Pennsylvania. Immediately after the Revolution, Germans in Philadelphia and Baltimore began a painful process of separating from Irish coreligionists into German-language parishes of their own... differences in devotional practice and language seem to have been responsible" (Conzen, 2003, p. 47). German Jesuit missionaries initiated the process of promoting the successful integration of the Catholic German immigrants. As early as the mid-18th century, German Jesuits encouraged scattered German Catholics to concentrate in two rural Pennsylvania settlements where religious services could be more efficiently provided.

In 1799, Dimitri Gallitzin, a Russian-Westphalian aristocrat, who four years earlier became the first American-trained priest ordained in the United States, again recruited German pioneers to form a dedicated Catholic colony in Pennsylvania's western wilderness; the Jesuit strategy became a pattern for other German Catholics as they moved westward. A similar strategy was adopted by Peter Henry Lemcke in western Pennsylvania and Joseph Ferneding in Indiana (Conzen, 2003, p. 47).

German Bishops (German triangle). By 1821, the number of German Catholics had grown exponentially in the new western diocese of Cincinnati, prompting the American ecclesiastical hierarchy to create the Diocese of Cincinnati. Newly installed Bishop of Cincinnati, Fenwick traveled to Europe in search of German-speaking priests to serve in the diocese. He recruited first the Hanoverian, Frederick Reese, and then two Swiss, Martin Kundig and John Martin Henri, the latter of whom would become Milwaukee's first Bishop in 1844.

Nevertheless, German Catholics were a minority in a church dominated by the Irish. Control of bishoprics seemed crucial. The first German-born bishop, Frederick Reese (1791-1871) of Detroit, was appointed in 1833 but soon resigned under pressure. It was only with the appointment of Swiss-born John Martin Henri (1805-1881) to the newly created See of Milwaukee in 1844 that Germans really entered the episcopate. As shown in Table 32, other German-born bishops joined Henri by I860; by 1916 the number of bishops of German extraction had increased to 45, but each episcopal appointment to an area with large numbers of Germans renewed the ethnic controversy.

A crisis in 1890 resulted from a memorandum sent to Rome in 1886 by Michael Heiss, the Archbishop of Milwaukee requesting a more independent role for German Catholics. European members of the St. Raphael's Verein–a lay society founded in 1871 by a German merchant, Peter Paul Cahensly, for the protection of German Catholic immigrants–petitioned Rome for more German bishops in the United States. Germans took the resulting condemnation of *Americanism* by Pope Leo X in 1899 as their vindication and condemnation of the liberal policies that Americanized bishops such as Bishop Ireland (Flinn, 2007). Table 32 shows the growth in the number of bishops of German heritage in the century 1820-1920.

Table 32

Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of German Descent by Decade.

Period	German	National Total
1820 - 1830	0	20
1831 – 1840	1	32
1841 – 1850	3	61
1851 – 1860	3	92
1861 – 1770	5	121
1871 – 1980	7	156
1881 – 1890	8	211
1891 – 1900	9	260
1901 – 1910	5	305
1911 – 1920	4	335
Total	45	

Alternative in-group power structure.

Importance of Germany for its financial support and connectedness to Rome.

By custom, pioneer priests returned to their home countries to solicit funds for their poor missions. Catholic services for the early immigrants and support for the emigration of the German religious was eased by internationally centralized organizations; donations from mission societies in German-speaking countries, including the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (founded in France in 1822, but with numerous German members), Austria's Leopoldinen-stiftuug (1829), and Bavaria's Ludwig-Missionsverein (1838). Father Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., also called on his close friend Ludwig I of Bavaria, not only for funds, but also for his support and influence at Rome. The world-wide German contributions also aided the construction of countless schools and churches. Bishops Reese and Fenwick built a

seminary and Athenaeum for the education of priests, using funds donated with the facilitation of the Imperial Court in Vienna and Empress Karolina Augusta (Smith, 1984). Upon Fenwick's death in 1832, Father Reese became the administrator, a position he held until 1833 when he was named Bishop of Detroit. When the new dioceses began to form in the late 1840s, the Midwestern bishops in Dubuque, Milwaukee, and St. Paul embarked on explicitly luring German Catholic settlers to their dioceses. Table 33 shows a summary of German American Ecclesiastical Leadership.

Table 33

Summary of German Ecclesiastical Leadership.

Parish (ethnic)	1799: consolidation immigrants of German extraction in Pennsylvania by D. Gallitzin
(Arch)Diocese	1821: Cincinnati Diocese
Episcopal representation	45
Alternative in-group governance structure	German aristocrats using their influence in Rome to promote the election of Germans to episcopal positions

Table 34 summarizes German categories, concepts, and dimensions.

Table 34

German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
	Origins and sagas	Germany	
		Disastrous harvests & Napoleonic wars	
		Kulturkampf	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	4 million
		Peak	1881-1890
Demographics			Colonies, Entreports
			German Triangle
	Settlement patterns	Parish	1799: consolidation – PA by D. Gallitzin
		Settlement	65% urban
		Missionaries	O.S.B, C.PP.S. C.Ss.R., O.F.M , etc.
		Priests	23%
	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	37%
		Skilled	40% (1870)
Tasks		Unskilled	35%
	Type	Agriculture	23%
		Other; Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades	
	Heroes and saints	Cahensly, Wimmer	
Cultural values	Rituals and ceremonies	G/Christmas	
	Sacred space	206 (191347) German only	
		1684(1481343) German & others	
Ideology	Conservative	Ethno-religiosity	Separatist, Conservative
		Language	"Language saves the faith"

Table 34 *German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions. Continued*

Categories	**Variables/Concepts**	**Dimensions**
Education	Grade school education	Catholicism in public school setting
	Higher education	German Benedictine college
	Seminary education	Josephinum Columbus, OH
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	1821: Cincinnati Diocese
	Episcopal representation	45
	Alternative in-group power structure	German aristocrats influence on Rome

Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Germans.

Indirect negotiation with Rome through influential aristocrats in Germany. Indirect negotiation mediated by German aristocrats and prelates with political and financial influence in the Vatican defined the type of governance relations between Rome and the German Catholics at the beginning of the immigration era. Through the influence of the internationally organized German church, immigrants in the United States were able to have their governance-related issues met by the bureaucracy in Rome. John Ncpomucene Neumann's 1852 appointment to head the Diocese of Philadelphia was facilitated by Graf von Spaur, a person of influence both in Germany and Rome (Barry, 1952). Father Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., founder of the American Benedictines, was granted an audience in the Vatican through the influence of his close friend, King Ludwig I of Bavaria.

Direct negotiations with Rome. Once German immigrants were established in their relatively insular enclaves, the German Triangle, and others, clerics and Bishops of German descent engaged in direct negotiations with Rome to promote German standing in the American ecclesiastical environment. An 1886, a memorandum was sent to Rome by Michael Heiss, the Archbishop of Milwaukee, requesting a more independent governance structure for Catholic immigrants of German descent. Fr. Jessing's request of Pope Leo XIII to accept ownership of the Pontifical College Josephinum in Columbus was granted on December 12, 1892.

Factors contributing to the type of governance relationships that evolved between Rome and Catholics of German descent included an internationally organized German church, an early peak arrival period peak (1881-1890), the efficiency with which German immigration and settlement processes were conducted, the number of clerics fleeing

Bismarck's Kulturkampf who perpetuated German religiosity in the United States, and that the German language and ethno-religiosity was representative of conservative Catholic ideology in the era of Americanism and modernism–Top-down process of Romanization. Toward the end of the immigration era, Rome embarked on a campaign to enforce a more centralized policy for the governance of the American ecclesiastical environment. Its strategy was to exert various mechanisms of control such as the decree on Infallibility of Pope (1870), Code of Canon Law (1907), control of ideology that translated in the condemnation of Americanism, modernism, and secularism, and decrees on seminary formation, which culminated in the establishment of the American Pontifical College in Rome. Figure 26 depicts the governance relationship structure between German immigrants and Rome.

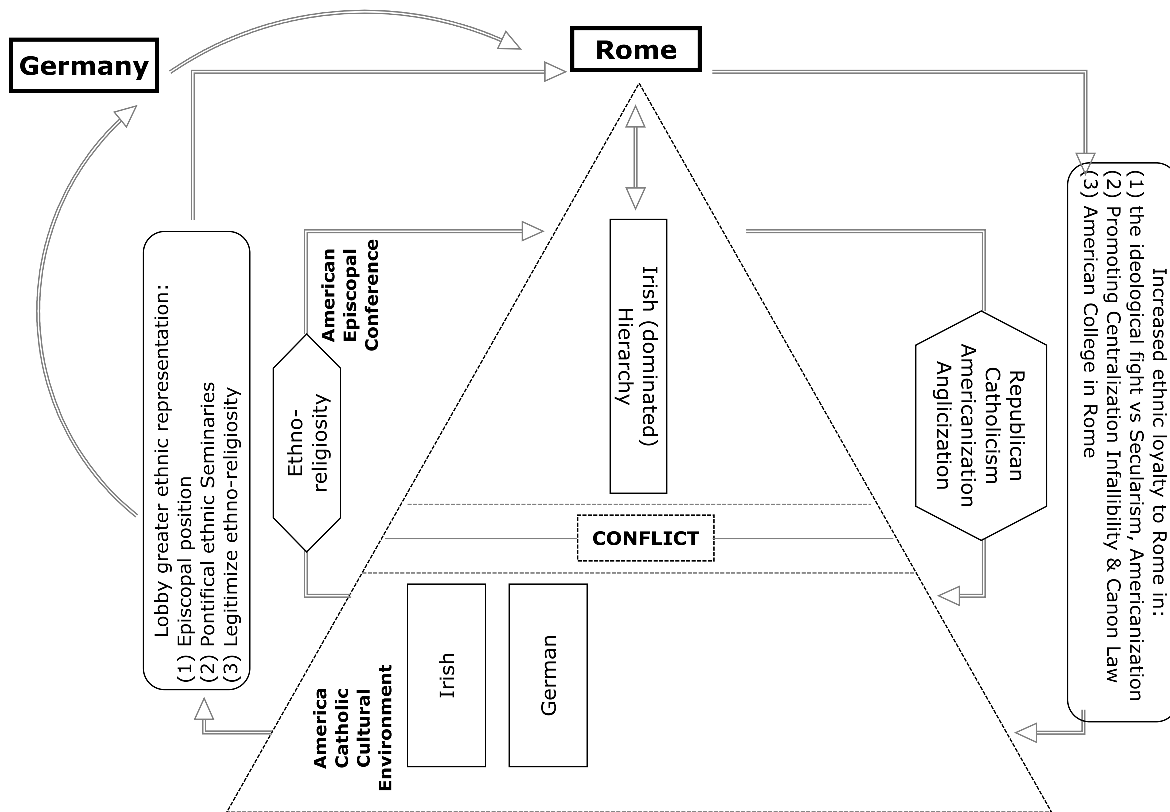


Figure 26. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Germans

French Immigration

Demographics.

Origins and saga. Explorers and settlers from France in the 17th century established New France. The region became British Canada after the British defeated France in the French and Indian War (1754-1763). The majority of “French Canadians came to the United States between 1845 and 1895” (Basxan, 1980, p. 390). According to Laflamme, Lavigne, & Favreau (1909), the origins of most French Canadians are the rural districts of Canada, especially the eastern townships, from the Dioceses of Trois Rivières and Rimouski, and from the Counties of Beauce, Bellechasse, and others on the U.S. border.

Environmental, political, economic, and social developments contributed to French

Canadian emigration to the United States. A short growing season of barely three months in the colder Canadian environment, reduction in desirable arable farmland as a result of population increase, and little up-to-date agricultural technology were good reasons to consider resettlement in the U.S. Economic incentives were added when Great Britain lifted restriction to international trade; thus, free trade and much American grain and commodities were available to Canadians at a much cheaper price from the U.S. Canadian farmers and entrepreneurs from the 1840s were in direct competition with the aggressive and technically more advanced American farmers.

Moreover, relative unhampered and unrestricted movement to more productive nearby lands was easily undertaken by lumber wagon, baker's cart, stagecoach, train, or on foot. Timely employment opportunities awaited French Canadian immigrants who replaced the westward-moving Yankees in New England before the peak of the influx of immigrants from Europe; by 1880 over 3 million native-born Americans from Maine to Pennsylvania had moved and compelled New England entrepreneurs to hire the incoming industrial labor from nearby Quebec. Finally, a segment of French Canadians became caught up in the social excitement and joined the onrushing tide of Europeans transitioning into the United States by way of Canada. The massive exodus was detrimental to the well-being of Quebec.

Table 35

Summary of French Canadian Origins and Sagas.

Origins	French Canada
Sagas	Cessation of New France

***Immigration pattern*.** According to Laflamme et al., (1909), there were over 500,000

French in United States' territory in 1869. Another estimation based on multiple sources put the total of French Americans with Canadian parentage at 810,105. The authors based their estimation of the total number of French Canadian Catholics in American on three different sources of demographic information: (1) The 12th Census of the United States, (2) local enumerations made in New England since 1900, and (3) as late as the year 1908, the Catholic Directory of the United States.

Nearly two-thirds of the "French Canadians immigrants settled in the New England states, while the rest spread across the country as far west as Montana" (Basxan, 1980, pp. 390-391). More than 20% of the settlers were in the North Central regions, fewer than 3% in the West, and fewer than 1% in the South. The Civil War hastened changes in French Canadian settlement patterns; an increasing number of French Canadians sold their lands in Quebec and relocated in the United States (Laflamme et al., 1909). "The small percentage of Canadians in the southern states (2% of the English, 1% of the French) hardly does justice to the cordiality between Southerners and Canadians, which dates from the time of the Civil War" (Wickett, 1913, p. 88).

Table 36 shows the totals of Catholic French Americans distributed in regions across the United States, including those born in Canada, and the total if combined with those for whom at least one parent was born in Canada. Details of the distribution by state, within each region, are shown in Appendix D.

Table 36

Distribution of French Americans by Region of the United States.

Region	Foreign-born	Of Foreign Parentage
North Atlantic	305,160	583,341
South Atlantic	636	1,378
North Central	77,019	198,451
South Central	1,460	4,110
Western	10,791	22,204

The reported figures, exclusive to French-speaking Canadians, did not include the French from France (reported as being 265,441 by the Census of 1900), the French-speaking Belgians, and other French-speaking groups (such as the Acadians) of the colonial times who were scattered throughout America (Basxan, 1980). According to Shaughnessy (1925), an average of 20% of the total French Canadian immigrants were Catholics. Table 37 gives the decadal totals of Catholic immigrants of French Canadian origin. Adding the number of French Canadians born in United States between 1820 and 1920, those who converted to Catholicism, and French Canadians who were added to the United States territories in its westward expansion brings the total number of American French Canadian Catholics to about 470,837 (Shaughnessy, 1925, p. 244).

Table 37

Catholic French Canadian Immigration 1820-1920.

Period	Total Immigration	French Canadian Immigration
1820-1830	128,502	2,277
1831-1840	538,381	13,624
1841-1850	1,427,337	41,723
1851-1860	2,814,554	59,309
1861-1870	2,081	153,871
1861-1870	2,631	383,269
1871-1880	179,226	383,269
1881-1890	742,185	392,802
1891-1900	8,202,388	
1901-1910	6,347,380	
1911-1920	4,295,510	

The French Canadian's immigration pattern of this era was unique because French Canadians had been Americans for generations; coming to the United States, as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts (1908) stated, was merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line from one part of America to another (Laflamme et al., 1909). Due to the proximity of the French Canadians to the United States, the French immigration and movement across the border took place quietly, slowly, without creating any disturbance, and remained almost unnoticed (Laflamme et al., 1909). French colonies that formed were well

organized and well documented. French Canadians created ports of entry that facilitated the smooth transition of fellow sojourners into United States' society.

Table 38

Summary of French Canadian Immigration Patterns.

Statistics	1 million
Peak	1911-1920
	Subtle, Seasonal, Proximity, US prospects

Settlement pattern. Figure 27 traces the journey of the Catholic French Canadian immigrants who settled in the United States between 1820 and 1920.

Figure 27. Trails of French Canadian settlements.

A contingent of over 40,000 French Canadians, who served in the War for American Independence (1775-83), settled on the shores of Lake Champlain. This stretch of land was given to them by the American Congress in recognition of their services and to prevent them from being prosecuted in Canada on the charge of high treason (Laflamme et al., 1909).

Table 39 lists the 10 most popular destinations for immigrants of French Canadian origin and the population of immigrants.

Table 39

French Canadian Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1850-1920).

City of Residence	**Population**
Fall River	20172
Lowell	14674
Chicago	5307
Worcester	5204
Providence	3850
Detroit	3541
Boston	2908
New York	2527
Minneapolis	1706
Cambridge	1483

French cultural values and norms were transmitted through schools and newspapers, as well as social, athletic, and mutual benefit groups established to serve their communities. Whenever French Canadian Catholics reached a critical mass, they generally organized groups based on their common goals. The "counter financial institutions such as the People's Bank and St. Mary's Cooperative Association established in 1900 and 1908 respectively were formed to re-enforce the unique character of French Canadian identity" (Basxan, 1980, p. 396). Laflamme et al., (1909) stated that French American societies were invaluable to newcomers seeking companionship, assistance, and a familiar environment. In addition, French American societies offered vital services such as life insurance, sick benefits, advice

on naturalization, education, religious guidance, efforts to present the history of French Canadians in the United States in a positive light, and fighting prejudice and discrimination targeting French Americans. Names and membership of a sample of national societies is shown in Table 40.

Table 400

Names and Membership of French American National Societies.

Name	**Councils or Courts**	**Members**
L'Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique	255	19,576
Association Canado- Américaine	159	11,158
Ordre des Chevaliers de Jacques Cartier	4	897
Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Américains	40	8,500
Artisans Canadiens-Français	75	12,000
L'Assomption	17	1,500

At their convention in Woonsocket, R. I., on September, 25, 1906, the editors and publishers of these newspapers joined together in *Association des Journalistes Franco-Américains de la NouvelleAngleterre*. Committee members resolved; (1) to assert their loyalty to the republic, (2) to use the press to foster in their French American readership a spirit of true and sincere American citizens, (3) to promote naturalization, (4) to preserve their mother tongue, (5) to learn the English language, (6) to maintain parochial schools, wherein both languages should be taught on an equal footing, (7) to ask for priests of their own nationality to be their pastors, and (8) to request the Holy See to appoint, when feasible and proper, bishops of French Canadian nationality, familiar with both the English and French languages, in all dioceses in which the French Americans constitute the majority of the Catholic population (Laflamme, et al, 1909).

Priests. Clergy and religious were available to Catholics of French extraction in the thriving French enclaves. French Canadian missionary priests and religious serving in the United States knew their people, understood their character and customs, had the same mentality as their flock, and easily succeeded in organizing flourishing parishes devoted to the immediate needs of French Catholics. Priests, brothers, and nuns of French heritage working in these parishes and other religious-based institutions (hospitals, almshouses, orphanages, and convents) were the nucleus for the French Canadian community that formed. French religious orders housed over 2618 orphans, and French nuns had custody over 1865 sick and aged adults, wayward women, and working girls (Laflamme et al., 1909).

Religious orders. Assumptionists were among the most prominent of religious orders, as shown in Table 41. French nuns affiliated with convents served in various charitable organizations, and 119 religious brothers served in elementary education (Laflamme et al., 1909).

Table 41

French Religious Orders Serving in the U.S.

Religious Orders of Nuns	**Convents**	**Members**
Sœurs de Ste-Croix	18	149
Sœurs Grises	17	268
Sœurs de la Presentation de Marie	16	193
Sœurs de Jésus-Marie	19	171
Religious Orders of Brothers	**Elementary Education**	
Frères de Ia Charitè de St-Vincent de Paul		27
Frères Maristes d'Iberville		47
Frères de St-Gabriel		7
Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes		7
Frères du Sacré-Cœur		31

By the early 1900s, in New England alone, there were over 400 French priests and 2,000 nuns. According to Laflamme et al. (1909), clergy of French extraction were fairly well represented in all the principal dioceses; by 1908 there were 21 in Baltimore, 62 in Chicago, 19 in Albany, 14 in St. Paul, 3 in San Francisco, 25 in New York, 5 in Oregon, 3 in Philadelphia, 7 in Dubuque, 9 in Milwaukee, 96 in New Orleans, 5 in Syracuse, and 63 in Ogdensburg. Table 42 is a summary of French Canadian demographics.

Table 42

Summary of French Demographics.

Parish	1851: 1st French parish in Burlington
Settlement	90% urban
Missionary	Assumptionists
Priests	400 (in 1900) 3.3%

Task. Wickett's (1913) account, based on the 1900 U. S. Census, showed that of "819,264 Canadians ten-years-of- age and over, 40% were engaged in manufacturing, 30% in personal service, between 17% and 18% in trade and transportation; about the same percentages in agriculture, and somewhat more than 4% in professions" (p. 91). A high number of French Canadians were employed in textile and cotton mill manufacturing; although relatively few in number, saloon keepers and bartenders topped the list of service workers; the transportation industry employed workers in the business of steam railways

Prior to the Civil War, "French Canadians came to northern New England during harvest and haying seasons… others came to work in the brickyards, or the few textile mills already in operation" and "still more were drawn by the lumber and copper booms in Michigan, the newly opened farming regions of the Midwest, and the gold fields of

California" (Basxan, 1980, p. 395). Some French Canadians came in search of work during the period of unprecedented prosperity in the industrial and agricultural sector; others worked as contract laborers; groups of men hired for specific jobs and were brought into the United States by train. Many arrived with families and found work in the cotton mills and manufacturing industries producing consumer goods in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. The professions at the turn of the century accounted for very few, not more than 800 in any one category; however, men in the professions followed to minister to the needs of the transplanted habitants. Eventually the immigrant men and women (and children–often employed by the age of eight) moved into an ever-wider array of jobs, but their role in New England's industries remains the most notable" (p. 395).

"By 1870, 67% of the textile mill workers in 18 New England communities were French Canadian; in 1885, 60% of the workers in the boot and shoe industry in 15 Massachusetts towns were from Quebec." "During the 1880s, between 20 and 50% of New England's cotton mill workers, brick and tile makers, furniture workers, and sawmill employees were still of first or second generation French Canadian stock." In 1890, "70% of the first and second generation French Canadians in New England were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries" (Basxan, 1980, p. 395). See Appendix E for details about specific tasks and the numbers of French Canadians engaged.

The majority of the early seasonal French Canadians factory workers who came from rural backgrounds were unfamiliar with the labor movement, to which the clergy were vehemently opposed. Consequently, "the French shunned union membership and, at times, worked as strike breakers" (Basxan, 1980, p. 396). Union leaders responded with a prolonged anti-French Canadian campaign that climaxed in 1881 with the report by Carroll Wright,

Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, which declared that the Quebecois were "the Chinese of the Eastern States," uninterested in remaining or becoming citizens but only intent on earning money (partly through the labor of their children) and leaving (p. 396). French Canadian workers' interest in union activity increased as the church became less involved in economic issues about 1900.

Table 43

Summary of Tasks for the French Canadians.

Ranks	Professional	4.2%	Clerical
	Skilled	5%	Trades
	Unskilled	80%	
Types	Agriculture	17.7%	Farming
	Other	Factory	Boots, wool, cotton
		Construction	
		Mining	
		Services	Hotel, nurse, tailor
		Craft / trades	carpentry, merchants
		Other	distiller

Cultural values. Laflamme et al., (1909) stated that French Canadians' ethno-religiosity was based on a reconstruction of parish life (churches, convents, and schools) and pieties carried on from the motherland of Canada. French Canadian congregations were particularly insular and always careful to avoid pernicious foreign influences that would corrupt their religiosity.

Heroes. Basxan (1980) wrote that French Canadians believed that their motherland of Quebec was a "lost paradise, a land peopled by an extraordinary group of explorers, Catholic missionaries, fur traders, and farmers warranting the title of heroes for their role in the

foundational experiences of immigrants and constituting a unique cultural entity separate from France and never truly conquered by the British" (p. 391). The most popular Canadian heroes, saints, and martyrs venerated and revered by the French Canadians included Jesuit priests Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Garnier, Antoine Daniel, and Gabriel Lalemant martyred in 1640s; François de Laval, first Bishop of Québec; and Catherine de Saint-Augustin, 1639 founder of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec, the first of five historic hospitals in Canada Carey (1993).

Rituals and ceremonies. For the Quebecois, the sacred and the secular were interwoven in the customs and celebrations exhibiting a deep sense of symbolism each part of the year. Basxan (1980) elaborated on the way that feasts days on the Catholic calendar received a cultural dimension among the French Canadians. "January 1, the beginning of the year, was celebrated with parties, visiting, gift-giving, and especially the blessing of the children by the father; then came Mardi Gras, Lent, Holy Week, and Easter" (p. 395).

Corpus Christi or fete-Dieu celebrated during late May or early June was a time for blessing the crops; June 24 was the day to honor their patron saint, St. Jean-Baptiste (the symbol of great missionary work in the French church). The first day of November, the feast of All Saints, celebrated French saints, and November second, the solemn Day of the Dead focused on the deceased members of the French Catholic communities; emphasis was placed on fallen French heroes who were held in high esteem. December 24 was a day of fasting until the Christmas celebration that began with the Midnight Mass and concluded on January 6 with the celebration of Epiphany.

The celebration of sacraments such as Baptism interspersed at many times during the year kept alive the joys of life and the collective memory of the epic and heroes of New

France. The sacrament of marriage was most often celebrated at specific times of the Canadian calendar year; either in July during planting season, October after the harvest, or in January during the festive celebration of the New Year.

Sacred space. In Quebec, the rural parishes were essentially homogeneous communities whose religious and civil needs revolved around the church and the leadership of the priest at its nucleus. French parishes were established after other secular societies had been created. “A parish without a church is preferable to a parish without a Catholic school,” stated an editorial in 1925, “for the reason that where the second is lacking, the first often becomes useless” (Basxan, 1980, p. 398).

In communities where French Canadians were the dominant group, national parishes with a French Canadian priest were established; other areas saw mixed territorial parishes (Basxan, 1980). In some cases these parishes were serving “French-speaking Belgian, Cajun, and Acadians subcultures; in other cases parishioners were bilingual. The number of national parishes increased from about a dozen throughout New England in 1870, to nearly 90 in 1890, and to 138 in 1911” (p. 397). The most prominent parishes for this era are shown in Table 44.

Table 44

French Canadian Parishes in the U.S.

Parish	City, State	Year
Nativité de la Sainte-Vierge	Swanton, VT	1856
Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil	Pittsfield, MA	1867
St. François-Xavier	Winooski, MA	1868
St-François de Sales	Waterville, ME	1869
St-Joseph	Lowell, MA	1869
St-Pierre	Lewis, ME	1871
St-Joseph	Biddeford, ME	1872
St. Jacques	Manville, RI	1872

French Canadian Parishes in the U.S. Continued

Parish	**City, State**	**Year**
St-Augustin	Manchester, NH	1872
St-Louis	Manchester, NH	1872
Ste-Anne	Lawrence, MA	1873
Précieux Sang	Woonsocket, RI	1873
St-Charles,	Providence, RI	1878
St-Laurent,	Meriden, CT	1880
St-Augustin	Augusta, ME	1888

Table 45 provides detail about numbers of French-speaking churches and those who offered French language services along with English in the immigration era.

Table 45

Churches and Membership Using French Language Alone or with English.

	Alone		With English		Total	
Language	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership
French	200	478,255	499	548,711	699	1,026,966

Table 46

Summary of French Canadian Heroes, Ceremonies, and Sacred Space.

Saga		Cessation of New France
Heroes(saints)		Canadian Martyrs
Ceremonies		-
Space	Ethnic churches	200 (191347)
	Ethnic& English (1916)	499 (548711)

Ideology.

French Canadian ethno-religiosity. In the period preceding the British conquest, French Canadians regarded Quebec as the "root of their culture and identity," holding in high regard the foundation established by Catholic missionaries, explorers, traders, and farmers

(Basxan, 1980, pp. 391-392). The politicization era, which undermined Quebec's previous glory, re-enforced the Quebecois' resolve to find alternative ways of reinventing their urban and rural society. The combination of the mystique surrounding the early groups and the legacy of the rural milieu with its profound ethnic loyalty accounts for much of the pride, resilience, and tenacity that persisted among the French Canadians. The survival of the French Canadian was based on the vibrant parish-centered lifestyle with a faith-filled community of members grounded in ethno-religious pieties and customs celebrated using the French language. French Canadian culture, "was defined by language, determined by faith, and dedicated to the family… conquest by England and isolation from France did little to compromise the newly acquired identity of the Quebecois nurtured and sustained by desire to preserve these elements (Basxan, 1980, p. 394).

The Family matriarchal structure. The French Canadian family in Quebec was more nuclear and autonomous than its peasant counterpart in France. By comparison, women in French Canada had higher status, wielded more authority, and exercised more latitude in matters related to childbearing. "In the North American environment, there was a positive economic incentive for women to have many children… large families, averaging nine to ten births, promoted parish growth and furnished parents with needed helping hands" (Basxan, 1980, p. 395).

Diaspora mentality. In the 1840s when the prospects of emigrating to the United States, even for brief periods of time, became more appealing, a diaspora mentality began, characterized by a systematic and deliberate effort to maintain "kinship ties (extending even to third cousins) especially among those dispersed by immigration" (Basxan, 1980, p. 395).

To foster loyalty among immediate household members, frequent visitation and mutual assistance among relatives was encouraged.

Language. French Canadians in the United States and Canada were convinced that their language embodied the uniqueness of their faith, family, and tradition. Quebecois believed that "a people whose territory is invaded is only conquered, but if they allow their language to be invaded they are finished" (Basxan, 1980, p. 394). "English was the language of the conqueror and worse, of Protestantism" therefore, "Preserving French would keep alien ideas from undermining their culture" (p. 395). The idiom among French Canadians was, "Let us worship in peace and in our own tongue, let us read and write in our tongue…. All else may disappear, but language must remain our badge" (p. 395). French Canadians on both sides of the border repeatedly resisted efforts to subvert their language; they resisted the use of English, especially in the schools. French-language parochial schools were initiated after the 1820s as more French Canadians settled in areas where a variety of languages were spoken. For over half a century, schools became a means for cultural reproduction perpetuating French culture and ethno-religiosity taught in the French language in an English speaking nation.

Table 47

Summary of French Canadian Ideology.

Ideology	Separatist
(Ethno-religiosity)	Conservative
Language	English language of conqueror & Protestantism - Anglophobia.

Education.

Grade school education. French Canadians quickly realized that by establishing French-language parochial schools their cultural heritage would be maintained and transmitted to the United States. "Emphasis on French rather than English as the language of instruction in French parochial schools became one of the chief issues of contention between French Canadians and English-speaking Catholics" (Basxan, 1980, p. 398). Clerics and religious who helped preserve the language and traditions of Catholics of French extraction were increasingly seen as symbols of stability and direction in the communities of French immigrants. The clerical leaders "promoted religious and administrative practices such as French Gregorian chants and the local control of parish finances that was popular in Quebec" (p. 397).

One of the first schools to open based on the French model was in Rutland, VT., in 1869; by 1891, in New England alone, the number had grown to 53 French-language parochial schools with more than 25,000 French Canadian children in attendance. "Eighteen years later, the enormous increase in the second generation Catholic of French extraction was reflected in the increase of French schools–a total of 133 schools (41% of the parochial schools in New England) had been established with an enrollment of 55,000 students (Basxan, 1980, p. 398).

The convent of the sisters and the school of the brothers complemented parish activities. As a rule the school was built before the church; school premises were used for Sunday church services until funds for church construction were available (Laflamme et al., 1909). In schools run by religious women, over 1,985 women affiliated with 30 different orders were actively involved in attending to the educational needs of French American

students (Laflamme et al, 1909). The French American influence in the parochial education sector was the strongest in New England.

Table 48

Catholic Parochial Schools in New England.

Diocese	Total Schools	French schools	Total Pupils	Pupils in French Schools
Boston	76	15	48,192	7,263
Burlington	21	17	5,951	4,009
Fall River	21	14	9,300	6,171
Hartford	69	10	30,275	3,508
Manchester	36	19	12,800	8,833
Portland	23	13	9,138	6,073
Providence	26	14	16,000	7,414
Springfield	55	31	22,780	11,712
Totals	327	133	154,436	54,983

Higher education. The foundation laid by the French Catholic grade school system was re-enforced by a strong French secondary, tertiary, and college education system established by a group of religious, Pères de l'Assomption from France, at Worcester, MA. The same group also founded 14 other academies, commercial colleges, and boarding schools, enrolling a total of about 1000 male and female students. The first Assumptionists' college opened in 1904. At the inception, classes were conducted in French, but the pressures of acculturation and the all-English environment began to take their toll on the Assumptionists, who eventually opened their college to students from other ethnic and cultural backgrounds. During this period, commercial and secondary colleges in various cities of Canada remained popular, attracting an average of 3,500 French American students in the U.S. every year among first-and second-generation French Canadian immigrants (Laflamme et al., 1909).

The American College in Louvain. According to De Becker (1907), the American College in Louvain was founded in 1857 with the cordial support of the Belgian hierarchy and two American bishops, Martin John Spalding and Peter Paul Lefèvre (a French Belgian). At its inception, the seminary was facilitated by financial support from the following dioceses: Detroit, Louisville, Natchez, Oregon City, Baltimore, Nesqually, Victoria, B.C., Hartford, Buffalo, Port of Spain, New Orleans, Richmond, Newark, Leavenworth, Helena, Belleville, and Tucson. The seminary was placed under the direct of supervision of the Congregation for Propaganda in Rome, and a committee of three American bishops to represent the American episcopal conference.

The American College in Louvain was founded during the papacy of Pius IX (the Pope who released his *Syllabus of errors* on December 8, 1864, condemning the emerging liberal political and ideological thought of his time). Pius IX's strategy to minimize secular ideological and political thought was to create special seminaries under the direct supervision of Congregation for Propaganda in Rome. The Congregation for Propaganda was to ensure the courses offered in the Pope's seminaries inculcated Catholic thought into future orthodox priests. Priests trained in these seminaries were to be picked by Rome to serve as bishops in the different provinces of the world.

The purpose of the college in Louvain was not only to enable American-born students to pursue thorough courses of theology in Europe, while familiarizing themselves with the languages, usages, and customs of the Old World but also to afford young men of various European nationalities an easy means of preparation for pastoral ministry in America, and thus, offering bishops well-trained candidates for their several dioceses (De Becker, 1907). The list of fifteen graduates of the American College in Louvain during the immigration

period includes four archbishops: Charles John Seghere, Francis Janssens, P. W. Riordan, and B. Orth of Victoria, B.C. A complete list of the graduates who became bishops and archbishops during the period is shown in Appendix F.

Table 49

Summary of French Canadian Education.

Grade Schools	Schools to perpetuate French culture & language
College	French Assumptionists' colleges
Seminary	Louvain, Belgium and Seminary in Quebec

Ecclesiastical leadership. The French immigrants were intent on recreating in the United States the Catholic organizational structure they left behind in Canada, including parishes and episcopal sees comprising many ecclesiastical provinces with archbishops, bishops, numerous clergy secular and religious. The American church hierarchy, however, was reluctant, or often unable, to attend to the immediate cultural and linguistic needs of the French Canadian Catholics. The predominantly Irish American church hierarchy feared that granting French national parishes staffed by Canadian immigrant priests would encourage the formation of a French enclave within the United States, thereby causing great harm to the nation as a whole (Laflamme et al.,1909).

The desire for a more stable French ecclesiastical structure than the English-speaking American church was offering French Canadian immigrants became more apparent in the 1840s, when clashes erupted between the Irish and the growing French Canadian population in Vermont. A meeting in April, 1850, between approximately 300 Quebecois and Pierre-Marie Mignault, the newly appointed Vicar General of Boston Diocese (a French immigrant himself), laid the groundwork for the first French Canadian parish in New England.

Mignault, a resident of Chambly, Quebec, was assigned the position for the purpose of attending to the specific ethno-religious well-being of his compatriots in the United States. Two months after the meeting, the parish of St. Joseph in Burlington opened with the Reverend Joseph Quevillon as the first priest. Two years later the French-born Reverend Louis de Goesbriand, Vicar General of Cleveland, became the first Bishop of Vermont and the first Bishop in New England to actively recruit numerous French-speaking priests.

Many prelates of French background served in the United States' ecclesiastical territory during the immigration era. Among the most prominent among clerics of French descent were: John Cheverus, Louis William Valentine Dubourg, John Dubois, Benedict Joseph Flaget, Simon Brute and Ambrose Marechal the third Archbishop of Baltimore, Maryland. The exhaustive list of bishops of French heritage can be found in Appendix G. Table 50 shows that the number of French speaking bishops from France and Belgium exceeds the number of bishops of French Canadian extraction who served in the United States territory during this era.

Table 50

*Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of French Descent by Decad*e.

Period	French Canadian	Other French	National total
1820 - 1830	0	7	20
1831 - 1840	0	6	32
1841 - 1850	3	6	61
1851 - 1860	0	6	92
1861 - 1770	0	7	121
1871 - 1980	2	3	156
1881 - 1890	3	8	211
1891 - 1900	2	7	260
1901 - 1910	1	3	305
1911 - 1920	1	0	335
Total	12	53	

Conflict between the French and Irish subcultures. As noted earlier most of the acrimonious clashes between the predominantly Irish-American church hierarchy and Catholics of French extraction revolved around the question of language and appropriation of funds for parish administration. At the peak of the tensions between the two subcultures, the Quebecois withdrew from the predominantly French parish of Notre Dame De Lourdes in Fall River, MA when long-term Bishop Thomas Francis Hendricken of Providence (1872 to 1886) appointed an Irish priest to replace Father Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Bedard, a French priest who had died on August 24, 1884 (Roby, 2005). Hendricken interdicted the Quebecois who had left the parish, thus literally banning them from the Catholic faith. The parishioners appealed to Pope Leo XIII who, in 1886, intervened on their behalf stating, "French Canadians needed priests of their own nationality as they alone would be able to keep their flock in Catholic fold" (p. 126). The interdiction was removed and a French speaking priest appointed to the parish.

The parish of St. James in Danielson, CT, served the religious needs of 1,800 French Canadians and 300 Irish Americans (Roby, (2005). A decision by pastor Abbe Thomas J. Preston to exclude the French language from the school curriculum led to clashes between the two subcultures. The conflict persisted even when a French Belgian priest, Father Clovis Socquet was appointed in 1896 to replace Preston. Three years later a similar struggle occurred at St. Joseph parish in North Brookfield, MA.

Roby (2005) reported on ethnic strife about appropriation of parish funds in Maine between the two Catholic subcultures after Bishop Louis S. Walsh took over the Portland diocese in 1906. The Franco-Americans there opposed ecclesiastical policy that made the bishop the sole proprietor of church property; their goal was lay trustee control of church property. Using his episcopal authority, Walsh interdicted the Franco-Americans who, despite efforts to garner support from other French constituencies including delegates from Quebec, were unable to revise the ecclesiastical policy.

Table 51

Summary of French Canadian Ecclesiastical Leadership.

(Arch)Diocese	1853: Goesbriand 1st French Bishop of Burlington
Episcopal representation	12
Alternative in-group governance structure	other French speaking bishops (53 bishops)

Table 52 is a summary of French Canadian Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Table 52

French Canadian Subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	French Canada	
		Cessation of New France	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	1 million
		Peak	1911-1920
			Subtle, Seasonal, Proximity, US prospects
	Settlement patterns	Parish	1851: 1st French parish in Burlington
		Settlement	90% urban
		Missionaries	Assumptionists
		Priests	400 (in 1900) 3.3%
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	4.2%
		Skilled	5%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	17.7%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	Canadian Martyrs	
	Rituals and ceremonies		
	Sacred space	200 (191347)	
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)	Diaspora mentality	
		Political & linguistic	English language of conqueror & Protestantism - Anglophobia
Education	Grade school education	Schools to perpetuate French culture & language	
	Higher education	French Assumptionists' colleges	
	Seminary education	Louvain, Belgium and Seminary in Quebec	

Table 52 *French Canadian Subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions Continued.*

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	1853: Goesbriand 1st French Canadian Bishop of Burlington	
	Episcopal representation	12	
	Alternative in-group power structure	other French-speaking bishops (53 bishops)	Catholic Congregationalism

Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the French.

Subordination to diocese in Quebec. At the beginning of the immigration era, governance relations between Rome and the Catholics of French Canadian descent were based on their subordinated affiliation to the French Canadian ecclesiastical diocese in Quebec. After the cessation of New France, Quebecois Catholics who had been abandoned by the French government and conquered by an English-speaking, Protestant monarchy, were forced to reconstitute as a people organized around their affiliation to Catholic Church in Canada. In the articles 25 and 28 of recapitulations, the Quebecois demanded of their British administration that Catholics and their infrastructure not be compromised in any way or form. From that time forward, the Catholic Church in Quebec, which in 1674 was constituted as the first diocese on the North American continent, became a government within a government, symbolic of the old and unbroken form of governance persisting in British Canada. French Canadian immigrants identified with this governance structure and sought to recreate it in their settlements in the United States,

Direct negotiation with Rome. Between 1870 and 1900, conflict ensued between Catholics of French Canadian descent and the Irish-dominated hierarchy in charge of churches in Fall River, MA, Danielson, CT, and North Brookfield, MA. The population of French Canadian Catholics in each of these cities surpassed that of the Irish. In such cases, French Canadians engaged in direct negotiations with Rome requesting that the Vatican enforce regulations that would require the Irish bishops to assign French-speaking priests to the parishes where Catholics of French Canadians descent constituted the majority.

Indirect negotiation. Negotiations of an indirect nature were the second type of governance relationships between Rome and the French Canadian immigrants, as the French

Catholic press in the United States rallied its readership to request for greater representation in the American ecclesiastical hierarchy. At their convention in Woonsocket, R. I., in 1906, a newly formed association of editors and publishers of French Catholic newspapers enacted resolutions for placement of French Canadian priests in their parishes, and requested the Holy See to appoint French/ English-speaking French Canadian bishops in all dioceses where French Americans constituted the majority of the Catholic population (Laflamme et al., 1909).

Several factors contributed to the types of governance relationships that evolved between Rome and Catholics of French Canadian descent. Of primary importance were the historical circumstances wherein ecclesiastical territories of the Diocese of Quebec became part of the United States ecclesiastical environment. An increase in French ethno-religiosity and the episcopal representation in the American Catholic environment to over 18% was the result of the establishment of the American College in Louvain, the preparation of French-Speaking clerics and bishops to serve in the United States, and a large contingent of French-speaking clerics (secular and religious) from France and Belgium. Further, French Canadians associated the English language with the British conquerors. Leadership of a Protestant Queen was also a factor that led French Canadian settlements to the creation of Quebecois enclave in New England. Figure 28 summarizes the governance relations between Rome and the French Catholic subculture.

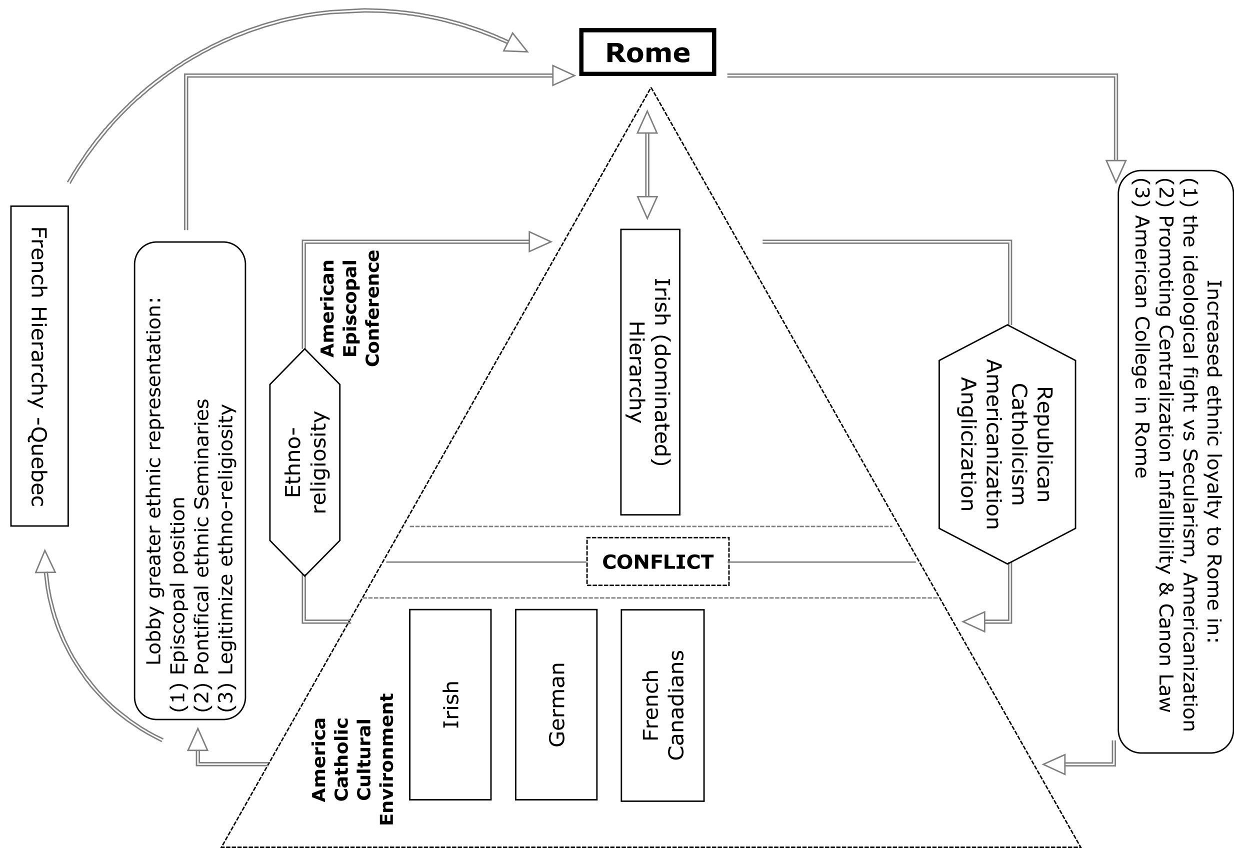


Figure 28. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the French

Polish Immigration

Demographics.

Origins and saga. Major incentives for Polish emigration were political, religious, and economic. Between 1795 and 1918, Poland was partitioned and defined as a disjointed and oppressed minority nation within three neighboring empires: Russian, Prussian, and Austrian. Initially, Polish Catholic emigrants came to America mainly from the German part of partitioned Poland, where they were targeted for religious reasons. Bismarck's policy of Kulturkampf or “the struggle for culture,” instituted by the German government, was designed to weaken the hold of the Roman Catholic Church in German territories (Greene,

1980, p. 792). During the Kulturkampf, the government suppressed religious institutions, imprisoned the Polish archbishop, and placed restrictions on all Catholics. These actions encouraged Polish Catholics, especially the clergy, to leave the country. Overpopulation, land shortages, crop failures, and an antiquated agricultural policy coupled with the lifting of travel restrictions, forced peasant and disadvantaged Poles to migrate outward in search of a more economically viable life style (Greene, 1980; Golab, 1977).

Table 53

Summary on Polish Origins and Sagas.

Origins	Partitioned Poland
Sagas	Kulturkampf, overpopulation, land policies
	Land shortage

Immigration pattern. Greene (1980) stated, "The exact beginning of the massive Polish immigration is difficult to establish," especially because Poland was a disjointed nation under different European principalities. The exact number of Poles is also difficult to establish because Polish immigrants to the United States travelled under the guise of citizenship of the European principality under which they had been subjected (Seroczynski, 1911). Estimates show about 434,000 Polish immigrants from the German-controlled sector and approximately 805,000 from Russian Poland. Poles from the provinces of Austrian Galicia were dominated by miners and factory workers from the regions of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Lower Austria. The peak of Polish immigration occurred during and after World War I when about 800,000 Galician Poles migrated to the United States.

Seroczynski (1911) compiled numbers of Poles shown in Table 54 from various Catholic dioceses from several data sources including, but not limited to, the official Catholic

Directory (1911); manuscript information received from Polish clergy and non-Polish priests laboring among the Poles; information received from officials of various Polish organizations; reports sent by 46 archbishops and bishops of dioceses, where Poles constituted more than 90% of the diocesan clergy; and reports of the Bureau of Immigration, giving the intended destination of the immigrants.

Table 54

Catholic Polish Immigration. (1820-1920).

Period	Total Immigration	Catholic Immigration
1820-1830	128,502	16
1831-1840	538,381	369
1841-1850	1,427,337	105
1851-1860	2,814,554	1,269
1861-1870	2,081	2,024
1861-1870	2,742,137	12,970
1871-1880	5,248,568	12,970
1881-1890	3,694,294	51,806
1891-1900	8,202,388	169,977
1901-1910	6,347,380	865,361
1911-1920	4,295,510	474,226

Greene (1980) believed, “the total number of Poles who migrated to America between 1870 and 1914 was more than 2 million” (p. 794). Seroczynsk (1911), however, is more conservative in his estimation of the total Polish immigration for this era. He suggested that the Polish population of 1,244,428 was ministered to by more than 702 clergy in 517 parishes. Further, that more than 104,143 Polish students were educated in 330 schools by 1,678 nuns and 134 lay teachers. Table 55 shows the ten dioceses in U.S. with the highest

population of Polish immigrants led by the Chicago Archdiocese with its population of more than 220,000.

Table 55

Polish Immigration to U.S. dioceses (1820-1920).

Diocese	Population
Chicago	223,304
Buffalo	88,759
Pittsburg	77,309
Milwaukee	59,182
Philadelphia	56,000
Scranton	52,200
Cleveland	51,990
Newark	50,550
Detroit	49,000
Brooklyn	46,000

According to Shaughnessy (1925), on average, 75% of the total Polish immigrants were Catholics. Adding the number of Polish born in United States between 1820 and 1920, those who converted to Catholicism, and Polish who were added to the United States territories in its westward expansion accounts for the total number of American Polish Catholics to about 1,193,320.

The journey of the Polish immigrant from the time they left the motherland to the time they settled in America changed little over the years between 1880 and 1914. "The North German Line out of Bremerhaven and the Hamburg American Line monopolized the Polish traffic" (Greene, 1980, p. 794). Immigration was reinforced by newspaper reports and immigrant letters about prospects (political and monetary) of relocating in America. When an

individual made the decision to emigrate to the United States, “they bought a *passage* from a local transportation agent or received one in the form of a ticket from a contact in America…. selling personal effects, livestock and, rarely, land, or borrowing from the local moneylender (who was often also the shipbroker) provided the necessary funds for travel” (p. 794). “After 1900, transportation companies simplified and eased the process of border formalities by combining overland and transatlantic passage in one price; a ticket could be purchased for the trip virtually door-to-door, for example, from Radom to Wilkes-Barre, PA” (p. 794).

Table 56

Summary of Polish Immigration Patterns.

Statistics	1.2 million
Peak	1901-1910
	“Passages,” Communication networks

Settlement pattern. The map in Figure 29 summarizes the settlement pattern of Polish immigrants.

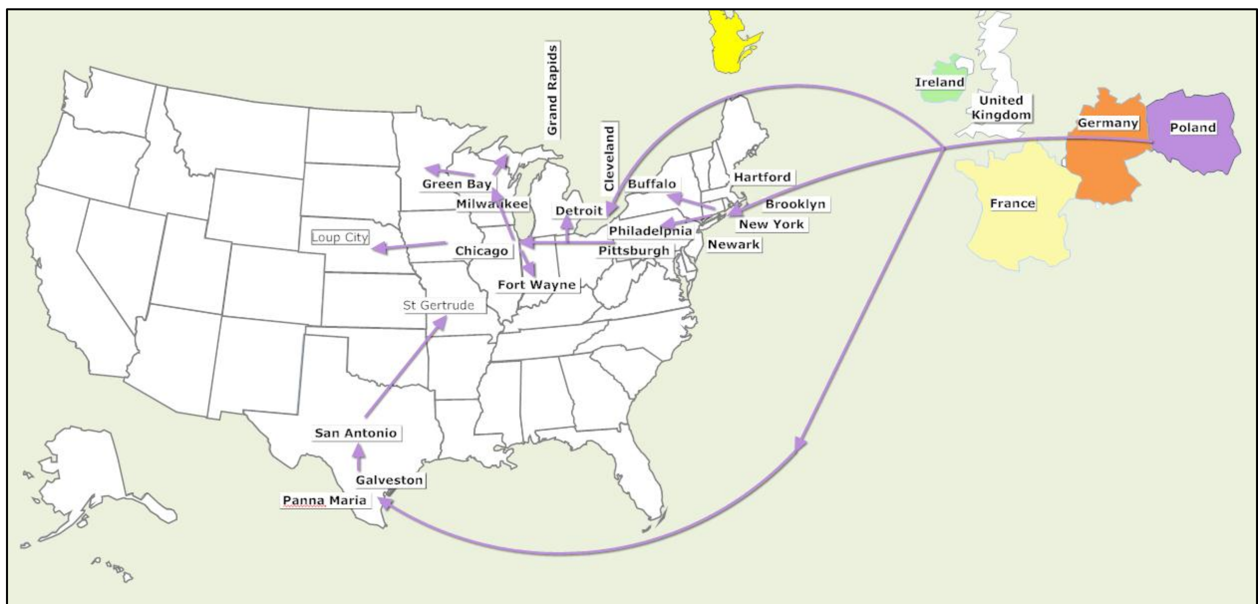


Figure 29. Trail of Polish settlements.

Rural Panna Maria, TX, is generally recognized as the first Polish settlement (1854) of the era of the peasant mass migration, but most Poles settled in northeastern and midwestern towns and cities (Koliński, 1995). Polish immigrants concentrated in the industrial belt that extended from Boston to Philadelphia and westward across New York and Pennsylvania, through Pittsburgh, northern Ohio, and northern Indiana, to Chicago and Milwaukee.

"Before 1892, most Poles entered the country through Castle Garden in New York, but afterward, Ellis Island" or other Atlantic ports were popularized as ports of entry (Greene, 1980, p. 794). Once in the United States, Poles traveled overland to sites where they eventually settled. Some Polish immigrants chose to enter the United States by way of the St. Lawrence River and through the Great Lakes (Koliński, 1995); some disembarked in Quebec or other Canadian ports. Once cleared to stay, the newcomers sought U.S. regions where Polish settlements were already established (Greene, 1980).

Wisconsin's land policy, which offered land in 1871 as cheap as fifty cents per acre was a powerful inducements for Polish settlers. 'The Wisconsin Commissioner of Emigration, who opened an office in New York in 1852, made contacts with immigration agents, placed advertisements in foreign newspapers, and printed promotional pamphlets which appealed to Poles" (Koliński, 1995, p. 37).

Two other groups of Poles arrived in the U.S. from Canada shortly before 1860 and settled in Michigan and Wisconsin (Greene, 1980). "By the turn of the century, there were about 100,000 Poles in Wisconsin. To a great degree they were homogeneous, originated from the Poznan region and Pomerania (predominantly Kaszubs), but small numbers of

Russian Poles and Galicians also found their way to the Midwest" (Koliński, 1995, pp. 36-37).

The location and development of Polish communities were undoubtedly determined by the pattern of westward-expanding railways. "Frequently, a private entrepreneur, cleric, or colonization company served as an intermediary in attracting settlers and selling land." "For instance, the community of Gilman in Benton County, MN, grew out of 25,000 acres of timberland purchased in 1877 from the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad by a group from Chicago. Within a short time, a Michigan agent of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railroad's emigration bureau established several Polish settlements including Stephen in the Red River Valley and Wilno in Lincoln County" (Koliński, 1995, p. 41).

Poles who arrived after the Civil War went to the "rapidly developing cities of the East and Middle Atlantic and Midwest states: New York and Buffalo; Pennsylvania mining towns like Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and Hazelton; and the steel centers of Pittsburgh and Cleveland and their surrounding towns" (Greene, 1980, p. 794). Poles seeking work were attracted to the mills, slaughterhouses, refineries, and foundries in Midwestern cities like Cleveland and Toledo, South Bend, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Omaha, St. Louis, and, above all, Chicago. Detroit was a later, secondary destination. These communities and other smaller industrial towns first attracted individual German Polish pioneers and, after the 1880s, larger contingents from Austria and Russia (Greene, 1980).

Polonia. The Polish immigrant communities, *Polonia* (Latin for Poland) as these enclaves individually and collectively were known, became vital centers of immigrants' social, political, and religious life. Polish Roman Catholic parishes were the heart of Polonia, which drew together perhaps the largest ethnic group in the U.S. Catholic Church. From the

local Polonia grew regional and national associations for the preservation of cultural and ethnic identity among the Poles.

The successful integration of Polish immigrants revolved around individuals; a priest, local grocer, or saloonkeeper who provided a clearinghouse and meeting place for the Polish immigrants was held in high regard and always esteemed for facilitating a variety of cooperative efforts among Polish immigrants. "Mutual funds were established to aid families through crises such as sickness, accident, or death; funds collected were usually managed in a neighborhood saloon, grocery, or church…. This early form of social insurance was later adapted to serve other ends, particularly the purchase of real estate (Greene, 1980, p. 795). The grocer or innkeeper served not only as a guide and labor recruiter but also as a banker and insurance agent, steamship representative, letter writer, and dispatcher of money to Poland. His influence in the community was much greater than the local parish priest who played a similar role.

"The most famous of the Polish community mobilizers among the clerics was the Reverend Vincent Barzynski of the St. Stanislaus Church in Chicago who held $550,000 in deposits in 1890 and wielded great power over his parishioners (Greene, 1980). Both the Polish secular press and parish bulletin provided avenues through which the Polish immigrants and their heritage could be cultivated" (p. 795).

Priests. Seroczynski (1911) wrote that Father Leopold Moczygemba of a German Franciscan order, who is responsible for the inception of several Polish settlements in Texas, arrived in the United States in 1851. During the next several years Moczygemba wrote letters to relatives and encouraged them to come to a new land of plenty. One of the earliest Polish enclaves was the contingent of Silesian Poles who arrived first in Galveston in 1854 with all

their possessions, tools, and plows; indeed, even the bell and great cross of their native village. They were led to Panna Maria, TX, by the Reverend Moczygemba. Some of the artifacts they brought to the New World still remain in the first Polish Church built in Panna Maria; a lasting memorial of the faith of the early pioneers (Seroczynski, 1911).

The early group of settlers were followed by 159 families, primarily from the environs of Toszek and Strzelec, who after being met in San Antonio, later formed a community at a second site developed by Fr. Moczygemba northwest of the city near Bandera. "In the autumn of 1855, about 700 Polish Catholics arrived; some rejected the previous two sites and chose to settle about 16 miles east of San Antonio, near Martinez; in a place they later called St. Hedwig" (Koliński, 1995, p. 30). The mid-19th century (1856) brought the last mass migration of 500 Poles from Silesia to Texas. "The great Texas drought of 1856-1857, which dried up all crops and vegetation, severely affected the Silesians" prompting the immigrants to search for better living conditions farther north a far as present day Missouri (p. 34).

Religious orders. The Resurrectionist Fathers were an order of consecrated religious founded in Paris in 1836 during an era called *The Great Emigration* (1831–1870) when many political elites fled Poland as a consequence of the partitioning of their country. The Resurrectionists arrived in the U.S. in 1866. Along with their first Provincial Superior, the Reverend Vincent Barzynski, they established most of Chicago's Polish parishes before 1900. Their efforts included a Polish high school, orphanage, hospital, and other institutions.

An energetic Wisconsin priest, the Reverend Joseph Dabrowski, sponsored the first order of Polish nuns, the Felician Sisters, in 1874; they staffed most of the group's parochial schools. Father Dabrowski was one of the founding members of the first Polish Catholic

seminary in Detroit (Greene, 1980). Table 57 shows a summary of Polish demographic information.

Table 57

Summary of Polish Demographics.

Parish	Panna Maria 1854, 1866: 1st parish in Chicago (Founder: Vincent Barzynski)
Settlement	90% urban
Missionary	Polish Resurrectionist Fathers
Priests	702 (in 1911) 4.2%

Tasks. Poles entered many occupations including farming (a mere 10%) and non-agricultural trades. It is estimated that fewer than 20% were in the professions, skilled labor, and the arts; but fully 80% took semiskilled and unskilled jobs in mass production and heavy industry–coal mining, oil refining, steelmaking, meatpacking, textiles, electrical goods, and auto manufacturing (Greene, 1980, p. 798).

Urban and Industrial Catholic Polish America. American employers considered Polish immigrants well-suited for arduous manual labor in coal mines, slaughterhouses and steel mills, particularly in the primary stages of steel manufacture. As Greene (1980) related, it was not unusual for companies to encourage an employee to travel to Castle Garden, or Ellis Island, or even back to Europe to recruit friends and kin. Poles, especially from the Austrian territory were already engaged in mining and factory businesses; it was, therefore, much easier for them to adjust to the mining industry in America (Shelley, 1995).

By the mid-1880s, "Chicago had become known as the American Warsaw. Poles in Chicago were the largest European American ethnic group, with 40,000 Poles making up 7.3% of the total population; three-quarters were from Germany, a tenth were surprisingly

either skilled workers or professionals such as doctors, pharmacists, and priests" (Greene, 1980, p. 795). Similar Polish American communities resembling Chicago developed elsewhere. "Wealthy businessmen, Stanislaus Merlin and clothing merchant John Lemke, from West Prussia helped to organize the community in Detroit after their arrival in 1857 and 1858, and August Rudzinski, a former Poznan innkeeper, organized Polish Milwaukee after 1859" (p. 795). These Polish were organized in such a way that community life was usually directed by laymen. Only church life was in the hands of the clergy.

Rural Catholic Polish America. Rural Polish America constituted a unique segment of immigrant life in which peasants returning to their agrarian lifestyle re-created aspects of their life in Poland to such a degree that villages became remarkable reflections of the Old Country. The Immigration Commission of 1911 reported that "10% of all Poles in the country worked in agriculture" (Koliński, 1995, p. 22). The greatest number of Prussian Polish farmers settled in Wisconsin, very possibly as a result of that state's aggressive advertising. Adjacent Midwestern states and Texas also had substantial numbers. "Beginning in the 1870s, Polish farming settlements began to spread from Wisconsin, Michigan, and Texas into Minnesota, Indiana, Illinois, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Missouri" (p. 23). The early-arriving German Poles, those who settled in the United States when there was still an open frontier and a surplus of land, were able to acquire large pieces of farm land.

The late 19th century marked a Polish exodus from cities. Minnesota, Nebraska, and northern Wisconsin after 1860 and eastern Long Island and the Connecticut River Valley in the 1880s were filled with Polish immigrants looking for farm land. Later arrivals inclined to farming had to settle for city and industrial employment until they had saved enough to transition into an agrarian life. It was not until about 1890 that Polish farming communities

began to appear in New England. Poles entered “agriculture first as farm hands and later purchased abandoned Yankee farms” (Koliński, 1995, p. 23). The land they finally acquired was often not very productive, since the more fertile acreage was already owned by the earlier settlers. The total number of Poles who settled on farms ranged anywhere from 500,000 to 750,000. Despite hardships and disappointments, they overcame the American wilderness to establish thriving new Polish villages, build churches, and transform the U.S. with the stamp of their culture. Table 58 shows summary information about work for Polish Americans.

Table 58

Summary of Tasks for the Poles.

Ranks	Professional	10%	doctors, pharmacists, and priests
	Skilled	5%	Trades
	Unskilled	80%	
Types	Agriculture	10%	farming
	Other	Factory	Textile, sugar
		Construction	steel
		Mining	Coal, oil
		Services	
		Craft / trades	Meat packing
		Other	Textile, sugar

Cultural values.

Sacred space.

Polish Roman Catholic parishes. “Devout Catholics at home, Polish immigrants were quick to establish parish churches in the United States. In most cities, parishes developed from meetings of the local religious society in the local store or inn. “The society was

normally named for a favorite Saint–Stanislaus, Adalbert, Hedwig, or Casmir–a name often given to the parish itself" (Greene, 1980, p. 796). With many established by the Polish Resurrectionist order, these parishes, with their parochial schools and teaching nuns like the Felicians, provided cradle-to-grave social services, and encapsulated immigrant spiritual and aesthetic life.

In Detroit, for example, Saint Albertus Parish, founded in 1871, rapidly grew to be the city's largest, reflecting in its growth both the concentration of Polish immigrants and the stormy history of the group's relationship with non-Polish bishops; one of its pastors, Dominic Kolasinski, was guarded in his rectory for months by parishioners after refusing to accept dismissal by his bishop (Boyea, 1988). Polish separatism was also expressed politically in the emergence of the independent municipality of Hamtramck, entirely surrounded by the City of Detroit and demographically almost purely Polish. By 1925, the Polish Catholic community was sufficiently established to engage the services of the Anglican architect Ralph Adams Cram to design its Gothic Saint Florian Church, which dominates the town's modest, tidy, working-class homes from a hilltop like a medieval cathedral.

In Detroit and Chicago especially, a distinctive genre of church building emerged among Polish communities, the "Polish cathedral." Whereas most Catholic churches were built in grander or humbler variations on the Gothic and Romanesque themes popular across the country, the ambitious prelates and their congregations in the Great Lakes' Polonias often chose instead to make monumental statements in the Renaissance style of the mother country. "The scale of these structures, such as Chicago's Saint Stanislaus Kostka, was often enormous, reflecting both the great size of these parishes and the episcopal ambitions of their

clerical leaders" (Williams , 1997, pp. 179-180). The number of Polish ethnic parishes grew rapidly; "in 1870, there were a total of 17 churches, 170 in 1890, 390 in 1900, 512 in 1910, 760 in 1920 and a peak of approximately 800 in 1935" (Greene, 1980, p. 796). Shaughnessy (1925), who used a more conservative count, estimated that by the year 1916 the total number of commissioned Polish national churches was 466. The data provided in Shaughnessy's report on ethnic churches is shown in Table 59.

Table 59

Churches and Membership Using Polish Alone or with English (1916).

	Alone		With English		Total	
Language	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership
Polish	466	1,165,064	269	260,129	735	1,425,193

Rituals and ceremonies. Largely because of its intimate ties to church practice, the Polish culture preserved an array of customs and traditions, especially those connected with religious and family rituals. Events on the Catholic Church calendar saw cultural adaptation among the Polish. The birth of Jesus Christ, celebrated each year on December 25th (Christmas Day) for instance, was ushered in by '*Wigilia'* a meal on Christmas Eve with its ritual of breaking a wafer. The celebration of Jesus Christ's resurrection on Easter Sunday served as "an occasion for cleaning house, celebrating, and blessing a festive meal" (Greene, 1980, p. 801). For the Poles, the breaking of a wafer on Christmas Eve and the ritual accompanying the Easter celebrations were filled with the symbolism of renewal.

Christian weddings and christening rituals were accompanied by Polish-style festivities. The traditional Polish wedding celebration went on for three-days. Festivities were

accompanied by Polish food and drinks, dancing, and other social activities such as card games. Foods served included kielbasa (Polish sausage), sauerkraut, pierogi and kluski, babka cake, kaszanka, the traditional beans, cabbage, dark bread, potatoes, barley, and oatmeal. Polish beer and cocktails accompanied the meals. A polka band of drums, accordion, trumpet, and a singer entertained, as party guests danced traditional dances such as the oberek, "Polish Hop," and the waltz.

Artifacts. However poor, the immigrants always identified with the Polish Roman Catholic parish structure, setting aside funds to purchase Polish religious artifacts; "the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, the Holy Mother and Child, or a favorite saint" (Greene, 1980, p. 800). Non-Catholics found it hard to justify the extravagance lavished on the church at the expense of its visibly impoverished Polish parishioners, but Poles generally were willing to designate a portion of their meager income to the church as ecclesiastical officials saw fit.

Heroes and saints.

Saints. The practice of honoring saints, especially those identified with Polish heritage (Our Lady of Cstochowa, Poland's "Black Madonna," Stanislaus, Cyril, Methodius, Adalbert, Hedwig, Casmir, and others) played an important role among the Poles. The devotion to these saints was evident in Polish community churches named for popular saints from the old country. Stanislaus, Bishop of Kraków, who was martyred by the Polish King Bolesław II the Bold, is venerated as the patron saint of moral order and is included in the list of canonized saints in the Roman Catholic Church (Butler & Walsh, 1991).

Saints Cyril and Methodius were Byzantine Greek brothers born in Thessaloniki in the 9th century. The duo became missionaries of Christianity among the Slavic peoples of Bulgaria, Great Moravia, and Pannonia. They influenced the cultural development of all

Slavs through their work, for which they received the title “Apostles to the Slavs.” They are credited with devising the “Glagolitic alphabet,” the first alphabet used to transcribe Old Church Slavonic (Butler & Walsh, 1991, p. 46).

Heroes. Anton Schermann of Chicago is an example of a model colony-builder; he is said to have brought 100,000 Poles to the U.S. from Poland. Born in the district of Poznari in 1818, he came to Chicago with his wife and children in 1851. As one of the city's first Slavic settlers and, after working as a laborer, he opened a grocery store that soon became a social center for the city's growing Polish colony. His store also sheltered the St. Stanislaus Society, which was organized to prepare for the establishment of the city's first Polish Catholic parish. For 40 years until his death in 1900, Schermann served the community in many capacities, as agent for other societies, and assisting individual group members who needed to make travel arrangements to communicate with their Polish home districts. Table 60 shows a summary of Polish cultural values.

Table 60

Summary of Polish Cultural Values.

Heroes(saints)		**Black Madonna, Polish saints**
Ceremonies		Polish Christmas/ Easter
Space	Ethnic churches	466 (1165064)
	Ethnic& English (1916)	269 (260129)

Ideology.

Conservative. Whether in small farming communities or in the cities where most were gathered in closely knit neighborhoods, Poles made great personal sacrifices for the

institutions that maintained their cultural heritage. The Polish immigrant community, *Polonia,* became vital centers of immigrant social political and religious life. The heart of Polonia (75% Catholic), was its Polish Roman Catholic parishes. Polish parishes constituted perhaps the largest ethnic group in the U.S. Catholic Church. The linkage of Roman Catholicism and Polishness (Polsko) played an increasingly important role in the life of Poles, as Bukowczyk (1996) observed, "The lay backbone of Polishness, the fraternal confederations became more uniformly friendly with Roman Catholicism…" (p. 91). The campaign to conserve Polishness intensified in 1914, as the national leadership of Polish immigrants in America began to lobby for the reunification of the Polish homeland. According to Bukowczyk, the resolution adopted at the Polish National Congress in 1910 asserted: "We the Poles, have a right to an independent national existence and consider it our sacred duty to strive towards political independence for Poland, our Fatherland" (p. 128)

Language. A major component of Polish culture was the preservation of the Polish language. As Ahlstrom (2004) related, for first generation immigrants, the Polish language became the cornerstone by which Poles maintained solidarity. They firmly believed that when the language was lost, all was lost.

Table 61

Summary of Polish Ideology.

Conservative	Polonia
	Language, cornerstone for solidarity

Education. According to Greene (1980), Polish immigrants were not apt to invest in education. They instead prioritized "real-estate purchases and church contributions" (p. 800). It was only after 1940 that the Poles made a concerted effort to invest in the education sector.

In the customary large Polish family, several children were viewed as an opportunity to earn money. The larger the family, the more child labor and wage earners there were, but children could not work and earn money if they attended school. “As a result, most Polish parents were reluctant to see their children through high school, much less college… A basic education up to the age of confirmation was generally felt to be sufficient; the immigrant child was expected to go to work even before finishing grammar school” (p. 800). Using children as cheap labor was acceptable to Polish families into the1930s, in spite of enforced mandatory school attendance.

Grade school education. The Poles did not neglect the early years of education. Almost as soon as the neighborhood was formed, the community would make arrangements for parish instruction. In time, this chiefly working-class group supported a sizable educational enterprise. By 1911, there were 300 schools in the Polish American parochial system, most of them staffed by the Felician Sisters; by the end of World War II, the number had doubled. In addition, “15,000 students attended Polish parochial high schools” (Greene, 1980, p. 800).

Higher education. Several Polish colleges were established: Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, PA, founded by The Polish American Alliance; St. Stanislaus's College, Chicago, founded by the Resurrectionist Fathers in 1891; St. Bonaventure's College, Pulaski, WI, founded by the Franciscan Fathers in 1889; St. John Cantius's College, Erie, PA, founded in 1909; and Pennsylvania Polish College of St. John in Philadelphia, founded in 1908 (Seroczynski, 1911).

SS. Cyril and Methodius Polish Seminary. The seminary named for Saints Cyril and Methodius opened in the U.S. in 1886 after Polish Franciscan priests, Fathers Moczygemba

and Dabrowski secured permission from Pope Leo XIII to train men for the priesthood to meet the special needs of Polish Catholics (Seroczynski, 1911). Overall, the Polish education system existed more to perpetuate the specific educational and cultural needs of the Polish Catholic community than for secular education. Full-time attendance was minimal, the quality of instruction was apt to be low, and many schools were overcrowded. Thus, despite the group's strong religious commitment, “before World War I only half, at most, of Polish school-age youth attended parochial schools; about one-third in 1940, and less than a tenth by the late 1940s” (Greene, 1980, p. 800).

Table 62

Summary of Polish Education.

Grade Schools	Schools to perpetuate Polish culture & language
College	Polish National Alliance College PA
Seminary	SS. Cyril & Methodius, Orchard Lake

Ecclesiastical leadership. The linkage of Roman Catholicism and the Polish subculture increasingly influenced nationalist politics in Poland into the 20th century, spilling over into the United States. Poles led by Rev. Wenceslaus Kruszka argued for representation and equality within the heavily Irish church hierarchy, succeeding modestly with the consecration of Paul Rhode as the first Polish American Roman Catholic Bishop to serve as Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago in 1908; seven years later he was appointed Bishop of Green Bay. Despite the appointment of Rhode, immigrant lay-trusteeism and Polish nationalism remained high, leading to one of the greatest schisms to rock American Roman Catholicism. Before the fracture, Polish trustee-dissidents were actively engaged in steering their parishes to declare independence from the diocese without denouncing Roman Catholicism.

Ecclesiastical authorities acted decisively, excommunicating the dissidents who retaliated by joining together in 1904 to form the independent Polish National Church (Greene, 1980).

The Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC) schism was the crystallization of nearly three decades of growing immigrant dissatisfaction with the management and organization of the American Roman Catholic Church, which was dominated largely by bishops of Irish origin. The major issues behind the successful organization of the PNCC and its ultimate break with Rome were whether the local ordinary or the parishioners owned and administered the parish, including the language, ethnic character of the liturgy and rituals, and pastor-parishioner conflict. “By 1938, the PNCC, led by the charismatic Rev. Francis Hodur, counted 146 parishes (including some Slovak, Lithuanian, Czech, and Italian) with 190,000 members”... “The PNCC had its own insurance fraternity, seminary, publications, a network of schools and devotional societies, and had successfully initiated missionary activity in Poland” (Blejwas, 1987, p.6).

Table 63

Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of Polish Descent by Decade.

Period	**Polish**	**National total**
1820 - 1830	0	20
1831 - 1840	0	32
1841 - 1850	0	61
1851 - 1860	0	92
1861 - 1770	0	121
1871 - 1980	0	156
1881 - 1890	0	211
1891 - 1900	0	260
1901 - 1910	0	305
1911 - 1920	1	335
Total	1	

Apart from Paul Rhode, the man consecrated to serve as the as Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago in 1908, and seven years later as Bishop of Green Bay, the numbers in Table 63 illustrate that the Poles did not have a representation in the American hierarchical ranks.

Table 64

Summary of Polish Ecclesiastical Leadership.

(Arch)Diocese	1908 Paul Rhode - auxiliary Bishop of Chicago 1915 Bishop of Green Bay
Episcopal representation	4. 2%
Alternative in-group governance structure	Polish trusteeism: Polish National Catholic Church

The other two Roman Catholic residential bishops of Polish-American antecedents were (1) Bishop Edward Koziowski consecrated January 14, 1914, as Auxiliary of Milwaukee Archdiocese, WI, and (2) Bishop Joseph Casimir Plagens consecrated September 30, 1924, as Auxiliary of Detroit Diocese, MI (Kulik, 1967).

Table 65 summarizes Polish categories, concepts, and dimensions.

Table 65

Polish subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	a) Origins and sagas	Partitioned Poland Kulturkampf, overpopulation, land situation	
	b) Immigration patterns	Statistics	1.2 million ()
		Peak	1901-1910
			"Passages", Communication networks
	c) Settlement patterns	Parish	Panna Maria 1854
		Settlement	90% urban
		Missionaries	Polish Resurrectionist Fathers
		Priests	702 (in 1911) 4.2%
Tasks	a) Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	10%
		Skilled	5%
		Unskilled	80%
	b) Type	Agriculture	10%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	a) Heroes and saints	Black Madonna, Polish saints	
	b) Rituals and ceremonies	Polish Christmas/ Easter	
	c) Sacred space	466 (1165064)	
Ideology	a) Conservative (separatist)	Polonia	
		Language, cornerstone for solidarity	
Education	a) Grade school education	Schools to perpetuate Polish culture & language	
	b) Higher education	Polish National Alliance College PA	
	c) Seminary education	SS. Cyril & Methodius, Orchard Lake	
Ecclesiastical leadership	a) (Arch)Diocese	1915: Paul Rhode - Bishop of Green Bay	
	b) Episcopal representation	3%	
	c) Alternative in-group power structure	Polish trusteeism	Polish National Catholic Church

Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Polish.

Subsidiary to the Irish dominated ecclesiastical authorities in the United States. Polish Catholics Immigrants were disadvantaged in their relations with Rome in two ways. First, between 1795 and 1918, Poland was partitioned and forced to accept a definition as a disjointed and oppressed minority nation within three neighboring empires of Russia, Prussia and Austria. Therefore, despite that 75% of Polish immigrants to America were Catholic; they did not have an ecclesiastical authority from the motherland to promote Polish ethno-Catholicism in United States. Second, Poles were late-comers, the period of peak arrival for this group occurred between the years 1901and 1910. Thus, Catholics of Polish descent were subsidiary to an American ecclesiastical bureaucracy dominated by the early arrivals, especially Catholics of Irish descent whose representation in the American hierarchy at the time was over 43%. Attempts by clerics of Polish origin, such as Rev. Wenceslaus Kruszka, for representation in the American Catholic hierarchical structure only occurred towards the end of the immigration era. In 1915, the first Polish cleric, an Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Paul Rhode, was assigned to serve as Bishop of the Diocese of Green Bay, WI, establishing Polish representation in the United States hierarchy at 3% at the end of the immigration period.

Direct negotiation. Ethnic seminary for the promotion of Polish ethnic loyalties

Through the advocacy of Polish Franciscan priests, Fathers Leopold Moczygemba and Joseph Dabrowski, Poles secured permission from Pope Leo XIII to establish SS. Cyril and Methodius Polish Seminary (1886) to train men for the priesthood for the purpose of meeting the special needs of Polish Catholics in the United States.

Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC) schism. The PNCC schism, led by charismatic Rev. Francis Hodur occurred in 1904 after nearly three decades of growing Polish immigrants dissatisfied with the management and organization of the American Roman Catholic Church, which was dominated largely by bishops of Irish origin. Figure 30 summarizes the governance relations between Rome and the Polish Catholic subculture.

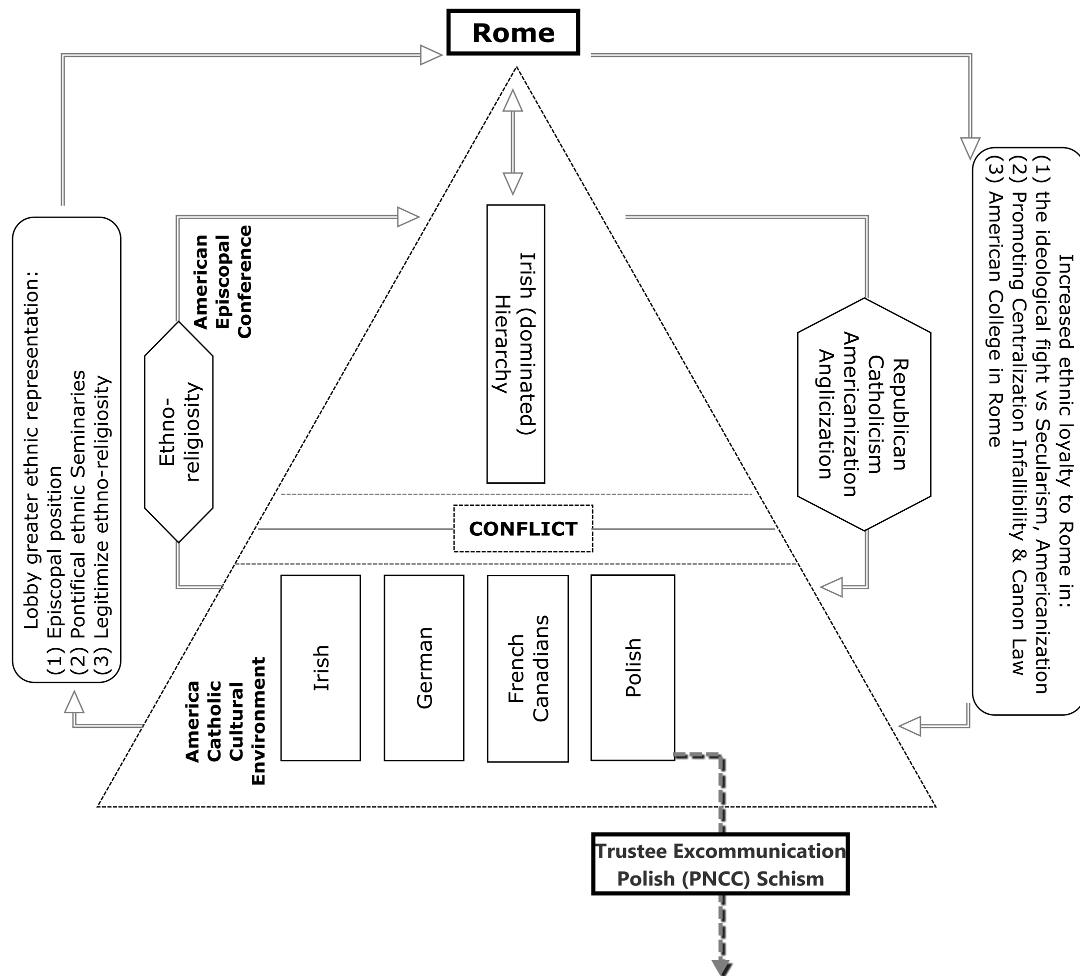


Figure 30. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Polish.

Italian Immigration

Demographics.

Origins and saga. The vast majority of almost 4 million Italian emigrants came to the United States between 1880 and 1920. They mostly came from southern Italy–"the Provinces of Abruzzi, Campania, Apulia, Basilicata (Lucania), and Calabria, the island of Sicily and the cities of Mezzogiorno, Naples, by and large from an agrarian, semi-feudal background" (Lalli, 1969, p. 44; Nelli, 1980, p. 547). The Southerners were preceded by a much smaller group of northern Italians who, in the 19th century had immigrated to United States for a variety of reasons: "to avoid military service or jail, to find religious freedom, in search of political asylum, or greater economic opportunity" (Nelli, 1980, p. 549).

Preceding the mass immigration, southern Italy was chronically impoverished and benefited little from the unification of Italy (il Risorgimento) and resultant industrialization in the northern part of the country (Sabetti, 2002; Walzer, 1980). After the unification, northern discriminatory government policies in trade, industry, and education, coupled with an oppressive agricultural system and an enormous growth in population, created further hardship for the southern peasants. Although "peasant life in northern Italy improved dramatically with the introduction of crop rotation, machinery, and fertilizers, few modem methods penetrated the south, where large estates owned by absentee landlords and supervised by overseers were tilled by field workers with the same kinds of hand plows, hoes, and spades that had been used for centuries" (Nelli, 1980, p. 549). It was primarily the disadvantaged groups, especially Sicilians, Neapolitans, and other southern Italians who emigrated to the United States and other New World destinations. Table 66 summarizes the origin and sagas of Italian immigrants.

Table 66

Summary of Italian Origins and Sagas.

Origins	Northern & Southern Italy, Sicily
Sagas	Italian unification, poverty, crime

Immigration pattern. To minimize governmental dysfunction, general social disintegration, the proliferation of outlaw societies, and overpopulation in the south, the Italian government encouraged emigration of an under-skilled peasant population (Sabetti, 2002; Walzer, 1980). Table 67 shows decadal statistics on the number of Italian immigrants who came to the United States between 1820 and 1920.

Table 67

Catholic Italian Immigration (1820-1920).

Years	Total immigration	Number of Italian
1820-1830	128,502	439
1831-1840	538,381	2,253
1841-1850	1,427,337	1,870
1851-1860	2,814,554	9,231
1861-1870	2,081	11,725
1871-1880	2,742,137	55,759
1881-1890	5,248,568	307,309
1891-1900	3,694,294	651.893
1901-1910	8,202,388	2,045.88
1911-1920	6,347,380	1,109,524

Settlement patterns. The map in Figure 31 traces the journey of the Italian immigrants from their home country to settlements in the United States. New York was the port of entry for 97% of Italian immigrants. With regular employment, however, "they tended to move out, making room for new arrivals from overseas that continually swarmed into the older neighborhood" (Nelli, 1980, p. 550).

Figure 31. Trails of Italian settlements.

According to John De Ville (1901), 87% of Italians in the U. S. settled in the New England and North Atlantic areas and, of these, nearly 80% crowded into the large cities; Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Kansas City, and Denver. Table 68 lists some destinations of Italian immigrants by decade.

Table 68

Italian Immigrant Population in Ten Selected Cities (1870-1910).

City	**1870**	**1880**	**1890**	**1900**	**1910**
Baltimore	146	385	824	2,042	5,043
Boston	264	1,277	4,718	13,738	31,380
Chicago	552	1,357	5,685	16,008	45,189
New Orleans	1,571	1,995	3,622	5,866	8,066
New York	2,794	12,223	39,951	145,433	340,765
Philadelphia	516	1,656	6,799	17,830	45,308
San Francisco	1,622	2,491	5,212	7,508	16,918

Source: (Nelli, 1980, p. 550).

Non-English-speaking southern Italian immigrants were grateful for an intermediary who spoke both languages, understood Old World traditions and New World business operations, and had contacts with local employers. Italians who arrived on the east coast sought the Italian language newspaper; it was their only connection to the new world and a link to the homeland. The Italian-language press offered immigrants "wise advice, moral and material assistance, true and ardent fraternal love" (Nelli, 1980, p. 555). Newspapers offered guidance, coordinated activities, and promoted Italian national pride. Within the Italian neighborhoods, the Italian newspaper provided a voice for people to make demands and raise complaints, but outside of the immediate community, it had no influence at all" (p. 555).

Southern Italian immigrants followed settlement patterns in the large industrial cities established by better-endowed northern Italians who preceded them. Having spent their money for their passage, the majority of new southern Italian arrivals "had no choice but to seek shelter in the neighboring slums, mainly a notorious area in lower Manhattan known as the Five Points District"…. (Nelli, 1980, p. 549). The original enclave was always in or near the city's business area. They lived at the mercy of padrones and landlords who hosted them in miserable conditions.

Much of the late 19th century social commentary dealt with southern Italians, in part, because of "the notoriety of the labor boss, or padrone phenomenon"…. "Padrones recruited men in Italy, paid for their passage, and arranged work for them in the United States, generally in construction" (Nelli, 1980, p. 552). The padrone's power extended beyond the workplace to the control of wages, living arrangements, and other matters. "At the peak of abusive padrone practices, some padrones recruited entire families, employing men as

laborers, forcing women into prostitution, and the children into the streets to shine shoes, play the mouth organ for pennies, or steal" (Nelli, 1980, p. 552).

Padrones hired Italian immigrants in the large cities but moved them on short notice wherever large unskilled labor was needed to build railroads and other construction jobs. Because it was the principal port of immigrant entry, New York City was the first and largest padrone stronghold, and the methods used there were adopted in other large cities. Chicago soon became a padrone stronghold because of its position as a railroad center; it served as a clearing-house for seasonal workers from the entire country" (Nelli, 1980, p. 552).

In addition to jobs, successful political padrones skillfully exercised power to provide favors or skirt city ordinances for their constituents. Their largesse was often seen in sponsorship of social events, parades, and church functions. "They handed out free turkeys at Thanksgiving and Christmas, gave fuel and food to the needy, sent flowers to the sick, and added to the ranks of mourners at funerals. The padrones' patronage obligated the recipients to vote for his political machine" (Nelli, 1980, p. 553).

The Irish generally held political offices in the Italian wards. They hired those who spoke Italian and were familiar with Italian customs and prejudices. To forge an association with the ward leaders, political functionaries might promise jobs or organize a benefit society for a community of workers and families; ultimately taking control of votes and leading them to the polls (Nelli, 1980).

Before the United States authorities took action to curtail the oppressive activities of these syndicates, the padrone structure, reminiscent of the Sicilian mafia godfather system, was common among most non-English-speaking immigrant groups in industrial America from the 1860s into the 20th century. The "Foran Act" (Alien Contract Labor Act, 1885)

curtailed the extreme practices of padrones (p. 552); thereafter, padrones in the United States acted as local, unlicensed labor agents, as most had done even before the legislation.

Priests. Italian immigrants found the "Roman Catholic Church in America to be a cold, remote, puritanical institution, controlled and often staffed, even in Italian neighborhoods, by the Irish" (Nelli, 1980, p. 555). Italians, whether devout Catholics or not, resented the Irish style and domination of the local church, and soon demanded their own priests and control of the churches in their communities. Some Italians were "disaffected by the church's opposition to the unification of Italy and its refusal to recognize the kingdom that had annexed the Papal States" By 1900, "disaffection was so intense that many Catholics doubted the church had any future at all among Italians in the United States" (Nelli, 1980, p. 555).

Since the quest for national unity and social reform led to open conflict between the northern and southern Italian immigrants on one hand and ruling Irish elite and "the Papacy on the other, the immigrants often associated the church with oppression; therefore, relatively benign forms of anticlericalism were fairly widespread among this group of people" (Ahlstrom, 2004, p. 999).

Protestants entered the fray in hopes of claiming coverts. Siding with the Italian principality and denouncing papal intransigence, a variety of Protestant denominations established more than 300 churches and missions and placed more than 200 pastors in Italian neighborhoods. They prepared and distributed and extensive array of costly print materials in Italian and English. Although many groups, including evangelizing social workers, public school teachers, and ministers promoted their cause, "few Italians converted, and those who did usually joined congregations outside the ethnic neighborhoods" (Nelli, 1980, p. 555).

Most immigrants remained more or less loyal to Catholicism, but the form it took was different from that of other Catholic groups. Irish and Polish Americans regarded Catholicism as an integral part of their nationalist cause; for “Italians, at least until the concordat of 1929, nationalism and Catholicism were opposing forces” (Nelli, 1980, p. 556). Nevertheless, although they raged against the church in Italy and in the United States, they supported their Italian church against Irish usurpers and Protestants.

Religious orders. In an attempt to attend to the Italian indifference to Catholicism, the Irish-dominated hierarchy sponsored Italian religious order missionaries and assigned them to national churches earmarked for the Italian immigrants. St. Anthony's Church, founded in 1866, was one of the first churches opened for the purposes of attending to the cultural needs of the Italians. It was in the Archdiocese of New York and staffed by the Franciscan Fathers. According to DeVille (1901), notable among the pioneer Franciscans were Leo Paccillio, first Pastor of St. Anthony's church and parish, New York; Anacletus De Angelis, who raised a monument to his order by building the church and convents of St. Anthony; and Father Pamfilo da Magliano, founder of St. Bonaventure's College at Allegany, New York. The Franciscans were followed by the Jesuits, Scalabrini Fathers, Salesians, Passionists, and Augustinians. Besides providing priests of Italian origin, whenever possible, parochial schools were established for immigrants, and in most, both English and Italian were taught.

Table 69

Summary of Italian Demographics.

Parish	1866: St. Anthony NY Leo Paccillio
Settlement	80% urban
Missionary	Franciscan, Jesuits, Scalabrini Fathers, Salesians, Passionists, and Augustinians
Priests	Missionary priests (315 in 1910) 1.9%

Tasks. DeVille (1901), believed that 80% of the Italian immigrants who settled in major urban centers arrived from southern Italy. Northern Italians accounted for the remainder and were predominantly engaged in the agricultural sector. "The discovery of gold in California in 1849 attracted many Italians to the West where many settled and worked as merchants, shopkeepers, truck gardeners, dairy farmers, grape growers, and wine makers; a few eventually became prominent local citizens" (Nelli, 1980, p. 549). Italian immigrants began as unskilled laborers; 42% engaged in building and railroad construction, 8% in mining, 42% worked in factories and the service sector, and just a small portion of Italian immigrants (7%) were employed in agriculture (DeVille, 1901).

Urban Italians. In New York City, the newcomers who arrived in 1855 worked as laborers, typically in skilled or semiskilled jobs or in service and trade occupations; in the building trades, the clothing industry, and as peddlers, plaster-statuette makers, and organ grinders while their children were sent out to the streets as bootblacks and organ-grinding performers. By 1860, at least a few "Italians lived in almost every state... among them were teachers and entertainers–actors, musicians, and ballet dancers–artists, stonecutters, and other craftsmen." "California had the largest number of Italian immigrants totaling 2,805; New York was next with 1,862" (Nelli, 1980, p. 552).

According to the 1870 Census, "Chicago's northern Italians were saloonkeepers and bartenders, fruit, candy, and ice-cream venders, confectioners, clerks, barbers, hairdressers, and restaurant owners and employees" (p. 552). The wealthiest group of Italians in the United States was located on the west coast, where they were employed in banking, small industry fishing enterprises, horticulture and food processing. "In New Orleans Italians took advantage of the many economic opportunities of the seaport. Sicilians found employment as

fishermen, stevedores, and longshoremen. Others became importers, exporters, and retail merchants, fruit and vegetable peddlers, and dealers. Italian capital and enterprise helped develop the fruit trade with Latin America. By 1880, Italians in New Orleans had established a stable, hardworking, and ambitious community" (p. 552).

Nelli (1980) noted that Italian women in large manufacturing cities worked in various aspects of the garment industry and in production of lace, candy, paper and cigars. By 1910, "Italian women represented the largest proportion (36%) of the female workforce in New York City" (p. 553). Seventy-two percent of Italian women were employed in the home-based artificial-flower industry that involved minimal equipment, where young girls and women with small children could earn money.

DeVille (1901) stated that by the turn of the century, Italian Americans moved from the bottom of the economic scale and began to enjoy their share of American prosperity. Italians were in a variety of trades and professions, and some had become successful merchants, manufacturers, and businessmen. Italian enterprises in many cities accounted for extensive manufacture of macaroni; the rapid proliferation of Italian restaurants in 1909 exceeded an investment of 100,000,000 dollars. "A few were wealthy, such as Amadeo Obici, the "peanut king," who founded the multimillion-dollar Planter Peanut Company; Antonio Monteleone, who built a famous hotel in New Orleans's French Quarter, owned extensive property and served as director of two banks; and the Patemo brothers, Charles, Michael, Anthony, and Joseph, prominent New York builders and contractors, who constructed apartment buildings on Fifth Avenue, Sutton Place, Grade Square, and West End Avenue. Anthony Caminetti was elected to the California State Assembly in 1882, moved on to the

U.S. House of Representatives in 1890, and served as Commissioner General of Immigration in President Woodrow Wilson's administration" (Nelli, 1980, p. 552).

Rural Italians. Most Italian immigrants were peasant farmers in Italy. In attempts to help newcomers adjust to life in America away from the slums of cities, the Italian government, U.S. state and federal governments, and some private organizations developed agricultural communities in the south-central states from Texas to Louisiana. "Despite some auspicious beginnings and official support, most of these ventures failed" (Nelli, 1980, p. 551). Italian immigrants who invested in the passage to America sought a life that would be more prosperous than the one they left behind and were, therefore, less inclined to settle for farming.

The more skilled and endowed Italian immigrants from the northern part of the country who settled on the east coast claimed small farms, which had been abandoned Americans who relocated in urban areas. The neighborhood of Boston, all of the Connecticut Valley, and the western part of the State of New York had several hundred farms occupied by Italians. In the southern part of New Jersey, Italians devoted themselves to agriculture, especially grape-growing. DeVille (1901), noted that in California, Italians were most successful as cultivators, monopolizing the silk industry and the fruit and grape industry in the region. "Many grew rich cultivating vineyards and making wine in the California counties of Sonoma, Mendocino, Napa, Fresno, and Madera. They grew vegetables on a large scale in the lands bordering the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers." "Apart from the Italians who farmed the eastern part of the Rocky Mountains the most successful farming venture established by the southerners was the Sicilian colony in Bryan, TX., founded in 1868. Other large Italian agricultural settlements were located in the West near Portland, OR,

Tacoma, and Seattle, WA, and Denver, CO" (Nelli, 1980, p. 551). Table 70 shows a summary of tasks for Italian immigrants.

Table 70

Summary of Tasks for the Italians.

Ranks	Professional	10%	Clerical
	Skilled	10%	Trades
	Unskilled	80%	
Types	Agriculture	7%	Horticulture, vineyards, silk
	Other	Factory 42%	Mills, textile
		Construction 42%	Canal, rail
		Mining 8%	Coal, gold
		Services	Artists, Teach
		Craft / trades	stonecutters
		Other	Food industry, restaurants

Cultural values. Italian culture is complicated and multifaceted. A detailed treatment of the symbolism phenomena is beyond the scope of this study; however, it will suffice to highlight the important facts that will be applied to the comparative analysis that follows in the next section. Anthropologists who analyzed the Italian scenario at the end of the 19th century and the patterns of settlements in the United States argued that Italy was a place of many diasporas and suggested that immigrants became Italians only on arrival in the receiving country. Italy was a country politically united but profoundly divided in terms of history, culture, and economics. Behind the myth of the Roman Empire (consciously used in fascist times to build the sense of the nation) and Dante's language, the new country was united only after centuries of Spanish, Austrian, and French domination (Ferraiuolo, 2009).

As stated by Nelli (1980), language in reach region was spoken with a different dialect, far from the officially imposed Tuscan-Italian, which generally was spoken only in that region or between intellectuals. In terms of identity and belonging, people defined

themselves as Napoletani, Siciliani, Lombardi. Sciaccatani, and Montefalcionesi. Self-definition was based on a local, sometimes regional, perspective. Each regional group regarded those from other regions with their strange dialects and customs not as fellow Italians, but as distinct and inferior ethnic types (Ferraiuolo, 2009).

It is ironic that individuals leaving Italy during the time of mass migration from the late 19th century to the early 20th century had no concept of being Italian. Only when circumstances in their new country required Italian immigrants to join together did they acquire an awareness of their shared Italian heritage (Nelli, 1980). Among the immigrants, southern Italians were most likely to exhibit anticlericalism because the papacy was linked with oppressive linguistic and political domination in the home country.

Heroes. Feasts days on the Catholic calendar established a cultural dimension among the Italian subgroups. In Sicilian American communities, primarily Buffalo and New Orleans, Saint Joseph's Day (March 19) was marked by parades and celebrations, including traditional *St. Joseph's tables*, where meatless dishes were served for the benefit of the poor. Columbus Day was also widely celebrated, as were the feasts of regional Italian patron saints, most notably St. Januarius and St. Rosalia. Immigrants from Potenza celebrated the St. Rocco's Day feast at the Potenza Lodge in Denver, CO.

Sacred space. Although the parish church did become a major agency of cultural identity and continuity in the Italian quarters of America, the attachment marked by strong popular fervor was not seen in the old or the new country; even a proud historian quoted by Ahlstrom (2004) conceded that “the Italian immigrant has not been generous toward his Church” (p. 999). In1910, the total number of churches with an Italian presence was 219. Six

years later, as Table 71 demonstrates, the number had increased to 476; 149 of these were purely Italian; the rest were mixed in terms of membership (Shaughnessy, 1925).

Table 71

Churches and Membership Using Italian Language Alone or with English.

	Alone		With English		Total	
Language	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership	Churches	Membership
Italian	149	420,511	327	1,095,307	476	1,515,818

Rituals and ceremonies. Italian ritualism consisted of a complex mix and confluence of practices with a long history. The images and superstitions, festivals, processions, and feasts that were part of the daily religious life of an unlettered Italian immigrant seemed to the sophisticated critic to be more pagan than Christian. The Italians saw these customs as basic to worship and to the maintenance of tradition. Some of the religious celebrations like the Feast of San Gennaro on Manhattan's Lower East Side are still held annually. Italian rituals interpreted as syncretic by ecclesiastical officials were seen by the Italian immigrant, in part, simply as an adaptation of old habits to new conditions and an effort to counteract the Irish influence that seemed to make the church impersonal and rigid. This perspective of Italian rituals was a carryover from the motherland in present-day Italy. Williams, (2008) related that the institutional church (in Rome), which was dominated by northern Italians always looked with suspicion at the Sicilians and other southerners, whose version of Catholicism was richly infused with folk elements such as the festa–a street festival honoring a local patron saint–and belief in the malocchio, or evil eye. Old patterns such as the street festa were recreated in American neighborhoods with a heavily concentrated Italian population such as Boston's North End, South Philadelphia, and Italian Harlem in New York

City (Ferraiuolo, 2009). It is probably this phenomenon of parochial or regionalized religiosity that accounted for the absence of the average Italian immigrant from the institutionalized ecclesiastical rituals except for the rites of passage such as marriages, baptisms, and funerals.

Table 72

Summary of Italian Cultural Values.

Heroes(saints)	Italians SS.
Ceremonies	Festa
Ethnic churches	149 (420511)
Ethnic& English (1916)	327(1095307)

Ideology.

Ideology at odds with Rome and U.S. ecclesiastical establishment (Creative Individualism). Italian immigrants, especially the southerners, because of their unique historical, religious, and political background developed an ideology at odds with the Catholic Church in Rome, the northern Italian immigrants, and the receiving Irish English-speaking hierarchy in the United States. The quest for national unity and social reform in Italy led to open conflict with the papacy. Thus, among southerners, the Catholic Church was often associated with oppression and relatively benign forms of anticlericalism were widespread (Ahlstrom, 2004). Once in America, southern immigrant Italians' religious life was similar to the one they had left behind, with an unsympathetic Irish American clergy in place of the northern Italians. The result of this cultural clash was an "alienation of many Italians from the institutional church" (Williams, 2008, p. 280).

Italians who in Italy would have been less inclined to cooperate with other urban and

provincial constituencies did so in the United States just for the sake of dealing with the challenges they jointly faced with other newcomers to America. The inclination to divest is shown in the Italians' openness to access near-by support systems in secular institutions such as the press, educational institutions, mutual-benefit societies, and the immigrant banks often not affiliated to the church (Nelli, 1980). In the context of marginalization, one of the largest and most influential Italian mutual-benefit societies in the country, the Order of the Sons of Italy in America, was initiated by the Italian immigrants of New York City in 1905.

Limited insularity. The average Italian immigrant, especially urban dwellers, did not have the luxury of engaging in insular activities; outside influences were unavoidable and the communities, far from being Italian in character, "hastened the process of transition from Old World to New World ways" (Nelli, 1980, p. 554).

Language. As it turned out, the Italian language did not act as a strong transmitter of traditional and cultural heritage among the immigrants. Italians within the immigrant community spoke different dialects, with the Tuscan serving as the most dominant dialect used by "the educated and cultivated sector" of Italian society while "the poor, however, knew only what they had learned at school, and most immigrants had had little education" …. "Many arrived knowing only the dialect of their region" (Nelli, 1980, p. 557).

In their efforts to communicate, Italian immigrants in America developed a hybrid language comprised of some Italian words from various dialects and some English. "American-born children did not bother to learn the American Italian language, and Italians in the homeland would not have understood it" (Nelli, 1980, pp. 557-558).

Table 73

Summary of Italian Ideology.

Conservative	Conservative(N)	
	Progressive(S)	
	Language	Dialects: Tuscan dominant

Education. Italian immigrants had a reputation for denying their children the educational opportunities accessed by other children in public and parochial schools. "Although aware that their own lack of education kept them from getting better jobs, they still did not hesitate to send their offspring out to work at an early age. Between 1899 and 1910, southern Italians in the United States had among the highest illiteracy rates of all the southern and eastern European groups. Of a total of 1,690,376 people who were 14 years of age or older when they arrived in the U.S., 54% were illiterate, compared with only 11% of northern Italians" (Nelli, 1980, p. 556).

Italians eventually complied with compulsory education laws, but still expected their children to work after school hours, and approved school drop-outs at age 14 with work permits. For the lower class Italian immigrant, the immediate gain of family income outweighed the long-range benefits of continuing in school. "Italian children, especially those whose families spoke English poorly or not at all, often left school because they were unhappy" (Nelli, 1980, p. 556). Although most children were enrolled in primary grades, less than 1% of Italian youth were enrolled in high school in the years prior to World War I.

Contrary to some other subcultures, Italian parents preferred to send their children to public schools. The high regard and emphasis on parochial schools held by the Irish Catholics was not shared among the Italians until much later (Lalli, 1969, p. 45). Italians

were more likely to suspect that parochial education was a mechanism used by the church to manipulate thinking, an attitude of Protestant liberals and socialists that was mirrored by Italian nationalists and Italian-language newspapers. Moreover, cultural norms that promoted the concept of child labor influenced parents' decisions to avoid paying tuition for schooling. Maximizing family income children outweighed the parochial school benefits of religious training and learning the Italian language. Parents who did choose parochial schools most often thought their children needed the strict discipline meted out by the sisters in charge (Nelli, 1980).

The 1910 Official Catholic Directory lists a total of 41 parochial schools, 254 teachers, and 12,697 pupils; plus 1 kindergarten and 1 day nursery, with 230 boys and 224 girls; 15 chapels, and 1 industrial school. A list of the various Catholic orders of nuns who were employed in the parochial schools is included in Appendix H . (DeVille, 1901). A summary of Italian education is shown in Table 74.

Table 74

Summary of Italian Education.

Grade Schools	Italian parochial schools Preference for Public schools
College	Italian Franciscan college NY
Seminary	-

Ecclesiastical leadership. Very few Italians entered the hierarchy or became prominent church leaders in other ways. There was a relatively small movement of Italian men and women into the priesthood and religious orders, and little avidity for the financial sacrifices for ecclesiastical agencies, especially parochial schools. Apart from the three

clerics: Joseph Rosati, appointed in 1827 for the diocese of St. Louis; Ignatius Persico, appointed in 1870 for Savannah; and Paschal Tosi, S.J, appointed in 1894 for Alaska, as the numbers in Table 75 illustrate, the Italians did not have a fair representation in the American hierarchical ranks.

Table 75

Episcopal Positions Held by Clerics of Italian Descent by Decade.

Period	Italian	National total
1820 - 1830	1	20
1831 - 1840	1	32
1841 - 1850	1	61
1851 - 1860	1	92
1861 - 1770	2	121
1871 - 1980	2	156
1881 - 1890	2	211
1891 - 1900	3	260
1901 - 1910	3	305
1911 - 1920	3	335
Total	3	

Table 76

Summary of Italian Ecclesiastical Leadership.

(Arch)Diocese	-
Episcopal representation	3 positions - 9% Joseph Rosati, Ignatius Persico P. Tosi, S.J
Alternative in-group governance structure	-

Table 77 summarizes the Italian categories, concepts, and dimensions.

Table 77

Italian subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	Northern & Southern Italy, Sicily Italian unification, Poverty, crime	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	3.8 mil (19)
		Peak	1901-1910
			Padrones, Clusters
	Settlement patterns	Parish	1866: St. Anthony NY Leo Paccillio
		Settlement	80% urban
		Missionaries	Franciscan, Jesuits, Scalabrini Fathers, Salesians, Passionists, and Augustinians
		Priests	Missionary priests (315 in 1910) 1.9%
Tasks	Proficiency (% in each professional category)	Professional	10%
		Skilled	10%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	7%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	Italians SS.	
	Rituals and ceremonies	Festa	
	Sacred space	149 (420511)	
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)	Conservative(N)	
		Progressive(S)	
		Language	Dialects: Tuscan dominant
Education	Grade school education	Italian parochial schools Preference for Public schools	
	Higher education	Italian Franciscan college NY	
	Seminary education	-	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	-	
	Episcopal representation	3 (9%) Rosati, Persico, Tosi, S.J	
	Alternative in-group power	-	

Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Italians.

Governance relation different for northern and southern Italians immigrants. Applying the title *Italian immigrants* to the entire group of immigrants that emigrated from the northern and southern part of present-day Italy is a misnomer. Of the 4 million immigrants, 80% were southerners, looked down upon by the political elite in the north and the papacy in the Vatican. Tuscan was the dominant dialect used by the educated and cultivated sector of Italian society. The north had the political, economic, and religious infrastructure; whereas the south, beleaguered by a multiplicity of Italian dialects, unemployment, an unfavorable land policy, and political dysfunction, lagged behind. To minimize governmental dysfunction, general social disintegration, the proliferation of outlaw societies, and overpopulation in the south, the Italian government, encouraged emigration of an under-skilled peasant population (Sabetti, 2002; Walzer, 1980). The resulting political tension played out among Italian immigrants who settled in the United States. Missionary groups recruited to serve among the southerners were part of the elite from the North and, therefore, unappealing to the southerners because of their deep-seated negative attitudes toward the northerners. Ultimately, different types of governance relations with Rome evolved from representatives of authoritative and bureaucratic missionaries of the north and the subsidiary of the disadvantaged southern Italians.

A religiosity of southern Italian viewed as being syncretic. The religious beliefs of southern Italians, especially the Sicilians, were a mixture of Catholicism, paganism, and superstition, characterized as a set of virtually untouched and unchallenged agrarian traditions and customs that for centuries were celebrated by southern Italians. Therefore, their beliefs were looked at with suspicion by Rome and ecclesiastical officials in the U.S.

Subsidiary to the Irish-dominated ecclesiastical authorities in the United States. The majority of southern Italian immigrants to America did not have ecclesiastical support and facilitation from the motherland and the Vatican to promote Italian ethno-Catholicism in United States. Southern Italian immigrants found the Roman Catholic Church in America to be a cold, remote, puritanical institution, controlled and often staffed, even in Italian neighborhoods, by the Irish. Further, Italians were late-comers with a peak arrival period between the years 1901and 1910. The marginal number of three bishops (Rosati, Persico, and Tosi, S.J) from among their members made Catholics of Italian descent subsidiary to an American ecclesiastical bureaucracy already dominated by the early arrivals, especially Catholics of Irish descent whose representation in the American hierarchy at the time was over 43%. Figure 32 summarizes the governance relations between Rome and the Italian Catholic subculture.

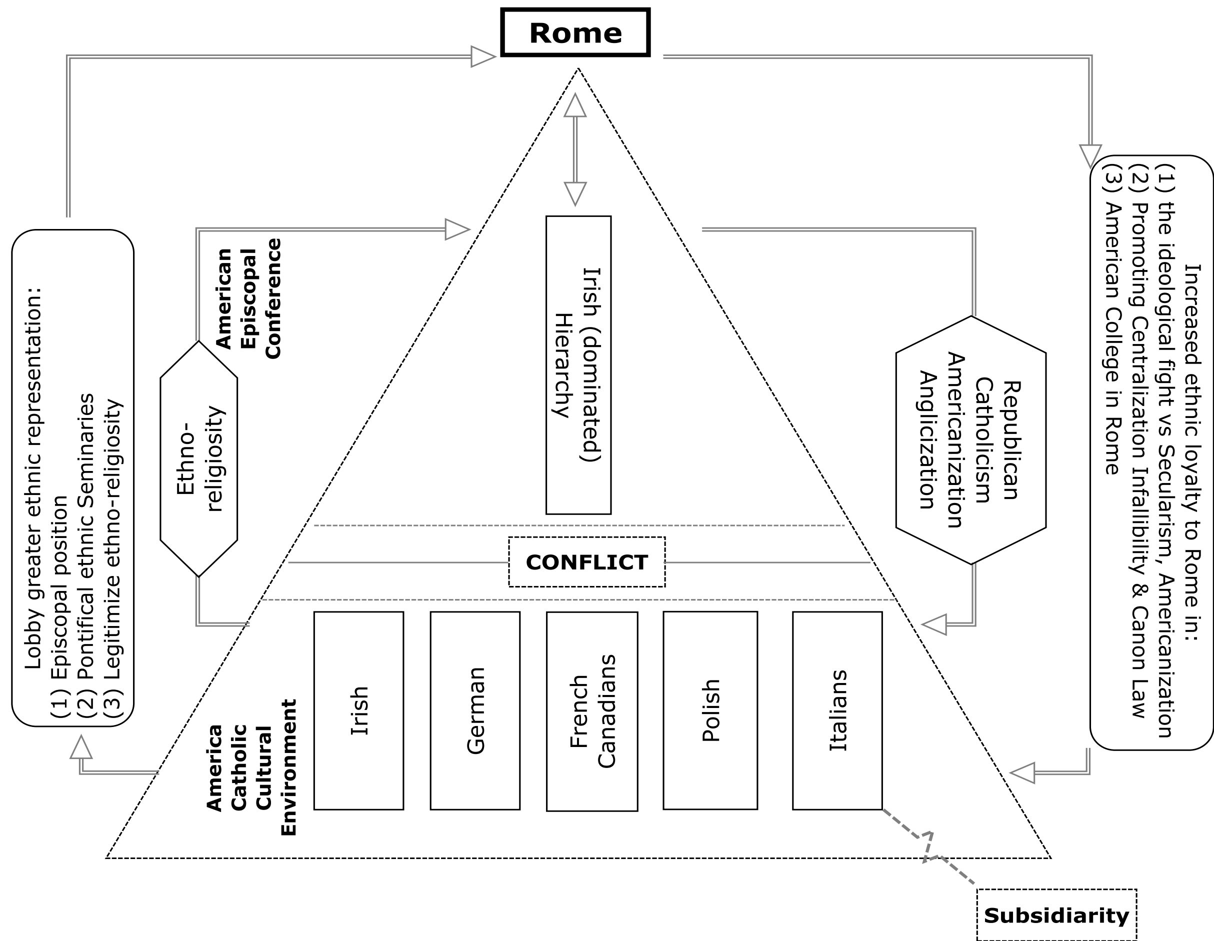


Figure 32. Summary of the governance relations between Rome and the Italians.

Chapter 5: Summary

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this research were (a) to examine the nature of the ecclesiastical governance structure in Rome, (b) to explore the American Catholic cultural environment, (c) to analyze the types of relationships between the divergent American Catholic subcultures, (d) and to establish ways in which ecclesiastical authorities in Rome govern the American Catholic cultural environment.

The goal of this study on the governance relations that exist between the Roman Catholic Church and the divergent Catholic cultural groups in the United States was to create general knowledge, practical knowledge, and personal knowledge about fundamental difficulties of organizing the widespread cultural groups in the U.S.

Research Tradition

This study followed the research tradition of holistic ethnography, which describes and analyzes all or part of a culture or community by describing the beliefs and practices of a group to show how the various parts contribute to the culture as a unified whole, even where the parts are loosely coupled (Jacob, 1987). Holistic ethnography examines socially shared, idealized rules and norms that serve as guidelines for actions, interpretations, and feelings (Barrett, 1984). The holistic approach is useful for understanding a group's *way of life*, the distinctive traits of a subculture or an ethnic group in relation to the larger society or culture of which it is a part, e.g., the Catholic Church.

The holistic approach adopted for this study was borrowed from the concepts of contextualism (Pettigrew, 1990), which focuses on the multi-dimensional (vertical and

horizontal, intra and inter) processes in which subcultures engage as they interface with a centralized governance system. The vertical level refers to the interdependences between higher or lower levels, and the horizontal level refers to the sequential interconnectedness among subcultures. Time and the historical events that occur within the subsystem (past, present, and future) also constitute a dimension for analysis. This study is an attempt to catch reality; people, cultures, and events; in flight. This study does not look at events as isolated episodes, as historical events highlighted are interconnected in such a way that antecedent conditions shape the present and the emerging future. Thus, the study is categorized as an in-depth, longitudinal field study that examines an on-going social phenomenon, not interrupted by experiments.

Conceptual Framework

Governance and culture were the key concepts in the conceptual framework for this study. The American ecclesiastical environment (1820-1920) was composed of various cultural groups from Europe and Canada. This study examined the governance relationships between the centralized ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome and the Catholic subcultures that settled in the United States during the immigration era. This research explained the nature of conflict-ridden relationships that existed between the Vatican and the divergent, loosely coupled, cultural groups in the American ecclesiastical environment. Figure 33 shows the relationship between the governors and those who are governed.

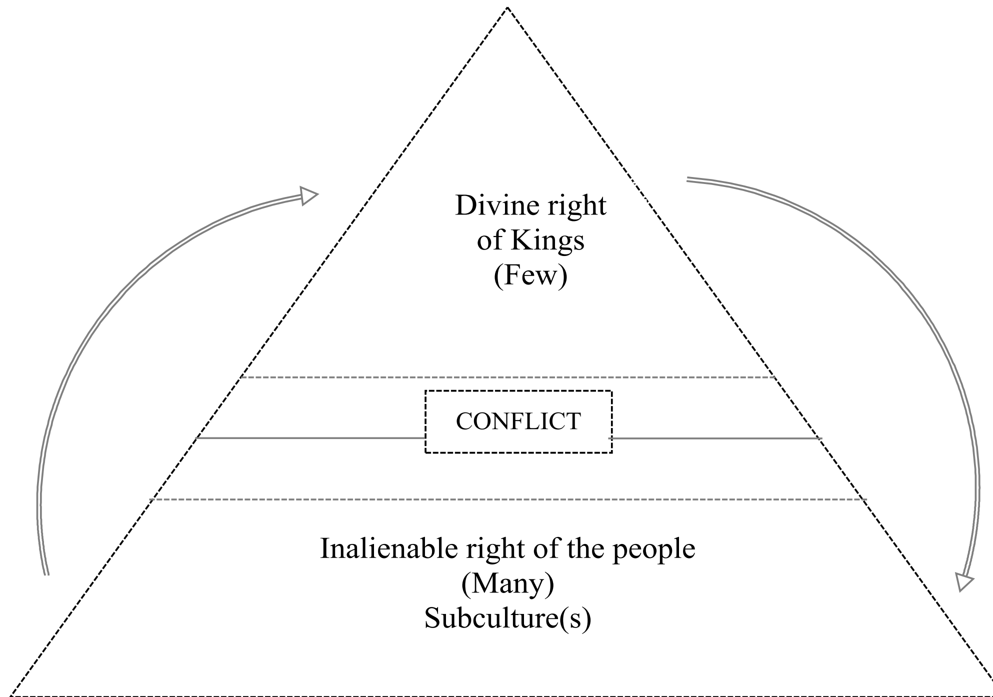


Figure 33. Governance structure for divergent subcultures

Culture. There are as many approaches to analyzing cultures as there are cultural anthropologists. For the specific purposes of this study, which focused on the ways subcultures relate to a centralized governance system, the concepts of organizational culture proved most pertinent. Gareth Morgan (1986) described culture as "an active living phenomenon through which people jointly create and recreate the worlds in which they live" (p. 141). Morgan offered three basic questions for cultural analysts: What are the shared frames of reference that make organization possible? Where do they come from? How are the shared frames created, communicated, and sustained?

From possible cultural categories presented by cultural theorists, the most pertinent for the study of the American Catholic cultural environment include (a) demographics, (b) tasks, (c) ideology, (d) cultural values summed by symbols, heroes and heroines, sacred space, ceremonies, and activities (e) education structure, and (f) ecclesiastical leadership.

Gathering data in those categories for various subcultures enabled the analyst to understand the people and their motivations for emigrating. Their story is told in their employment patterns; cultural values enacted in symbols, heroes and heroines, ceremonies, sacred space and activities; and their ideologies, beliefs, and traditions. Finally, the evolution of their lives in a new environment is described in the ways that their cultural ideologies were taught and perpetuated and in the nature and type of ecclesiastical governance among them. Special emphasis was placed on the relationship of the dominant subcultures; Irish, German, French, Polish, and Italian; to the centralized governance in the Vatican in Rome and the emerging ecclesiastical hierarchy in United States. Table 78 shows the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 78

Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Categories	**Variables/Concepts**
Demographics	Origins and sagas Immigration patterns Settlement patterns
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category) Type
Cultural values	Heroes and saints Rituals and ceremonies Sacred space
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)
Education	Grade school education Higher education Seminary education
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese Episcopal representation Alternative in-group power structure

Unit of Analysis

The United States is one of the many ecclesiastical cultural environments under the centralized governance of the Vatican. The ecclesiastical environment in the Vatican and the United States were my units of analysis.

Attending to Moral, Ethical, and Legal issues

Moral, ethical, and legal issues concerned my responsibility to represent the research accurately. I conducted the research in a manner that did no harm and respected individuals. As a researcher, I used professional etiquette and integrity in all aspects of the research process. Also, I had an awareness of a power relationship that existed as a cleric and school chaplain in working with other clerics and laity within the Catholic value system, and this awareness guided my practice. The Human Subjects Review process through Eastern Michigan University is designed to "safeguard the rights and welfare of all individuals involved as subjects in research" (EMU Board of Regents, 1978, p. 1). The process of the board review was completed, and approval from the board was obtained prior to data collection (Gall et al., 2005).

Research Instrumentation

Unobtrusive measures of data collection coupled with the use of physical traces, non-participant observation, and other documentary sources were pivotal in this study (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). The goal was to use means that minimized direct elicitation of information from research subjects, as I was cognizant that engaging in reactive (obtrusive) measures would compromise the outcome of this study. The naturalistic and indirect measures used in the data collection process were based on the researcher's

inventiveness, imagination as an academician, and experience acquired while working as a member in the organization.

Documentary sources included archival and other types of secondary sources, institutional documents, historical accounts, websites, artifacts in the public domain, and population data bases. Alternative forms of data collection in naturalistic settings and observational and archival approaches offered greater appreciation of elusive aspects of organizations than would have been otherwise overlooked by more direct methods.

Role of the researcher. As frequently emphasized in qualitative paradigms, the researcher is the evaluative instrument. Being aware of how I am calibrated and how I process inputs was critical to understanding the outputs in the forms of inferences drawn in this dissertation. An appreciation of my cultural and professional background, coupled with a concerted effort to monitor for subjectivity, was vital in each stage of data collection.

Data Needed

This study was historical in nature and, because of the longitudinal scope of the phenomena measured, the dependency relationships – vertical, horizontal, and across hierarchies – that exist between the constituent cultural groups as they relate to a centralized governance structure based in Rome were sought. This study required both descriptive narration and the quantification of certain types of descriptive statistical data, including the changes in Catholic cultural population and citizenry (clergy, religious, and laity), dioceses, and other vital statistics that tallied economic- and education-related progress that occurred in the organization population over time. These data were organized and displayed in tables and figures.

1. Number of Catholics during identified eras
2. Number of Catholics in the dominant American Subcultures
3. Number of ecclesiastical administrators (bishops and priests)
4. Number of dioceses

This study was conducted within boundaries, especially necessary for a longitudinal case study. The first boundary established that this field study concentrated on breadth rather than depth, as in a single case study. The study was also bounded by a certain period of the organization's life, from the colonial date 1520 to 1920.

A contextualized analysis of governance relations. The American ecclesiastical environment comprised Catholic subcultures that migrated to the United States between 1820 and 1920. Using an in-depth, longitudinal, field-based study, as Figure 34 demonstrates, this research offered a contextualized explanation that highlighted the types and intensity of conflict between the governors and governed that ensued during the course of history. The governance relations that evolved between the Vatican and the divergent subcultures in the U.S. did not occur in isolation but were influenced by the important events in the United States political environment.

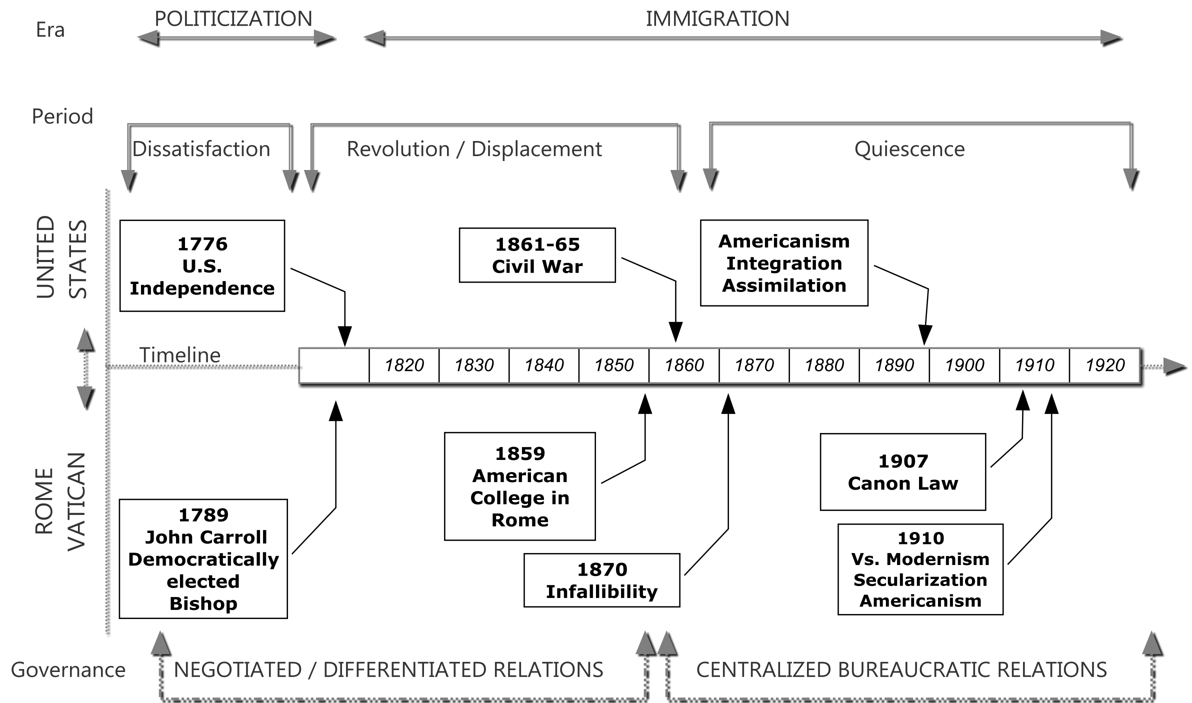


Figure 34. Timeline of governance relations between Rome and American subcultures.

Data Analysis Procedures

After each wave of data collection, historical accounts, observations, and field notes, were meaningfully dissected, placed within the organizational theories, and analyzed for relationships, themes, and units of meaning. Data were analyzed using Glaser's (1976) constant comparative method, as cited by Glesne, 1999. Data were coded from observations and documents under category headings, which captured theoretical properties and themes, as suggested by the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. This process involved different levels of definition and sorting of apportioned data, grouping the data into categories, and then attaching the categories to the conceptual framework. Data were analyzed in these categories in the search for inherent meanings or patterns. The meanings and inferences extracted were grounded in concrete observation. The blending of codes that occurred was a

natural product of the advancement of my thoughts and understanding, letting data lead the investigation.

When the essential features were detailed and identified, the next step was to determine how the features interacted. Following the process of Wolcott (2008), data were organized as relationships were revealed and themes emerged. Interpretation, after the data were analyzed, entailed transcending factual data and, by cautious analysis, to probe for conclusions. Theory and personal experience was helpful in this final stage of data interpretation. All attempts were made to ensure that both data and assumptions maintained a high degree of validity to ensure the accuracy of the final conclusions.

Validity, Dependability, and Credibility

Validity in qualitative research is better related to the characteristic of trustworthiness wherein findings accurately represent "the socially constructed reality of the participants (LeCompte, Millroy, & Preissle, 1992, p. 644). Trustworthiness is documented when other researchers recognize the value of findings. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The goal of this study was to analyze the governance relations that exist between the Vatican and the divergent American Catholic subcultures, with the highest degree of *trustworthiness, consistency, and neutrality* as Lincoln and Guba (1985). Jones, Torres, and Arminio (2006) said that continuity and congruence in all elements are vital to establishing trustworthiness in a qualitative study. Essential to those concepts is the process of *member checking*, review by members of the population upon whom findings are based. Authenticating and confirming research findings adds congruence to the researcher's interpretations and enhances the research (Jones et al., 2006). According to Schram (2006), the subjectivity of the ethnographic researcher is an

element of trustworthiness. In my observations of ethnic cultures in the American Catholic environment, member checking was important. Members of the Catholic community of clerics and laity were able to review findings and provide feedback. Empirical data gathered in field notes were a tool to record and be able to recollect impressions, specific incidents, contrasts, and comparisons between and among the diverse ethnic group cultures. A continual search for disconfirming evidence and constant monitoring for the influence of personal bias was also essential to my quest of enhancing the validity of my findings.

Internal validity is problematic for qualitative research, particularly longitudinal studies, because variables or biases linked to the subjects, the environment, and the researcher are likely to change over time posing threats to internal validity. Astute observation, careful recording of change, and self-awareness by the researcher is important, but, in general, measurement of internal validity in qualitative research is different than in quantitative studies (Gall et al.,2005).

External validity is concerned with whether the findings of the study are generalizable to Catholic subcultures in other countries? Although findings in some studies may be generalizable to other individuals, settings, or times (Gall et al., 2005); this study is unique to the United States, a unique area with a comprehensive history. Ecclesiastical governance relationships of American subcultures cannot be generalized to other areas. However, Yin (1994) pointed to the analytic generalizability of the link between theory and evidence. The set of organizing concepts used in this study can be applied to cultural settings in other countries as tools to explore power relations in these milieus.

Historical background

The ecclesiastical governance structure as it exists today is not a product of a policy-making stream. It is a governance system that, as Reese (1998) says, "developed through history in an ad hoc manner, responding to specific needs. It is a product of history not management theory" (p.109). This is why this research sought to highlight the pivotal moments in the history of the church which explain its working. The study on church governance is traced to the time of the inception of Christianity in 1 A.D. by Jesus Christ. A goal of this study was to explore the humble beginnings of the Catholic Church, its ascent to dominance in Europe (Christian Roman Empire), and to note how ecclesiastical domination over Europe was compromised when the emerging, predominantly Protestant, European market economies ended their affiliation to Roman Catholic tax-exacting authorities.

During the era of trans-Atlantic voyages and migration, the American subcultures, which constituted the Catholic block of settlers, emanated from tax-exerting European countries that remained loyal to Rome after the Protestant Reformation; these settlers included the Spanish, French, Irish, German, Polish, and Italian.

During the colonial era (1520-1763), the Spanish, French, and Irish on the eastern seaboard each claimed a portion of America. Facilitated by their home governments, the territories occupied were constituted as independent political and ecclesiastical entities in the south, north, and the east. The goal of the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome was to ensure that Catholicism was proportionally represented in colonial America. To that end, the Vatican supported Spain and France in their colonial ventures to explore and missionize the American continent.

Roman Catholic authorities did not have a centralized colonial policy for the American continent. Rome's relationships with the colonial principalities in New Spain and New France were individualized and depended on how amicable the diplomatic relationship between the Vatican and each principality. The Spanish king was conferred a special status equivalent to being a vice-pope. As a result of the relationship that existed between the two, Spain was allowed to erect the new Dioceses of Cuba and Mexico in 1517 and 1528 respectively. In 1674, Rome elevated the Vicariate of Quebec in New France to the status of a diocese and appointed Francois Xavier de Laval to serve as its first bishop. Catholics in the English colonies were Jesuits missionaries who settled in Maryland. Governance of church affairs in the English colony was by a Jesuit superior who also served as vicar apostolic reporting to the vicar apostolic in England. Colonial and missionary goals were intertwined, the colonizers provided protection for the missionaries who were, in turn, expected to promote adherence to colonial policies among the natives.

The Era of politicization (1763-1820) is divided into two phases. During the first part of the era of politicization (1750–1762), European colonial principalities engaged in protracted conflicts. By the year 1762, the English exerted dominance over the French and Spanish. The second part of the era of politicization (1763 -1820), popularly referred to as the era of the American Revolution, was an era of the *assertion of citizenship rights* on the part of the English colonists dwelling on the eastern seaboard. It was a rebellion against the English imperial system of rule. After the American independence in 1776, the British-American colonists who had rebelled inaugurated a federal system of rule, which at the same time, retained streaks of the English system of rule; English became the national language, and soon the English subculture dominated the policy-making process in the United States of

America. It was an era characterized by a state of war and confusion, as political and religious jurisdiction over the various parts of United States moved from one cultural group to another. The Irish Catholics juxtaposed to the English gradually took over ecclesiastical territories previously under French and Spanish jurisdiction.

With the ouster of the British, America became an independent nation, a time when any semblance of foreign control in the republic had to be minimized. A democratically elected Irish prelate was appointed to serve as the head of the Catholic Church in the U.S. Negotiations between ecclesiastical authorities in Rome and a ex-Jesuit Irish priests in Maryland brought about the installation of John Carroll as the first American prelate on the Protestant-dominated colonies on the eastern seaboard. The Era of Politicization was followed by the Immigration era. This study examined the Roman Catholic governance of the divergent cultures in the American ecclesiastical environment during the immigration era.

Chapter 6: Results and Conclusions

This chapter includes findings related to the research questions, discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of this study, conclusions limitations, and recommendations for future studies.

Research Questions

This study addressed the following exploratory research questions:

1. What is the nature of the theocratic governance structure in Rome?
2. What is the nature of the American Catholic cultural environment?
3. What is the nature of the relationship between American Catholic subcultures?
4. How have the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome governed the American Catholic cultural environment?

The Theocratic Governance Structure in Rome

The ecclesiastical governance structure of the Roman Catholic Church is centralized in Rome. The Vatican: center of Catholicism, seat of the Pope, organized based on the Infallibility of the Pope, attested to in statements such as, *"Roma locuta, cuasa finite"* (Rome has spoken, issue resolved), Canon Law, dogmas, and acting as a world government today for a population of more than 1.1 billion adherents, creates an impression that Catholicism is a centrally organized bureaucracy with followers who are compliant to the leadership and the tenets prescribed by Rome. The ecclesiastical governance structure consists of hierarchal bureaucrats enforcing standardized procedures and protocols perpetuated by rules, norms, and regulations. The Vatican's bureaucratic administrative structure is called the Roman Curia.

The Roman Curia. The supreme authority in the Catholic Church comprises the Pope and the College of Bishops who meet on a few occasions. While the "bishops are at home in their dioceses the Pope is in Rome with the Roman Curia" (Reese, 2001, 106). The organization and structure of the Roman Curia today employs "1,740 people, which includes the Secretariat of State, nine congregations and eleven councils, three tribunals and other offices" as shown in Figure 35. These Curial agencies, known as Dicasteries, organize the people who gather and process information, give advice to the Pope, and implement his decisions.

The organizational structure in the Vatican is not as coherent a governance system as the organizational charts show. As Reese (2001) explained, few people, either inside or outside the Curia, understand the complex structure, overlapping jurisdictions, and Byzantine procedures of this age-old institution. Part of the confusion arises from the complexity of the issues with which the Curia deals (e.g., ecumenism, evangelization, refugee assistance, international relations, and bioethics). Some confusion comes from the complexity of the church itself, which includes many types of people (bishops, priests, religious, laity) involved in a variety of institutions (schools, hospitals, parishes, associations, missions, seminaries, religious communities, charitable works, fund raising) in many different countries and cultures. And part of the complexity comes from the fact that the curia has developed through history in an ad hoc manner, responding to specific needs. It is "a product of history not management theory" (p.109).

The Vatican bureaucracy precedes and supersedes the Pope. Not only is the Curia responsible for the making of clerics but also outlives them. For it is the Curia that designs the preparation program for clerics, monitors and manages the formation and the

appointment of these clerics, and dictates doctrine, rules, and cultural norms in the church. The Roman Curia over the centuries has evolved into a self-propelling, authoritative, bureaucratic structure, which now exists independently of all the constituent members that constitute the Catholic Church.

POPE **ROMAN CURIA** **SECRETARIAT** **Secretariat of State**
Congregations *(for)*
1. Bishops 2. Catholic Education 3. Causes of Saints 4. Clergy 5. Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments 6. Doctrine of the Faith 7. Evangelization of Peoples 8. Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life 9. Oriental Churches
Pontifical Councils
1. "Cor Unum" 2. Culture 3. Family 4. Interreligious Dialogue 5. Justice and Peace 6. Laity 7. Legislative Texts 8. Pastoral Assistance to Health Care Workers 9. Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People 10. Promoting Christian Unity 11. Social Communications
Tribunals
1. Apostolic Penitentiary 2. Apostolic Signatura 3. Roman Rota

Figure 35. The Roman Curia

Claims of unbroken succession within ecclesiastical authority. The Vatican bureaucracy claims an unbroken chain of leadership traced to Jesus Christ, and a monopoly of the authoritative interpretation of Jesus' teaching perpetuated in Catholic dogmas. The College of Bishops, together with the Pope, constitutes the legitimate supreme authority within the Catholic Church. The bishops are considered to be representatives of the unbroken succession and endowed with special power by the church to act as the authoritative interpreters of Catholic doctrine.

The American Catholic Cultural Environment

From among the various Catholic subcultures that migrated to the United States during the immigration era, five were selected which I considered to be dominant in terms of illustrating the nature of the governance relations that existed between Roman Catholic authorities and the ecclesiastical environment in United States. The subcultures selected were (a) Irish, (b) German, (c) French Canadians, (d) Polish, and (e) Italians. Subcultures were named based on the country of origin and distinction between them was based on these six cultural categories: (a) demographics; (b) tasks; (c) ideology; (d) cultural values expressed and enacted through symbols, heroes and heroines, sacred space, ceremonies, and activities; (e) education structure; and (f) ecclesiastical leadership.

The Irish subculture. Each subculture had a distinctive saga or foundational experience. For the Irish, it was the Potato famine; a succession of cold, damp summers and a mysterious blight-ruined potato crop on which life itself depended, and which resulted in the death of about 1.5 million people. (Ahlstrom, 2004). Over 4 million Irish, most of whom (82%) were Catholic, settled in America facilitated by a network of Irish brokers and clerics who created pathways leading to the formation of Irish clusters and enclaves in America's

urban centers. Just about one in ten Irish engaged in the agricultural sector. At the inception of the immigration period, 80% of Catholics of Irish descent was unskilled; resigned to take whatever job opportunities available in factories, construction, mining, the services industry and crafts. The professionals – priest, teacher, and union representative – constituted 8% of the total population of the Irish immigrant population.

Irish immigrants engaged in ethno-religious pieties that celebrated heroism of St. Patrick, an icon for the Irish Catholics in times when they were forced to subsist as a suppressed people in their homeland. The Irish built churches and named them after their saints from the motherland such as St. Patrick; their festivals such as St. Patrick's Day were celebrated with Irish cuisine in commemoration of their passage from the state of disadvantage endured by their ancestors in the motherland.

Irish conservatism was evident in the way Irish regarded their fellow English countrymen, recalling the time when the former were forced to give up their land to Protestant English absentee lords. Paradoxically in the diverse cultural environment in America the Irish identified with their fellow English-speaking countrymen who dominated administration in the American republic and gave the Irish a sense of superiority over their co-religionists in America.

The phenomenon of parochial schools among the Irish was a result of Bishop Hughes' campaign against the unfavorable treatment Irish Catholics received in the predominantly Protestant public school system. Irish Jesuits managed the higher education sector, and seminaries were run by the Sulpicians (a French order for the training of diocesan priests) who, at the invitation of Bishop John Carroll, inaugurated the first seminary program in Baltimore.

In terms of ecclesiastical leadership, the Irish ex-Jesuits in Baltimore at the peak of republican sentiments in America, elected John Carroll as head of the clerics in America. The group then negotiated with Rome which installed Carroll as the first American bishop in 1789. In 1808, Carroll became the first archbishop. The Irish advantage in the American hierarchical ranks shows in the total number of persons elected to serve as prelates in the American ecclesiastical environment, which in 1920 was147. Table 79 is a summary of the distinguishing characteristics of the Irish, using the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 79

Irish subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	Ireland	
		The potato famine in Ireland	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	4 million (82% Catholic)
		Peak	1851-1860
			Networks, Brokers, Clusters
	Settlement patterns	Parish	Maryland 1734
		Settlement	90% urban
		Missionaries	S.J., O.P, O.F.M &O.F.M. Cap.
		Priests	30%
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	8%
		Skilled	12%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	10%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	St. Patrick's	
	Rituals and ceremonies	St. Patrick's	
	Sacred space	Baltimore & New York Cathedrals	
		60 % of churches in U.S.	
Ideology	Conservative	Anglophobia	Diaspora mentality
		Irish Elitism	Political & linguistic
Education	Grade school education	Parochial vs. Public system	
	Higher education	Irish Jesuit colleges	
	Seminary education	Irish working with French Sulpicians	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	1789: 1st Diocese (Arch)Bp. Carroll	
		1808: Archdiocese	
	Episcopal representation	147 positions - 44%	
	Alternative in-group (out of group) power structure	Trusteeism	Catholic Congregationalism
		Romanization	(republican sentiments)

The German subculture. The foundational experience for the Germans was Bismarck's Kulturkampf or "the struggle for culture," instituted by the German government to weaken the hold of the Roman Catholic Church in German territories. The clergy and religious were among those who were particularly affected by this policy. Other causes for the German immigration were the disastrous harvests & Napoleonic wars that occurred during this period. Over 4 million Germans, 30 % of whom were Catholic, settled in America facilitated by a network of German philanthropists such as Peter Paul Cahensly and clerics who directed immigrants to specific ports of entry and German enclaves in what came to be referred to as the German triangle.

More than 20% of Germans worked in agriculture. In the category of skilled laborers , German immigrants had the highest number of immigrants in the sectors of trades and craftsmanship (37%). The stereotypical 19th century German American was a skilled practitioner of a traditional craft – baker, carpenter, merchant, musician, butcher, brewer, distiller, cigar maker, cabinetmaker, and tailor – putting to good use trades painstakingly learned in the Old World. In some areas, Germans displayed the lowest level of education but compensated the lack of literacy with the highest level of tradesmanship passed on to the next generation through apprenticeship (Conzen, 2003). Just about 35% of Catholics of German descent were unskilled laborers. In the agriculture, Germans enjoyed a reputation of being industrious, frugal, and skilled individuals who cared more for their land and livestock than for their own comfort (Con, 1980). This is why many states, companies, and agents offered special concessions to attract German immigrants (Barry, 1952).

German immigrants' ethno-religious pieties included the German Christmas celebration and other feasts on the Roman calendar given German cultural touches in

elaborately decorated churches numbering over 206 at the end of the immigration era. Heroes celebrated included saints of German background but also individuals like Peter Paul Cahensly and Boniface Wimmer, who promoted the wellbeing of German immigrants.

Conservatism in the German subculture was evident in ethno-centrism and insularity in the enclaves Germans created in rural America, specifically in the German Triangle. Catholics of German descent, to the dismay of the American ecclesiastical hierarchy, were able to turn turned tax-supported rural public schools into parish schools. German immigrants enforced this old country model as soon as they dominated local electorates. Once established, towns and cities operated on the traditional German custom of administering parish property through a lay Kirchenrat rather than by the pastor alone (Conzen, 2003). The 1889 Bennett Law in Wisconsin required the use of English in all public and private schools. A coalition of German Catholics and Lutherans, under the leadership of the Democratic Party, produced a landslide victory for the Democrats, as opponents dropped the issue until World War I (Ulrich, 1981). German religious groups led by the Benedictines established colleges to train sons and daughters of German immigrants. To promote German ethno-religiosity, Joseph Jessing established the Pontifical College Josephinum; Jessing's German seminary was placed under the direct surveillance of Rome. At the end of the immigration era Catholics of German origin had a fair representation in the American ecclesiastical structure; a total of 45 prelates of German descent had served as bishop in the American ecclesiastical environment. Table 80 is a summary of the distinguishing characteristics of the German subculture using the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 80

German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	Germany	
		Disastrous harvests & Napoleonic wars, Kulturkampf	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics (%of Catholics)	4 million (30%)
		Peak	1881-1890
			Colonies, Entreports
			German Triangle
	Settlement patterns	Parish	1799: consolidation – PA by D. Gallitzin
		Settlement	65% urban
		Missionaries	O.S.B, C.PP.S. C.Ss.R., O.F.M ,
		Priests	23%
Tasks	Proficiency (% in each professional area)	Professional	37%
		Skilled	40% (1870)
		Unskilled	35%
	Type	Agriculture	23%
		Other; Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades	
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	Cahensly, Wimmer	
	Rituals and ceremonies	G/Christmas	
	Sacred space	206 (191347) German only	
		1684(1481343) German & others	
Ideology	Conservative	Ethno-religiosity	Separatist, Conservative
		Language	"Language saves the faith"
Education	Grade school education	Catholicism in public school setting	
	Higher education	German Benedictine college	
	Seminary education	Josephinum Columbus, OH	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	1821: Cincinnati Diocese	
	Episcopal representation	45	
	Alternative in-group power structure	German aristocrats influence on Rome	

The French Canadian subculture. The foundational experience for the French Canadians was their reconstitution as French Catholic Quebecois after being abandoned by the French government and forced to subsist under an English Protestant monarchy. More than 500,000 Catholic French Canadians estimated at 20 % of the total Canadian immigrant population settled in America. Proximity to their country of origin and the latitude to move back and forth added a unique dimension to their immigration and settlement pattern. French explorers and missionaries of the colonial era conducted trade in a wide region, established settlement and forts, and missioned to the people therein. Those who remained became the unique French Canadians who emigrated to the U.S., crossing an imaginary line into a territory which had previously been part of their cultural heritage.

French Canadian settlement patterns and their demographic statics remained elusive because of the casual emigration to the United States, but demographic statistics show that approximately 80% of French Canadian immigrants settled in the major urban centers of the U. S., engaging in urban tasks available in the manufacturing, service, and transportation sectors. Only 17% engaged in agriculture. Professionals (medical personnel, teachers and clerics) were a mere 4 % of the French Canadian immigrant population. About 80% of Catholics of French Canadian descent was employed as unskilled laborers.

Part of the cultural heritage of French Canadians were the French martyrs, Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Garnier and others venerated and revered for their valor and heroism during the colonial era. Ethno-religiosity among French Canadian Catholics therefore entailed reliving the heroism of their ancestors on the land (sacred space) where they were martyred. Other pieties included celebrating feasts on the Roman calendar based on the nature of their agricultural tasks; Canada, because of its northern location, had a

shorter farming cycle. Feasts associated with planting and harvest time, marriage, and other devotions whenever celebrated were based on characteristics of specific parts of the country. Likewise, Christmas season, Lent, and other feasts among immigrants continued to be celebrated with a mixture of emotions and practices carried on from France as well as practices adapted from living in New France.

French Canadian Anglophobia showed in concerted effort to perpetuate the French language even after they had settled in the United States. English for Quebecois was the language of the conqueror and a Protestant monarchy. Education, therefore, became a means by which French cultural heritage was passed on from one generation of French Canadians to the next. French Canadian schools were run by missionaries of French origin, the use of the French language was insisted upon, and parents continued to send their children across the American border for purposes of giving them a more thorough French primary and higher education. Young men seeking to join the priesthood were trained in the diocesan seminary in Quebec. Still more were sent to the Pontifical seminary in Louvain in Belgium.

At the end of the immigration era, Catholics of French Canadian origin had a good representation in the American ecclesiastical structure; only 11 prelates of French Canadian descent had served as bishop in the American ecclesiastical environment, but the number of French-speaking bishops of French and Belgium origin was 53. Table 81 is a summary of the distinguishing characteristics that I found about the French Canadian subculture using the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 81

French Canadian subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	French Canada, Cessation of New France	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	1 million (20%)
		Peak	1911-1920
			Subtle, Seasonal, Proximity, US prospects
	Settlement patterns	Parish	1851: 1st French parish in Burlington
		Settlement	90% urban
		Missionaries	Assumptionists
		Priests	400 (in 1900) 3.3%
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	4.2%
		Skilled	5%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	17.7%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	Canadian Martyrs	
	Rituals and ceremonies		
	Sacred space	200 (191347)	
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)	Diaspora mentality	English language of conqueror
		Political & linguistic	& Protestantism - Anglophobia
Education	Grade school education	Schools to perpetuate French culture & language	
	Higher education	French Assumptionists' colleges	
	Seminary education	Louvain, Belgium and Seminary in Que.	
Ecclesiastical leadership.	(Arch)Diocese	1853: Goesbriand 1st French Canadian Bishop of Burlington	
	Episcopal representation	12	
	Alternative in-group power structure	other French speaking bishops (53)	Catholic Congregationalism

The Polish subculture. The Polish political crisis leading to partitioning of Poland acted to the disadvantage of the Poles. Bismarck's Kulturkampf against Poles in the German partition of Poland did not help either. But the fact that Poles were 75% Catholic helped in the process of reconstitution of immigrants of Polish descent as they became an ethno-religious community grounded in Catholic principles. The Polish immigrant community – "Polonia" (Latin for Poland), as these enclaves individually and collectively were known– became vital centers of immigrant social, political, and religious life. The heart of Polonia, however, was its Polish Roman Catholic parishes (Polish Cathedrals), devotion to the Black Madonna and other Polish saints, pieties that had been popular in the old country, and the cuisine associated with celebrating these pieties.

About 75 % of Poles settled in the major urban centers of the United States where they worked in factories, construction, mining, and the services industry. A mere 10% engaged in farming, starting out in Texas and Wisconsin. Some Poles, weary of urban life, gradually transitioned into agriculture after they saved enough money to buy arable land.

According to Greene, at the inception of the Polish immigration, Poles were not apt to invest in education. They instead prioritized real-estate purchases and church contributions. A basic education up to the age of Confirmation was normally felt to be sufficient; Polish parents were reluctant to see their children through high school, much less college, and were more likely to get them into the workforce as soon as possible. Poles ran parochial grade schools designed to perpetuate the linguistic needs of the cultural members. By 1911, there were 300 schools in the Polish-American parochial system. This changed during the later phase of the immigration, as the policy of mandatory education took effect in America. Several Polish colleges opened including Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, PA,

founded by The Polish American Alliance; St. Stanislaus College, Chicago, founded by the Resurrectionist Fathers in 1891; St. Bonaventure College, Pulaski, WI, founded by the Franciscan Fathers in 1889; St. John Cantius College, Erie, PA, founded in 1909; and Pennsylvania Polish College of St. John in Philadelphia, founded in 1908 (Seroczynski, 1911).

Overall, the Polish education system existed more to perpetuate the specific educational and cultural needs of the Polish Catholic community than for secular education.

Saints Cyril and Methodius Polish Seminary (1886) was initiated after Fathers Leopold Moczygemba and Joseph Dabrowski, Polish Franciscan priests, secured permission from Pope Leo XIII to establish a seminary to train men for the priesthood for the purpose of meeting the special needs of Polish Catholics in the United States (Seroczynski, 1911).

At the end of the immigration era, Polish representation in the American ecclesiastical structure was just still insignificant. Apart from Paul Rhode, the man consecrated in 1908 to serve as the as Bishop of Green Bay, Poles did not have a representation in the American hierarchical ranks. The Polish National Catholic Church that formed in 1904 was established in protestation of the lack of Polish representation in the American hierarchy. Table 82 is a summary of the distinguishing characteristics that I found about the Polish subculture using the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 82

German subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	Partitioned Poland	
		Kulturkampf, overpopulation, land situation	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics (% of Catholics)	1.2 million (75%)
		Peak	1901-1910
			“Passages”, Communication networks
	Settlement patterns	Parish	Panna Maria 1854
		Settlement	90% urban
		Missionaries	Polish Resurrectionist Fathers
		Priests	702 (in 1911) 4.2%
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	10%
		Skilled	5%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	10%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	Black Madonna, Polish saints	
	Rituals and ceremonies	Polish Christmas/ Easter	
	Sacred space	466 (1165064)	
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)	Polonia	
		Language, cornerstone for solidarity	
Education	Grade school education	Schools to perpetuate Polish culture & language	
	Higher education	Polish National Alliance College PA	
	Seminary education	SS. Cyril & Methodius, Orchard Lake	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	1915: Paul Rhode - Bishop of Green Bay	
	Episcopal representation	3%	
	Alternative in-group power structure	Polish trusteeism	Polish National Catholic Church

The Italian subculture. The southern Italian in America who represented 80% of the immigrants from Italy was a *persona non grata*. Officials in the newly created government encouraged immigration as a way of minimizing dysfunction in the country. The reception of the Italian immigrant by a social/political machine of corrupt padrones running their operations mafia style did not make integration any easier. Among southern Italians, the ascent into clerical ranks was hampered by their attitude to the church. The Catholic Church among southerners was often associated with oppression; therefore, relatively benign forms of anticlericalism were fairly widespread (Ahlstrom, 2004). Once in America, southern Italian immigrants found that they lived in a religious situation similar to the one they had left behind, with an unsympathetic Irish-American clergy taking the place of the northern Italians. The result of this cultural clash was the alienation of many Italians from the institutional church (Williams, 2008).

Southern Italians who were deficient in the dominant Tuscan Italian dialect and prey to opportunistic schemes of the padrones did not have a smooth transition into the United States. In addition to being a *persona non grata* in his homeland, the average southern Italian immigrant did not benefit from the immigration and settlement programs run by the press and other agencies.

About 90% of Italians settled in the major urban centers of United States, 42% engaged in building and railroad construction, 8% in mining, 42% worked in factories and the service sector, and just a small portion of Italian immigrants (7%) went into the agricultural sector (DeVille, 1901). Approximately 10% engaged in the professions, serving as teachers and entertainers–actors, musicians, and ballet dancers–artists, stonecutters, and other craftsmen. California had the largest number of Italian immigrants totaling 2,805,

followed by New York with 1,862 (Nelli, 1980). The San Francisco Northern Italian community was home to the most prosperous group of Italians in the United States. They went into banking and small industry; prospering as fishermen, fish brokers, commission merchants, horticulturalists, and food processors. By the turn of the century, Italian Americans moved from the bottom of the economic scale and were beginning to enjoy their share of American prosperity.

Italian immigrants were notorious for denying their children adequate schooling. Statistics show that between 1899 and 1910 southern Italians in the United States had among the highest illiteracy rates of all the southern and eastern European groups. Of a total of 1,690,376 people who were 14 years of age or more when they arrived in the U.S., 54 % were illiterate, as compared with only 11% of northern Italians (Nelli, 1980). Parochial schools carried a negative connotation because, in terms of the Italian task structure, schools were considered to be an additional burden on the family budget, and sending children to school deprived families of an opportunity for their children to add to the family income. Parochial schools were considered countercultural because they taught Italian children a foreign language, which among Italian cultural groups was a form of institutionalized thought control. And last, for parents looking for ways of imparting discipline in incorrigible Italian children, parochial school run by religious nuns or missionaries from northern Italy was a mechanism by which children would be disciplined in a northern Italian way. Italian Catholics preferred public schools over parochial schools. This accounts for the low number of only 41 Italian schools in 1910.

Apart from the three clerics; Joseph Rosati appointed in 1827 for the diocese of St. Louis, Ignatius Persico appointed in 1870 for Savannah, and Paschal Tosi, S.J appointed in

1894 for Alaska, Italians representation in the American hierarchical ranks on the whole remained very disproportionate to the number of Italians who had migrated to the United States. Table 83 is a summary of the distinguishing characteristics that I found about the Italian subculture using the categories and concepts guiding this study.

Table 83

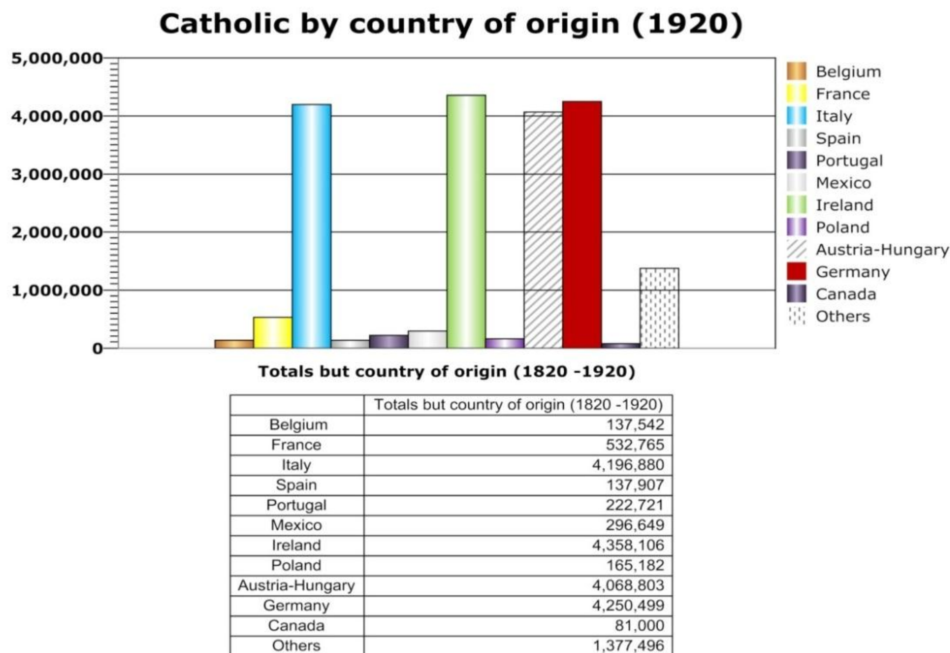
Italian subculture: Categories, Variables/Concepts, and Dimensions.

Categories	Variables/Concepts	Dimensions	
Demographics	Origins and sagas	Northern & Southern Italy, Sicily Italian unification, Poverty, crime	
	Immigration patterns	Statistics	3.8 mil (19)
		Peak	1901-1910
			Padrones, Clusters
	Settlement patterns	Parish	1866: St. Anthony NY Leo Paccillio
		Settlement	80% urban
		Missionaries	Franciscan, Jesuits, Scalabrini Fathers, Salesians, Passionists, and Augustinians
		Priests	Missionary priests (315 in 1910) 1.9%
Tasks	Proficiency (% of folks in each professional category)	Professional	10%
		Skilled	10%
		Unskilled	80%
	Type	Agriculture	7%
		Other	Factory, Construction, mining, Services, Craft / trades
Cultural values	Heroes and saints	Italians SS.	
	Rituals and ceremonies	Festa	
	Sacred space	149 (420511)	
Ideology	Conservative (separatist)	Conservative(N)	
		Progressive(S)	
		Language	Dialects: Tuscan dominant
Education	Grade school education	Italian parochial schools Preference for Public schools	
	Higher education	Italian Franciscan college NY	
	Seminary education	-	
Ecclesiastical leadership	(Arch)Diocese	-	
	Episcopal representation	3-positions(9%) Rosati, Persico,Tosi, S.J	

Relationships Between American Catholic Subcultures

The investigation showed the differences between subcultures in the American ecclesiastical environment, which accounts for the types of relationships that developed among various subcultures.

Demographic. Demographic considerations focused on comparison of subcultures in terms of population statistics, immigration, and settlement patterns (See Figures 36 and 37). The Irish, Germans, Italians, and Austria-Hungarians each accounted for over 4 million Catholic immigrants (Shaughnessy, 1925). In terms of ethnic representation in the American Catholic environment, Germans numbered 4,250,499 (24%) of the total Catholic population, the Irish and Italians with a total of 4,358,106 and 4,196,880 respectively each accounted for 21% while Canadians and Poles each accounted for about 1% of Catholics in America. See Appendix I for a demographic comparison of immigrants in the period 1820-1920.



	Totals but country of origin (1820 -1920)
Belgium	137,542
France	532,765
Italy	4,196,880
Spain	137,907
Portugal	222,721
Mexico	296,649
Ireland	4,358,106
Poland	165,182
Austria-Hungary	4,068,803
Germany	4,250,499
Canada	81,000
Others	1,377,496

Figure 36. Catholics by country

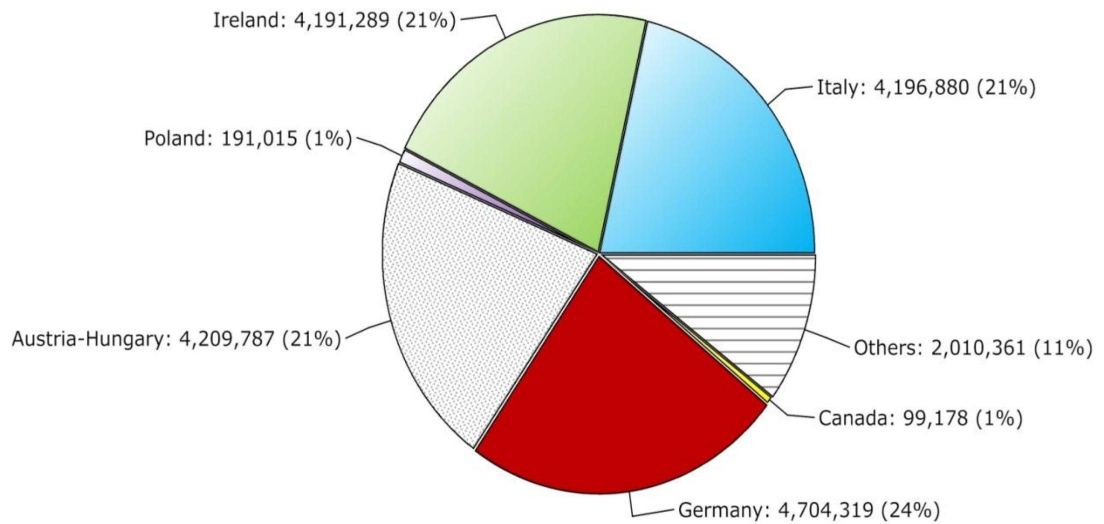


Figure 37. Ethnic representation

Peak arrival periods. The peak arrival periods of each the subcultures was different. Figure 38 charts the peak periods of the subcultures chosen for this study. The peak arrival period for the Irish was in the 1850s, for the Italians it was after the year 1900. For the Germans it was in the 1880s, the 1910s for the French, and 1900s for the Poles and Italians. From the data gathered it can be concluded that immigration statistics including the peak arrival periods had an important part they played in determining influential a specific subculture was going to be in the American Catholic ecclesiastical environment.

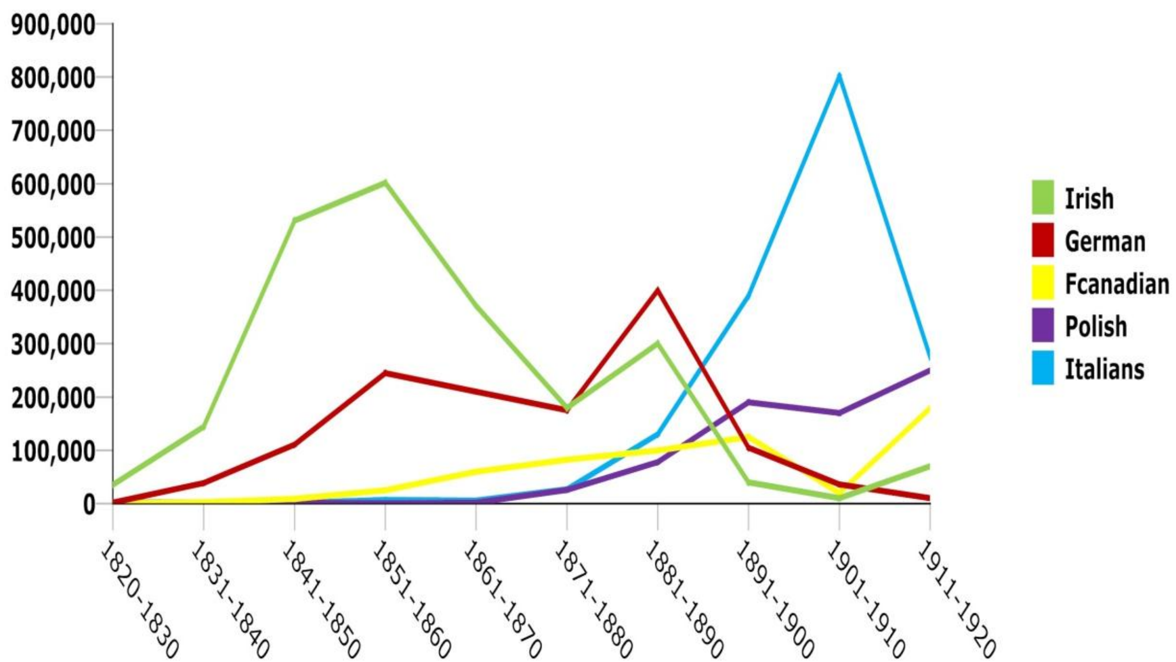


Figure 38. Decadal net Catholic immigration.

Settlement pattern. Settlement patterns, processes, policies regarding travel and the journey of the immigrant from the time they left their home country to the time they were settled in the United States varied among Catholic subcultures.

For Irish immigrants the process of settling in United States was facilitated by the presence of English-speaking Irish immigrants of the colonial period who already were living side-by-side with English Protestant folks. Immigration networks run by Irish travel brokers and the creation of Irish settlement clusters prepared a smooth landing for the Irish immigrant. Even when the Nativist and Know-Nothing campaigns against Irish Catholics were at their peak, the Irish were able to persist because of their demographic advantage and the support received from the Irish-dominated ecclesiastical hierarchy.

German immigrants were disadvantaged because of Bismarck's political campaign against Catholics in the home country, but they were able to thrive because of the powerful and supportive ecclesiastical structure in Germany. German bishops on both sides of the Atlantic working hand-in-hand with philanthropists like Peter Paul Cahensly, were able to create pathways to aid immigrants from departure to actual settlement in the United States. In addition, newspapers targeting prospective emigrants appeared in 1840s offering emigrants advice on travel, entry ports, and an assortment of information to facilitate a smooth and accelerated integration into American society. Donations from mission societies in German-speaking countries, including the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (founded in France in 1822 but with numerous German members), Austria's Leopoldinen-stiftuug (1829), and Bavaria's Ludwig-Missionsverein (1838), supported the emigration of the German laity and religious. Ludwig I of Bavaria not only provided funding for the immigrant's cause, but also used his political influence in Rome to facilitate the gradual entry of men of German descent into the American episcopal hierarchy. The fact that immigrants of German descent were able to create entry ports and insular enclaves in the United States hastened their process of progression towards integration into the established enclave, mostly in the German Triangle of Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, which became home for 35% of the Germans settled in rural areas.

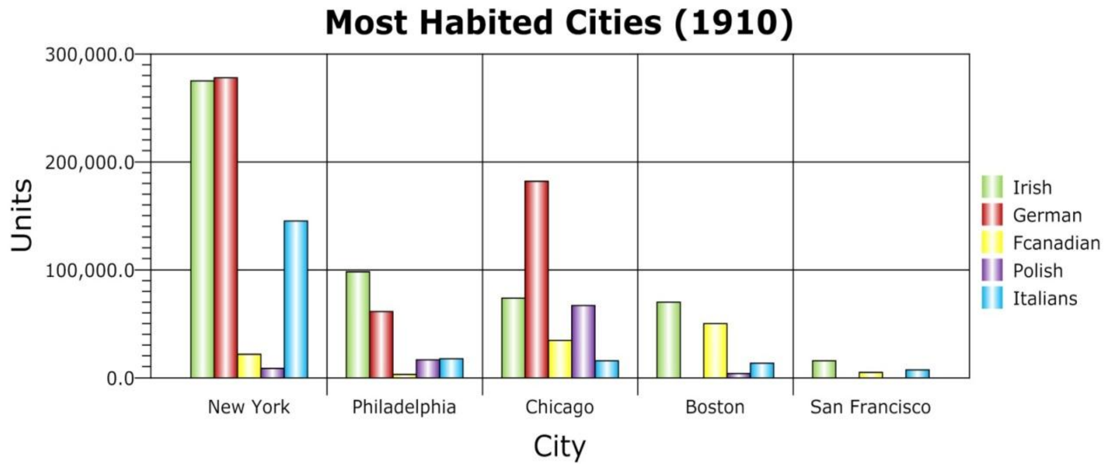
For immigrants of French Canada, proximity and the fact that a French presence already existed in the United States during the colonial era accounted for their smooth integration into the American Catholic cultural environment. French Canadian settlement patterns and their demographic statics remained elusive because of the casual way in which their immigration to the United States took place.

The partitioning of Poland and Bismarck's Kulturkampf against Poles in the German partition of Poland acted to the disadvantage of the Poles; however, because a large majority (75%) of Poles were Catholic, immigrants of Polish origin were able to establish an ethno-religious community grounded in Catholic principles in the U.S.–"Polonia," as these enclaves individually and collectively were known – became vital centers of immigrant social, political, and religious life. The Polish Roman Catholic parish was the heart of Polonia.

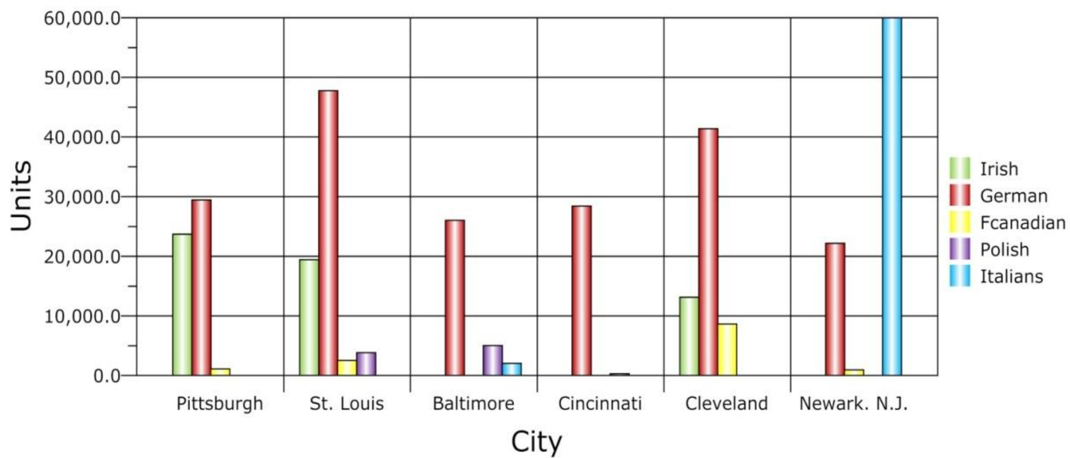
Eighty percent of the immigrants from Italy came from the southern region; they were not particularly welcomed in the U.S. but officials in the newly created Italian government encouraged emigration as a way of minimizing dysfunction Italy. The Italian immigrant was preyed upon by corrupt padrones who did little to facilitate integration.

Among southern Italians, the ascent into clerical ranks was hampered by their attitude to the church. The Catholic Church, among southerners, was often associated with oppression at the hands of more socially and politically favored northern Italians (Ahlstrom, 2004). Once in America, the religious situation for southern Italian immigrants was generally similar to the one they had left behind, with Irish-American clergy in charge instead the north Italians. Many Italians withdrew from the institutional church as a result of the cultural upheaval (Williams, 2008).

Urban settlement. As Figure 39 illustrates, the top ten popular urban cities for immigrants were: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Jersey City, Baltimore and Cincinnati. It is in urban centers that conflict between subcultures was most prevalent. The data in Table 84 is a comparison of demographic data for each of the selected subcultures.



	Irish	German	Fcanadian	Polish	Italians
New York	275,102.0	278,137.0	21,926.0	9,000.0	145,433.0
Philadelphia	98,427.0	61,480.0	3,283.0	16,800.0	17,830.0
Chicago	73,912.0	182,289.0	34,779.0	66,991.2	16,008.0
Boston	70,147.0	0.0	50,282.0	4,124.1	13,738.0
San Francisco	15,963.0	0.0	5,199.0	0.0	7,508.0



	Pittsburgh	St. Louis	Baltimore	Cincinnati	Cleveland	Newark. N.J.
Irish	23,690.0	19,421.0	0.0	0.0	13,120.0	0.0
German	29,438.0	47,766.0	26,024.0	28,426.0	41,408.0	22,177.0
Fcanadian	1,073.0	2,490.0	0.0	0.0	8,611.0	962.0
Polish	0.0	3,810.0	5,010.0	294.3	0.0	0.0
Italians	0.0	0.0	2,042.0	0.0	0.0	60,000.0

Figure 39. Most habited cities (1910)

Table 84

A Comparison of Demographic Data for Selected Subcultures

Variable		Irish	German	French (C)	Polish	Italians
Saga		Potato famine Absentee Lords Prejudice vs. RC	Kulturkampf	Cessation of New France	Kulturkampf Land shortage	
Immigration	**Statistics**	4 million (20)	4 million (20)	1 million (0.5)	1.2 million(0.6)	3.8 mil (19)
	Peak	1851-1860	1881-1890	1911-1920	1901-1910	1901-1910
	% of Catholics	82	35	20	75	90
		Networks Brokers Clusters	Colonies Entreports German Triangle	Subtle, Seasonal Proximity US prospects	"Passages" Communication networks	Padrones Clusters
Settlement		90% urban	65% urban	90% urban	90% urban	80% urban
Parish		Maryland 1734	1799: consolidation- PA by D. Gallitzin	1851: 1st French parish in Burlington	1866: 1st parish Vincent Barzynski in Panna Maria,TX	1866: St. Anthony NY Leo Paccillio
Priests		30%	2,250 (1900)35%	400 (in 1900) 3.3%	702 (in 1911) 4.2%	(315 in 1910) 1.9%
Religious		Irish	German, Austrian	French	Polish	Italian
Missionary		SJ OP, OSF, Cap, AA,	OSB, C.PP.S. C.Ss.R.	Assumptionists	C.S.S.F.	OSF, S.D.B., SJ,C.P.,
Bishop		125	46	11	1	3

Conflict based on differences in cultural values and norms. The Irish and Germans were the first immigrants to settle urban areas; followed in waves of Bohemians, Poles, and Italians. Differences were apparent in languages, style of worship, favored saints, architecture of sacred places, forms of organization, relationships among clergy and laity, and the inbred, culturally-based concepts of the Catholic faith (Sanders, 1977; Lazerson, 1977). These differences were the basis of the national parishes that quickly became the hallmark of 19th century American Catholicism. Even as the immigrants settled in ethnically mixed, transient neighborhoods, they constructed their associational life on the basis of national identities. Separate hospitals, orphanages, benevolent societies, and schools were established by the subcultures (Dolan, 1972). Tensions between subcultures based on differentiated values and norms persisted during the entire 19th century and were the foundation of problems related to trusteeship in major urban centers as New York, Buffalo, and Philadelphia (Ahlstrom, 2004).

American Catholics beheld a bitter struggle between French, Irish, and German elements; neither pope nor the American hierarchy could force German American laborers to welcome Polish or Italian immigrants to their society or to their churches (Ahlstrom, 2004). The result was an immigrant Catholicism parceled along ethnic lines.

In Poland Corner, (Polska Krzywka) the first Polish settlement in Wisconsin, serious conflicts arose when, by 1863, "Polish families far outnumbered the Germans yet were refused a voice in parish administration." Successful Polish efforts garnered needed approval, and a separate St. Joseph's Polish Church parish was built nearby in 1864 (Koliński, 1995, p. 37).

Most of the acrimonious clashes between the predominantly Irish-American church hierarchy and Catholics of French heritage revolved around the question of language and

appropriation of funds for parish administration. The American church hierarchy was reluctant, or often unable, to attend to the immediate linguistic needs of the French Catholics. The predominantly Irish-American church hierarchy feared that granting French national parishes staffed by Canadian immigrant priests would encourage a French enclave within the United States, thereby causing great harm to the nation as a whole. The cultural conflict between the two groups was also fueled by discriminatory policies that forced French Canadians to either stand during *Irish services* or to sit in segregated balconies. The Quebecois relegated to an inferior status within the church retaliated by refusing to attend mass and withholding their financial contributions to the Irish-dominated church.

At the peak of the tensions Quebecois withdrew from a predominantly French parish in Fall River, MA, when Bishop Thomas Francis Hendricken appointed an Irish to replace a French priest who had died in 1884. Hendricken interdicted the errant Quebecois, literally banning them from the Catholic faith. After Rome intervened on behalf of the French in 1886, the interdiction was removed and a French-speaking priest was appointed to the parish.

In Danielson, CT, where French Canadians outnumbered the Irish by a ratio of 6 to 1, a decision by the parish administration to exclude the French language from the school curriculum led to clashes between the two subcultures. The two-year encounter subsided when a French-speaking vicar was appointed to take charge of the situation in 1896. Three years later a struggle of a similar nature occurred in North Brookfield, MA.

Another ethnic strife between the two Catholic subcultures escalated in Maine after Bishop Louis S. Walsh took over the Portland diocese in 1906. The conflict centered on the appropriation of parish funds. The French Canadians in Maine opposed ecclesiastical policy which made the bishop the sole proprietor of church property; their goal was to place control

of church property in the hands of lay trustees. Using his episcopal authority, Walsh interdicted the French Canadians who, despite efforts to garner support from other French constituencies including delegates from Quebec, were unable to revise the ecclesiastical policy in place.

Priest representation. In the U.S. in 1920, Irish priests accounted for over a third (35%) of the total number of priests; Germans accounted for 30%, then Poles with 4.2%, the French with 3.3% and finally, the Italians whose clerics constituted 1.9% of the total number of priests.

Religious denominations. Subcultures studied were served by religious order priests from their respective countries. For the Irish, missionaries consisted of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Capuchins. For immigrants of German descent religious orders included, but were not limited to, Austrian Redemptorists, Swiss Sanguinists, Bavarian Benedictines, Fathers of the Most Precious Blood, German Franciscans and others. French Canadian immigrants were served by Assumptionists, Sisters of the Cross, Sisters of the Presentation, and others. Polish religious included Resurrectionists, Franciscans, Felician Sisters, and others, and for Italians, religious included Franciscans, Jesuits, Scalabrini Fathers, Salesians, Passionists, and Augustinians.

Cultural values. Based on the country of origin, each subculture's unique ethno-centric cultural heritage and ideologies were based on foundational experiences (sagas), the heroes honored, and rituals associated with these sagas. Each subculture constructed churches and monuments designated as sacred space for the enactment of cherished rituals and ceremonies. Educational institutions affiliated with the subgroups (grade school, college and seminaries) became a means by which the cultural and linguistic heritage of each

subculture was transmitted from one generation to the next. Schools using the vernacular of a specific group became a medium for culture reproduction.

The distinctive nature of sagas, heroes, rituals ceremonies and sacred space of each subculture highlighted the difference in pieties and devotion. The differences also show that central Catholic tenets pertaining to worship, saints, sacraments (rituals) seasonal feasts, and churches were perceived through a unique cultural lens and enacted with cultural tradition.

The foundational saga of Irish Catholic immigrants was the potato famine that occurred at a time when the Irish were forced to give up their land to Protestant English absentee lords. Irish immigrants engaged in ethno-religious pieties that celebrated heroism of St. Patrick. Irish churches were named for their saints, and festivals such as St. Patrick's Day were celebrated with Irish cuisine in commemoration of their passage from the state of disadvantage their ancestors endured in the motherland.

Heroes. The data collected in this study showed that each subculture used their own cultural framework to celebrate heroism and sainthood, a central tenet in the Catholic faith. Most important, heroes and saints were associated with each subculture's country of origin The celebration of heroes and saints created a rationale for religious practice for the groups. Rituals and pieties reenacted the heroism performed by specific persons, times, and locations; if a miracle had been performed by the hero or saint, the celebration became a means by which the venerated persons were invoked to miraculously intervene in the new world, or in a new church (dedicated to them), or even in a new situation as they did in the past. For the Irish and Polish, canonized saints were the most popular personalities celebrated; St Patrick and The Black Madonna for the Irish and Poles respectively. The Germans and French celebration of heroes included commemorating persons in their recent past, especially those

who had inspired and impacted the immigrants in a positive way; Peter Paul Cahensly, "Father of German immigrants," and the French Jesuits, Isaac Jogues and his companions, martyred while ministering to the natives. For the Italians, it was saints such as St. Januarius, Rosalia, and Rocco, again carried on from the old country. Italian saintology was (and is) infused with centuries of cultural heritage some of which appeared syncretic to ecclesiastical officials in the church.

The personhood of saints like the Virgin Mary, who is universally celebrated in the Catholic Church, became isomorphic. The figure of the Lady was redressed in cultural garb and in the context of the immediate tasks and concerns of the specific cultures. The Poles venerated Virgin was the Black Madonna, Our Lady who appeared in Cstochowa, Poland; for the French Canadian in Louisiana, she was Our Lady of the Hurricane who saved the city of New Orleans from a hurricane. Other names associated with Mary's isomorphism are; Our Lady of Fatima, for Portuguese Americans, Our Lady of Guadalupe for Spanish Americans, Our Lady of the Snow, or Our Lady of the Lake, or even Our Lady of the Woods, depending on the tasks focused upon by specific cultures.

Rituals. The celebration of annual rituals and pieties on the Catholic calendar such as New Year's Day, Easter, and Christmas received a cultural bias. The German celebration of Christmas eventually received wide acceptance in American religious and secular communities. Likewise rituals associated with the *rites of passage;* marriage, baptisms, and funerals were performed according to ecclesiastical rubric and also infused with cultural symbolism considered appropriate to the culture.

Sacred space. Each of the subcultures, therefore, found it imperative to create sacred space or churches architecturally built and adorned in ways that were culturally appropriate,

places where members could celebrate their heroes and rituals, places where their deeply nurtured foundational experiences and sagas could find unrestricted and uninterrupted expression, and be spoken and heard in the language of the culture. Because of the need for this recognition, the concept of *national churches* was introduced in the American ecclesiastical environment. By the year 1916, there were more than 206 German churches, 200 French churches, 466 Polish churches, and 149 Italian churches. In all, there were 3,355 Irish churches, which in principle, were regarded as territorial parishes open to Catholics of various cultural backgrounds.

The Irish, because of their presence on the eastern seaboard, established churches in the mid-1700s. The first national church for the German-speaking community was established in 1799 in Pennsylvania. French Canadians in Burlington had their official national church in 1851; the Poles established one in Panna Maria, TX, in 1866, and the Italians, facilitated by Leo Paccillio and a community of Franciscan missionaries were also able to establish their first Italian national church in New York in 1866.

Language. Each of the five subcultures sought to use the language of the motherland for religious celebrations of liturgy. However, the Italian language was not a strong transmitter of traditional and cultural heritage among the immigrants. Italians within the immigrant community spoke different dialects with Tuscan serving as the most dominant dialect used by the educated and cultivated sector of Italian society.

In an ecclesiastical cultural environment populated by recently arrived ethno-religious Catholic immigrants who were deeply embedded in their cultural interpretations of universally accepted Catholic values and norms, conflict was inevitable. The overarching concern for Catholics therefore, became finding ways and means of attending to the

important question: Whose sagas, heroes, rituals, and churches should American Catholicism adopt as the norm? Consideration of the ways that the various subgroups related to each other in the American ecclesiastical environment was important in understanding the conflict and the process through which specific norms and values came to be representative of American Catholicism. Table 85 is a comparison of data about cultural values of selected subculture

Table 85

A Comparison of Cultural Values for Selected Subcultures.

Variable		Irish	German	French (C)	Polish	Italians
Heroes(saints)		St. Patrick's	Cahensly	Canadian Martyrs	Black Madonna	Italians SS.
Ceremonies		St. Patrick's	G/Christmas		Christmas/ Easter	Festa
Space	**Ethnic churches**	Mother church of RCC	*206*	*200*	*466*	*149*
	Ethnic& English (1916)	3,355 mixed with Irish & none Irish	*1684*	*499*	*269*	*327*
Ideology (Ethno-religiosity)		Anglophobia Elitisism	Separatist Conservative	Separatist Conservative	Conservative Liberalism	Conservative(N) Progressive(S)
Language		English national language	"Language saves the faith"	English language of conqueror & Protestantism.	Cornerstone for solidarity	Dialects: Tuscan dominant

Tasks. The section on the task environment examined the types of work engaged in by the various cultural groups and the proportion of immigrants from each subculture employed in specific types of jobs when they first arrived in the United States. The selected subcultures performed tasks related primarily to the skills or the lack of thereof acquired in their motherland. The percentage of professionals (physicians, surgeons, dentists, teachers, professors, lawyers, electricians, architects, designers, clergy and many more) in the five groups was uneven. The Germans had the highest percentage (23%) of professionals among the immigrants. A mere 8% of the Irish immigrants were in the professions, followed by the Poles and Italian each at 5% and the French at 4%.

In the category of skilled laborers, the German immigrants also had the highest proportion of immigrants in the sectors of trades and crafts (37%). About 12% of the Irish immigrants were considered skilled, 6% for the French Canadians, and Poles and Italians each just 5% in the category of the skilled. The stereotypical 19th century German was a skilled practitioner of a traditional craft in areas such as baking, building, brewing, tailoring, or merchandising. In some areas, Germans were not highly educated but compensated by teaching skilled trades to each generation by apprenticeship (Conzen, 2003). In agriculture, Germans were known to be hardworking and frugal caretakers of their land and livestock. (Con, 1980). German immigrants were welcomed by employers who offered special concessions to attract German immigrants (Barry, 1952).

Eight of ten Irish, French Canadians, Polish, and Italians immigrants were unskilled when they arrived in the United States. Unskilled Germans were about 40% of the total of this immigrant subculture. The unskilled filled a variety of tasks; construction, mining, trades, services and other, generally lower-paid jobs. More than a third of German

immigrants engaged in agriculture, followed by the French Canadians at 18%, the Poles at 10 %, the Irish at 8 % and Italians at 7%.

The task structure became a source of intercultural conflict. The German immigrant's proficiency was a desirable attribute in the American culture, whereas cultural groups dominated by unskilled labor or even categorized as prone to bigotry were considered undesirable. Thus the classic statement, *Irish need not apply*. On the other hand, clashes within various ethno-religious Catholic subcultures were not uncommon. Irish relations with the Italians were less amicable despite the common religious and peasant background; the very similarity of the two groups made them competitors for jobs, housing, and church authority and precluded political alliances. (Bli, 1980). Table 86 is a comparison of the task structure of the various selected Catholic subcultures.

Table 86

A Comparison the Task Structure for Selected Subcultures.

	Variables	Irish	German	French (C)	Polish	Italians
Ranks	**Professional**	8%	23%	4%	5%	5%
	Skilled	12%	37%	6%	5%	5%
	Unskilled	80%	40%	80%	80%	80%
Types	**Agriculture**	8% farm/ranch	35% farmers	18% farmers	10% farmers	7% horticulture
	Factory	Mills, textile		Mills, textile	Textile, sugar	Mills, textile
	Construction	Canal, rail	steel	Brick, Quarries	steel	Canal, rail
	Mining	Coal, gold, copper	Coal,	copper	Coal, oil	Coal, gold
	Services	households, hotels	Hotel, nurse, tailor	Hotel, nurse soldiers	-	Artists, Teach
	Craft / trades	Carpentry	carpentry, merchants	Bank, brokers, boats,	-	stonecutters
	Other	lumber	distiller	Boots, shoes	Meat packing	Food industry

Education.

Cultural reproduction. Cultural norms and values are passed from one generation to the next through the process of cultural transmission (Spindler, 1963). Informal education is one of the mechanisms by which cultural transmission and perpetuation occurs while warding off undesirable external ideological influences which could compromise the culture's integrity. Olson (2005) explored how access to formal education or the lack thereof becomes a way by which students are ranked and sorted into specific tracks of life. Although informal education is a means for transmitting norms and values in each culture, not all cultures engage in formal education.

In a state where subcultures subsist side-by-side, cultural reproduction becomes an in-group function while formal education becomes a function of the subcultures ability to cope with out-group functions. A subculture will be able to subsist internally and remain competitive with other subcultures if it includes informal and formal education. In the case of Catholicism, subcultures that established colleges and seminaries were in a better position to impact governance. Seminary programs, especially those with pontifical status, produced clerics and, subsequently, bishops of their clerics who attended pontifical seminaries. The American Pontifical College in Rome was Bedini's idea; his recommendation at the inception of the pontifical seminary was that Americans needed a college in Rome where prospective bishops could receive the orthodox training in church doctrine and be examined for their worthiness to episcopal status by Vatican bureaucrats. Table 87 shows a comparison of the variables involved in education for each subculture.

Table 87

A Comparison of the Education Structures of Selected Subcultures.

Variable		Irish	German	French (C)	Polish	Italians
Grade Schools		Parochial school *vs.* Public school system	Public Schools *Used for* Parochial purposes	French Parochial school *vs.* English Parochial	Catechetical educ. Task vs. Education	Counter cultural Preference for Public Task vs. Education
	Administrators of schools (no. of schools)	Parish (-) 1910	Laity (-) 1910	French missionaries (113) 1900	Polish missionaries (300) 1911	(Southern) parents Northern Italian Missionaries (41) 1910
College		(Irish) Jesuit Colleges	German Benedictine college	French Assumptionists' colleges	Polish National Alliance College PA	Italian Franciscan college NY
Seminary		French Sulpicians Baltimore Irish Jesuit seminaries	German seminaries Josephinum - Ohio Benedictine	French seminary Louvain, Belgium	Polish SS. Cyril & Methodius, MI	-

The concept of Catholic education is ambiguous and a misnomer because as the data from this study show, there are not Catholic schools per se, but institutions for informal and formal cultural reproduction. Catholic education carried different connotations for the various subcultures. In the context of the American ecclesiastical politics, subcultures that subscribed to Catholicism constantly negotiated their place within the system. In the context of this politicized environment, the question becomes, whose school, whose language, whose professors, and whose seminary is the Catholic education system going to institutionalize as the norm?

Grade school education. The phenomenon of Catholic parochial education took different forms depending on the circumstances of a specific subculture; for the Irish on the east coast, grade school education was a product of Bishop Hughes' advocacy to establish a grade school system to enable the Irish Catholic community in New York to exercise their faith without unwarranted interference from the Protestant public education system. Catholics of German descent were able to turn turned tax-supported rural public schools into parish schools by political action. German Catholics and Lutherans formed a coalition under the leadership of the Democratic Party to forestalled until World War I the 1889 Bennett Law in Wisconsin that required the use of English in all public and private elementary and high schools (Ulrich, 1981).

French Canadians prioritized the construction of the parochial school over the construction of churches. Schools were regarded as sacred spaces where French cultural heritage would be maintained and transmitted in the United States. Clerics (secular and religious) nuns and brothers of French origin belonging to about 30 religious orders played an important in the running of schools. "By the year 1900, the French Canadian Parochial

system alone had established a total of 133 schools (41 percent of the parochial schools in New England) with an enrollment of 55,000 students" (Basxan, 1980, p. 398).

Polish parochial education provided basic education up to the age of Confirmation primarily to perpetuate the linguistic needs of the cultural members. Higher education was not a priority for Polish because it was the desire of parents for children to enter the workforce as soon as they were able.

Southern Italian immigrants characteristically were not supportive of Parochial schools or of extending education beyond an elementary level. Parents were suspicious of the motive of parochial schools, which they believed was a means of institutionalized thought control and considered the expense to be a burden to the family budget. Further, parents distained the disciplinary practices of parochial schools run by religious nuns or missionaries from northern Italy. Italian Catholics' preference for public schools over parochial schools accounted for the low number of Italian schools, which in 1910, was a mere 41.

Higher education. Institutions of higher learning were ethno-religious institutions with a Catholic mission established to perpetuate the cultural biases of the group served. In terms of the administrative structure, these colleges were under the direction of missionaries who had cultural ties to a specific subculture; Irish Jesuits, German Benedictine oblates, French Assumptionists, Polish Resurectionists and Franciscans, and Italian Franciscans. Programs were oriented towards the tasks engaged in by the subcultures. For the Irish Jesuits, the focus was on urban education with a classical / Thomistic core curriculum offering in contradistinction to that of other secular colleges. For the Germans, Benedictine College training was geared to rural trades. The Polish education system existed more to perpetuate the specific educational and cultural needs of the Polish.

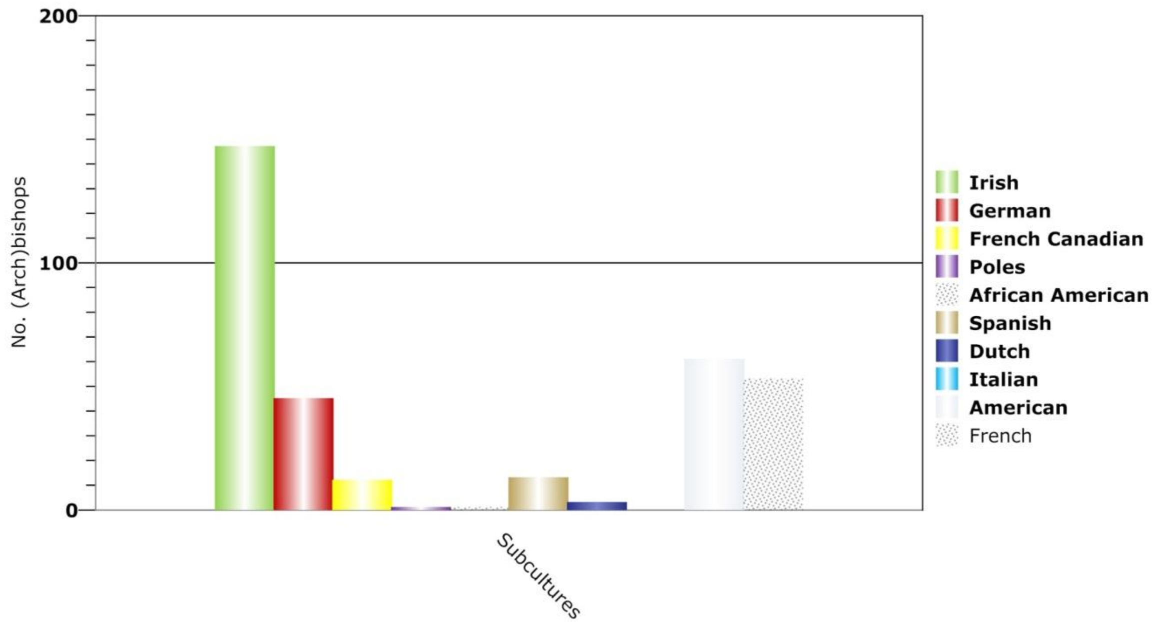
Seminary education. During the immigration era, popes promoted the formation of national colleges to reinforce Roman loyalties (White, 1993). Thus, the German Pontifical College in Columbus, Polish SS Cyril and Methodius Seminary in Michigan, and the seminary for the French-speaking Catholics in Louvain were formed. At a time when governance in the American ecclesiastical environment was becoming centralized by a policy-making stream dominated by the Irish, the Germans, French and Polish were able to find alternative routes to Rome through the pontifical seminaries. In this way they were able to post representatives from their respective groups for episcopal placements in the American cultural environment. In Baltimore, Bishop Carroll's seminary formation program was in the hands of French Sulpicians. Italians immigrants, who did not have a fully-fledged college and seminary education system, were disproportionately represented in the American hierarchy. By their lack of a formal system of education, they literally organized (sorted) themselves out of the American hierarchical ranks.

Ecclesiastical leadership. The demographic analysis of the American cultural environment looked at the composition of the American hierarchy for the period leading to the year 1920 to find out more about how each subculture was represented in terms of bishops and archbishops at the national and provincial levels. Emphasis was placed on the top tier and top-ranking officials in the American hierarchy; Bishops, Archbishops, Cardinals, and Popes who managed a bureaucratic theocracy and oligarchy.

Bishops, Archbishops, and Cardinals.

National level. At the national level, as Figure 40 demonstrates, prelates of Irish descent played a key role in the ecclesiastical affairs. Out of 335 episcopal positions assigned by the pope in the period leading to the year 1920, 147, nearly half (44%) were prelates of

Irish descent. During the same period, 8 American bishops were elevated to the rank of Prince of the Church (Cardinals); all were of Irish background. Catholics of German background had 45 bishops, French Canadian had 11, Italians had 3, and the Poles just one.



Subculture	Irish	German	French Canadian	French	Poles	African American	Spanish	Dutch	Italian	American
No. Arch(bps)	147	45	12	53	1	1	13	3	3	61

Figure 40. (Arch)Bishops for various subcultures.

Table 88 is a comparison of the ecclesiastical governance structure for the selected subcultures.

Table 88

A Comparison of Theocratic Governance for Selected Subcultures.

	Variable	Irish	German	French (C)	Polish	Italians
Leadership	*(Arch)Diocese*	1789: 1st Diocese (Arch)Bp. Carroll 1808: 1st Archdiocese	1821: Cincinnati Diocese	1853: Goesbriand 1st French Bishop of Burlington	1809: Paul Rhode 1st Polish American Aux. bishop (Chicago)	Ignatius Persico P. Tosi, S.J
	Bishop	147	45	11	1	3
	Other	Trusteeism	German Triangle	‘Sulpician factor’	1904: PNCC schism	

The provincial level. At the provincial level the composition of the American hierarchy varied according the location, settlement patterns, and tasks engaged in by immigrants. As the map and accompanying charts in Figure 41 demonstrate, the immigrants of Irish descent dominated the episcopal positions in the majority of provinces. Bishops of German extraction dominated the provinces of St. Paul and Milwaukee. They also had a fair representation in the provinces in the German Triangle, Cincinnati, Dubuque and St. Louis. Bishops of French origin had a recognizable presence in two-thirds of the provinces while dominating the episcopal positions in the Provinces of Oregon and Santa Fe (See Appendix J for a complete list of prelates by province).

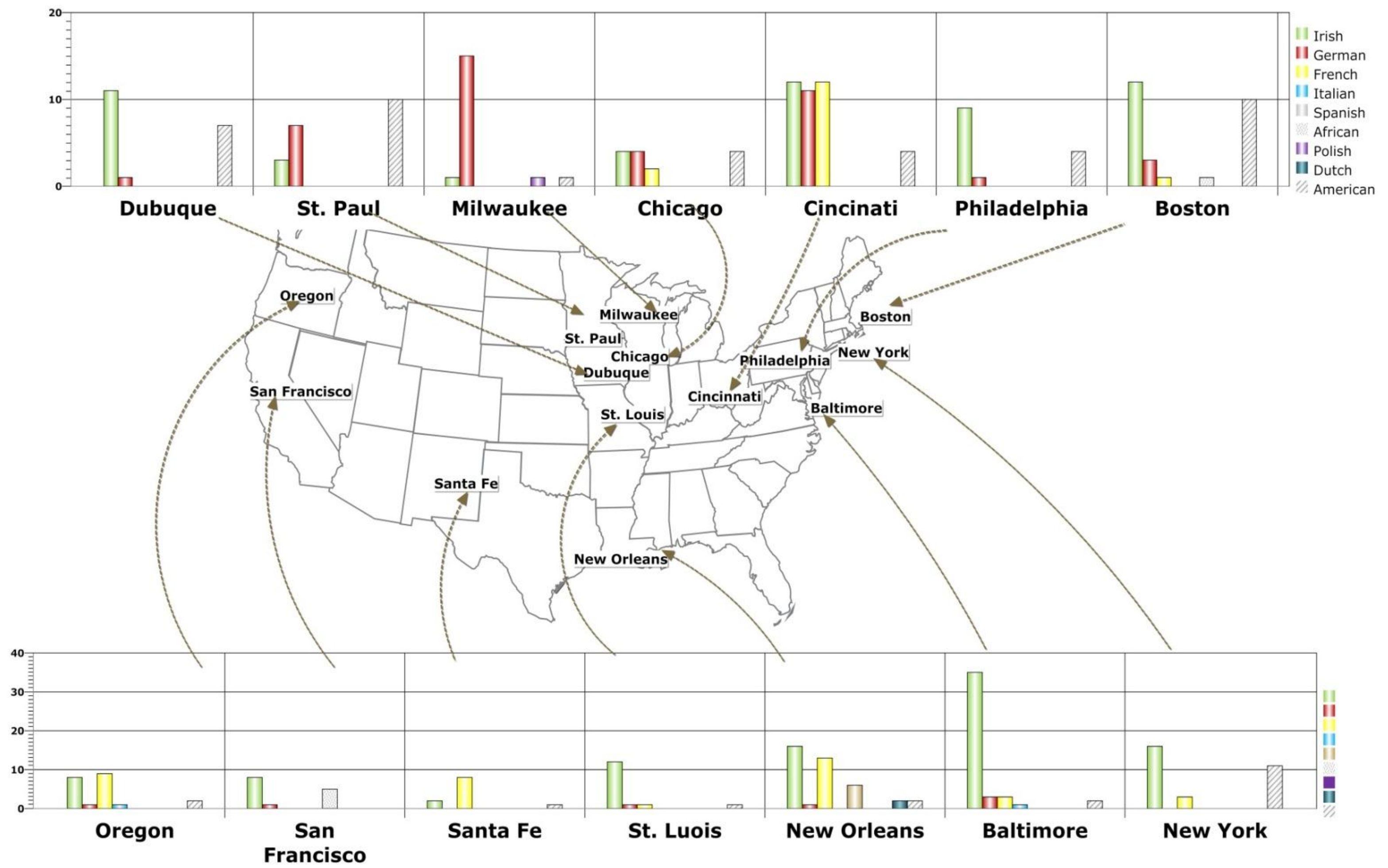


Figure 41. Ethnic episcopal representation in provinces.

Theocratic Governance and the American Catholic Environment

The discussion about ecclesiastical governance relations of the divergent Catholic subcultures in the United States and Rome during the immigration period begins at the end of the politicization era. Republican sentiments were at their height; it was the period immediately following the American Revolution, and Catholics on the eastern seaboard had to minimize any assumption that they were still affiliated to a foreign king. The circumstances favored the ex-Jesuit Irish clerics in Maryland who were able to engage in direct bottom-up negotiation with Rome. Their efforts led to the endorsement of John Carroll's episcopacy who was appointed to the office by a unanimous decision of the same group of clerics. All that Rome required from the new ecclesiastical hierarchy in America was a periodical report on the state of Catholicism in the colonies. The Irish ex-Jesuits' ability to engage in direct negotiations with Rome was enhanced by the latter's strategic position of living side-by-side with the English-speaking, protestant-dominated administrators in the new American republic. The English-speaking Irish hierarchy that dominated the American Catholic ecclesiastical environment created the outcome of governance transaction with Rome.

Other Catholic subcultures in an American ecclesiastical environment dominated by the Irish also negotiated their standing with Rome. The internationally organized German Catholic Church garnered support on behalf of immigrants of German descent through German diplomatic envoys at the Vatican. German aristocrats, with political and financial influence and financial contributions to the Congregation for Propaganda, prompted Rome to respond to Germany's across-hierarchy negotiation by increasing the number of bishops of

German descent in the American hierarchy. Bishops of German descent also engaged in direct negotiations with the Vatican for representation in the hierarchical ranks. Germans Boniface Wimmer and Joseph Jessing, in acknowledgement of their role as founders of the Benedictine order and the Pontifical Seminary Josephinum, respectively were each awarded special status by Rome.

Catholic immigrants of French Canadian descent, even after settling in the United States, continued subordination to the ecclesiastical province in Quebec, recreating the ecclesiastical traits of French Canadian Catholicism founded two centuries before the establishment of the first U. S. ecclesiastical province of Baltimore. French Canadians conducted direct negotiations with Rome requesting that the Vatican enforce regulations that would require the Irish bishops to assign French-speaking priests to the parishes where Catholics of French Canadian descent constituted the majority. The French press was also actively engaged in promoting French Canadian interests in the American ecclesiastical environment.

After nearly three decades of trying, inability by the Polish to find grounds for overcoming their position of subjection to the Irish-dominated ecclesiastical hierarchy led to the 1904 formation of a schismatic Polish National Catholic Church led by a renegade cleric, Francis Hodur. Throughout the immigrant era, parish churches were established through the initiative of various immigrant subcultures. These parishes were initiated as independent corporate agencies under the leadership of democratically elected lay boards of trustees.

The controversy of lay trusteeism that ensued in the American Catholic environment was a result of bishops seeking to reclaim previously self-governing ecclesiastical communities from the hands of lay trustees. Lay trustees and clerics who did not comply

with these ecclesiastical governance procedures were excommunicated by the bishops.

The religious beliefs of immigrant southern Italian Catholics were based on a mixture of Catholicism, paganism, and superstition and, therefore, looked at with suspicion by the Vatican and ecclesiastical officials in the United States. Southern immigrants were considered to be the undesirable segment of Italian society, with which both the government and the church were willing to dispense during the immigration era. Proximity to the Vatican for the Catholics of Italian descent did not translate in proportionate episcopal representation in the American ecclesiastical environment. Instead, it fueled the age-old stereotypes and class wars that existed between the Vatican and southern Italians.

The Irish-dominated hierarchy sympathetic to the United States' political, ideological, and linguistic policy of Americanism was intent on integrating and immersing the various immigrant subcultures in the American way of life, which also meant that subgroups had to embrace English as the official language of the republic. Attempts to integrate were counteracted by the top-down policy of Pope Pius IX that promoted German, French, and Polish cultural seminaries as a means of promoting cultural loyalty to Rome.

Toward the end of the immigration era, Rome embarked on an even more top-down governance campaign, which aimed to enforce a more centralized policy for the governance of the American ecclesiastical environment. The Roman Catholic strategy was to exert various mechanisms of control such as the decree on Infallibility of Pope (1870); Code of Canon Law (1907); control of ideology that translated in the condemnation of Americanism, modernism and secularism; and decrees on seminary formation, which culminated in the establishment of a centralized and Vatican-supervised seminary formation program conducted in the American Pontifical College in Rome. Figure 42 is a summary of

Ecclesiastical governance and the American Catholic Environment.

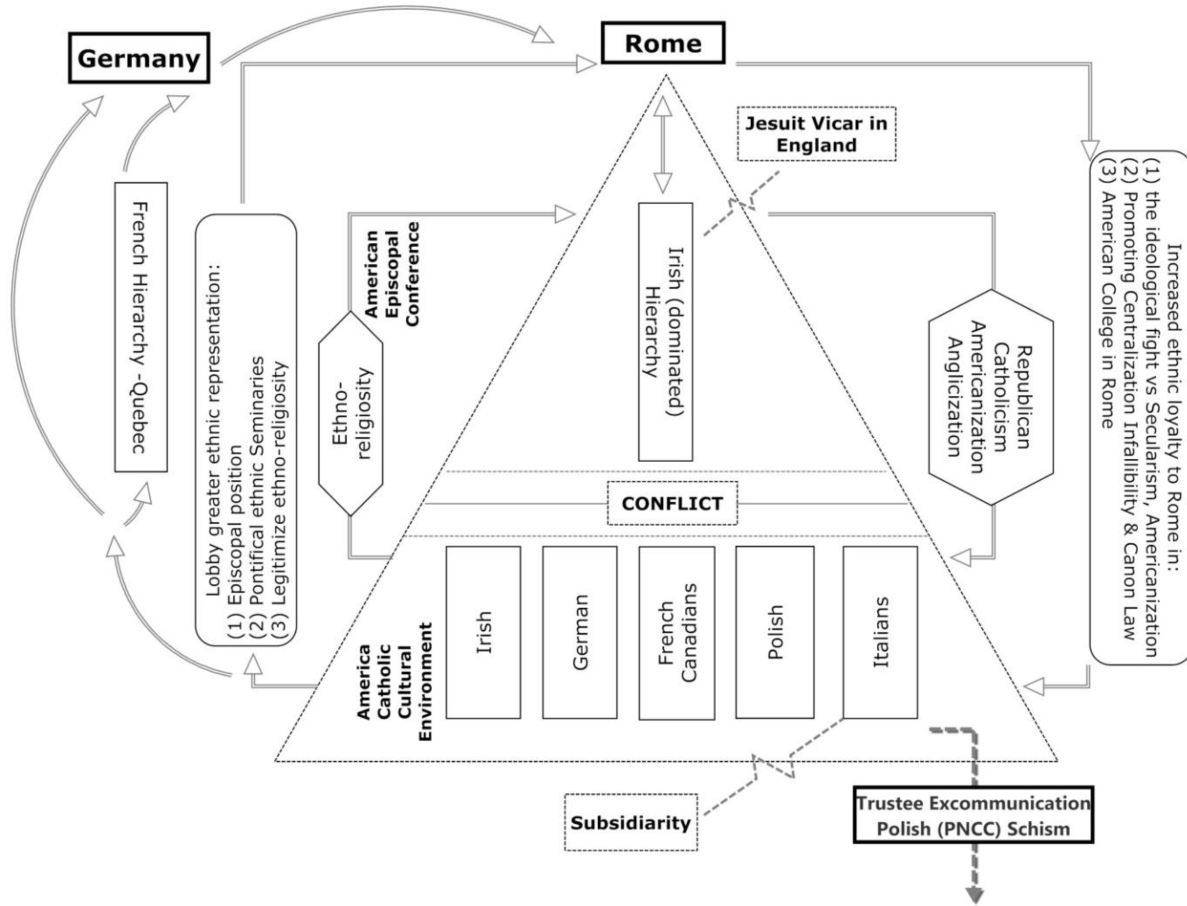


Figure 42. Theocratic governance and the American Catholic Environment.

Different governance relations for different subcultures. The results of this study showed that ecclesiastical governance varied depending on the subculture. The goal was for the Vatican to promote cultural loyalty by promoting the ethno-religiosity of the divergent subcultures that settled in the American ecclesiastical environment. Some cultural groups such as the Irish were centrally posed in terms of their relationship with the Rome, whereas others persisted on the peripheral. The church created alternative pathways through which the various subcultures could relate with Rome. Each subculture evolved a unique governance

relationship with the centralized bureaucracy in Rome. Figure 43 illustrates the different governance relationships between Rome and the subcultures: top-down governance relations, bottom-up negotiated relations, governance relations across hierarchies, governance relationships of marginality and subsidiarity, and schismatic practices leading to excommunication.

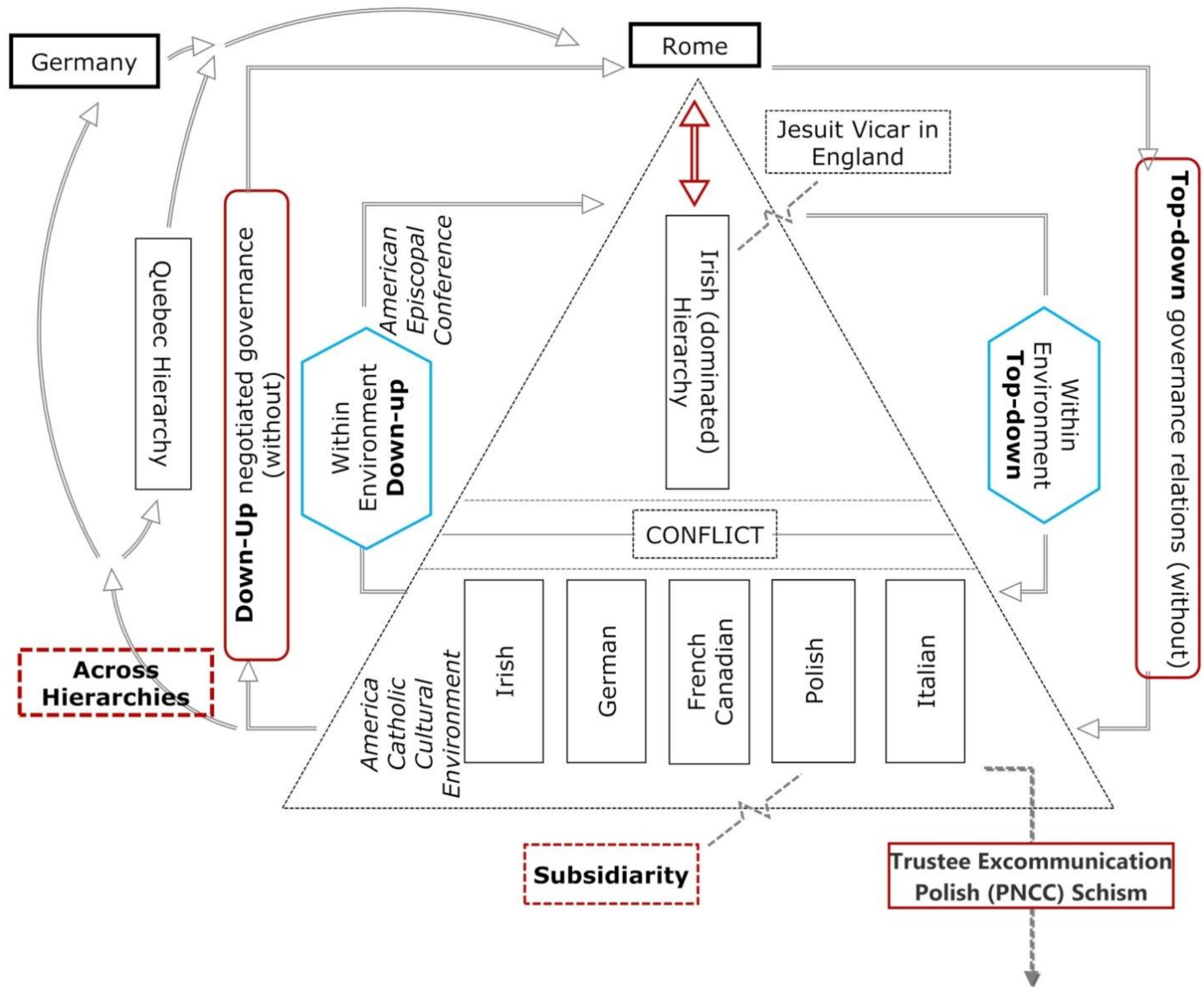


Figure 43. Different governance relations for different subcultures.

The investigation uncovered a set of governance relations of a complex nature that were multi-directional, multi-level, and extended across hierarchies. Relations were

differentiated and based on intense negotiations between the constituent member groups. I found that even though ecclesiastical governance was grounded in a bureaucratic structure, the church's interaction with the constituent groups did not necessarily constitute stable and unchanging relationships. Theocratic governance is not entirely a product of a policy-driven process, rather it is constituted of socially negotiated power relations that are differentiated and contextualized in a history of more than two millennia. Governance structure of the church, like any other organization, is driven by the environment; as the environment goes so does the organizational administrative structures and dependency. Ultimately, the study also showed that the nature of the church (which is a global government) is a confluence of cultural, historical, socio-political, and theological ideologies of the loosely coupled subcultures that subscribe to the Catholic value system.

Dissatisfaction Theory. This research study used dissatisfaction theory to explicate the nature of conflict that existed between the governors and the governed. Proponents of dissatisfaction theory believe governance systems are latent with conflict. Depending on political, economic, environmental, and ideological circumstances of the time, conflict within governance systems will express itself in various ways and with varying degrees of intensity; dissatisfaction, politicization, revolution, displacement, and quiescence.

During periods of revolution and displacement in the United States political environment, Catholic subcultures were able to engage in bottom-up negotiation with Rome. The reverse is also true; in times of quiescence, the Vatican enforced a more centralized and bureaucratic governance over the constituencies in the American ecclesiastical environment.

Scholarly Contribution of the Dissertation

This study fills a void in the extant knowledge about how the church governed

Catholics in the U.S., and thus, informs leadership practice in this area. The conceptual framework and theoretical propositions used to explain its workings present a new perspective to the rationale behind the governance structure that the Roman Catholic Church has in place for divergent cultural groups that are far from Rome. The study provides clarity and details about the role of the clerics serving as leaders in this value system.

This study fills a gap in the published knowledge base about the nature of the ecclesiastical governance of the wide-ranging Catholic cultures in the U.S. and in countries around the world. Building on the foundation of prior studies that emphasized the bureaucratic nature of ecclesiastical governance, this study clarifies and gives details about the multi-dimensional aspect of governance relations that exist between the church and Catholic subcultures. The contextualized investigation into the various Catholic subcultures– their background, norms, values, beliefs, logic, and traditions –highlights the divergence within them and the dilemma faced by the church that relates with the subcultures in American Catholicism and society.

Isomorphism

Using institutional theory, as postulated by Parsons (1960) and Thompson (1967), the research examined the technical core activities that distinguished various Catholic subcultures. Specifically, the ethno-religious activities in which subcultures engage such as rituals, celebrating heroes (saints) associated with these pieties, creating culturally appropriate sacred space, using distinctive language, and initiating ethnic education point to the subculture's attempt to seal off the technical core from undue interference.

But this research was about governance, and therefore, the main focus was on the institutional environment where the organizational sub-units exist as part of the larger

organization. Parsons (1960) and Thompson (1967) theorized about the different types of interactions that occur between the organization and its environment. This study about institutional governance gave special attention to the role of institutional leaders to discover various ways in which leaders act as liaisons between the organization and the institutional environment. Both the organization and leaders therein had to negotiate their place in the complex institutional and cultural environment.

Institutional (categorical) isomorphism. Data showed that institutional and cultural demands on the organizations were not necessarily the same and, in some cases, institutional and cultural demands stood in contradiction. To survive, organizations had to attend to the demands of one without compromising the other. The concepts of institutional isomorphism, as used in this study, therefore, highlights the organization's propensity to orient itself to the demands of the institutional environment on one hand, and to the demands of the cultural environment on the other.

In the Catholic Church, the centralized institutional governance of the church based in Rome determines norms and regulations to which various subcultures must adhere, but subcultures engage in ethno-religiosity, which entails dressing centrally dictated Catholic tenets in cultural garb in ways that can be understood by members of specific subcultures. The cultural environment determines what, in the eyes of a specific culture, are considered legitimate Catholic practices. The institutional environment, employing the authority vested in it as the official transmitter of central Catholic tenets for the universal Church, determines the extent to which these tenets can legitimately be dressed with such cultural interpretations.

Personal (categorical) isomorphism. Institutional leaders, who act as liaisons between the organization and the institutional environment, also serve as boundary-spanners

and bridge-builders between the core and the outside world. In addition to the roles stipulated by theorists, this study illustrates how institutional leadership roles are isomorphic, attending to both the institutional and cultural demands. Managers, as boundary-spanners, become brokers acting as intermediaries between groups, explaining actions and motivations of each to the other.

Legitimacy

As both the cultural and institutional environments engage in power relations, legitimacy becomes multi-directional. One of the major findings of this study relates to the institutional and personal (categorical) function of legitimacy. The results show that legitimacy is reciprocal. Institutions confer legitimacy to the cultural groups, and the cultural groups confer legitimacy to the institution. Subcultures depend on the church to legitimize their ethno-religious practices, and the church, to remain viable and legitimate, relies on the cultural members to fill the pews. The conferral of legitimacy is reciprocal because the cultural and institutional environments each have the potential to exert influence on the other in matters related to the legitimacy of the institutional leader.

For leaders in the Catholic value system to be legitimate, they must be isomorphic, that is, engage in reasonably acceptable leadership practices as clerics and members of a specific culture; this means that a leader must at all times be able to play political roles in one sphere without compromising the other. This treatise, as Figure 44 illustrates, is about socialization by the institution (the priesthood) and socialization by the culture, institutional norms, and cultural norms. This highlights the personal or categorical isomorphism.

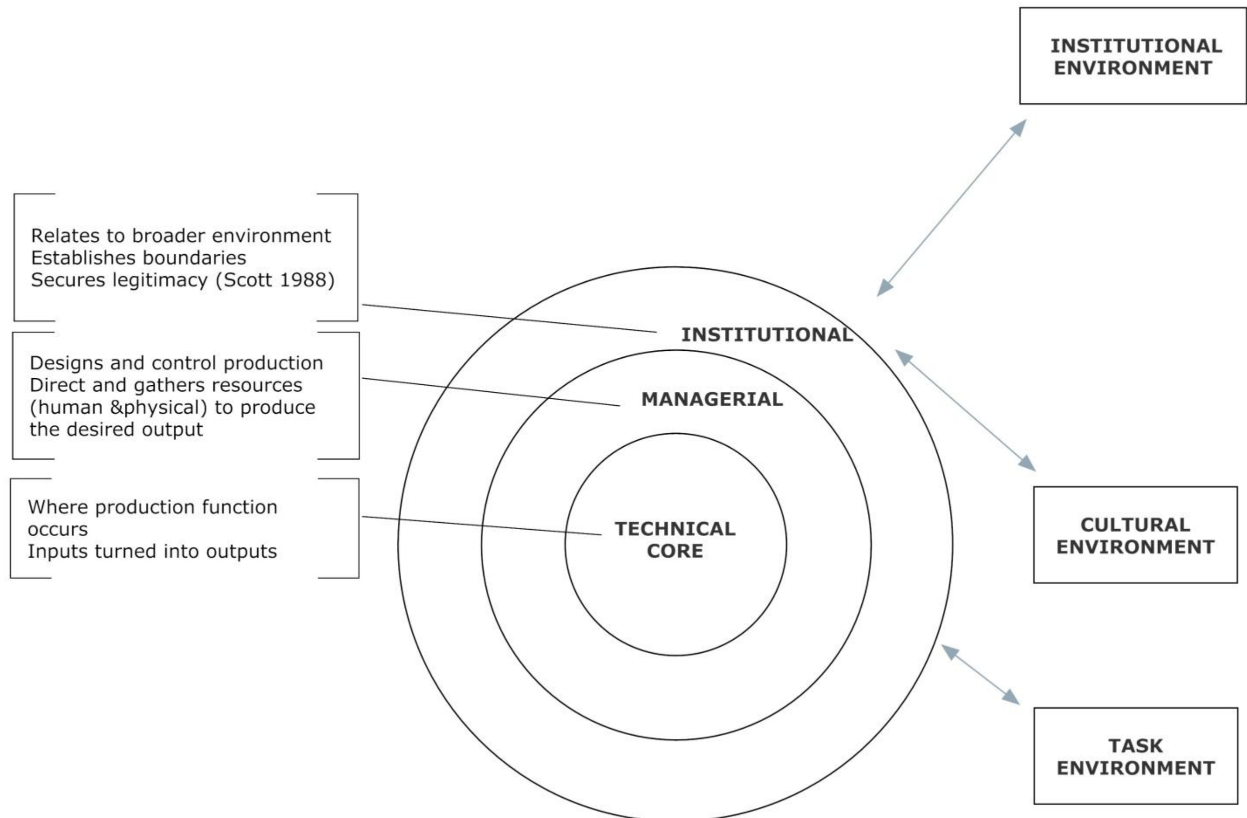


Figure 44. Institutional and personal isomorphism.

In part, this study sought to enhance the researcher's leadership skills. The results show that for a leader in the Catholic value system, a deeper appreciation of the built-in conflict that arises from being a cleric and a member of a specific culture can enhance their practice. The clerical status conferred by the church offers the leader sacredness and legitimacy. In addition, religion makes the culture sacred. These are vital and important components of awareness needed by leaders in any Catholic governance system. A leader in this value system must also be aware that a specific culture can only accept clerics who have an appreciation of the culture's unique religious practices. The historical account in this research shows that attempts to appoint priests supplanted from different cultures have not always been successful.

All cultures, in order to remain Catholic, have to be legitimized by the church. Priests, in order to serve as ministers, have to have acquired the necessary qualification as dictated by the church. Legitimation is a process through which clerics become the embodiment of accepted cultural norms, values, tradition, regalia, and everything as is dictated by the ecclesiastical bureaucratic governance structure.

Cultural groups also want a priest who is agreeable to them, a priest who is able to function in a way that shows he understands the culture's ideology, myth, and magic–how the culture works, speaks, and acts. A priest thrives who can perform the Catholic rituals in ways that are culturally appropriate; one who does not perform in a culturally appropriate manner remains in good standing with the church but is shunned by the culture. Governance and leadership in this Catholic value system, then, becomes a confluence of ecclesiastical and cultural norms and values. It is also a confluence of the leader's clerical status and cultural membership. The ecclesiastical relationship with divergent cultural groups is negotiated, differentiated, and one that inevitably leads to a confluence of the ecclesiastical and cultural domains.

Implications

As an educational leader it is helpful to understand the nature of governance in the Catholic value system. This study gave administrators a description of the centralized ecclesiastical bureaucracy, distinguishing characteristics of Catholic subcultures, the ecclesiastical cultural environment, and a framework for exploring relations between governors and those who are governed. Based on what I have learned about ecclesiastical governance of divergent cultural groups during the course of this study, I offer the following

recommendations to clerics and prelates in the Catholic value system:

1. Strive to understand institutional and cultural demands of the organization. An implication for those holding hierarchical positions in the church is that leadership is a process of learning how to negotiate one's priestly status and cultural affiliation and membership because, while the church controls the production of clerics, the subculture will only accept a cleric who is cognizant of its cultural peculiarities.

2. Prelates who are administrators at the institutional level have to find ways of navigating their episcopal position within the top ecclesiastical bureaucracy in Rome and their membership and affiliation to the divergent subcultures under their jurisdiction. Again, while the church controls the consecration of a bishop, subcultures in his area of jurisdiction will only accept a bishop who is able to move across cultural systems.

3. Leaders must be aware of the propensity for cultures to generate alternative pathways that may impact policy-making processes. To remain Catholic, all cultures have to be legitimized by the church. To serve as a minister, a priest must have completed mandatory training and graduated with a set standard of skills and qualifications as dictated in the rubric for the formation of clerics.

Conclusion

How does the church govern the multiplicity of cultural groups? The results from this study showed that ecclesiastical governance varies depending on the subculture. Some cultural groups (the Irish) were centrally posed in terms of their relationship with the Vatican, whereas others persisted on the peripheral; the church created alternative pathways through which these subcultures were also able to relate with Rome. The church controls the

production of priests, but the culture will accept a priest who appreciates their culture. Likewise, the church in Rome will control the appointment of the bishops, but the cultures will accept a bishop who appreciates their culture. The ecclesiastical relationship with divergent cultural groups is negotiated, differentiated, and one that inevitably leads to a confluence of the ecclesiastical and cultural domains.

Limitations

Like all studies, this research had limitations. The data are restricted to divergent Catholic subcultures in the United States of America. The specific data are not generalizable to other countries or religious institutions, or even other denominations; however, the study provides a set of organizing concepts that have analytic generalizability. The data gathered in this study provide in-depth knowledge specific to Catholic subcultures in the U.S. A comparable study in another country would reveal differences that give each geographical ecclesiastical jurisdiction a unique personality. The study would likely conjure some similarities in governance relations.

Another possible limitation of the study was my role of serving as the primary research instrument. I had to be conscious to avoid taking cultural elements for granted and to work to fully explore familiar and unfamiliar cultural elements. A third limitation of the study is the ambiguity of culture as a concept. To combat this ambiguity, I have attempted to delineate the parameters of the use of the concept of culture and how it applies to religious organization, specifically the Catholic Church in the United States of America. After much research, I believe that culture is a mental construct, which was most appropriate for this study (Wolcott, 2008).

Despite these limitations, the study provided useful data and insight regarding the culture of the divergent Catholic subcultures in United States, the relations that exist between the centralized bureaucracy in Rome, and the subcultures, and the ensuing conflicts. This study can inform hierarchical ecclesiastical leaders and laity in the Catholic Church about the American cultural environment and the ecclesiastical governance system therein.

Recommendations for Future Studies

This research focused on the Ecclesiastical Governance and the Divergent Catholic Cultural Groups in the U.S. There are, however, several other areas of governance in the American ecclesiastical environment that are worthy of future study. This research examined the governance relations between the Vatican and five Roman Catholic subcultures; the Irish, Germans, French Canadians, Polish and Italians. Further studies could include Catholic subcultures such as Mexicans, Austria-Hungarians, Belgians, Portuguese, French, and other subgroups. Examination of the governance relationship that existed between Rome and these other subgroups could unveil dimensions of ecclesiastical governance that were not included in this study.

Clashes within different ethno-religious Catholic subcultures were not uncommon. Irish relations with the Italians were less amicable despite the common religious and peasant background; the very similarity of the two groups made them competitors for jobs, housing, and church authority and precluded political alliances (Bli, 1980). Recommendations for further studies could include a detailed examination of how the centralized bureaucracy in Rome intervened in these intercultural conflicts and to what extent the appointment of clerics to episcopal positions was a response to such crises.

This research investigated the relationship that existed between the Vatican and specific subcultures. Recommendation for further study would include the examination of the governance relationship that evolved between Rome and the American ecclesiastical environment as a whole.

Integration of immigrant subcultures into American society was an issue with which to contend toward the end of the immigration era. Recommendation for further study would include examination about how the process of integration and segregation that resulted within subcultures impacted relationships with Rome and the emerging American ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Institutional managers in the Catholic governance structure are trained in ecclesiastical seminaries. Recommendation for further study would include examining the role of the different types of seminaries: diocesan, interdiocesan, religious, and pontifical in the production of institutional managers (clerics) for the American ecclesiastical environment.

Sacred space, which in this research, was described using the number of church and the type of architecture was an overarching category for distinguishing one Catholic subculture from another. During the immigration era, subcultures overtook entire neighborhoods, and once they became dominant, they established churches in these cultural enclaves and requested their bishops or the Vatican in some circumstances to appoint clerics from their own. Today, sacred space is not necessarily associated with such insular and segregated enclaves. Members have relocated in suburbs (where they intermingle with members of other subcultures) but continue to return to their churches (sacred space) in neighborhoods that may be mostly habited by people of a different ethnic background. The

phenomenon of the middle class fleeing to the suburbs and the nature of sacred space is a topic that requires further study.

The Catholic ecclesiastical environment is faced with the challenge of finding priest personnel to manage its churches. The shortage of Catholic priests in the United States is related in Goodstein's article, *Serving U.S. Parishes, Fathers without Borders*, in which she explains how bishops in the United States are contracting priest from developing countries where vocations to priesthood are on the increase. The phenomenon of priests without borders warrants further exploration in the light of the finding of this research that suggests that cultures will accept clerics that are agreeable to them in terms of their ethno-Catholicism. This concept raises another important question. Does a governance system that is hierarchical and, to some extent, thrives on the scarcity of priest want to flood the market with extern priests?

Related to the shortage of personnel is the fact that in many diocesan bishops have embarked on a program of parish consolidation or clustering. In some cases, three to four churches (that are also culturally diverse but within the same geographical territory) are now being placed under the leadership of one priest. Sometimes, and mainly because of issues highlighted in this study, the process of parish clustering has not gone well. Recommendation for further study would include examining ethno-religious sensitivities in an era of parish clustering.

The new translation of the Roman missal (the book of prayers used at mass) was introduced in the American ecclesiastical environment at the beginning of the advent season, 2011. The new translation is believed to be more faithful to the original Latin text. Since the introduction of the new missal, some bishops today require their priest to say the Latin mass

whenever parishioners ask. Priestly formation programs require seminarians to have a certain level of proficiency in Latin before they can be allowed to graduate. Could it be that the church is entering an era of centralization and Romanization? Could it be that the Latin school of thought (Pope Pius IX) and subculture that previously persisted on the margin are now becoming dominant? This phenomenon points to the role of language in governance relations. Language can be a reliable predictor of what the dominant culture is going to be in a specific Catholic ecclesiastical environment. In light of what has transpired, further study could be conducted on how linguistic dynamics have impacted governance relationships in the contemporary American ecclesiastical environment.

References

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. (2005). The rise of Europe: Atlantic trade, institutional change, and economic growth. *The American Economic Review, 95*(3), 546-579.

A collection of the acts passed in the Parliament of Great Britain and of other public acts relative to Canada. (1870, September 8). Retrieved April 15, 2011, from Canadiana Digitalization Preservation: http://www.canadiana.org/view/42695/0010

Ahlstrom, S. E. (2004). *A religious history of the American people.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Alien Contract Labor Act of 1885, U.S. Congress Sess. II Chap. 164; 48th Cong. (1885).

Aquilina, M. (2004). Salt of the empire: The role of the Christian family in evangelization. *Touchstone, 17*(4).

Arnade, C. W. (1962). The English invasion of Spanish Florida, 1700-1706. *The Florida Historical Quarterly, 41*(1), 29-37.

Augenstein, J., Kauffman, C. J., Wister, R. J. (2003). *One hundred years of Catholic education.* Washington, DC: National Catholic Education Association.

Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher, (37) 3*, 129-139.

Barott, J. (2001). *Scientific method of social research.* Class handout. Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, MI.

Barrett, R. A. (1984). *Culture and conduct: An excursion in anthropology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Barry, C. J. (1952). The Catholic Church and German Americans. Milwaukee: Bruce.

Basxan, E. R. (1980). In H. O. Thernstrom. S., *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups.* Harvard University: Belknap.

Beal, J. P., Coriden, J. A., & Green.T. J. (2000). *New commentary on the code of canon law.* New York: Paulist Press.

Bendix, R. (1956). *Work and authority in industry: Managerial ideologies in the course of industrialization.* New York: Wiley.

Bettenson, H., & Maunder, C. (1947). *Documents of the Christian church.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Blejwas, S. A. (1987). "Equals with equals": The Polish National Catholic Church and the founding of the Polish. *Polish American Studies, 44*(2), 5-23.

Bli, P. F. (1980). Irish. In S. Thernstrom, O. Handlin, & A. Orlov, Harvard encyclopedia ***of*** *American ethnic groups* (pp. 524 - 545). Harvard University: Belknap.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ:

Boas, F. (1939). *The mind of primitive man.* New York: Columbia University.

Bodgan, R. & Biklin, S. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory*: Allyn & Bacon.

Bolman, L. G. & Deal, T. E. (2008). Reframing organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Bonomi, P. U. (2003). Under the cope of heaven: Religion, society, and politics in colonial America. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Borg, W. R. & Gall, M. D. (1989) *Educational research: An introduction*, 5th ed. New York: Longman)

Bovée, D. S. (2010). *The Church & the land: The National Catholic rural life conference and American society 1923 -2007.* Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.

Boyea, E. (1988). Father Kolasiński and the Church of Detroit. *The Catholic Historical Review, 74*(3), 420-439.

Boyer, P. S. (2001). *The Oxford companion to United States history.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

British Colonies"History of the United States. (2003). Retrieved March 30, 2012, from web-books.com: http://www.web-books.com/eLibrary/ON/B0/B52/14MB52.html

Brown, G. I. (1971). *Human teaching for human learning. An introduction to confluent education*. New York: Viking.

Bukowczyk, J. J. (1996). *Polish Americans and their history: Community, culture, and politics.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Burns , J. M. (1994). ¿Qué es esto? The transformation of St. Peter's Parish, San Francisco, 1913-1990. In J. P. Wind, & J. W. Lewis, *Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities* (Vol. I, pp. 396-405). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, J., & Moyers, B. D. (1988). *The power of myth.* New York , NY: Doubleday.

Carden, M. L. (1969). *Oneida: Utopian community to modern corporation.* Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press.

Carey , P. W. (1993). *The Roman Catholics.* Westport: Greenwood Press.

Carter, C. C. (2001). Catholic founding fathers; The Carroll family. *Crisis, 19*(3), 32-33.

Clark, B. R. (1968). *Adult education in transition: A study of institutional insecurity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clark, B. R. (1972). The organizational saga in higher education. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 17*(2), 178-184.

Cogliano, F. D. (2009). *Revolutionary America, 1763-1815: A Political history.* New York: Routledge.

Con, K. N. (1980). Germans. In S. Thernstrom, O. Handlin, & A. Orlov, *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups.* Harvard University: Belknap.

Condon, P., Devine, E., O'Connor, D. M., Atteridge, A. H., & Meehan, T. (1910). The Irish (in countries other than Ireland). In *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: Appleton.

Conzen, N. K. (2003). Immigrant religion and the republic: German Catholics in nineteenth-century America. Boston: Edmund Spevack Memorial Lecture, Harvard University. Creswell, J. W. (2003). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches, 2nd. ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crowther, J. (1998). *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Crozier, M. (1971). *The bureaucratic phenomenon.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crozier, & Friedberg (1980). *Actors and systems: The politics of collective action*: University of Chicago Press.

De Becker, J. (1907). The American College at Louvain. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: Appleton. Retrieved April 17, 2011 from New Advent: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01424a.htm.

Denzin, N. K & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research.* London: Sage.

DeVille, J. (1901). *Italians in the United States.* Retrieved August 25, 2010, from CatholiCity: http://www.catholicity.com/encyclopedia/i/italians_in_united_states.html

De Vries, J. (1976). *Economy of Europe in an age of crisis, 1600-1750.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

DiMaggio, P. & Powell, W.W. (1983). 'The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review, 48*, 147-160.

Dobbin, F. R. (1994). Cultural models of organization: The social construction of rational organizing principles. In D. Crane, *The sociology of culture* (pp. 117-141). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Dolan, J. P. (1972). Immigrants in the city: New York's Irish and German. *Church History, 4*(3), 354-368.

Dolan, J. P. (2010). *Irish Americans: A history.* New York: Bloomsbury.

Dowling, J. B., & Pfeffer, J. (1975). Organizational legitimacy: Social values and organizational behavior. *Pacific Sociological Review, 18*(1), 122-136.

Easton, D. (1957). An approach to the analysis of political systems. *World Politics*.

Eaton, V. M. (1982). Sulpician involvement in educational projects in the see and province of Baltimore. *U.S. Catholic Historian, 1*(2), 1-94.

Eberhard, W. (1992). "Bohemia, Moravia and Austria. In A. Pettegree, *The Early Reformation in Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Edelman, M. (1985). *The symbolic uses of politics.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Eisenhart, M., & Howe, K. (1992). Validity in educational research. In M. D. LeCompte, & W. Millroy (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research in education.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Ekelund Jr., R. B., Hébert, R. F. & Tollison, R. D. (2002). An economic analysis of the Protestant Reformation. *The Journal of Political Economy, 110*(3), 646-671.

Epstein, E. & Votaw, D. (1978). *Rationality, legitimacy and responsibility. The search for new directions in business and society*. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear.

Erickson, C. J. (1980). English. In S. Thernstrom, O. Handlin, & A. Orlov, *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups.* Harvard University: Belknap.

Fernández-Shaw, C. M., & Piña-Rosales, G. (1999). *The Hispanic presence in North America from 1492 to today.* New York: Facts on File.

Ferraiuolo, A. (2009). *Religious festive practices in Boston's North End: Ephemeral identities in an Italian American community.* New York: Suny.

Flinn, F. K. (2007). *Encyclopedia of Catholicism.* New York: Infobase.

Flowers, R. D. (2006). *The "Great Experiment" and the Michigan State Normal School: An institutional history and analysis*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University.

Fogarty, G. P. (1986). Property and religious liberty in colonial Maryland Catholic thought. *The Catholic Historical Review, 72*(4), 573-600.

Fortier, A. & McLoughlin, J. (1910). *Louisiana.* In *The Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Appleton.* Retrieved June 07, 2011, from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09378a.htm

Fowler, W. H. (2005). *Empires at war: The seven years' war and the struggle for North America.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Fulghum, R. (1995). *From beginning to end: The rituals of our lives*. New York: Random House.

Galbraith, J. R. (1973). *Designing complex organizations.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Gallagher, M. (2007). The Jesuits at Boston College in the late nineteenth century. *American Catholic Studies, 118*(2), 43–66.

Gall, J. P., Gall, M. D. & Borg, W. R. (2004). *Applying educational research: A practical guide.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Geertz , C. (1993). The interpretation of cultures: selected essays. In C. Geertz , *Religion as a cultural system* (pp. 87-125). Waukegan, IL: Fontana Press.

Gascoigne, B. (2001). *HistoryWorld.* Retrieved April 15, 2011, from http://www.historyworld.net

Gleason, P. (1995). Contending with modernity: Catholic higher education in the twentieth century. New York: Oxford University Press.

Glesne, C. (1999). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction.* New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Anchor

Golab, C. (1977). *Immigrant destinations.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Graebner, N. A. (2001). Expansionsim. In P. S. Boyer, *The Oxford Companion to United States History* (pp. 233-235). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greene, V. (1980). Poles. In S. Thernstrom, O. Handlin, & A. Orlov, *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups.* Harvard University: Belknap.

Guernsey, D. P. (2003). *Conflict in independent Catholic schools*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University.

Hammersley, M. (1990). *Reading ethnographic research: A critical guide*. New York: Longman.

Hannan, M. T., & Freeman, J. (1977). The population ecology of organizations. *American Journal of Sociology,* 82(5), 929-964.

Havard, G. (1967). *The great peace of Montreal of 1701: French-native diplomacy in the seventeenth century.* (H. S. Phyllis Aronoff, Trans.) Montreal: McGill Queen University Press.

Herbermann, C. G. (1907). *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* Retrieved April 15, 2011, from Christian Classics Ethereal Library: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/herbermann/cathen03.txt

History of Sault Ste. Marie, MI. (2010). Retrieved 03 07, 2010, from Founding of Sault Ste. Marie mission in 1668: http://www.saultstemarie.com/our-local-history-9/

Hougland, J. G., & Wood , J. R. (1979). Inner circles in local churches: An application of Thompson's theory. *Sociological Analysis , 40*, 226-239.

Iannaccone, L. (1991a). Micropolitics of education: What and why. *Education and Urban Society, 23(4)*, 465-471.

Iannaccone, L. R. (1991b). The consequences of religious market structure: Adam Smith and the economics of religion. *Rationality and Society, 3*, 156-77.

Jacob, E. (1987). Qualitative research traditions: *A Review. Review of Educational Research. (57) 1*, 1-50.

John Paul II. (1992). Pastores dabo vobis: I will give you shepherds: On the formation of priests in the circumstances of the present day. Washington, DC: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Johnson, P. (1987). *A history of Christianity.* New York: Atheneum.

Jones, C. (1984). *An introduction to public policy.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Kellogg, L. P. (1918). The Bennet Law campaign. *Wisconsin Magazine of History, 2*(1), 3-25.

Kennedy, D. (1912). *St. Thomas Aquinas.* Retrieved May 22, 2010, from New Advent The Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14663b.htm

Key, V. O. (1955). *Southern politics.* New York: Knopf.

Koliński, D. (1995). Polish rural settlement in America. *Polish American Studies*, *52*(2), 21-55.

Kulik, E. (1967). Polish-American Roman Catholic bishops. *Polish American Studies, 24*(1), 27-29.

Laflamme, J. L. K., Lavigne, D., & Favreau, J. (1909). French Catholics in the United States. In K. Knight, *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: Appleton.

Lalli, M. (1969). The Italian-American family: Assimilation and change, 1900-1965. *The Family Coordinator, 18*(1), 44-48.

Lazerson, M. (1977). Understanding American Catholic educational history. *History of Education Quarterly, 17*(3), 297-317.

LeCompte, M. D., Millroy, W. L., & Preissle, J. (Eds.). (1992). *The handbook of qualitative research in education* San Diego: Academic Press.

Lee, A. J. (1990). Spanish missions. *APT Bulletin, 22*(3), 42 -54.

Leonard, L. A. (1918). *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.* New York: Moffat, Yard.

LeVine, R. A. (1973). Research design in anthropological fieldwork. In R. Naroll, & R. Cohen (Eds.) *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology* (pp. 183-195). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lewis, M. D. (1962). One hundred million Frenchmen: The "assimilation" theory in French colonial policy. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 4*(2), 129-153.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lincoln Institute, *Mr. Lincoln and Freedom* © 2002-2012, founded by The Lehrman Institute.

Lipset, S. M. (1962). Introduction in: Robert Michels, *Political parties: A sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracy.* New York: Free Press.

Lipset, S. M., Trow, M., & Coleman, J. S. (1956). Union democracy: The international politics of the international typographical union. New York: Free Press.

Lockington, W. J. (1922). *The soul of Ireland.* New York: Macmillian.

Lutz, F. W. & Iannaccone, L. (1978). *Public participation in local school districts:The dissatisfaction theory of democracy.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, Heath.

MacCaffrey, J. (1914a). *Causes of the reformation.* (2011). Retrieved February 02, 2011, from Globusz Publishing: http://www.globusz.com/ebooks/Cath1/00000013.htm

MacCaffrey, J. (1914b). *History of the Catholic Church: From the renaissance to the French revolution, volume 2.* Dublin: Project Gutenberg.

Mackesy, P. (1993). *The war for America.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Malinowski, B. (1939). The group and the individual in functional analysis. *American Journal of Sociology, 44*(6), 938-96.

Marshall, C., & Scribner, J. D. (1991). "It's all political," inquiry into the micropolitics of education. *Education and Urban Society, 23(4)*, 347-355.

Marshall, T. (1964). *Class, citizenship and social development.* New York: Doubleday.

McAvoy, T. T. (1960). *Roman Catholicism and the American way of life.* Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press.

McCadden, J. J. (1964). Bishop Hughes versus the public school society of New York. *The Catholic Historical Review, 50*(2), 188-207.

McCaffrey, L. (1985). Irish American. *The Wilson Quarterly, 9*(2), 78-93.

Meng, J. J. (1946). Cahenslyism: The first stage, 1883-1891. *The Catholic Historical Review, 4*, 389-413.

Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Michels, R. (1911/1999). *Political parties: A sociological study of oligarchical tendencies of modern democracies.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction (original work published in German, 1911).

Middleton, R. (2003). *Colonial America.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data (2nd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mills, C. W. (1956). *The power elite.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moore, S. F. & Meyerhoff, B. (Eds.). (1977). *Secular ritual*. The Netherlands: Van Gorcum

Morgan, G. (1986). *Images of organizations.* London: Sage.

Morrill, C. (2008). Culture and organization theory. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 619* (15).

Mosca, G. (1939). *The ruling class.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Moss, K. (1995). Stearns St. Patrick's Day celebrations and the formation of Irish-American identity, 1845-1875. *Journal of Social History, 29*(1), 125-148.

NCA. (2010). *Sacred Heart major seminary*. Retrieved May 22, 2010, from The Higher Learning Commission: http://www.ncahlc.org/component/option,com_directory/Action,ShowBasic/Itemid,192/instid,1360/lang,en/

Nelli, H. S. (1980). Italians. In O. H. S. Thernstrom, *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups* (pp. 549-560). Harvard University: Belknap.

Nolan, M. L. (1983). Irish pilgrimage: The different tradition. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 73*(3), 421-438.

O'Connell, M. (1991). "A historical perspective on evangelization in the U.S.," teaching the Catholic faith. *Teaching the Catholic Faith*, 1-17.

O'Donovan, L. (1908). John Carroll. In The Catholic Encyclopedia. Retrieved June 8, 2011 from New Advent: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03381b.htm. New York: Appleton.

Oetgen, J. (2011). *The college comes of age.* Retrieved 11 21, 2011, from St. Vincent ArchAbbey, Latrobe: http://www.saintvincentarchabbey.org/about_us-historyx

Ogbu, J. (1981). School ethnography: A multilevel approach. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, (12)*, 3-29.

O'Gorman, T. (1895). History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. In *ACHS* (Vol. 9, p. 425).

Olson, A. (2005). Improving schools one student at a time. *Educational Leadership, 62*(5), 37-40.

Orlandis, J. (2008, March 23). *Christianity in feudal Europe.* Retrieved April 05, 2011, from The ChurchinHistory Information Centre: http://www.churchinhistory.org/

Pace, E. (1912). Universities. In K. Knight, *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: Appleton.

Parsons, T. (1960). *Structure and process in modern societies.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Perrow, C. (1986). The environment. In *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay* (pp. 178-208). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Perry, R. (2008). *Dissatisfaction theory and superintendent turnover: an exception to the rule.* Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan University.

Pettigrew, A. M. (1990). Longitudinal field research on change: Theory and practice. *Organization Science, 1*(3), 267-292.

Petty, D. (2005, November 15). *The background of the Protestant Reformation.* Retrieved May 01, 2011, from Lessons online: http://www.lessonsonline.info/Background%20of%20the%20Reformation.htm

Pfeffer, J. (1978). The micropolitics of organizations. In M. W. Meyer, & Associates, *Environments and Organizations.* (pp. 29-50). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Pfeffer, J., & Salancik, G. (2003). *The external control of organizations.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University press.

Pius, X. (1931). *Quadragesimo Anno.* Retrieved May 22, 2010, from Vatican Website: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno_en.html

Points, M. L. (1911). New Orleans. In C. G. Herbermann, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. XI). New York: Appleton.

Pogorelc, A. J., & Davidson, J. D. (2000). American Catholics: One church, two cultures? *Review of Religious Research, 42*(2), 146-158.

Pollard, A. F. (2007). *Henry VIII.* London: Longmans Green.

Pollen, J. H. (1912). The suppression of the Jesuits (1750-1773). In K. Knight, *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: Appleton.

Portier, W. L., & Killen, P. O. (2011). *European American presence in The USA and in the church.* Retrieved April 15, 2011, from United States Conference of Catholic Bishops website: http://www.nccbuscc.org/ccdnc/documents/presence-european-american.pdf

Power, E. J. (1958). *A History of Catholic Higher Education in the United States.* . Milwaukee: Bruce.

Price , J. L. (1968). *Organizational effectiveness: An inventory of propositions.* Homewood, IL: Richard D Irwin.

Pritchett, C. H. (1981). *The American constitutional system.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Purvis, T. L. (1999). *Colonial America to 1763: Almanacs of American life.* New York: Facts on File.

Rajtar, S., & Goodman, K. (2007). *A Guide to Historic St. Augustine, Florida.* Charleston, SC: The History Press.

Reese, T. (SJ). (2001). Inside the Vatican: The politics and organization of the Catholic Church. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Roberts, M. (1953). Sweden. In A. Goodwin, *European nobility in the eighteenth century; Studies of the nobilities of the major European states in the pre-reform era.* London: Adam and Charles Black.

Roberts, T. (2009). After four centuries, the flavor of Spanish Catholicism lingers. *National Catholic Reporter*, 16.

Robertson, W. S. (1922). *History of the Latin-American nations.* New York: Appleton.

Robledo, G. (1978). EOPS, The establishment of an educational innovation: A study of organizational de-marginalization. Santa Barbara: University of California at Santa Barbara.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Roby, Y. (2005). *The Franco-Americans of New England: Dreams and realities.* Montreal: McGill Queen University Press.

Ryan, E. A. (1919). Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Spanish colonies. *The Catholic Historical Review, 5*(1), 3-18.

Sabetti, F. (2002). *Village politics and the Mafia in Sicily.*Montreal: McGill Queens University Press.

Sackman, S. A. (1992). Culture and subcultures: An analysis of organizational knowledge. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 37*, 140-61.

Sanders, J. W. (1977). The education of an urban minority. Catholics in Chicago 1833-1965. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schattschneider, E. E. (1997). *The semisovereign people: A realist's view of democracy in America.* Hinsdale, IL: Dryden.

Schein, E. H. (1992). *Organizational culture and leadership (2nd ed.).* San Francisco,: Jossey-Bass.

Schenk, H. G. (1953). Austria. In A. Goodwin, *European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century: Studies of the Nobilities of the Major European States in the Pre-reform Era .* London: Adam and Charles Black.

Scherer, R. P. (1988). "A new typology for organizations: Market, bureaucracy, clan, and mission, with application to American denominations." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 27*, 475-498.

Schirp, F. (1909). Germans in the United States. In K. Knight, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. 6). New York: Appleton.

Schram, T. (2002). *Conceptualizing qualitative inquiry: Mindwork for fieldwork in education and the social sciences.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Scott, R. W. & Davis, G. F. (2006). *Organizations and organizing: Rational, natural, and open system perspectives.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Scott, W. R. (1965). Field methods in the study of organizations. . In J. March, *Handbook of organizations.* Chicago: Rand McNally.

Scott, W. R. (1998). *Organizations : Rational, natural, and open systems.* New York: Prentice Hall.

Scribner, B. (1994). German. In B. Scribner, R. Porter, & M. Teich, *The reformation in national context.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Scribner, J. D., & Englert, R. (1977). The politics of education. *The Seventy-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II* (pp. 1-29). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Sebestyen, C. (2007). New France: ON7_history_01.qxd.

Second Vatican Council. (1965). Presbyterorum ordinis: Decree on the ministry and life of priests. In A. F, *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents.* Northport, NY: Costello.

Selznick, P. (1949). *TVA and the grass roots: A study of politics and organization.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Seroczynski, F. (1911). Poles in the United States. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Appleton.

Shaughnessy, G. (1925). *Has the immigrant kept the faith?:A study of immigration and Catholic growth in the United States, 1790-1920.* New York: Macmillan.

Shaw, C. F. (1999). *The Hispanic presence in North America from 1492 to today*. New York: Facts on File.

Shelley, T. (1995). The Ellis essay: 40 years later. *America (172)*, 23-24.

Sinclair, A. (1999). *A concise history of the United States.* Phoenix Mill: Sutton.

Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and organizational analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 28*, 339-58.

Smith, A. (1776). *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations.* New York: Modern Library.

Smith, C. N. (1984). *Early nineteenth-century German settlers in Ohio (mainly Cincinnati and environs), Kentucky, and other states* . McNeal, AZ: Westland.

Smith, M. (2008). *Religion, culture, and sacred space.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Spalding, J. L. (1880). *The religious mission of the Irish people and Catholic colonization.* New York: Catholic Publication Society.

Spalding, T. W. (1996). German parishes east and west. *U.S. Catholic Historian, 14*(2), 37-52.

Spielvogel, J. J. (2008). *World history: Journey across time: The early ages*. New York: Glencoe.

Spindler, G. (1963). *Education and culture: Anthropological approaches.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research.* Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage.

Stark, R. (1997). *The rise of Christianity.* Princeton, NJ: HarperCollins.

Strauss, A. L., Schatzman, L., Ehrlich, D., Bucher, R., and Sabshin, M. (1963). The hospital and its negotiated order. In E. Friedson, *The hospital in modern society* (pp. 147-69). New York: Free Press.

Swanson, G. E. (1967). *Religion and regime:A sociological account of the reformation.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Taylor, F. W. (1912/1984). Scientific management. In D. S. Pugh, *Organization Theory* (pp. 157-76). Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Thompson, J. D. (1967). *Organizations in action.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Tille, A. (1892). German Christmas and the Christmas tree. *Folklore, 3*(2), 166-182.

Ulrich, R. J. (1981). The Bennett Law of eighteen eighty-nine: Education and politics in Wisconsin. Manchester, NH: Ayer.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. (2001). *The basic plan for the ongoing formation of priests* . Washington, DC: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Van Maanen, J., & Schein, E. H. (1979). Toward a theory of organizational socialization. In B. M. Cumming, & L. L. Straw, *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 1, pp. 204-264). Greenwich, CT: JA1 Press.

Viéban, A. (1912). *Ecclesiastical seminary.* Retrieved May 22, 2010, from New Advent The Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Appleton: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13694a.htm

Vroom, V. H., & Jago, A. G. (1988). *The new leadership: Managing participation in organizations.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Vroom, V. H., & Yetton, P. W. (1973). *Leadership and decision making.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Walsh, M. (1991). *Butler's lives of the saints.* (Concise Edition, Revised and Updated). San Francisco: HarperCollins .

Walzer, M. (1980). Italians. In S. Thernstrom, O. Handlin, & A. Orlov, *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups.* Harvard University: Belknap.

Waterworth, J. (1848). *Council of Trent. A translation.(London, Dolman).* Retrieved May 22, 2010, from Hanover Historical Texts Project: http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct23.html

Webb, E. J, & Weick, K. E. (1979). Unobtrusive measures in organizational theory: A reminder. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 24*(4), 650-659.

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., & Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive measures: Nonreactive research in the social sciences.* Chicago: Rand McNally.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Weddle, R. S. (2001). *The wreck of the "Belle," the ruin of La Salle.* College Station: Texas A&M Univ. Press.

Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly, (21)1*, 1-19.

Weintraub, S. (2005). *Iron tears: America's battle for freedom, Britain's quagmire, 1775-1783.* New York: Free Press.

West, E. (n.d.). *Spanish missions in U.S. history.* Retrieved August 20, 2010, from Scholastic: http://www2.scholastic.com/browse/article.jsp?id=5032

White, J. M. (1993). The diocesan seminary and the community of faith: Reflections from the American experience. *Catholic University of America Press, 11*(1), 1-20.

White, J. M. (2001). Perspectives on the nineteenth-century diocesan seminary in the United States. *Catholic Historian, 19*(1), 21-35.

Wickett, M. S. (1913). Canadians in the United States. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 45, 83-98.

Williams , P. W. (1997). *Houses of God: Region, religion, and architecture in the United States*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Williams, P. W. (2008). *America's religions: From their origins to the twenty-first century.* New York: Macmillan.

Wilson, F. G. (1962). Liberals, conservatives, and Catholics. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 344*, 85-94.

Wishart, D. J. (2011). *German architecture.* Retrieved October 02, 2011, from The Encyclopedia of the Great Plains: http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.arc.024

Wolcott, H. F. (2008). Ethnography: A way of seeing. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Wood, P. H. (1984). La Salle: Discovery of a lost explorer. *The American Historical Review, 89*(2), 294-323.

Woodham-Smith, C. (1962). *The great hunger: Ireland 1845-1849.* New York:Harper & Row.

Woodward, C. (2011). *American nations: A history of the eleven rival regional cultures of North America.* New York: Viking.

Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Appendixes

Appendix A : Approval of the Dissertation Proposal

EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School

RECEIVED
APR 21 2009
Graduate School
Dean's Office

APPROVAL OF THE DISSERTATION PROPOSAL[1]

Candidate Charles Muwonge Date April 15, 2009

Major Educational Leadership Cognate Politics

Dissertation Committee Chair James E. Barott, Ph.D.

TENTATIVE TITLE OF PROPOSED DISSERTATION

Ecclesiastical Control and Governance of Catholic Universities and Colleges

COMMITTEE REPORT ON DISSERTATION PROPOSAL

After review of the dissertation proposal, the Doctoral Committee certifies that:

- [x] The proposal is satisfactory and the candidate may proceed.
- [ ] The proposed research does not involve the use of human subjects OR
- [ ] The proposed research involves human subjects and will be sent to University Human Subjects Review Committee prior to data collection.
- [ ] The proposal is not satisfactory and the following deficiencies must be corrected.[2]

Description of deficiencies ______

COMMITTEE SIGNATURES

Chair [signature]

Member Representing the Graduate School [signature: John Palladino]

Member [signature]

Member [signature]

Member ______

Member ______

GRADUATE SCHOOL APPROVAL

Date 4/22/09 Graduate School [signature]

Signed original to Record's student file .Copies to: Graduate School, chair and department/college file

---

[1] To be completed only after student has been officially notified of having passed the qualifying examination.

[2] After the deficiencies have been corrected, a new form must be submitted indicating that the proposal is satisfactory and the candidate may proceed.

Appendix B: Catholic and Protestant Geopolitical Divisions in Western Europe

CIVIL, GOVERNMENTS, RELIGIOUS CHOICE AND PRIMOGENITURE			
Society	Final Settlement (1)	Regime Establishment (2)	Primogeniture (3)
	A. Catholic		
Austria	1620	1521	yes
Bavaria	1564	1505	yes
Berg-Julich	1614	1423	
Florence		1282-1366	yes
France	1685	1460	yes
Ireland		1350	yes
Poland	1607	1490-1573	yes
Portugal		1490	yes
Scottish Highlands		Before 1400	yes
Spain		1492	yes
Venice		1297	Yes
Swiss Confederation			
Fribourg		1469	no
Lucerne		1424	no
Schwyz		1353	
Solothum	1533	1533	no
Unterwatden		Before 1400	
Uri		1373	
Zug		1415	
B. Protestant			
Bohemia	1593	1500	
Brandenburg-Prussia	1613	1450-1500	no
Cleves-Mark	1569	1480-90	no
Denmark	1536	1523	no
England	1553	1400-1485	no
Geneva	1536	1530	
Hesse	1605	1500	no
Hungary	1540	1500	no
Saxony	1539	1425	no
Scottish Lowlands	1560	1470-90	yes
Sweden	1536	1523	
Appenzell	1524	1513	no
Basle	1528	1521	no
Bern	1528	1500	no
Glarus	1532	1387-1450	no
Schaffhausen	1530	1411	
Zurich	1525	1444-1519	
Transylvania	1557	1541	
United Provinces	1579	1579	
Wurtemberg	1535	1514	no

Appendix C: Churches and Membership Foreign Language Alone or with English

	Alone		With English		Total	
Language	**Churches**	**Membership**	**Churches**	**Membership**	**Churches**	**Membership**
German	206	191,347	1,684	1,481,343	1,890	1,672,690
Spanish	530	378,748	311	273,496	841	652,244
Polish	466	1,165,064	269	260,129	735	1,425,193
French	200	478,255	499	548,711	699	1,026,966
Italian	149	420,511	327	1,095,307	476	1,515,818
Bohemian	76	67,827	102	66,084	178	133,911
Slavic	98	106,927	15	11,337	113	118,264
Slovak	69	78,447	40	47,240	109	125,687
Lithuanian	87	140,144	9	10,133	96	150,277
Magyar	32	44,404	16	21,911	48	66,315
Portuguese	19	52,444	34	34,670	53	87,114
Ruthenian	44	49,478	1	1,817	45	51,295
Slovenian	29	42,477	38	51,519	67	93,996
Syrian	17	8,705	3	5,482	20	14,187
Croatian	14	33,419	5	9,374	19	42,793
Dutch	19	20,223	-	-	19	20,223
Rumanian	6	6,613	2	5,200	8	11,813
Totals	2,061	3,285,033	3,355	3,923,753	5,416	7,208,786

Appendix D: Distribution of French Americans by State and Region of the U. S.

State	Foreign- born	Of Foreign Parentage
Maine	30,908	57,682
New Hampshire	44,420	73,359
Vermont	14,924	40,097
Massachusetts	134,416	244,586
Rhode Island	31,533	55,771
Connecticut	19,174	36,867
New York	27,199	69,236
New Jersey	1,118	2,140
Pennsylvania	1,468	3,603
Totals for North Atlantic Division	**305,160**	**583,341**
Delaware	41	77
Maryland	87	178
District of Columbia	97	236
Virginia	104	194
West Virginia	72	165
North Carolina	36	69
South Carolina	31	56
Georgia	80	203
Florida	88	200
Totals for South Atlantic Division	**636**	**1,378**
Ohio	2,903	7,034
Indiana	948	3,242
Illinois	9,129	24,477
Michigan	32,483	75,584
Wisconsin	10,091	27,981
Minnesota	12,063	32,406
Missouri	1,059	3,536
Iowa	1,519	5,613
North Dakota	3,162	6,512
South Dakota	1,138	3,516
Nebraska	1,039	3,003
Kansas	1,485	5,547
Totals for North Central Division	**77,019**	**198,451**
Kentucky	136	397
Tennessee	119	312
Alabama	89	211
Mississippi	75	141
Texas	400	1,004
Louisiana	253	759
Indian Territory	48	173

Appendix D continued.
Distribution of French Americans by State and Region of the U. S.

State	Foreign- born	Of Foreign Parentage
Oklahoma	179	702
Arkansas	161	411
Totals for South Central Division	**1,460**	**4,110**
Montana	3,516	5,725
Wyoming	150	385
Colorado	960	2,300
New Mexico	84	270
Arizona	153	264
Utah	128	505
Nevada	222	486
Idaho	395	846
Washington	1,899	3,862
Oregon	874	2,169
California	2,410	5,392
Totals for Western Division	**10,791**	**22,204**

Appendix E: French Canadian Tasks

Industrial Category	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Agriculture	44,267	793	45,060	**17.1**
Lumbermen and raftsmen	2,842	2	2,844	
Manufacturing and Mechanical Arts	130,381	58,749	189,130	**40.7**
Miners and quarrymen	2,521	1	2,522	
Fishermen and oystermen	924	3	927	
Boot and shoemakers and repairers	9,076	2,643	11,719	
Saw and planning-mill employees	4,904	9	4,913	
Paper and pulp mill operatives	2,272	581	2,853	
Printers, lithographers and pressmen	996	144	1,140	
Textile trades	43,378	41,509	41,509	
Cotton mill operatives	30,147	29,331	29,331	
Hosiery and knitting-mill operatives	1,148	2,416	2,416	
Silk mill operatives	403	844	844	
Woolen mill operatives	4,693	3,440	8,133	
Carpet factory operatives	145	111	256	
Bleachery and dye works	860	65	925	
Other textile branches	5,982	5,302	11,284	
Domestic and Personal Service	49,549	12,970	62,519	**19.6**
Nurses and midwives	57	579	636	
Soldiers, sailors and marines (U. S.)	802		802	
Hotel-keepers	520	50	570	
Saloon-keepers	1,134	12	1,146	
Bartenders	1,203	6	1,209	
Restaurant-keepers	239	38	277	
Trade and Transportation	**36,711**	4,233	40,944	**17.6**
Bankers and brokers	265	1	266	
Officials of banks and companies	256	6	262	
Boatmen and sailors	946		946	
Wholesale merchants	216	7	223	
Steam railway employees	5,443	2,238	7,681	
Professions	**3,614**	1,641	5,255	**4.2**
Teachers and college professors	295	355	650	
Music teachers	282	19	301	
literary and scientific	58	47	105	
Artists and teachers of art	64	50	114	
Actors and professional showmen	224	32	256	
Government officials	267	42	309	
Physicians and surgeons	725	1	726	
Lawyers	233	5	238	
Dentists	141	6	147	
Journalists	95		95	
Civil engineers and surveyors	151		151	
Electricians	364	5	369	
Clergymen	497	12	509	
Architects, designers and draftsmen	147	9	156	

Appendix F: (Arch) bishops who graduated from the American College in Louvain

Arch(bishop)	Descent	Diocese	Episcopacy
Charles-Jean Seghers	Belgium	Oregon City	1850- 1862
Aegididus Junger	German	Nesqually	1879 -1895
John Lancaster Spalding	Irish	Peoria	1880 - 1864
Patrick William Riordan	French Canadian	San Francisco	1884 - 1914
Camillus Paul Maes	Belgian	Covington	1884 - 1915
Jean-Baptiste Brondel	Belgian	Helena	1884 -1903
Francis Janssens	Dutch	New Orleans	1888 -1897
Augustine Van de Vyver	Belgian	Richmond	1889 - 1911
Theophile Meerschaert	Belgian	Oklahoma	1891 - 1924
Alphonse Joseph Glorieux	Belgian	Boise	1893 -1917
John Joseph O'Connor	American	Newark	1901 - 1927
Edmund Michael Dunne	American	Peoria	1902 -1929
William Stang	German	Fall River	1904 - 1907
Joseph John Fox	American	Green Bay	1904 -1914
Ferdinand Brossart	German American	Covington	1915 -1923

Appendix G: Prelates in French Canadian parishes in the U.S.

Prelate	Diocese
Norbert Blanchette	Oregon City
Modeste Demers and Charles J. Seghers	Vancouver Island
Augustine M. A. Blanchet	Seattle
John Baptist Brondel	Helena
Alphonsus Joseph Glorieux	Boise
B. Rene, S. J	Alaska Prefecture
James Edward Quigley	Buffalo
Patrick William Riordan	San Francisco
Lawrence S. McMahon	Hartford
James Edward Quigley	Chicago
Charles Joseph O'Reilly	Lincoln

Appendix H: Religious Orders of Nuns Employed in Italian Parochial Schools

Religious Order	Number of Nuns
Sisters of the Sacred Heart	70
Sisters of Charity	27
Franciscan Sisters	12
Sisters of the Immaculate Conception	4
Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis	24
Baptistine Sisters	4
Sisters of St. Dominic	3
Sisters of St. Joseph	7
Sisters of St. Francis	38
Sisters of the Precious Blood	2
Sisters of Charity of Nazareth	4
Sisters of Our Lady of Compassion	5
Sisters of Jesus and Mary	4
Sisters of St. Mary	2
Sisters of Mercy,	2
Total	**208**

208 nuns, 39 lay teachers, and 12,697 pupils; 15 chapels; 1 industrial school; 1 kindergarten; 1 day nursery with 8 Pallotine Sisters, 230 boys and 224 girls (DeVille, 1901).

Appendix I: Immigration Demographics from 1820 – 1920

PERIOD	1820-30	1831-40	1841-50	1851-60	1861-70
U.S white - beginning of Period	7,866,797	10,537,378	14,195,805	19,553,068	26,922,537
Immigration	143,439	599,125	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,314,824
Increase by Immigration	121,925	509,255	1,456,263	2,208,000	1,800,000
Foreign born - end of period	113,309	750,000	2,244,602	4,138,697	5,567,229
U.S. white - end of period	10,537,378	14,195,805	19,553,068	26,922,537	33,589,377
Cath. pop - beginning of Period	195,000	318,000	663,000	1,606,000	3,103,000
Cath. Immigration Increase	54,000	240,000	700,000	985,000	741,000
Cath. Natural Increase	63,000	95,400	198,900	482,000	620,000
Conversion	6,000	9,600	18,000	30,000	40,000
Cath. pop - end of period	318,000	663,000	1,606,000	3,103,000	4,504,000

PERIOD	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920
U.S white - beginning of Period	33,589,377	43,402,970	55,101,258	66,809,196	81,731,957
Immigration	2,812,191	5,246,613	3,844,420	8,795,386	5,735,811
Increase by Immigration	1,190,000	3,600,000	2,538,000	4,696,000	2,000,000
Foreign born - end of period	6,679,943	9,249,547	10,341,276	13,515,886	13,712,754
U.S. white - end of period	43,402,970	55,101,258	66,809,196	81,731,957	94,820,915
Cath pop - beginning of Period	4,504,000	6,259,000	8,909,000	12,041,000	16,363,000
Cath. Immigration Increase	604,000	1,250,000	1,215,000	2,316,000	1,202,000
Cath. Natural Increase	1,081,000	1,315,000	1,782,000	1,806,000	1,963,000
Conversion	70,000	85,000	125,000	200,000	300,000
Catholic pop - end of period	6,259,000	8,909,000	12,041,000	16,363,000	19,828,000

Source: Shaughnessy, 1925, p. 189

Appendix J: ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCES AND PRELATES, 1820-1920

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
	1. BALTIMORE (1789)					
		1. John Carroll	1784	_	1815	Irish
		2. Leonard Neale	1815	_	1817	Irish
		3. Ambrose Marechal	1817	_	1828	French
		4. James Whitfield	1828	_	1834	Irish
		5. Samuel Eccleston	1834	_	1851	Irish
		6. Francis Patrick Kenrick	1851	_	1863	Irish
		7. Martin John Spalding	1864	_	1872	Irish
		8. James Roosevelt Bayley	1872	_	1877	Irish
		9. James Cardinal Gibbons	1877	_	1921	Irish
	2. RICHMOND (1820)					
		1. Patrick Kelly	1820	_	1822	Irish
		2. Richard Vincent Whelan	1840	_	1850	Irish
		3. John McGill	1850	_	1872	Irish
		4. Cardinal Gibbons	1872	_	1877	Irish
		5. John J. Keane	1878	_	1888	Irish
		6. Augustine Van de Vyver	1889	_	1911	French
		7. Denis J. O'Connell	1912	_	1926	Irish
	3. CHARLESTON (1820)					
		1. John England	1820	_	1842	Irish
		2. Ignatius A. Reynolds	1843	_	1855	Irish
		3. Patrick N. Lynch	1857	_	1882	Irish
		4. Henry P. Northrop	1883	_	1916	American
	4. WHEELING (1850)					
		1. Richard Vincent Whelan	1850	_	1874	Irish

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		2. John Joseph Kain	1875	_	1893	American
		3. Patrick James Donahue	1894	_	1922	Irish
	5. SAVANNAH (1850)					
		1. Francis X. Gartland	1850	_	1854	Irish
		2. John Barry	1857	_	1859	Irish
		3. Augustine Verot	1861	_	1870	French
		4. Ignatius Persico	1870	_	1874	Italian
		5. William H. Gross	1873	_	1885	German-Irish
		6. Thomas A. Becker	1886	_	1899	Irish
		7. Benjamin J. Keiley	1900	_	1922	Irish
	6. WILMINGTON (1868)					
		1. Thomas A. Becker	1868	_	1886	Irish
		2. Alfred A. Curtis	1886	_	1896	Irish
		3. John J. Monaghan	1897	_	1925	Irish
	7. ST. AUGUSTINE (1857-1870)					
		1. Augustine Verot	1857	_	1876	French
		2. John Moore	1877	_	1901	Irish
		3. William John Kenny	1902	_	1913	Irish
		4. Michael John Curley	1914	_	1921	Irish
	8. VICARIATE APOSTOLIC OF NORTH CAROLINA AND BELMONT ABBEY (1868)					
		1. James Cardinal Gibbons	1868	_	1877	Irish
		2. John J. Keane		_		Irish
		3. Henry P. Northrop	1881	_	1888	Irish
		4. Right Reverend Leo Haid, O. S. B	1888	_	1924	German

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
II. OREGON CITY						
	1. OREGON CITY (1843)					
		1. Francis Norbert Blanchet	1843	_	1880	French Canadian
		2. Charles John Seghers	1880	_	1884	French Belgian
		3. William H. Gross	1885	_	1898	Irish
		4. Alexander Christie	1899	_	1925	Irish
	2. VANCOUVER ISLAND (1846)			_		
		1. Modeste Demers	1846	_	1871	French Canadian
		2. Charles J. Seghers	1873	_	1878	French Canadian
		3. John Baptist Brondel	1879	_	1883	Irish
		4. John N. Lemmens	1888	_	1897	Dutch
		5. Alexander Christie	1898	_	1899	Irish
		6. Bertram Orth	1900	_	1908	Irish
	3. WALLA WALLA,-NESQUALLY- SEATTLE (1846-1850-1907)					
		1. Augustine M. A. Blanchet	1846	_	1850	French Canadian
		2. Aegidius Junger	1850	_	1853	German
		3. Edward O'Dea	1896	_	1932	Irish
	4. HELENA (1868-1884)					
		1. John Baptist Brondel	1883	_	1903	French Canadian
		2. John Patrick Carroll	1904	_	1925	Irish
	5. BOISE (1868-1893)			_		Irish
		1. Louis Lootens	1868	_	1876	French Belgian

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
	7. GREAT FALLS (1904)					
		1. Mathias Clement Lenihan	1904	_	1930	American
	8. ALASKA-PREFECTURE APOSTOLIC (1894)					
		1. P. Tosi, S.J	1894	_	1897	Italian
		2. B. Rene, S. J	1897	_	1904	French Canadian
		3. Joseph Raphael Crimont, S. J	1904	_	1945	French
III. SAINT LOUIS (1826-1847)						
	1. SAINT LOUIS (1826)			_		
		1. Joseph Rosati	1827	_	1843	Italian
		2. Peter Richard Kenrick	1843	_	1895	Irish
		3. John Joseph Kain	1895	_	1903	Irish
		4. John Joseph Glennon	1903	_	1946	Irish
	2. SAINT JOSEPH (1868)					
		1. John J. Hogan	1880	_	1913	Irish
		2. Maurice F. Burke	1913	_	1938	Irish
	3. LEAVENWORTH (1851-1877)					
		1. John Baptist Miege, S. J	1850	_	1874	French
		2. Louis M. Fink, O. S. B	1874	_	1904	German
		3. Thomas F. Lillis	1904	_	1910	Irish
		4. John Ward	1910	_	1929	American
	4. KANSAS CITY (1880)					
		1. John Joseph Hogan	1880	_	1913	Irish
		2. Thomas F. Lillis	1913	_	1938	Irish
	5. WICHITA (1887)			_		

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
	6. CONCORDIA (1887)			_		
		1. Reverend Richard Scannell	1887	_	1891	Irish
		2. Thaddeus J. Butler	1897	_	1897	Irish
		3. John Francis Cunningham	1898	_	1919	Irish
IV. NEW ORLEANS						
	1. NEW ORLEANS (1793)					
		1. Louis Pefialver y Cardenas	1794	_	1801	Spanish
		2. Francis Porro Reinado	1801	_	1803	Spanish
		3. William Du Bourg	1815	_	1825	French
		4. Leo de Neckere, C.M	1829	_	1833	French
		5. Anthony Blanc	1835	_	1860	French Belgian
		6. J. M. Odin	1861	_	1870	French
		7. Napoleon Joseph Perche	1870	_	1883	French
		8. F. X. Leray	1883	_	1887	French
		9. Francis Janssens	1888	_	1897	Dutch
		10. Placide Louis Chapelle	1897	_	1905	French
		11. James H. Blenk, S.M	1906	_	1917	German
	2. MOBILE (1825-1829)					
		1. Michael Portier	1825	_	1859	French
		2. John Quinlan	1859	_	1883	Irish
		3. Dominic Manucy	1884	_	1884	Spanish
		4. Jeremiah O'Sullivan	1885	_	1896	Irish
		5. Edward P. Allen	1897	_	1926	American

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
	3. NATCHEZ (1837)			_		
		1. John J. Chanche	1840	_	1852	French
		2. James Oliver Van de Velde	1853	_	1855	French Belgian
		3. William Henry Elder	1857	_	1880	English
		4. Francis Janssens	1881	_	1888	Dutch
		5. Thomas Heslin	1889	_	1911	Irish
	4. LITTLE ROCK (1843)					
		1. Andrew Byrne	1843	_	1862	Irish
		2. Edward Fitzgerald	1866	_	1907	Irish
	5. GALVESTON (1840-1847)					
		1. J. M. Odin	1841	_	1861	Irish
		2. C. M. Dubuis	1862	_	1892	Irish
		3. Nicholas A. Gallagher	1892	_	1981	Irish
	6. NATCHITOCHES-ALEXANDRIA (1853-1910)					
		1. Augustus M. Martin	1853	_	1875	French
		3. Anthony Durier	1884	_	1904	French
		4. Cornelius Van de Ven	1904	_	1932	French Belgian
	7. SAN ANTONIO (1874)			_		
		1. Anthony Dominic Pellicier	1874	_	1880	Spanish
		2. John C. Neraz	1881	_	1894	French
		3. John Anthony Forest	1895	_	1911	French

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
	8. CORPUS CHRISTI (1874-1912)					
		1. Dominic Manucy	1874	_	1884	Spanish
		2. Peter Verdaguer	1890	_	1811	Spanish
		3. Paul Joseph Nussbaum, C.P	1913	_	1920	American
	9. DALLAS (1890)					
		1. Thomas F. Brennan	1891		1892	Irish
		2. Paul Joseph Nussbaum, C.P	1893		1910	Irish
		3. Joseph Patrick Lynch	1911		1954	American
	10. OKLAHOMA (1876-1891-1905)					
		1. Theophile Meerschaert	1891	_	1924	French Belgian
V. NEW YORK (1808-1850)						
	1. NEW YORK (1808)			_		
		1. Luke Concanen	1808	_	1810	Irish
		2. John Connolly	1814	_	1825	Irish
		3. John Dubois	1826	_	1842	French
		4. John Hughes	1842	_	1864	Irish
		5. His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey	1864		1885	Irish
		6. Augustine Corrigan	1885	_	1902	Irish
		7. His Eminence John Cardinal Farley	1902	_	1918	Irish
	2. ALBANY (1847)					
		1. His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey	1847	_	1864	Irish
		2. John J. Conroy	1865	_	1877	Irish
		3. Francis McNeirny	1877	_	1894	Irish

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		5. Thomas F. Cusack	1915	_	1918	Irish
	3. BUFFALO (1847)					
		1. John Timon, C.M	1847	_	1867	Irish
		2. Stephen V. Ryan, C.M	1868	_	1896	Irish
		3. James Edward Quigley	1896	_	1903	French Canadian
		4. Charles Henry Colton	1903	_	1915	American
		5. Rev. Dennis J. Dougherty	1915	_	1918	American
	4. BROOKLYN (1853)					
		1. John Loughlin	1853	_	1891	Irish
		2. Charles E. McDonnell	1892	_	1921	Irish
	5. NEWARK (1853)					
		1. James Roosevelt Bayley	1853	_	1872	American
		2. Michael Augustine Corrigan	1873	_	1880	American
		3. Winand Michael Wigger	1881	_	1901	American
		4. John Joseph O'Connor	1901	_	1927	American
	6. ROCHESTER (1868)					
		1. Bernard J. McQuaid	1868	_	1909	American
		2. Thomas Francis Hickey	1909	_	1928	American
	7. OGDENSBURG (1872)					
		1. Edgar P. Wadhams	1872	_	1891	American
		2. Henry Gabriels	1891	_	1921	French Belgian
	8. TRENTON (1881)					
		1. Michael Joseph O'Farrell	1881	_	1894	Irish
		2. James Augustine McFaul	1894	_	1917	Irish
	9. SYRACUSE (1886)					

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		1. Patrick A. Ludden	1886	_	1912	American
		2. John Grimes	1912	_	1922	Irish
	SANTA FE (1850)			_		
		1. John B. Lamy	1853	_	1885	French
		2. John B. Salpointe	1885	_	1894	French
		3. Placidus L. Chapelle	1894	_	1897	French
		4. Peter Bourgade	1899	_	1908	French
		5. John Baptist Pitaval	1909	_		French
	2. DENVER (1868-1887)					
		1. Joseph Projectus Machebeuf	1868	_	1889	French
		2. Nicholas Chrysostom Matz	1889	_	1917	French
	3. TUCSON (1868)			_		
		1. John B. Salpointe	1868	_	1884	French
		2. Peter Bourgade	1885	_	1899	French
		3. Henry Granjon	1900	_	1922	French
	4. EL PASO (1914)					
		1. Anthony J. Schuler, S.J	1915	_	1942	American
VII. CINCINNATI (1821-1850)						
	1. CINCINNATI (1821)			_		
		1. Edward Fenwick	1821	_	1832	Irish
		2. John Baptist Purcell	1833	_	1883	Irish
		3. Henry Elder	1883	_	1904	Irish
		4. Henry Moeller	1904	_	1925	American
	2. BARDSTOWN-LOUISVILLE (1808-1841)					

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		1. Benedict Joseph Flaget	1808	_	1832	French
		2. John B. David	1832	_	1833	French
		3. B. J. Flaget	1833	_	1850	French
		4. John Spalding	1850	_	1864	Irish
		5. Joseph Lavialle	1865	_	1867	French
		6. George McCloskey	1868	_	1909	Irish
		8. Denis O'Donaghue	1910	_	1924	Irish
	3. DETROIT (1833)					
		1. Frederick Reese	1833	_	1871	German
		2. Peter Paul Lefevre	1871	_	1887	French Belgian
		3. Caspar Henry Borgess	1888	_	1918	German
		4. John Samuel Foley	1918	_	1937	Irish
	4. VINCENNES-INDIANAPOLIS (1834-1898)					
		1. Simon Gabriel Brute	1843	_	1839	French
		2. Celestine De La Hailandiere	1839	_	1847	French
		3. John Stephen Bazin	1847	_	1848	French
		4. Maurice De St. Palais	1848	_	1877	French
		5. Francis Silas Chatard	1878	_	1918	French
	5. NASHVILLE (1837)					
		1. Richard Pius Miles	1837	_	1860	American
		2. James Whelan	1860	_	1864	Irish
		3. Patrick A. Feehan	1865	_	1880	Irish
		4. Joseph Rademacher	1883	_	1893	American
		5. Thomas Sebastian Byrne	1894	_	1923	American
	6. CLEVELAND (1847)					

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		1. Amadeus Rappe	1847	_	1870	French
		2. Richard Gilmour	1872	_	1891	Irish
		3. Ignatius F. Horstmann	1891	_	1908	German
		4. John P. Farrelly	1909	_	1921	American
	7. COVINGTON (1853)					
		1. George Aloysius Carrell, S. J	1853	_	1868	Irish
		2 . Augustus Maria Toebbe	1869	_	1884	German
		3. Camillus Paul Maes	1884	_	1915	French Belgian
		4. Ferdinand Brossart	1915	_	1923	German
	8. FORT WAYNE (1857)					
		1. John Henry Luers	1857	_	1871	German
		2. Joseph Dwenger	1872	_	1893	German
		3. Joseph Rademacher	1893	_	1900	German
		4. Herman Joseph Alerding	1900	_	1924	German
	9. COLUMBUS (1868)					
		1. Sylvester Horton Rosecrans	1868	_	1876	American
		2. John Ambrose Watterson	1880	_	1899	American
		3. Henry Moeller	1900	_	1903	German
		4. James J. Hartley	1903	_	1944	Irish
	10. GRAND RAPIDS (1882)					
		1. Henry Joseph Richter	1883	_	1916	German
	11. TOLEDO (1910)			_		Irish
		1. Rev. Joseph Schrembs	1911	_	1921	German
VIII. SAN FRANCISCO (1840-1853)						
	1. SAN FRANCISCO (1853)					

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		1. Joseph Sadoc Alemany	1853	_	1884	Spanish
		2. Patrick William Riordan	1884	_	1914	French Canadian
		3. Edward J. Hanna	1915	_	1935	Irish
	2. MONTEREY AND LOS ANGELES (1840-1850)					
		1. Garcia Diego Y. Moreno	1840	_	1846	Spanish
		2. Joseph Sadoc Alemany	1850	_	1853	Spanish
		3. Thaddeus Amat.	1853	_	1878	Spanish
		4. Francis Mora	1878	_	1896	American
		5. George Montgomery	1896	_	1902	Irish
		6. Thomas James Conaty	1903	_	1915	American
	3. GRASS VALLEY-SACRAMENTO (1861-1868-1886)			_		Irish
		1. Eugene O'Connell	1860	_	1884	Irish
		2. Patrick Manogue	1884	_	1895	Irish
		3. Thomas Grace	1896	_	1921	American
	4. SALT LAKE (1886-1890)					
		1. Laurence Scanlan	1886	_	1915	American
		2. Joseph Sarsfield	1915	_	1926	American
IX. BOSTON (1808-1875)						
	BOSTON (1808)					
		1. John Lefevre De Cheverus	1808	_	1823	French
		2. Benedict Joseph Fenwick	1825	_	1846	Irish
		3. John Bernard Fitzpatrick	1846	_	1866	Irish
		4. John Joseph Williams	1866	_	1907	Irish
		5. His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell	1907	_	1944	Irish

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
	2. HARTFORD (1843)			_		
		1. William Tyler	1843	_	1849	Irish
		2. Bernard O'Reilly	1850	_	1856	Irish
		3. Francis Patrick McFarland	1857	_	1974	Irish
		4. Thomas Galberry	1876	_	1978	Irish
		5. Lawrence S. McMahon	1879	_	1893	French Canadian
		6. Michael Tierney	1893	_	1908	Irish
		7. John Joseph Nilan	1910	_	1934	Irish
	3. BURLINGTON (1853)					
		1. Louis De Goesbriand	1853	_	1899	German
		2. John S. Michaud	1899	_	1908	American
		3. John Joseph Rice	1910	_	1938	American
	4. PORTLAND (1853)					
		1. David W. Bacon	1855	_	1874	American
		2. James Augustine Healy	1875	_	1900	African American
		3. Cardinal O'Connell	1908	_	1906	Irish
		4. Louis Sebastian Walsh	1906	_	1924	American
	5. SPRINGFIELD (1870)					
		1. Patrick Thomas O'Reilly	1870	_	1892	Irish
		2. Thomas D. Beaven	1892	_	1920	Irish
	6. PROVIDENCE (1872)			_		
		1. Thomas Francis Hendricken	1872	_	1886	Irish
		2. Matthew Harkins	1887	_	1921	Irish
	7. MANCHESTER (1884)					

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		1. Denis M. Bradley	1884	_	1903	Irish
		2. John Bernard Delaney	1904	_	1906	Irish
		3. George Albert Guertin	1906	_	1931	Irish
	8. FALL RIVER (1904)					
		1. William Stang	1904	_	1907	German
		2. Daniel Francis Feehan	1907	_	1934	American
X. PHILADELPHIA (1808-1875)						
	1. PHILADELPHIA (1808)					
		1. Michael Egan	1808	_	1814	Irish
		2. Henry Conwell	1819	_	1842	Irish
		3. Francis Patrick Kenrick	1842	_	1851	American
		4. John Ncpomucene Neumann	1852	_	1860	German
		5. James Frederick Wood	1860	_	1883	American
		6. Patrick John Ryan	1884	_	1911	Irish
		7. Edmond F. Prendergast	1911	_	1918	Irish
	2. PITTSBURGH (1843)					
		1. Michael O'Connor	1843	_	1853	Irish
		2. Michael Domenec	1860	_	1876	Spanish
		3. John Tuigg	1876	_	1889	Irish
		4. Richard Phelan	1889	_	1904	Irish
		5. J. F. Regis Canevin	1904	_	1921	American
	3. ERIE (1853)			_		
		1. Josue M. Young	1853	_	1866	American
		2. Tobias Mullen	1868	_	1899	Irish
		3. John E. Fitzmaurice	1899	_	1920	Irish
	4. HARRISBURG (1868)					

Province	Diocese	Prelate	From		To	Ethnicity
		2. Thomas McGovern	1887	_	1898	Irish
		3. John W. Shanahan	1899	_	1916	American
		4. Philip R. McDevitt	1916	_	1935	American
	5. SCRANTON (1868)			_		
		1. William O'Hara	1868	_	1899	Irish
		2. Michael John Hoban	1899	_	1926	Irish
	6. ALTOONA (1901)			_		
		1. Eugene A. Garvey	1901	_	1920	Irish
XI. MILWAUKEE (1843-1875)						
	1. MILWAUKEE (1843)					
		1. John Martin Henni	1846	_	1881	German
		2. Michael Heiss	1881	_	1890	German
		3. Frederick Xavier Katzer	1891	_	1903	German
		4. Sebastian Gebhard Messmer	1903	_	1930	German
	2. SAULT SAINTE MARIE AND MARQUETTE (1853-1857)					
		1. Frederic Baraga	1853	_	1968	German
		2. Ignatius Mrak	1868	_	1879	German
		3. JohnVertin	1879	_	1899	German
		4. Frederick Eis	1899	_	1922	German
	3. GREEN BAY (1868)					
		1. Joseph Melcher	1868	_	1873	German
		2. Francis Xavier Krautbauer	1875	_	1885	German
		3. Frederick Xavier Katzer	1886	_	1891	German
		4. Sebastian Gebha'd Messmer	1891	_	1903	German
		5. Joseph John Fox	1904	_	1914	Irish

Province	Diocese	Prelate		_		Ethnicity
	4. LA CROSSE (1868)			_		
		1. Michael Heiss	1868	_	1880	German
		2. Kilian Caspar Flasch	1881	_	1891	German
		3. James Schwebach	1891	_	1921	German
	5. SUPERIOR (1905)			_		
		1. Augustine Francis Schinner	1905	_	1914	American
		2. Joseph M. Koudelka	1913	_	1921	American
XII. THE PROVINCE OF CHICAGO (1843-1881)						
	1. CHICAGO (1843)					
		1. William Quarter	1843	_	1848	Irish
		2. James O. Vandevelde	1848	_	1853	French Belgian
		3. Anthony O'Regan	1853	_	1858	Irish
		4. James Duggan	1859	_	1880	Irish
		5. Patrick Augustine Feehan	1880	_	1902	Irish
		6. James Edward Quigley	1903	_	1915	French Canadian
		7. George W. Mundelein	1915	_	1939	German
	2. ALTON (1853-1857)					
		1. Henry Damian Juncker	1857	_	1868	French
		2. Peter Joseph Baltes	1869	_	1886	German
		3. James Ryan	1888	_	1923	Irish
	3. PEORIA (1877)					
		1. John Lancaster Spalding	1876	_	1908	American
		2. Edmund Michael Dunne	1909	_	1929	American
	4. BELLEVILLE (1887)					
		1. John Janssen	1888	_	1913	German
		2. Henry Althoff	1913	_	1947	German

Province	Diocese	Prelate		_		Ethnicity
	5. ROCKFORD (1908)					
		1. Peter James Muldoon	1908	_	1927	American
		1. Peter James Muldoon	1908	_	1927	American
XIII. ST. PAUL (1850-1888)						
	ST. PAUL (1850)					
		1. Joseph Cretin	1850	_	1857	German
		2. Thomas L. Grace	1859	_	1884	American
		3. John Ireland	1884	_	1918	Irish
	2. ST. CLOUD (1875-1889)					
		1. Rupert Seidenbusch	1875	_	1888	German
		2. Otto Zardetti	1889	_	1894	German
		3. Martin Marty, O.S.B	1895	_	1896	German
		5. Joseph F. Busch	1915	_	1953	American
	3. SIOUX FALLS (1879-1889)					
		1. Martin Marty	1879	_	1895	German
		2. Thomas O'Gorman	1896	_	1921	American
	4. JAMESTOWN-FARGO (1889)					
		1. John Shanley	1889	_	1909	American
		2. James O'Reilly	1909	_	1934	Irish
	5. WINONA (1889)			_		
		1. Joseph B. Cotter	1889	_	1909	English
		2. Patrick Richard Heffron	1910	_	1927	American
	6. DULUTH (1889)			_		
		1. James McGolrick	1889	_	1918	Irish
	7. LEAD (1902)			_		
		1. John Stariha	1902	_	1909	German

Province	Diocese	Prelate		_		Ethnicity
		2. Joseph F. Busch	1910	_	1916	American
		3. John J. Lawler	1916	_	1948	American
	8. BISMARCK (1909)		_			
		1. Vincent Wehrle	1910	_	1939	German
	9. CROOKSTON (1909)		_			
		1. Timothy Corbett	1910	_	1938	Irish
XIV. DUBUQUE (1837-1893)	DUBUQUE (1837)					
		1. Mathias Loras	1837	_	1858	French
		2. Clement Smyth	1858	_	1865	Irish
		3. John Hennessy	1866	_	1900	Irish
		4. James John Keane	1900	_	1911	Irish
	2. OMAHA (1857-1885)					
		1. James Miles O'Gorman	1859	_	1874	Irish
		2. James O'Connor	1876	_	1890	Irish
		3. Richard Scannell	1891	_	1916	Irish
		4. Jeremiah J. Harty	1916	_	1927	American
	3. DAVENPORT (1881)					
		1. John McMullen	1881	_	1883	Irish
		2. John Henry Cosgrove	1884	_	1906	American
		3. James Davis	1906	_	1926	Irish
	4. LINCOLN (1887)					
		1. Thomas Bonacum	1887	_	1911	Irish
		2. J. Henry Tihen	1911	_	1917	American
		3. Charles Joseph O’Reilly	1918	_	1923	French Canadian
	5. CHEYENNE					

Province	Diocese	Prelate		_		Ethnicity
		4. Patrick A. McGovern	1912	_	1951	American
	6. DES MOINES (1911)					
		1. Austin Dowling	1912	_	1919	American
	7. KEARNEY-GRAND ISLAND (1912-1917)					
		1. James Albert Duffy	1916	_	1931	American
		1. Maurice F. Burke	1887	_	1893	Irish
		2. Thomas M. Lenihan	1896	_	1901	Irish
		3. James John Keane	1902	_	1911	American
		4. Patrick A. McGovern	1912	_	1951	American
	6. DES MOINES (1911)					
		1. Austin Dowling	1912	_	1919	American
	7. KEARNEY-GRAND ISLAND (1912-1917)					
		1. James Albert Duffy	1916	_	1931	American

Sources:
Corrigan, O. B. (1916). Chronology of the Catholic hierarchy of the United States. *The Catholic Historical Review, 1*(4), 367-389.
Corrigan, O. B. (1917). Chronology of the American hierarchy. *The Catholic Historical Review, 3*(2), 151-164.
Corrigan, O. B. (1917). Chronology of the Catholic hierarchy of the United States. *The Catholic Historical Review, 3*(1), 22-32.