AD MAJORUM DEI GLORIUM: JESUIT SECONDARY EDUCATION IN WASHINGTON STATE: 1886-1919

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To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of John Traynor find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Chair

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Abstract

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The topic of the following study is the early development of secondary schools, in the State of Washington, by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in the late-19th, early-20th centuries. The purpose is twofold: descriptive and comparative. The descriptive story focuses on the historical developments that led to the establishment of the two earliest Jesuit high schools in Washington. The comparative story contrasts the programs of study offered by these Jesuit schools to those of their public school counterparts in Spokane and Seattle. Additionally, a brief analysis was conducted on the Jesuit schools' perspectives and approaches to the civic purpose of schools, which for the purposes of this study was defined primarily by Patriotic and Americanizing paradigms.

The study explores the Jesuit high schools and their public school counterparts from 1887, marking the establishment of the first Jesuit high school in the state, to 1919. In addition to secondary sources, Archival materials were reviewed from the University of Washington, Seattle and Spokane Public Schools, and the Oregon Province. Materials included Programs of Study, Provincial and Presidents' Papers, Superintendent and Principals reports.

The results of the study revealed that the Jesuit schools remained largely true to their liberal arts and humanistic roots, particularly as compared to the diverse offerings of their public school counterparts. This however was not absolute in that the courses of study at these Jesuit schools,

with the addition of a Commercial Course, reflected an accommodative character as well. It was clear that both the Jesuit and public high schools were affected by the rapid population and economic growth of the region and developed curriculum consistent with the local demands. Additionally, the Jesuit schools appeared largely supportive of a civic purpose of schools that was reflective of the patriotic and assimilative trends of the time.

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To my father John Traynor, Sr. for your capacity to help me find grace in my work.

Prologue

Given the closeness of the content of this study to my own situation as an instructor at a Jesuit University, and maybe more importantly to my father's history with the Society of Jesus, I believe it is necessary to reflect upon and make connections to this prior to describing the study in more detail. What follows is a description of my father's and mother's stories, as they relate to the framework of this study. Subsequently, the phenomena that frame the topic will be presented, as will the research questions, a brief overview of the methodology of the exploration, and the implication of my research.

My own situation as an Instructor in the Department of Teacher Education at a Jesuit University is a central component to my chosen topic. Additionally, I have a rich educational history as a student at Jesuit institutions. I went to high school at Gonzaga Preparatory School and to graduate school (Master's of Teaching) at Seattle University. I look back upon these times as important periods in my own personal formation and hold on tightly to the identity that I associate with many of those experiences. Additionally, I have a strong historical connection to Jesuit education through many family associations with the Jesuits.

My father was born John Thomas Traynor, in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, November 1st, 1940 and was the youngest of four children. Much of his life was spent in proximity to the local Catholic Church, St. Jerome's, two blocks away and the site of the parochial grade and high schools. Additionally, two uncles were priests and two aunts became nuns and all were consistent visitors to his home. His two older brothers, Victor and Terry, entered the Jesuits in 1945 and 1952 respectively. Their lives as Jesuits impacted my father's own choice to enroll in the Jesuits later on in his life. Although his visits to see them were always brief, he had fond

memories of the way that the Jesuits treated him and showed interest in him, even though he was a young boy under the age of 10 at the time.

My father began the process of becoming a priest with his enrollment in the Society of Jesus, Canadian Province, in 1962 as a recent graduate of the University of Waterloo with a B.A. in History. He entered the novitiate in Guelph, Ontario, like his brothers, and was there for two years before going to Spokane, Washington to study Philosophy at Mt. St. Michaels where he remained until he left the Jesuits in 1967.

My mother shared a letter with me following my father's November death. The letter was to my father, from my grandfather, following my father's withdrawal from the Society in the spring of 1967. The letter opened with the following quote:

> Well, I guess it's about time I was getting in touch. Needles to say, I am greatly disappointed – As I felt sure that you would preserve and restore some of our lost glories. However, you must feel that it is impossible to carry on in the Society – And of course the main thing is to obtain peace of mind – in whatever you propose to do. It must be God's will …and we cannot dispute that.

While the letter goes on to express support of my father's decision to leave, it also reflects the deeply religious and cultural role that Catholicism played in my family life.

My mother's parents were also very committed and faithful Catholics. My mother's two oldest brothers, Ed and John, were sent, as 14-yr old boys, to Mt. Angel seminary in Oregon as boarders. My uncle Ed graduated from high school there and spent one more year in the seminary before withdrawing and entering the military. My uncle John spent two years at Mt. Angel before transferring to Gonzaga High School (then called Gonzaga College, now Gonzaga University) in 1945. This paralleled another uncle, Paul's experience of being sent to Gonzaga as a boarder as well. Additionally, my mother's two older sisters, Phyllis and Dorothy, attended the local Catholic Parochial school in Pocatello until they reached high school age, at which time

they were sent to the Sacred Heart Academy boarding school in Ogden, Utah. My mother attended Marycliff High School, a Catholic school for girls run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Spokane Catholic Diocese. My mom has always spoken of the devoutness of her deeply Catholic parents and that the decision to send their children to Catholic schools was faith-driven. My mother entered the Sister's of Providence in 1959 in Spokane and remained until 1967.

As I was researching various Papal Encyclicals and Pastoral letters related to the Church's support for schools, I came across an interesting section on vocations, from the 1919 Pastoral Letter from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. While this was not an area of inquiry for me, thinking about my grandparents, who were all very faithful and committed Catholics at the time of its publication, inspired me to read further. The line that stood out to me stated:

> Let parents esteem it a privilege surpassing all worldly advantage, that God should call their sons or daughters to His service…The generosity of so many parents, the sacrifices which they willingly make that their children may follow the calling of God, and the support so freely given to institutions for the training of priests and religious, are edifying and consoling.[1]

This helped me to place my own experience as a child of two former members of religious orders, within the greater framework of the Church. Additionally, it provides context for my grandfather's letter to my father regarding the lost opportunity that his withdrawal from the society caused the family in respect their "lost glories". My mother's story enriches this perspective as well, as her own experience reflects a personal example of a families' response to the calls made from the church.

[1] 1919 U.S. Bishops Conference Pastoral Letter, September 26, 1919. Washington, D.C: 16

Chapter 1

Introduction

Ad Majorem Dei Glorium, or "All for the Greater Glory of God" is the mantra of the Society of Jesus, also known as the Jesuits. This Catholic religious order, founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in Paris in 1540, has kept at its forefront this guiding principle to their apostolic work. While not originally established as a teaching order, a variety of factors influenced the Jesuits to become consummate educators from the earliest days of their work and this ministry continues to dominate the work of the Society today.[1] Currently, 69 secondary and pre-secondary Jesuit schools in the United States educate over 46,000 young men and women. There are as well twenty-eight Jesuit colleges and universities enrolling over 183,000 students throughout the country. This ministry had its humble beginnings with the foundation of the Jesuits as a religious order and was originally undertaken for the purpose of training its own members. It has grown into one of, if not the most, significant components of the work of the Society of Jesus. The purpose of this section is to introduce the framework of the study, provide a review of three phenomena which provide context for the study (Secondary Schools, Catholic Education in the United States, Jesuit Schools in the United States), and articulate the methodology of local/social history employed for the study.

Society of Jesus in the Northwest

"Breathe in tradition. Breathe out innovation." This was the opening comment at the Oregon Province Days Celebration by Fr. Steve Sundborg, S.J., current President of Seattle University and former Provincial (Chief Administrator) of the Oregon Province which consists

[1] O'Malley, John. W *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. O'Malley, John. W. & Bailey, G. A. (Eds.). *The Jesuits and the Arts: 1540-1773*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003. Leturia, Peter "Why the Society of Jesus Became a Teaching Order." *Jesuit Educational Quarterly 4* (1941): 31-54.

of the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Alaska. This annual gathering of Jesuits was held the summer of 2007 at Gonzaga University in Spokane under the theme: "The future of Ignatian Vision." Fr. Sundborg was a panelist who was responding to the following question meant to guide panelists' respective remarks: What challenges and excites me about the future of Ignatian vision? His opening quote highlights an important and prevalent conversation being held throughout the greater global Jesuit communities, but especially nationally and locally here in the Northwest. Fundamental to the discussion is the realization that the Jesuit apostolic ministries are going to be less and less dependent on the Jesuits themselves, and more and more dependent on collaboration with lay individuals. The decline in the number of Jesuits due to the aging Jesuit membership and the decrease in the number of individuals joining the Society of Jesus have precipitated new conversations about the future of the work of the Society of Jesus.

With this trend in mind, the study described here is focused in particular on the Jesuit Secondary Schools from 1886-1919 in the Northwest. It is in the spirit of Fr. Sundborg's comments to "breathe in tradition" that this study has been undertaken. In the Inland Northwest, with the creation of Gonzaga College (1887) and Seattle College (1893), the Society of Jesus committed to a ministry in education in the region. The purpose of this study is to contribute to and extend the scholarship on secondary, Catholic, Jesuit Education more specifically, and through focused study and interpretation, to deliver a story of value to future investigators and interpreters of the same or related topic. Additionally, the goal of the study is to situate the history of the Jesuit schools in the area within the larger context of the social, cultural and economic development of the region. The accompanying growth of the public secondary schools in the region will also provide important comparative contexts that will both illuminate the

parallel development of these schools and highlight the unique characteristics of the Jesuit schools in comparison to their public counterparts.

This exploration into Jesuit education has been defined by a specific geographical region and by a specific period of time. The Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus includes the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Alaska, although schools for this study are all from the state of Washington. The time period begins in 1886 with the opening of Gonzaga College, the first school in the Oregon Province and continues to 1919. This end point was chosen in part to include the 1909 ending of the administrative oversight of the Italian province of Turin, which took place from 1854-1909. The end of WWI in November of 1918 was chosen to reflect a global context within which these schools operated. Although this fixed approach to place and time exists, it is my hope that it will provide context for future comparison, analysis, critique and investigation of similar areas of study. For the purpose of this study, the following research questions will guide the analysis:

1. What led to the development of the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest beginning in 1886?
2. How did the makeup and character of the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest compare with the trends of public secondary education both nationally and locally?
3. How did the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest reflect the tension in the United States public and Catholic Church between Americanizing and Anti-Americanizing forces?

In order to situate my own study of the Jesuit Schools of the northwest from 1886-1919 within existing scholarship of related importance, I briefly address the following areas: growth

and character of secondary schools at the end of the 19th and into the early 20th centuries; growth and character of Catholic education broadly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries; Jesuit Secondary Schools in the Northwest. The phenomena have been chosen to provide context and a backdrop from which to seek answers to the guiding research questions. Additionally, the three phenomena serve to highlight and articulate both the purpose and importance of the study. This study, a mix of case study and local social history, is meant to provide a history of secondary Jesuit schools in the Northwest for the sake of preserving and telling the story from the lens of the high school, as opposed to the College and/or University, which is so often the case with Jesuit institutional histories. Also, although the included research on the Seattle and Spokane high schools is primarily for comparative purposes, public secondary school histories of this region are scarce. This study will increase the research and knowledge of public school history in the Northwest. The purpose then of the three phenomena is to create a context and a backdrop against which the story told in the subsequent pages can be placed.

Phenomenon I – Secondary Schools

While the roots of education in the United States can be traced back to the earliest colonial experiments with education, it was the Congressional passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1785 that provided some of the earliest examples of government facilitation and support of education. The Ordinance committed Section 16 of townships to the support of schools thus endowing communities with the capacity to create schools within their area.[2] From this point of departure then, this section is designed to briefly frame the phenomenon of secondary education, particularly public secondary education, at the turn of the 19th century. In subsequent chapters, a more detailed description of the local contexts will be provided. This

[2] D. Tyack, T. James and A. Benavot, *Law and the shaping of public education: 1785-1954*.(Madison, WI: University Press, 1987)

phenomenon will be presented through an introduction of significant national events in educational policy related to secondary school development, such as the National Educational Associations *Committee of Ten* (1893) and the *Cardinal Principles* (1918), which were reports of this time, and the accompanying debates over the social efficiency purposes of schools. Additionally, the trend in secondary schools to take on a civic purpose will be examined, specifically through Americanization initiatives of the time.

The *Committee of Ten* (1893) and the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (1918) reflected important discourses concerning the growth and emerging character of secondary schools. These reports were both developed by the National Education Association. In both cases, the objective of the report was to provide a template for the reorganization and unification of secondary education. In the case of the *Committee of Ten,* the reorganization was driven by the desire to create "general subject uniformity in school programs and in requirements for admission to college."[3] Twenty-five years later, the objective of the recommendations continued to reflect a reform movement in secondary education. In the case of the *Cardinal Principles Report*, the proposition was made that "The evidence is strong that such a comprehensive reorganization of secondary education is imperative at the present time."[4] The impact of these respective reports varied across the country, but their role as significant public policy initiatives within the development of a comprehensive secondary educational system nationally is considerable.[5]

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[3] National Education Association Committee of Ten, *Report of the Committee of Ten*, 1893: 3.

[4] Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education: A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Appointed by the National Education Association*, 1918: 1.

[5] See the following references for more comprehensive analysis of the reports: Cremin, Lawrence. A. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957.* New York: Random House, 1961. Kliebard, Herbert. M. *The Struggle for the American Curriculum* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge, 1995. Krug, Edward. A. *The Shaping of the American High School: 1880-1920.* Madison, WI: University Press, 1969. Angus, David L. & Mirel, Jeffre. E. *The Failed Promise of the America High*

In addition to the curricular debates and changes that emerged from the work of the reports mentioned above, the delineation of a specific civic purpose of education on the part of secondary schools was also an important component of the discourse high schools during the late 19th, early 20th centuries. A particularly powerful category of civic education specifically, and public school education more broadly, was classified as the "Americanization" initiatives of the early 1900s.[6] Americanization, as described here, includes patriotic and assimilative elements. The patriotic element follows a long tradition of commitment to country, and the assimilative element follows an equally powerful tradition of cultural homogeneity pursued largely by the dominant culture in an effort to secure the hegemony that comes with this position. Public schools were important participants in this, in part because they had the capacity to come into contact with the majority of the citizenry during the school-age years.

The story that emerges relative to this phenomenon is the story of the development of secondary schools in Washington State. Similar to the development nationally, the public and private schools went through significant growth which reflected both the general population growth and that of the growing demand for schooling beyond the elementary years. Also, the Washington story is one that reflects the policy trends contained in the *Committee of Ten* and *Cardinal Principals Reports* and in fact pre-dates the policy with similar programs in some cases. Certainly the distinction is made between the trends in the public high schools and the Jesuit high schools specific to this study, but what emerges is an accommodative character on both their parts.

School: 1890-1995. New York: Teachers College Press, 1999. Tyack, David B. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974. Tyack, David, James, Thomas., & Benavot, Aaron. *Law and the Shaping of Public Education: 1785-1954*. Madison, WI: University Press, 1987. Sizer, Theodore. *Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press. 1976.

[6] Spring, Joel. *The American School 1642-2004* (6th ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005. Tyack, David B. . *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Phenomenon II – Catholic Education in the United States

The story of Catholic Education in the United States is one enmeshed in the story of the Catholic Church in America. These two individual and distinct institutions, while difficult to separate, have each contributed significantly to the growth and development of the other. The mission of the Church to "build the kingdom" and to "save souls," especially within United States Church history, has been significantly served by the work of the Catholic schools. The U.S Bishops Conference articulated this aspect of the Catholic School Mission within the larger Catholic Church Mission in its September 26, 1919 Pastoral letter to "…the clergy and faithful…" by stating that "The nursery of Christian life is the Catholic Home; its stronghold, the Catholic School."[7] This interdependence between the work of the larger Catholic Church and that of the Catholic Schools is an important component in any discussion of the evolution of the United States Catholic School system.

One of the earliest and most-cited historians of Catholic Education, James Burns, stated this connectedness in the introduction to his famous work *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States* (1912):

> The main factors in the Church's development – immigration and migration, the hierarchy, parish and diocesan organization, the religious Orders, the Councils – have constituted also the main factors in the growth of the schools….The relation between the Church and school has been, in fact, so close that it is impossible to disassociate the history of the one from that of the other.[8]

These factors, which provide a framework through which to look at both Catholic Church history and Catholic school history, outline and reinforce the interdependence of the Church and its schools. The objective of this section is to be briefly introduce factors, similar to those listed by Burns, which frame a Catholic perspective on schooling: the "School Questions", which reflect

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[7] U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Pastoral Letter, September 27, 1919. Washington, D.C. P. 9

[8] James A. Burns, Bernard. J. Kohlbrenner and John. B. Peterson. *A history of catholic education in the united states: a textbook for normal schools and teachers' colleges.* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937), 15

the early struggles to develop Catholic Schools; and the tension between being American and being Catholic at the more broad Church level and the more specific school level in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Much of the historiography of Catholic Schools has centered on the successful development and growth of a national system of Catholic Schools. In his presidential address delivered before the History of Education Society at its 1975 meeting in San Francisco, Vincent P. Lannie spoke of the American Catholic historiography. Lannie spoke of a model of historiography that "… was an inward-looking and triumphal one."[9] He continued on to describe this triumphalism as a story of a Church which evolved

> …from one diocese to a score of dioceses; from one church to a multiplicity of churches; from one schoolhouse to thousands of schools; from a handful of priests to seminaries overflowing with clerical candidates; from insufficient teaching personnel to a multitude of religious men and women[10]

This brand of triumphalism represents much of the scholarship, particularly prior to the late-1970s that describes the growth of the church and the school question more specifically.[11] This kind of storytelling has focused on the successes, in the face of opposition internally and externally. Internally, for example, schools struggled to develop and expand with the limited resources that defined many of the parishes of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Externally, for example, the struggle for legitimacy came as a result of opposition to Catholic Schools such as was the case in Oregon as a result of the Oregon School Law of 1922. This law passed as an initiative and required school-age children to attend a public school.[12] Both of these brief

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[9] Vincent P. Lannie, "Church and School Triumphant: The sources of American Catholic Educational Historiography." *History of Education Quarterly 16* (1976): 133

[10] Ibid.

[11] Michael. F. Perko (Ed.), *Enlightening the Next Generation: Catholics and Their Schools 1830-1980*. (New York: Garland, 1988)

[12] Ibid, 455.

examples are introduced in order to provide an illustration of the types of issues which have generally been invoked to tell the story of the development of Catholic School system.

The above examples of external and internal issues which frame the telling of the story of the Catholic schools, reflect just some of the challenges which a unified system of Catholic Schools faced during their early years. The idea of being American and Catholic, and the results of this dual identity are also a source of scholarship in Church history and even more so in Catholic school history. In addition to the tension between Catholics and Protestants over compatibility with Americanism, there was also tension within the U.S. Catholic Church on this issue. The two contexts, Catholic struggles to establish Catholic schools under a dominant Protestant paradigm, and the internal tension in the Church over Americanism reflect the literature on this topic.

These studies represent a small sample of the literature on Catholic education at the turn of the century and help frame the more specific study proposed here. The exploration of Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest at the turn of the century is situated within the context of larger Catholic School history during the same time period. The history of these Jesuit schools is embedded in the history of a Catholic school system specifically, and an American Church more broadly. These schools reflected a commitment to an education of youth that was uniquely Catholic and therefore dealt with the internal and external conflicts associated with the development of such an educational system.

Phenomenon III – Jesuit Schools in the Northwest

The History of the Society of Jesus, also know as the Jesuits, is one that is rooted in a historical association with education. Peter Leturia, S.J. writes of the origin of the Society of Jesus as a teaching order and reminds the reader:

> We must remember above all, that the founders of the Society all came, without exception, from university environment and that they did not proceed to the discussion and execution of their plan until they had all obtained a Master of Arts degree and had made some progress in theology.[13]

This reminder provides an important context for the initial engagement in and the eventual primacy with which the Society undertook its educational mission. The Society of Jesus was founded September 27, 1540 by Inigo Lopez de Loyola, who was canonized in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV as St. Ignatius Loyola.[14] The establishment of the Society and its subsequent entrance into education provide a framework from which to look at more specific cases.

The 1547 invitation, on the part of leading citizens in Messina, Sicily, to provide a secondary education for their sons, was the first effort on the part of Jesuits to teach lay students.[15] This effort began the foray into education that would become a prime pillar of the Society into current times. These successes have been the source of much scholarship related to Jesuit history and helped set the course for the establishment of education as the apostolic work in which the largest numbers of Jesuits are involved.

The story of Jesuit education in the Northwest, for the purpose of this study, will consist of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus, which is geographically defined by the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska. This configuration, however, was not formally the case with the Jesuits until 1932. The Oregon Province was founded as the Rocky Mountain Mission on March 4th 1841. A Belgian Jesuit named Father Peter DeSmet, at the request of Native Americans from the Flathead Lake Region, set out from the Missouri Province to establish the first mission in the Northwest.[16] Thus began a long period of residency in the

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[13] Peter Leturia, "Why the Society of Jesus Became a Teaching Order." *Jesuit Educational Quarterly 4* (1941): 31.
[14] O'Malley, J. W *The First Jesuits.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)
[15] Ibid.
[16] Carriker, Robert. C. *Father Peter John de Smet: Jesuit in the West.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

northwest corner of the U.S. A great number of the writings on the Jesuits in the Northwest have been on the establishments of the early Missions and the subsequent construction of Gonzaga University in Spokane, and Seattle University in Seattle.[17] Additionally, important to this mission history is the development of schools for the Native American children as a primary component of the Jesuit's work. While this topic is not considered in much detail in this study, it is an important parallel history.

The three phenomena described above: Establishment of secondary schools in the United States, establishment of Catholic education, and the subsequent development of Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest, provide important context to and a backdrop for this study. The rapid growth of secondary schools that marked the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as the accompanying policy reforms of the time, provide a more global context in which to situate the local study of the Jesuit high schools in Washington. The growing Catholic School System that resulted from the efforts of the Church Hierarchy, through the mandates of the Councils of Baltimore, as well as the efforts of local Catholic communities, situates the efforts of the Jesuits in the Northwest within the larger context of this system and provides a general framework for the story of the secondary schools developed in Washington. The phenomena were chosen to situate the study within related categories that reflect prior and current scholarship on both secondary schooling and Catholic education. This helps provide both a descriptive and analytical perspective for the research of these Jesuit secondary schools.

Overview of Methodology

[17] Carriker, *de Smet*, 1995. Bischoff, William N. *The Jesuits in Old Oregon 1840-1940.* Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1945. Schoenberg, Wilfred P. *Jesuits in Montana.* Portland, OR: Oregon-Jesuit, 1960. Schoenberg, Wilfred P. *Jesuits in Oregon.* Portland, OR: Oregon-Jesuit, 1959. Schoenberg, Wilfred P. Paths to the Northwest: A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982.

Somekawa and Smith stated that "Writing history is a political and creative process, consisting of piecing together a narrative from chosen fragments from the past."[18] The section below outlines the sources of these fragments and the method by which they will be used to draw conclusions and produce implications related to the area of study. Recognizing that my writing has characteristics such that my "perspective determines what counts as evidence, what 'facts' best explain the evidence, and what plot structure is most useful and convincing"[19], I spent considerable time in the prologue outlining my own context with Jesuit education, and my parents' situation within the context more broadly. The purpose of this section is to expand more specifically on the methodology used for the study and the sources of evidence that will be employed during the research.

Shulman proposes historical study as "…a hybrid, a methodological home for a wide variety of approaches, techniques, and modes of inquiry…it has resisted categorization."[20] Shulman continues in making the case that good historical research captures some of the various methodological approaches through "…counting and describing, measuring and interpreting."[21] This idea supports the notion that the study of history is both a science and an art. Ellen Lagemann described this dualist nature of history as "…science because it is based on evidence – 'the facts.' It is art because 'the facts' do not speak for themselves."[22] A brief review of educational historiography will serve to place the use of historical study within the disciplines of history and education. The terms case study, local history, nearby history, and social history are

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[18] E. Somekawa and E. A. Smith, (1988). Theorizing the Writing of History or, 'I Can't Think Why It Should Be So Dull, for a Great Deal of It Must Be Invention'. *Journal of Social History*, 22, pp. 150-161

[19] Ibid

[20] Lee Shulman, *The Nature of Disciplined Inquiry in Education.* In R.M. Jaeger (Ed), Complementary Methods of Research in Education. (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 1997), 21.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Lagemann, Ellen, "Does History Matter in Educational Research? A Brief for the Humanities in an Age of Science," *Harvard Educational Review* 74 (2005), 9.

all descriptors which illustrate the hybrid nature that is typical of historical research, and are reviewed as related to this study. With this in mind, there will also be a discussion of issues related to analysis and interpretation, as well as the sources which have been utilized in the research.

Educational Historiography

The study of a history of education is a requirement of sorts in most teacher degree and certification programs, whether as a stand-alone course, or a component of a larger Social Foundations of Education. This is the field in which I do most of my own teaching in the department of Teacher Education at Gonzaga University. *Foundations of Education* is, in fact, the primary course that I teach. From my own experiences in class, the study of the history of education provides excellent context for delving in to current issues in education, whether these discussions be about public policy issues related to education or of a more pedagogical focus. John Rury (2006) recently argued that "…disciplinary historians are unavoidably bound to their associated nonhistorical field, and it behooves them to be attentive to the interests and concerns of their nonhistorian colleagues."[23] This role of the history of education has evolved over time and has moved from an exclusive connection to the nonhistorical field (professional educators) to one also concerned with larger, non-school-dependent issues which are important components of American educational history. With the use of educational history within the profession of education, a primary source of revision in the historiography of education emerges in the mid-20th century.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Bernard Bailyn (1960), in support of the work of the Committee on the Role of Education in American History, proposed a new direction for

[23] Rury, John, "The Curious Status of the History of Education: A Parallel Perspective." *History of Education Quarterly* 46 (2006), 597.

historical studies of education. He argued that the existing paradigm in the history of education was too narrow and focused on the professional purposes for which it served. This created, he maintained, an isolated and professional field-conscious approach to the study of history of education.[24] Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin pursued a new paradigm in the field. This paradigm, rather than the narrow, technocratic and professionalized approach of its predecessors, focused on a more broad definition of education, one that in fact transcends just schooling. This shift represented a change from focusing "…exclusively to the part of the educational process carried on in formal institutions of instruction" to the more broad and contextual approach.[25] This shift placed interpretation of education in American history within a larger stream of historical research, writing and teaching; focusing not just on a narrow set of school-related issues, but rather on social and cultural forces in the process of schooling as well. Bailyn inspired a change in the approach to the study of the history of education by suggesting that it move beyond an exclusively teacher-training paradigm and into one that is not subjugated by "…the professional interests that have dominated the writings on the history of education."[26]

A second brand of revision in historical studies in American education also emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This brand of research departed from the acclamation of public schools, to critical reflections on the politics and ideology behind education. Michael Katz's publishing of *The Irony of Early School Reform* in 1968 was an early example of historians beginning to look at particular failures of public school reformers and the accompanying motivation behind reforms. This trend has continued through the work of scholars who have

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[24] Bailyn, Bernard. *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1960, 87

[25] Cremin, Lawrence. A. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957*. New York: Random House, 1961. Cremin, Lawrence. A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783*. Ney York, NY: Harper Row, 1970. Cremin, Lawrence. A. *American Education, the National Experience*, 1783-1876. New York, NY: Harper Row, 1980

[26] Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society,* 58.

looked at issues of equity through analysis and perspective that raise exigent questions about schools and schooling.[27] This changing paradigm did not go uncontested, however. Established history of education researchers criticized this new paradigm. Accusations were made of oversimplification and too great of a reliance on ideology as an interpretive framework.[28] These two revisionist trends in the history of education: interpretation within a larger, more global context of cultural, social, economic forces, and critical analysis of schooling and educational policy, have continued to mark the shift in the historiography of education. This study of Jesuit secondary schools in Washington is located within these revisionist contexts in that it is a story that looks to situate the development of these schools within larger socio-economic and cultural forces which marked the time and the place that bound the study.

Lee Schulman describes historiography as "…that branch of knowledge that deals with the methods of historical investigation and inference."[29] While this definition is somewhat simplistic, it does provide a foundation for historical study. Schulman goes on to propose that "Historical facts become historical evidence only when placed in a framework of explanation, a way of seeing without which facts are mute, incapable of 'speaking for themselves.' "[30] This helps to define the dual nature of the work of the historian: that of choosing the sources of evidence and in the interpreting the evidence. These two perspectives frame the method of this study: the method of interpretation and the materials for investigation.

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[27] See Bowles, Samual & Gintis, Herbert, "Schooling in Capitalist America Revised." *Sociology of Education* 75 (2002): 1-18; Katz, Michael, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968; Spring, *The American School*; Spring, Joel, *Education and the Rise of the Corporate Stat.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1972; Tyack, *The One Best System.*

[28] See Brickman, William, "Revisionism and the Study of the History of Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 4 (1964): 209-223; Ravich, Diane, *The Revisionist Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools.* New York, NY: Gasic Books, 1978.

[29] Lee Shulman, *The Nature of Disciplined Inquiry in Education.* In R.M. Jaeger (Ed), Complementary Methods of Research in Education, 23.

[30] Ibid.

Case Study/Local History

In Michael Perko's reflection on the historiography of religious schooling in America, he states that "Microstudies of particular locales are still important for the specific information they provide as well as the pieces they contribute to the larger religious educational mosaic."[31] This statement lends support to the type of study undertaken here. This study could be categorized as a case study as well as a local social history. Kyvig and Marty classified this type of local history as "nearby history".[32] This type of historical study is bounded by a geographically defined place that is local, or nearby. The attractiveness of this approach is in the accessibility that a local location affords. Additionally, the capacity of the researcher to analyze the local through a lens that lends itself to broader implications is an important attribute as well. Butchart presents this type of nearby history as "…the most natural and logical way for us to understand the broader historical currents of our society and our world."[33] By narrowing this historical study to local institutions, anchored by the investigation of the early history of Gonzaga and Seattle high schools (formerly known as Gonzaga and Seattle College respectively, and currently known as Gonzaga and Seattle Preparatory), this research is rooted in the context of the local, but has an eye to informing and understanding of the global. The accessibility of the local story, told through the early histories of these schools, serves as an important method through which to articulate broader themes, trends, and policies in the history of education during this early period of high school history in the United States.

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[31] M.F. Perko, (Ed.). *Enlightening the Next Generation: Catholics and Their Schools 1830-1980*. (New York: Garland, 1988), 337.

[32] David E Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You.* (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982)

[33] Butchart, Ronald E. *Local Schools: Exploring Their History.* (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1986), 5.

The method of case study shares traditions with other qualitative studies in that researchers who employ the methodology will "…use documents and other artifacts from the past to develop explanations."[34] This development of explanations reflects a narrative tradition that has defined case study in educational historiography in particular. The case study is designed with "…some conception of the unity or totality of a system with some kind of outlines or boundaries."[35] In this case, the boundaries are defined by a series of parameters such as time and place. Given that the focus of the study is on Jesuit high schools in early Washington state history, this sets up Gonzaga and Seattle high schools as the defined boundaries. Additionally, with the inception of Gonzaga in 1886, this date serves as a boundary for the beginning with the end of WWI set as the boundary for the end of the period to be studied. The issue of Americanization in schools is a thematic focus, with its commitment to patriotism as an important element, studying the case(s) through the period of WWI, a time marked by significant patriotism, therefore serves as a logical end point of this study.

The use of the defined boundaries, as well as the accompanying research questions, serves the case study format well by providing a "…conceptual structure, thematic foci, to give priority to some things about the case, and rule others out."[36] These boundaries provide the researcher with the capacity to "…inform the reader…about individual contributions" made by the institutions being studied.[37] Local and social history is more then just descriptive in nature as it also seeks to "…provide a comparative interpretation of larger intellectual and social factors

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[34] Rury, 246. See also: Lancy, David F. *Qualitative Research in Education.* New York, NY: Longman Press, 1993.
[35] Stake, Robert, "Case Study Methods in Educational Research: Seeking Sweet Water" in Jaeger, Richard, *Complementary Methods for Research in Education: 2nd Ed*, AERA, 1997: 405.
[36] Ibid, 408
[37] Rury, John, "Historical Inquiry." In Lancy, David F. *Qualitative Research in Education.* New York, NY: Longman Press, 1993: 254

which affected education policies."[38] This, in fact, is a strength of a case study as local social history, as historian H. Stuart Hughes (1964) has suggested, historical studies and historians are especially concerned with the "Connectedness of things."[39] The context of both the time and place are critical to the evaluative stance that allows the historian to "explicitly or implicitly compare what is observed with some standard."[40] By situating the study of these Jesuit schools within the context of larger social and cultural forces, a standard for comparison becomes available.

In support of this comparative evaluation, this study will focus on a national context in terms of trends in secondary Catholic, Jesuit and public education. Additionally, a local context will provide a comparative lens. This local context is bounded in time by the dates defined earlier (1886-1919). It is also bound by place through the analysis of the public high schools, particularly their respective programs/courses of study, which emerged during this time in Spokane and Seattle.

Interpretation

The study described here is undertaken with the intent of "… constructing a story, based on the evidence ... accumulated."[41] More than just a descriptive exercise, the study is rooted in a comparative stance as well, which supports the interpretive element. Stake (1997) describes interpretation in the case study approach as one that depends on the author's "Planning, drawing ties to existing research, observing, analyzing, triangulating, and interpreting."[42] These descriptors - drawing ties, observing, analyzing, triangulating - provide methodological

[38] Ibid
[39] As cited in Rury, 250
[40] Lancy, 143
[41] Rury, 256
[42] Stake, 412

considerations which drive the construction of the study. Two elements are critical to the employment of these techniques: comparative context and guiding questions.

The comparative context can be described both nationally and locally. The national context will be established primarily through significant secondary source research. Rury (1993) argues that the type of narrative history undertaken in this study needs to be informed by a "… highly developed understanding of the period and the problem"[43] that is being studied. The local context will be developed through secondary source research on the development of secondary schools in Spokane and Seattle, as well as primary source analysis of courses/programs of study from these early schools.

Education historian Carl Kaestle, in a discussion of historical studies in education, stated that "Generalization remains an act of creative interpretation, involving the historian's values, interests, and training…There is no single, definable method of inquiry, and important historical generalizations are rarely beyond dispute."[44] Given that authors and readers interpret the same story within their own context, it is important to remember that certainty does not have to be the goal for important scholarship to be undertaken. In part, this is the work of history; that of telling stories from a place of informed perspective. Therefore, the work of the historian is to make meaningful generalizations that are informed by context and perspective.

In order to make viable generalizations, Kaestle suggests that historians' progress toward viable generalizations by creating work which reflects a discourse between local and global contexts, a discourse which is at once both a micro-and macro-analysis.[45] The interaction between these various contexts helps to interpret the material in such a way that situates it within

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[43] Rury, 253

[44] Kaestle, Carl. *Recent Methodolocial Developments in the History of American Education.* In R.M. Jaeger (Ed), Complementary Methods of Research in Education. (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 1992), 61.

[45] Ibid.

the influences of the time period.[46] Additionally, the context of the given time period is important and "…must be understood in the context of the social values and scientific knowledge of the day."[47] This approach protects against the problem of intent and the issue of anachronism that researchers can run into if they do not attend to the context of the given place and time.[48]

The employment of research questions is especially important to the capacity of a study to interpret meaning and provide explanations from the materials analyzed. Butchart presents three questions critical to synthesizing and interpreting the material analyzed:

1. What story emerges?
2. What answers to the many questions posed earlier seem to account for evidence in the best ways?
3. What alternative explanations can we find?[49]

It is through these questions that the historian interprets the materials chosen for the study. This is an important component of local social history because the research questions "…facilitate the analysis and comparison of local situations in search for universals."[50] It is with this goal of providing a structure for the story that emerges and a comparative lens that the following research questions were constructed:

1. What led to the development of the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest beginning in 1886?

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[46] Spiegel, G. History, Historicism and Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages. In Jenkins, K. (Ed). *The Postmodern History Reader*. (New York: Routledge, 1997)
[47] Kaestle, Carl. *Recent Methodolocial Developments in the History of American Education*. In R.M. Jaeger (Ed), Complementary Methods of Research in Education, 63.
[48] Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study.*
[49] Butchart, 109.
[50] Kyvig, 223.

2. How was the makeup and character of the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest in or out of line with the trends of secondary education both nationally and locally?
3. How did the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest reflect the tension in the United States public and Catholic Church between Americanizing and Anti-Americanizing forces?

In any interpretation that this research constructs, I am aware that the work I am doing "is a political and creative process consisting of piecing together a narrative from chosen fragments from the past."[51] The research questions are designed to ensure that the study explores broad social, cultural, economic and political issues related to Jesuit secondary schooling at the turn of the 20th century.

Sources for Research

The study described here focuses on the work of the Society of Jesus of the Oregon Province in the area of secondary education from 1886-1919. The start date of 1886 was chosen as it represents the first year that the Society established a non-mission school in the Oregon Province. Gonzaga College was opened in September of 1886 on the banks of the Spokane River in Spokane, WA. The year 1919 was chosen to end this study because this date represents a global perspective that guided this study in that it reflects the end of WWI. With these dates as bookmarks, and the Northwest geography as locale, the schools available as sources of information are Gonzaga (1886) and Seattle (1893).

These schools, still thriving high schools in the Northwest, provided much of the data used for interpretation and for answering the research questions. The archive of the Oregon Province is located in the Foley Library at Gonzaga University. With permission granted by Fr.

[51] Somekowa & Smith, 153

Paul A. Janowiak, S. J, who serves as the Socius for the Oregon Province in Portland, Oregon, I have worked with the archivist, Dr. David Kingma, to access the materials available. The archive includes items and artifacts such as plans of study and catalogues, graduation requirements, graduation programs and flyers, personal papers, student annuals, journals, and correspondence of members of the Society working in the schools. In addition to the items directly related to the functioning of the schools themselves, the communications between the school leadership and the provincial leadership are available for analysis. Seattle University contained the most complete collection of catalogues from the earliest days of the school, so that library archive was also accessed.

In addition to the many secondary sources on the establishment and subsequent growth of the secondary schools in Seattle and Spokane in particular, various archives were utilized to research these schools. The Seattle Public Schools archive contained the most reliable materials on the establishment and subsequent growth of the secondary schools in the area: reports of the Superintendent of Seattle Public Schools, the reports of the principal of Seattle High School, and the programs of study for the high schools. In Spokane, the Northwest Room of the Spokane Public Library stores these same materials for Spokane Public Schools. Also, due to the role that the Territorial University of Washington played in conducting a secondary school prior to the opening of a Seattle Public high school, the University of Washington archive was utilized to gather information on the programs/courses of study delivered during this time.

As described earlier, the literature on the related phenomena of my chosen topic include many well-written, secondary resources which help frame and inform my study. While most of these studies are specific to higher education and more generally to Jesuit ministries in the Northwest, there is important information as well in the area of the secondary educational

apostolic ministry, as most of these institutions of higher education began primarily delivering what would be considered a high school education. Therefore these stories, while framed as College and/or University histories, help to inform an understanding of the development of the high schools as well. Additionally, *The Woodstock Letters: A Historical Journal of Jesuit Education and Missionary Activities* provides information on issues of specific Jesuit character. These resources provide important context for regional issues that related to the functioning and development of the Jesuit schools. These sources provide insight into the internal discourse in which the Society was engaged as it developed and defined the character of its schools. I believe that these varied sources provided a wealth of material to analyze. In building an analysis of the history of these schools, the resources provided information which allowed for the development of historical contexts which framed the research. This analysis gained form through the uses of these materials which described the players involved in the establishment of the schools, the external and internal issues which both helped and hindered their development, and the related social, economic and cultural issues of the time and place.

Implications

What I have found as I have become more immersed in the materials and histories concerning my topic is the emergence of a story rich beyond my initial expectations. I believe that this is a unique study for a variety of reasons. Much of the attention in academia on Jesuit Education, particularly as measured by academic scholarship, has focused on higher education. I believe the legacy of Jesuit secondary schools, particularly given that the various higher education institutions began as secondary schools, has been inadequately told. It seems that much of the historical research in secondary, Jesuit education is seen through a higher education

lens, or is more of a celebratory history often done by well-intentioned alumni as a sort of informational and public relations effort for schools.

Historian Fr. Michael Perko, S.J. (2000), in his essay *Religious Schooling in America: An Historiographic Reflection*, speaks of a shift in historical investigations that has taken place since the mid-1970s. Prior to the shift, historical research in education was done as "celebratory treatments aimed at inspiring future generations of Catholic educators and defending the schools existence in the face of external criticism."[52] While "house histories" continue to approach the telling of history with less of an analytical or comparative framework, new examples of studies of "specific locales" have represented a valued trend in historiographical studies of religious schooling. As Perko argues, "such local studies are especially valuable in helping to identify major factors in parochial school development by providing a basis for comparison and contrast of educational development."[53] The objective of this study is to contribute to this field of scholarship and provide further analysis and comparison of Jesuit, secondary schools in the Northwest.

Jesuit schools in the Oregon Province provide a particularly unique opportunity for comparison of education development and for further research and study. Jesuit secondary schools have gone through a number of paradigm shifts in the past 120 years of their existence in the Northwest. The shift from European to Northwest administration in 1909 represents one, the split of the Oregon Province from the California Province in 1932 marked another, and the shift from clerical to lay faculty later in the 20th Century is another. While not the norm nationally, three Northwest Jesuit secondary high schools became co-educational institutions very early on compared to other Jesuit High Schools: Bellarmine Prep in 1974, Gonzaga Prep in 1975, Seattle

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[52] Perko, Michael F, "Religious Schooling in America: An Historiographic Reflection." *History of Education Quarterly* 40 (2000):320

[53] Ibid, 332

Prep in 1976, and Jesuit High in Portland in 1978. This paradigm shift, not unlike the one that has been caused by a shift from religious to lay faculty, makes for interesting study and interpretation in the future. This study contributes to this comparative framework by exploring early paradigm shifts during the formation period that marked the inception of these schools.

The three phenomena described earlier help to provide historical context within which to situate this story. The rapid growth and expansion of secondary schools nationally provide one phenomena through which to situate the establishment of the secondary Jesuit schools in Washington State educational history. The emergence of a system of Catholic Education was the result of national forces, through the Baltimore Council initiatives of the Church leadership, and local forces through the individual efforts of parishes and religious organization to develop schools in their respective areas. This phenomenon also places the development of the Jesuit schools within the larger national context of a national system of Catholic Education. Finally, the phenomenon of Jesuit schools in the Northwest helps to frame the inquiry through specific Jesuit issues. The story of the development of a uniquely Jesuit, Catholic system of secondary education in Washington is one dependent on the story of the Society of Jesus as a teaching order globally and the regional story of the Jesuits gaining a foothold in the west. These three phenomena help to supply a framework within which to situate this analysis by providing important perspective and contextual considerations.

The purpose of his section is to place the more narrow study here within a broader contextual framework, as outlined by the three phenomena. The subsequent section will focus on the local/regional economic and social contexts of the Northwest leading up to and during the establishment of the two Jesuit schools which this study investigates. Additionally, a discussion of the American Catholic Church is presented in order to place the Jesuit high schools within the

larger framework of Catholic education. Finally, the early history of the Society within the United States is discussed in order to place the schools within the structure of the greater Jesuit Apostolate.

Chapter 2

Jesuits in the West – The origins of Jesuit Education and the Western Context

The establishment of Jesuit Secondary schools in the Northwest is a story enmeshed with the story of the region. A fundamental tenant of the Jesuit Apostolate is working "within" the culture, in contrast to the notion of being "counter-cultural" with the work. This idea necessitates a more comprehensive discussion of the local context placed within the framework of a larger global context. With this in mind, the focus of the following sections is to describe elements related to the development of Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest. Given the Catholic character of these schools, a discussion of Catholic Church history in the United States is presented in order to provide a context for this character. Also, the establishment of the Society in the West provides a description of the foundation which led to the eventual establishment of secondary schools. Finally, the local context of the Northwest is discussed with particular attention to the economic development that led to the population gains which in turn led to the growing demand for secondary education in the region.

Northwest History – Natural Resources and Trade Vehicles

The Pacific Northwest, until the outset of World War II, could be described, as Carlos Schwantes did in his exceptional book, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*, as a "colonial hinterland."[1] Schwantes uses this phrase to articulate the remoteness of the Pacific Northwest from main centers of economic and political power. While modernization of early 20th Century America, as well as the onset of the Second World War, brought on significant change in the connectedness of the Pacific Northwest to the rest of the country and the world, this area had remained relatively isolated.

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[1] Carlos A. Schwantes. *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History.* (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1989), 2.

The story of the early history of the Pacific Northwest is marked by the many native tribes which populated the region.[2] Contact with white settlers and explorers began with the arrival of Captain James Cook to the area in 1778. While the native populations of the Northwest were the reason for Jesuit entry into the region through the establishment of missions, it is the growth of the largely white, immigrant population to the region which drove the growth of Jesuit secondary schools in the area. Cooke's maritime discovery voyage of 1778, and Lewis and Clark's overland expedition from St. Louis to the Oregon/Washington coast in 1805 both opened a new era of growth and expansion in the region.[3] What was once an unknown, uncharted territory to white traders and settlers quickly became a hub of activity.

The history of the Pacific Northwest, as a hinterland, is one supported by the rich resources that propelled the region into a role of supplying raw materials to the rest of the world.[4] The explosion of the timber industry in Tacoma and other areas along the West Coast,[5] the growth of the agricultural industry in the Palouse region of Eastern Washington,[6] and the development of the mining industry of the Silver Valley[7] accompanied by the completion of the

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[2] The story of the Mission Contract and Boarding schools in the Northwest is an important parallel history to the development of schools on the Missions. While it is not covered in much detail in this study, the Jesuits, prior to their development of institutions of Secondary and Higher Education, developed, through the support of federal funding, contract and boarding schools in the Northwest.

[3] George W. Fuller, A History of the Pacific Northwest With Special Emphasis on the Inland Empire. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960). Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*

[4] Richard C. Berner, Seattle 1900-1920: From Boomtown, Urban Turbulance, to Restoration. (Seattle, Washington: Charles Press, 1991); Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*; W. Hudson Kensel, "Inland Empire Mining and Growth of Spokane, 1883-1905." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly 60* (1969) Robert C. Nesbit and Charles M. Gates, "Agriculture in Eastern Washington, 1890-1910." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37 (1946); Schwantes. *The Pacific Northwest.*

[5] Robert Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, *Washington: A Centennial History.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1988)

[6] Nesbit and Gates, "Agriculture in Eastern Washington, 1890-1910." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37 Ficken and LeWarne, *Washington: A Centennial History.*

[7] Kensel. "Inland Empire Mining and Growth of Spokane, 1883-1905." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly 60*

railroad hubs of Tacoma, Seattle and Spokane[8] all precipitated significant population growth and accompanying economic expansion.

Fueling these industries and the demand for their products, as well as the urban centers that cropped up around them, were the port hubs of Tacoma and Seattle.[9] Tacoma and Spokane, as hubs for the Northern Pacific Railroad, and Seattle, as a hub for the Great Northern Railroad became regional centers of trade and transportation as the railroads completed their efforts to connect the east with the west through the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in the 1880s and 1890s. This theme of trade as a growth engine for the Pacific Northwest is one common to the history of the area. While manufacturing was to come later to the Northwest, it was the trade of the abundant natural resources that drove economic and subsequent population growth. [10]

Timber

With construction of a sawmill by the Hudson's Bay Co. in 1828, situated up the Columbia River from Vancouver, WA, the timber and forestry industry would change the face of the physical and economic landscape of the Northwest forever. [11] Domestic and international trade out of Seattle and Tacoma via the Pacific, the California Gold Rush of 1849, the Timber and Stone Act of 1878 and the corresponding railroad development were all important factors which fueled the growth of the timber market in the Pacific Northwest.

The safe harbor characteristics of Tacoma and Seattle allowed for the development of important shipping and trade industries.[12] Quick access from safe harbors to the Pacific,

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[8] Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*
[9] Richard C. Berner, *Seattle 1921-1940: From Boom to Bust.* (Seattle, Washington: Charles Press, 1992). Schwantes. *The Pacific Northwest.*
[10] Berner, *Seattle 1921-1940: From Boom to Bust.*
[11] Robert E. Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1987)
[12] Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest;* Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest.*

accompanied by growing timber demand, both domestically along the west coast in California, and internationally throughout the Pacific, provided the market demand that stimulated mill development. The development of cargo mills defined the early stages of the industry.[13] Cargo mills were built near and/or on waterways in order to facilitate easy transport to ports and then on to domestic and international markets. Lumber demands fueled by construction and development provided trade relationships with eastern Pacific countries such as China, Japan, and Australia.[14] Additionally, southern Pacific demand in Peru and Chile grew during the second half of the 19th century and provided steady demand for Pacific Coast lumber.[15]

While the Hudson's Bay Company's entry into the lumber industry in 1828 marked a beginning, the California Gold Rush of 1849 "…speeded the evolution of the nascent Pacific Coast lumber trade into a major industry."[16] With the growing influx of people arriving in San Francisco with hopes of cashing-in on the gold rush in the Sierra Mountains, the city itself saw a huge growth in the "…construction of permanent buildings, both residential and business"[17] and an accompanying growth in demand for the lumber used in constructing these buildings. As a result, a sort of "sawmill fever in the early 1850s"[18] broke out in Washington with "over two dozen mills…at work by mid decade."[19]

The 1878 Timber and Stone Act provided additional supply to an industry already awash in demand. In an ironic twist, the Act was a contributor to the successful procurement of large tracts of public timber lands by industry titans when its objective had been to implement a more equitable distribution of those public lands. The Act allowed for an individual to obtain up to

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[13] Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington.*
[14] Thomas R. Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1974), 91.
[15] Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington*, 40.
[16] Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900*, 46.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington*, 28.
[19] Ibid.

160 acres of timber or mineral land. This limit was designed to preempt the accumulation of large tracts by any one individual or business. What happened however was the use of phony front-men, by large timber companies such as the Puget Mill Company, Port Blakely Mill Company, and the Tacoma Mill Company resulting in massive purchases of cheap, abundant public timber land by these few corporations.[20] The result was a new source of plentiful forest land available for harvest.

Coinciding with the purchases brought about by the Timber and Stone Act was the development of the railroads through the mountains and forests to the port towns of Tacoma and Seattle. From 1879-1883, railroad construction by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads was another engine driving the timber industry.[21] The railroad work led to increased demand for the timber to be used in the laying of the tracks, as well as increased supply for the mills as the route was cleared of trees to make way for the tracks. This period saw a resulting shift from the cargo mills of the rivers and waterways, to the rail mills of the interior.[22] These newly completed rail lines contributed to growing demand from markets on the east coast of the United State and in Mexico, just recently made accessible by the achievement of the railroad expansion. The growing timber industry was ready to supply these newly opened markets with Pacific Northwest Lumber.

Agriculture

While the timber and lumber industry may have been a primary engine of Western Washington economic development, it was the fertile soil and quality weather of Eastern Washington that fueled the agricultural industries domination of the economic development in this region. Nesbit and Gates characterized this impact on Eastern Washington as "the

[20] Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington*, 51.
[21] Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900.*
[22] Ibid.

development of a vigorous farm community"[23] that grew, in production numbers, from $8.5 million in 1889 to $63 million by 1910.[24]

The growth of this farm community came on the heels of various governmental initiatives to encourage settlement of the area. The Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, a precursor to the Homestead Act, provided 320 acres to single, white men over the age of 18 with an additional 320 acres if he were married[25] with the provision that he would work the land for four years. At the completion of four years, he would be granted the title to the land. This law was extended and amended in 1854 to include Washington Territory[26] and a new limit of 320 acres to any one claim with an accompanying fee of $1.25 per acre. The Timber Culture Act of 1873 provided settlers with 160 acres of free land with the stipulation that 40 acres of land be planted with trees.[27] Finally, the Desert Land Act of 1877 entitled settlers to 640 acres, at $1.25 per acre, if the settler could prove within three years that the land had been irrigated.[28] All of these government initiatives, in addition to the Homestead Act of 1862, provided the necessary impetus for the development of Eastern Washington.

The growth of the agricultural businesses in the state took place throughout Eastern Washington in the areas of Big Bend (Northeast Washington in the Coulee area), the Yakima and Columbia Valleys and the accompanying irrigation projects of the time, and the Whitman/Palouse region of southeastern Washington. The greatest impact on the economic development in Spokane was the wheat farming in the Whitman and Spokane Counties,

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[23] Nesbit and Gates, "Agriculture in Eastern Washington, 1890-1910." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37 (1946): 295.
[24] Ibid., 279.
[25] Schwantes. *The Pacific Northwest, 103.*
[26] Prevost, Nancy, Paradise in the Palouse : The Development of a Farming Empire in Eastern Washington, 1870-1900. Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1985: 12
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

primarily in the Palouse. "The soil of the Palouse region is rich and deep"[29] and led to the near doubling of farm acres in the Palouse district the last decade of the 19th century. In 1890 there were 1,114,540 acres in farms and by 1900 that number had grown to 1,824,189 acres.

Southeastern Washington as an emerging agricultural center, in addition to the fertile soil and the cooperative weather patterns, was also served well by its proximity to transportation modes. The early water transportation to Pacific Coast ports was accomplished by accessing the Snake and Columbia Rivers for transportation purposes.[30] Eventually, the completion of railroads throughout the eastern part of the state, but particularly from the farming regions to the transportation and trade hub of Spokane, created new markets to which farmers would direct their harvests.[31] The population growth of the state itself provided growing demand for the farms of the Palouse, and the development of the railroad to the coast ensured access to international markets as well.[32] In addition to the agricultural developments throughout the Inland Northwest, the mining industry also had a precipitous impact on the economic and population growth of the area.[33]

Mining

W. Hudson Kensel describes the significance of the mining industry to regional growth through the resources themselves, but also through the accompanying benefits to workers and the region and to the massive creation of wealth for owners and investors in the mines in particular. He describes how "The continuing impact of mining on Spokane was everywhere."[34] While Spokane and Seattle were not mining cities, they benefited from the growth of the mining

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[29] Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest With Special Emphasis on the Inland Empire*, 18.
[30] Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest;* Nesbit and Gates, "Agriculture in Eastern Washington, 1890-1910." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37
[31] Prevost, 25.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest.*
[34] Kensel, "Inland Empire Mining and Growth of Spokane, 1883-1905." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly 60* (1969): 97.

districts of the Silver Valley in Idaho, the Colville and Okanogan regions in Washington, the Okanogan and Kootenay regions of southern Canada, and the Klondike gold rush of Alaska. While the impact of the mining trends supported the economic development of Seattle through the accompanying lumber demands brought on by the California Gold Rush of 1849 and the outfitting demands of the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897, the mining boom of the Inland Northwest had an especially profound impact on the economic growth and development of Spokane.

The discovery of gold in Colville in 1855 and in the Frasier River Valley in Southern British Columbia in 1858 marks the beginning of the mining period in the Northwest.[35] While short-lived, both discoveries contributed to the mining culture of the region. The prospecting success of A.J. Prichard in the mountains near Coeur d'Alene[36] precipitated an Inland Northwest gold rush of sorts from 1882-1884.[37] While the results of this rush did not result in a significant gold discovery, it did precipitate the discovery of silver and lead deposits that would come to define the great Silver Valley mining districts of North Idaho.

The massive economic impact that the mining industry had on Spokane was somewhat indirect in that there were, in fact, no mines in the Spokane area. It was the development of Spokane as an outfitting center for the prospectors that led to early success for Spokane merchants.[38] The mining industry, through the efforts of the early prospectors and placer miners (streambed mining for gold) followed by the larger scale silver and lead mining efforts in places such as the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines,[39] found Spokane to be a ready supplier of materials,

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[35] Ibid. Ficken, *The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington.*
[36] John Fahey, *The Ballyhoo Bonanza: Charles Sweeny and the Idaho Mines.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1971), 15.
[37] Kensel, "Inland Empire Mining and Growth of Spokane, 1883-1905." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly 60.*
[38] Ibid., 85.
[39] Ibid.

supplies and transportation to the mines of North Idaho. Additionally, as the mining districts of Colville and Kootenay districts grew, Spokane served as an excellent hub for trade and transportation for them. In addition to the benefit associated with the demand for materials and goods needed to service the mines and the miners, Spokane benefited from the wealth generated in these mines. Spokane had become "…the permanent headquarters for many of the mining companies and home for most of the mine owners and managers"[40] and benefited from the profits, dividends, and even sales of these mines. Large sums of capital flowed into Spokane from the surrounding mining districts and contributed to the economic development of the city.

The success that Spokane gained from the growth of the surrounding mining districts is impossible to imagine without the accompanying development of the railroad system in the region.[41] The development of the major national mines depended on the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads. Coupled with the smaller scale efforts such as the Spokane Falls and Idaho Railway, they provided the transportation mechanism to deliver materials and workers to the mines and the products of the mines to the major markets.

Trade – Railroad and Port Growth

The port cities of Seattle and Tacoma became transportation centers for goods from the Inland Northwest region, such as mining, timber and agricultural products, and as a jumping-off point for the Klondike gold rush (1897) in Alaska.[42] Their importance was further heightened with the completion of the transcontinental railroad efforts by the Northern Pacific Railroad in Tacoma (1887) and the Great Northern Railroad in Seattle (1893).[43] The arrival in 1883 of the

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Fuller*, A History of the Pacific;* Schwantes*, The Pacific Northwes;* Kensel, "Inland Empire Mining and Growth of Spokane, 1883-1905." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly 60.*
[42] Berner, *Seattle 1921-1940: From Boom to Bust.* Schwantes; *The Pacific Northwest.*
[43] Schwantes*, 155.*

Northern Pacific trains, out of the Great Plains through Spokane marked a transformative moment in Spokane's economic development.[44]

In addition to the larger national lines such as The Northern Pacific, Great Northern and Union Pacific, the efforts of local entrepreneurs contributed to the growth of the rail industry in the Inland Northwest. Railroad companies such as the Columbia and Red Mountain Railway, Coeur D'Alene Railway and Navigation Co., Nelson and Fort Sheppard Railway, Spokane Falls and Idaho Railway, Spokane Falls and Northern Railway, developed connecting lines between Spokane and Colville and the Okanogan, the Kootenay, and the Coeur D'Alene Mining Districts.[45] These lines helped to establish Spokane as a regional outfitter for the mining districts; helped these regions transport their crops, lumber and minerals; and connected Eastern Washington and Western Washington to the larger world.

This growing role of Seattle and Spokane as transportation hubs precipitated the evolution from the colonial hinterland described by Schwantes to that of a global economic power. These sources of growth: sea-port and railroad trade; agricultural, mining and timber resources, were the engine behind the rapid growth of the region. This economic perspective helps to situate the growth of Catholic Jesuit secondary schools within the context of this rapidly growing region emerging from Schwante's "colonial hinterland," and will provide an important context for the analysis undertaken here.

The rapid growth of the Northwest region reflected the national trends of growth and development at the turn of the 20th Century. Significant population growth, due to immigration and economic growth, spurred industrialization and caused significant change in the United States. This change did not escape the K-12 school system and was, in fact, responsible for a

[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid, 186.

paradigm shift within public education and within secondary education more specifically. In addition, the Catholic element of the Jesuit secondary schools in Washington State is important to the context of the story. The mission of these schools was a Catholic Church mission, and one in which the Society of Jesus had always situated the establishment of and delivery of secondary school education.

Catholicism in the United States

The purpose of this section is to provide context for the more specific study of secondary Jesuit Schools in the northwest at the turn of the 19th Century through a description most broadly of the U.S. Catholic Church, and more specifically through a description of various characteristics of the development of a Catholic school system. The material will be presented through a brief description of the early foundations and establishment of the U.S. Church, a discussion of the rapid growth of the church as a result of increasing immigration during the late 1800s to early 1900s, and the corresponding debate over "Americanism" within the Church, and the subsequent establishment and growth of Catholic Schools throughout the country.

The history of the United States Catholic Church, similar to the Roman Catholic Church as a whole, is a history of a mission church. The explorations and mission activities of the Spanish Conquistadores from Florida west to California and of the French in the Louisiana territory and the Great Lakes Region, reflected the desire, to "…establish a New Israel and extend the boundaries of the kingdom of God on earth…"[46] This aspiration, while on some levels encompassing the elements of greed, racism and hegemony of European and Christian culture, established the earliest legacy of Catholicism in America.

[46] J.P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History From Colonial Times to the Present.* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 16.

The noted Catholic Historian John Gillman Shea ably described the religious character of the exploration of the New World in his statement that "The adventurer, the soldier, and the priest always landed together; and the proclamation made to the natives by the Spanish bares these remarkable words: 'The Church: The Queen and Sovereign of the World.'"[47] The exploration of the New World, prior to the English settlements in the Northeast, was characterized, in part, by the Catholic members and evangelizing motives of the religious orders of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits who accompanied the explorers from Spain and France.[48] Even though their work to evangelize and convert the indigenous tribes of the explored regions was fraught with challenges and failures, the earliest seeds of Catholicism were planted on American soil during this time.[49]

The prolific Spanish exploration during the 16th and 17th Centuries in part reflected the religious motive mentioned earlier. The context of Spanish culture, as articulated by Dolan, reveals the religious component of the Spanish conquest of the New World:

> Spanish civilization was indeed permeated with religion; the New World was viewed by many as the Promised Land, the last, best hope of Christianity; and the Catholicism of the Conquistador and the friar was a blend of profound spirituality, intense activity, ideological intolerance, and feelings of racial superiority. All of these traits, one way or another, helped to shape the Spanish phase of colonial Catholic history.[50]

This religious zeal provided a platform through which the religious orders were able to join the explorations and subsequent conquests.

While Columbus' landing marked the beginning of the major period of Spanish exploration of the New World, it was Florida that became the first location of Spanish settlement

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[47] Henry De Courcy and John Gilmary Shea. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1879, 12.
[48] De Courcy and Shea. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 13.*
[49] Ibid; Dolan, The American Catholic Experience; James A. Burns, Bernard. J. Kohlbrenner, and John. B. Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States: A Textbook for Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges.* New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937.
[50] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience,* 20.

in the United States.[51] Ponce de Leon's landing in Florida in 1513, followed by De Soto's in 1539, set the stage for the establishment of the first Christian community in the United States: St. Augustine.[52]

The Spanish and French proceeded to explore and expand, with the Franciscan and Jesuit Priests in tow, regions throughout America during the 16th and 17th centuries. Cortez's conquest of the Aztecs in Mexico in 1521 and Pizarro's conquest of the Incas in Western South America set the stage for the move North by the Spanish. Coronado ventured north into New Mexico in 1540-1542. The French missionary activity, while nowhere near as prolific as that of the Spanish, marked a significant period in the establishment of Catholicism in the New World. The French founded Quebec in the Great Lakes region of the New World in 1608 with the Jesuit Priests accompanying them, and moved throughout the Great Lakes region and eventually south along the Mississippi, which in turn set the stage for Jesuit mission work through with the Iroquois and the Huron.[53]

The Jesuit mission efforts were also located in parts of Lower California (Mexico). Their first effort in the Southwest was in Mexico led by the efforts of the Jesuit Priest Fr. Esuebio Kino in 1682. These missions lasted until the Jesuits were suppressed by the Pope in 1767, at which time they were required to leave and the missions were subsequently occupied and maintained by the Franciscans.[54]

Beginning in 1769, the Franciscans, as a part of the military expeditions of Inspector General Jose de Galvez and through the leadership of Fr. Junipero Serra, began what would be

[51] Ibid., 21.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

one of the most successful mission periods in the New World.[55] Fr. Serra oversaw the establishment of nine missions on the coast of California until his death in 1784.[56] Eventually, by 1822, twenty one missions had been established throughout California.[57]

While the establishment of "English America" in the Northeast is not marked by a significant Catholic character, the Maryland colony represents the earliest Catholic settlement in the region. The colony began with the arrival of "…two hundred English families, chiefly Catholic, flying from the persecution of the mother country, entered the Potomac…" on March 25, 1634.[58] The colony was established as a result of the charter being granted by Charles I to Cecil Calvert, the Baron of Baltimore, and a Catholic.[59] The Maryland Colonial origins are primarily Catholic and while this fact did not make it immune to the anti-Catholicism that existed during the Colonial period, it did provide a place for the establishment of many Jesuit Communities. These communities were marked by the "Jesuit Farm" which was an economic institution and which by the mid-to-late 1700s "…began to function as a center of a Parish community."[60] These initial English communities had their Catholic character enriched by the influx of Irish immigrants following Cromwell's invasion of Ireland in 1650.[61] While difficulties surely persisted, the Catholic community of Maryland became the cradle of the institutionalized Catholic Church in the United States. The induction of Bishop John Carroll as the first Bishop of Baltimore, established the first formal Diocese in the United States.

The establishment of a Catholic Church presence, from the various European missionary orders, set the stage for the growth of the Church in the United States and the subsequent

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[55] Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 19.
[56] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 29.
[57] De Courcy and Shea. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,*17.
[58] De Courcy and Shea. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* 25.
[59] Hennesey, *American Catholics.*
[60] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 88.
[61] Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States 1790-1920*. New York: Macmillan, 1925.

establishment of the Jesuit High Schools in the Northwest with which this study is concerned. The presence of the missions of California and Maryland had special significance. The greatest numbers of California missions were Franciscan, but the presence of a Catholic community led to the initial demand for the Jesuits to develop a school in the San Francisco Bay area. This point is developed in greater detail later, but is important to mention here as it helps to situate the study within the context of the mission history of the United States. Maryland's significance is also important given that the Catholic community in the region led the first efforts to establish Jesuit education in the United States which was achieved with the opening of Georgetown College in 1789. Additionally, it was the Maryland province that sent a group of Belgian Jesuits to St. Louis to establish Jesuit missions and eventually schools. St. Louis became the launching pad for the earliest Jesuit Missionaries to the Northwest. Finally, the establishment of the missions throughout the country allowed for the growth of Catholic communities across the nation. The Catholic communities became the demand and the supply that led to the development of Jesuit Secondary schools across the country.

The Growth of a Church

In the conclusion of his exhaustive study on the characteristics of the immigrant to the United States, as they relate to the growth of the Catholic Church, Fr. Gerald Shaughnessy (former Archbishop of the Seattle Archdiocese) boldly claims that:

> Not another instance in history is recorded, where millions of difference races and nationalities, of varied natural prejudices and leanings, made their way to a strange country, *en masse*, but individually, there to build up what they found practically non-existent, a flourishing, closely knit, firmly welded Church…[62]

While it is not the intention here to analyze this statement for its comparative accuracy, the quote certainly serves to capture the energy of the immigration of Catholics, especially as it relates to

[62] Shaughnessy, 268.

the corresponding growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. The growth of the Church provided for both the demand, through the desires of the families to have their children educated in Catholic schools, and the supply, through the growing populations of school-age Catholic children. These immigrant Catholic groups were an important part of the development of Catholic secondary schools in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

The end of WWI saw the end of the most rapid period of immigration in United States history, and the late 19th and early 20th Century population growth that had taken place was to have a profound and lasting impact on both the United States and the Catholic Church. The United States population grew from 43.4 million in 1880 to 108.9 million by 1930.[63] The population growth of the American Catholic Church reflected the considerable Catholicism of the new immigrant population. The population of Catholics during this same period grew from 8.9 million to 20.2 million.[64] The history of the United States Catholic Church is the history of an immigrant church and reflects the immigrant roots of this country. The massive waves of immigrants spanned nearly a century, from roughly 1820 to the onset of WWI in 1919. The wave came primarily, 92.3%, from Europe.[65] The first half-century of immigration, from roughly 1820-1870, was dominated by the Irish and the Germans, while the second half came largely from southern and Eastern Europe.[66]

While the origins of Irish immigration to the colonies goes back to the mid 17th Century, and the invasion by Oliver Cromwell and subsequent conquest and occupation by England, it continued as a result of economic difficulties brought on by British rule and potato famines.[67] It was the massive potato famine of 1847, however, that precipitated the most dramatic increase in

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[63] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States*, 99.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith*, 77.
[66] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 131.
[67] Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith*, 79.

Irish immigration. In fact, from 1846-1851, nearly one million people migrated from Ireland, with the total number arriving in the United States, from 1820-1920, at 4.3 million.[68] The Germans constituted the second group of immigrants who began to arrive in large numbers during the first half of the immigration wave from Europe. Germans were in fact the largest population of immigrants to come to the United States, having reached a total of nearly 5.5 million in 1820-1920.[69] While not as overwhelmingly Catholic as their Irish counterparts, roughly 30% were thought to be Catholic, bringing nearly 1.5 million new members to the infant American Catholic Church.[70] There are varying factors which led to this movement of Germans to the United States. The political unrest prior to unification in 1871 led to some of the migration, but the primary cause was a rapid population growth in Germany and the subsequent hardships that an inadequate amount of arable land and a depressed labor market brought upon the many farmers, artisans and laborers.[71] Also, the forces of industrialization initially caused many in Germany to seek out new opportunities in the United States, although this began to abate by the turn of the century as Germany began to become more industrialized and therefore in greater need of a significant labor force.[72]

Although the Irish and the Germans constituted the largest immigration groups during the first phase, the second half of the wave included massive increases in Catholics in the U.S. with Catholic population growth from 6,259,000 in 1880 to 16,262,000 in 1910.[73] This nearly tripling of the Catholic population outdid the general growth of the national population that was 75,995,000 in 1880 and grew to 91,972,000 by 1920.[74] The magnitude of this catholic growth

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[68]Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 131.
[69] Shaughnessy
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 80; Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 130.
[72] Ibid., 131.
[73] Ibid., 173.
[74] Ibid., 172.

rate reflects an impact on the general growth of the Catholic Church as a percentage of the general population of the United States.

The next largest group of immigrants was the Italians, who began to arrive en-masse in the 1880s.[75] The situation in Italy that led to the migration of nearly four million Italians to the United States was a familiar one in eastern and Southern Europe around the turn of the century.[76] Rapid population growth accompanied by the insufficient amount of arable land, as well as the delayed embrace of industrialization precipitated significant flight to America in hopes of better opportunity.[77] This immigrant group was particularly significant to the corresponding growth of the Catholic Church due to the fact that unlike the immigrants from Germany, the majority of Italians were Catholic and brought with them the religious faith, culture, and commitment to the Roman Catholic Church.[78]

The Polish who arrived around 1880 during the second wave of immigrants also contributed to the growth of the Catholic Church, as the majority of the nearly two million who arrived was also Catholic.[79] Similar to the above described situation in Italy and much of southern and Eastern Europe, many Polish left their respective homelands as a result of the population growth outpacing the capacity for the agrarian land and culture to accommodate. This pinch on land was in direct contrast to the real and perceived availability in the United States and led the migrants to hope for land and especially well-paying jobs.[80]

The significance of the immigrant history of the Catholic Church is important to the study of the corresponding development of Catholic schools throughout the nation. These immigrant

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[75] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 131.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith*, 86
[78] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 131; Hennesey, *American Catholics*, 172; Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith*, 86.
[79] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 133.
[80] Ibid.

populations provided both the students and the priests that would populate many of the Jesuit Schools across the country. The development of a national Catholic system of education was dependent on the support of local Catholic communities, and as was illustrated above, these local Catholic communities developed throughout the United State during the 19th and 20th centuries as immigrant groups settled throughout the country.

The rapid growth of the immigrant, Catholic population "…secured the future of Catholic education in this county."[81] With the influx of European immigrants, the demands on the Church to serve this population grew. These immigrant groups included significant numbers of Catholics. The timing of the growing number of Catholics across the country coincides with the development of a national movement for the development of Catholic schools that came as a result of internal and external forces on the Church. Internally, the First, Second and Third Plennary Councils of Baltimore included the Bishops' insistence that parishes develop schools and parents send their children to these Catholic Schools. Extemally, the battles over public funds for Catholic schools and the Protestant character of the existing public schools led the increased support and demand for uniquely Catholic schools. These internal and external factors contributed to the development of Catholic schools throughout the country and the growing population of Catholics, brought on by the immigration trends of the time, provided the students that would populate these schools.

European Context in Society

The growth of the Catholic Church in the United States owes much to the immigrant groups arriving in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Society of Jesus also experienced the impact of this growing immigrant population, as many of its members were European priests

[81] Timothy Walch, *Parish School: American Catholic Parochial Education From Colonial Times to the Present.* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1996), 2.

who came to the United States. This is particularly important to the study of the secondary schools in the Northwest given that the history of Jesuit education throughout the nation is a history filled with European born Jesuit Priests. Early Jesuit schools were developed in large part by these European priests. The French Jesuits at Fordham, the Belgian Jesuits at St. Louis, The German Jesuits at Canisius, and the Italian Jesuits at Santa Clara and San Francisco all are examples of the important role that foreign-born Jesuits played in the development of Jesuit Education throughout the country. These priests often had particular interest in participating in the work of the missions out West.[82] This corps of Jesuits provided the order with a membership committed to the evangelization and education of the Native American tribes of the Rocky Mountain Missions.

The Rocky Mountain and California Missions combined as the California Oregon Mission and came under the direction of the Turin Province in Italy on August 1, 1854.[83] Four years later the missions were divided again into the Rocky Mountain and California Missions, but continued to be under the administrative and financial stewardship of the Turin Province.[84] The influx of Italian Priests to these missions was the result of the "…upheavals that accompanied the process of national unification known as the Risorgimento ("Rebirth")…many Jesuits from the order's Turin Province took up missionary work in the United States."[85] The makeup of the Jesuit Order during this time was primarily European, specifically Italian. At the

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[82] Wilfred P. Schoenberg, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest: 1743-1983*. (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1987); *Gerald McKevitt, Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848-1919*. (Stanford, CA: University Press, 2007).

[83] Wilfred P. Schoenberg, *Paths to the Northwest: A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province.* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982).

[84] Robert C. Carriker, *Father Peter John de Smet: Jesuit in the West.* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

[85] Gerald McKevitt, "Northwest Indian Evangelization by European Jesuits, 1841-1909." *The Catholic Historical Review 91* (2005): 690.

turn of the century, nearly 90% of the priests working in the Rocky Mountain Missions were foreign born.[86]

This history of the earliest Jesuit footholds in the Northwest is a combination of both the local indigenous tribes and the immigrant European priests that made up the Jesuit Corps, particularly on the West coast during this time. The names that dot the histories of the earliest Jesuit Missions in the West reflect the European heritage that dominated the Jesuit corps during these early days. The Italians (Catalso, Giorda, Grassi, Palladino, Ravalli, Tosi), Belgians (Jacquet, Ban Gorp, Brebosch), French (La Motte, Point, Rouge, Robaunt, Ruellan), Germans (Goller, Relmann), Dutch (Hoecken, Soer, Van Der Pol), left their former home countries and came to the U.S. with the cross of the missionary, and forever left a mark on the West.[87] These missionaries, through their work with the Native American populations of the Inland Northwest, set the stage for the development of the Secondary Schools which are the focus of this study in that their work with these populations established a foothold in the area for the Society to establish itself.

Mission Roots of the Society

The history of Jesuit education in the Northwest began with the earliest of the Rocky Mountain Missions. The first Northwest mission was established in March of 1841. Over the course of the next half-century, the primary work of the Society in the Oregon Province was clearly illuminated by the use of "mission" in the name of the Province. This was a Province of missions. From the establishment of the first mission in St. Maries, Idaho, in 1841, there were as many as eight missions in the region until the decline began around 1909, corresponding to the

[86] Ibid., 691.
[87] William N. Bischoff, S.J., *The Jesuits in Old Oregon: 1840-1940.* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1945).

loss of patronage from the Turin Province and the new focus that the colleges of Seattle and Gonzaga demanded of the Society.

Over the course of the five years following the establishment of the early northwest missions in North Idaho and the Flathead Valley of Montana, Father DeSmet and other primarily European Jesuits were responsible for the establishment of eight missions in the Rocky Mountain Mission region. These missions were established with the Coeur d'Alene, Blackfeet, Lakota and Oglala Sioux, Flathead, Kalispel, Kootenai, Pend Oreille, and Spokane tribes in the areas of Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington.[88]

The growth of the Jesuit Apostolate in the Northwest had a competitive and urgent disposition to it. The competition was with varying Protestant missionaries in the region and the urgency reflected a "first come first served" ethic that was a result of the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which would distribute funding support to established missions. The Protestant and Jesuit missionaries were therefore competing to establish missions in order to gain access to the financial support provided for by the federal government. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were periods of intense conflict between the Catholic and Protestant Indian mission schools.[89] Much of the work of the mission schools of this time period was supported by public funds and both Protestant and Catholic religious organizations competed for these funds. The "Civilization Act of 1819" was passed by congress to make funds available "...for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization."[90] Grant's Peace Policy of 1871 provided for the financial support of the religious denominations (primarily Catholic and Protestant) that had established missions among the

[88] Carriker, *Father Peter John de Smet*,
[89] Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools 1888-1912.* (Lincoln, NE: University Press, 1979)
[90] Prucha, Fracis Paul, *Documents of United States Indian Policy.* Lincoln, NE: Lincoln University Press, 1976: 33.

agencies.[91] This, in addition to the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, provided political and financial support for the work at the missions, especially in the schools. [92] The federal government signed contracts with the missionary societies to provide for the education of Indian students. The distribution of these contracts did not go uncontested, however. Two issues emerged relative to this tension: the federal support of Catholic schools through contracts afforded various mission schools, and, the eventual conflict between the Catholic mission schools and the government sponsored Indian schools.[93]

The development of the Jesuit missions in the Rocky Mountain Mission district, which included Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana, was modeled after the "reductions" (town-like missions) of Paraguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Chile of the 17th and18th Century.[94] The schools held a central place in these missions and received their funding as contract schools. For the remainder of the next century and briefly during the beginning of the 20th century, the work of the Society in the Northwest was almost exclusively in the missions.[95] President Ulysses Grant's Peace Policy of 1870 reflected a commitment, on the part of the United States Government, to the missionary as the primary agent of change for the native tribes. The belief was that through proper education and exposure to Christian religion, the tribes would develop values compatible with American cultural norms: monogamy, stationary life, private property, work ethic, individualism, and agrarian idealism.[96] Government appointed Indian Agents would engage in contracts with the various native denominations to fund the schools of their respective missions. The Policy had four significant components to it:

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[91] Schoenberg, *Paths to the Northwest*, 96.
[92] Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools 1888-1912*.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Carriker, *Father Peter John de Smet*, 48.
[95] Schoenberg, *Paths to the Northwest*, 96.
[96] Robert Keller (1983). *American Protestantism and US Indian Policy: 1869-1882*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 180.

1. Appointment of a centralized Commission of Indian Affairs
2. Control of the reservation missions delegated to the church
3. Development of a Board of Indian Commissioners
4. Expansion of aid to Indian missions, particularly to the educational work of these missions.[97]

One of the effects of Grant's Peace Policy was that a competitive environment was created between Catholics and Protestants who both sought federal political and financial support for their missions. The results of this competitive environment favored the Protestant groups at the expense of the Catholic missions as "of the forty nominations to which the Catholics were entitled by the terms of the Policy, only eight were accorded to them."[98] The Catholic Church in the United States, therefore, established a Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in 1879 to compete with the secular and Protestant activists within American Indian Policy.[99] Ample funds were available to support these activities, and the Catholics, while also motivated by religious and moral reasons, wanted access to the money in order to continue their mission work. In fact, Catholic institutions between 1886 and 1900, received $3,959,643 of the $5,024,340 that was distributed by the U.S. Government to the mission contract schools.[100]

These mission contract schools represent an important parallel history to the development of the secondary schools, by the Jesuits, that were to serve primarily the white populations. While the topic of the Mission schools is not treated in much detail here, it is an important historical contextual component. The Jesuits in the Northwest developed, as a key component to

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[97] Ibid.
[98] Francis Paul Prucha (1979). *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 97.
[99] Gerald McKevitt (1986): "The jump that saved the rocky mountain mission": Jesuit recruitment and the pacific northwest." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 55, No.3., 429.
[100] Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation*, 1860-1890 (Philadelphia, 1963), 104-105.

their mission work, schools for Native American Students. Jesuit missions in the Northwest, such as the Sacred Heart and Desmet missions of Idaho and St. Ignatius mission of Montana had boarding/contract schools that they administered as part of their mission work. These were the schools to which the federal funds were directed. The Jesuits partnered with the religious orders of the Sisters of Providence and the Ursuline Sisters to run schools, both boarding and commuter, for both boys and girls. While this history is not explored in this study, it is an important parallel history to be considered.

The contract schools were largely dependent on the federal funding, so when the new Commissioner of Indian affairs, Thomas Morgan, cut off funding in 1900, the support for these missions and their schools began to decline. The success of the Catholic schools in procuring a significant portion of the government funds for contract schools, coupled with the growing support for the nonsectarian public schools and their advocacy by the anti-Catholic group the American Protective Association provided the cover for Morgan to develop a requirement that the distribution of federal funds be only made to sectarian schools.[101] The loss of access to funding precipitated strain between the Rocky Mountain and California Missions and their benefactor the Turin Province. Turin was having its own financial difficulties and found that fewer and fewer of the Priests from the Province were interested in coming to the west coast of the United States. The lure of the mission work was being lost as a result of the shrinking funding for the mission schools and was redirected to the Alaskan wilderness where there were still remote missions being developed by adventurous Jesuits.[102] While the Rocky Mountain Mission name reflected its historical roots, it did not reflect the emerging reality which was a

[101] McKevitt, *Brokers of Culture*: 175.
[102] Ibid

Mission about to become a Province and in the process of redirecting its focus to the work of the Colleges at the expense of the Missions.

The Rocky Mountain and California Missions split with the Turin Province to become a fully independent and consolidated California Province on July 31, 1909. With the withdrawal of the Turin patronage, and the accompanying drop in numbers of Jesuit Priests sent to the area, a new era in Northwest Jesuit History began. *The Spokane Daily Chronicle* ran a front page story August 15, 1909 with a picture of Father De La Motte and carried the headline: 'Father De La Motte Named to Rule Four Colleges.'[103] The four colleges were Gonzaga, Seattle, Santa Clara, and St. Ignatius in San Francisco. This headline was revealing because the appointment as Superior of the California Province was associated principally with the colleges. This reflected the reality that "The four colleges in the headlines would dominate the nature of Jesuit priorities for years to come."[104] The withdrawal of the patronage on the part of the Turin Province hastened the demise of the mission, as too did the reduction and elimination of the federal funds for the missions previously provided for by the Civilization Act of 1819 and through Grant's Peace Policy.[105] The Society, consistent with its historical operation as a teaching order, shifted its focus to the work emerging in the secondary schools and colleges that were established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The local and regional economic context is an important element of the climate which led to the establishment of Jesuit secondary schools in the region. A survey of these developments was meant to help to situate the schools in the study within the larger social and economic forces. Additionally, the establishment of the Catholic Church in the United States, and the subsequent expansion of the Society of Jesus throughout the country, provided an important stimulus to the

[103] Ibid., 250.
[104] Ibid., 251.
[105] Schoenberg, *Paths to the Northwest*, 96.

development of the Jesuit secondary schools. The subsequent section will extend this context and focus more specifically on the early establishments of a national Catholic School Movement. The Jesuits were key contributors to this movement through their establishment of schools across the country. This work provided the experience and the motivation to extend Jesuit secondary education into the Northwest. Moreover, the context for the growing demand for secondary education in the Northwest is important to understanding the curricular developments and the growth in the number of schools that took place during the time being studied. These important contextual considerations will be explored in the following section.

Chapter 3

Catholic Education and the Growth of Jesuit and Public High Schools – The Stage is Set

The invitation, in 1547, on the part of leading citizens in Messina, Sicily, to provide a secondary education for their sons was the first effort on the part of Jesuits to teach lay students.[1] This effort began the entry into education that would become a pillar of the Society into current times. The success of the schools in Italy and the subsequent support from the Pope for the mission of education on the part of the Jesuits, contributed to the strengthening of this element of the Jesuit's apostolic work. Within ten years of accepting the invitation in Messina, the Jesuits operated thirty schools and the Secretary General of the Society wrote that "education had become the primary ministry of the Society."[2] These successes have been the source of scholarship related to Jesuit history and helped set the course for the establishment of education as the apostolic work in which the largest numbers of Jesuits are involved.[3] This work paralleled the growing demand for a specifically Catholic education, which, in turn, reflected the growth of the United States Catholic Church.

St. Ignatius: The Society's First Teacher

The history of Jesuit schools defines the character of the Society of Jesus from the first days of St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder. The story of St. Ignatius' conversion and eventual creation of the Society of Jesus is one that warrants a brief review given that this character helped define the development of the first schools in Renaissance Europe and continues to define them even today.

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[1] John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
[2] Ibid., 2.
[3] Ibid. Christopher Carlsmith, "Struggling Toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540-1600." *History of Education Quarterly 42* (2002).

St. Ignatius of Loyola was born Inigo de Loyola in 1541 in the Basque region of Northern Spain. Ignatius was an active member of the Valazquez family household and apparently had a fondness for gambling, drinking, and fraternizing with the ladies. While serving as a Spanish military office, Ignatius was injured by a cannon ball in battle. During his recovery he asked for books to pass the time while in the hospital. He requested romance novels, but as there were none available he settled on a book on the life of Christ and a book of the saints. Ignatius found that he would daydream frequently during this time and that his daydreams focused on the lives of the saints which gave him satisfaction or consolation as he would later call this experience. Conversely, when his daydreams focused on his past life in the court and on the glories of battle, he was unsatisfied and restless, an experience that he would classify as desolation. This experience led him to his conversion, which caused him to visit the Shrine of Montserrat, just outside of Barcelona, where he laid down his sword, gave away his clothes, and dressed himself as a common ascetic.

From Montserrat, Ignatius traveled to the town of Manresa, where he undertook residence in a cave outside of town. During this time, Ignatius engaged in intense prayer and worked in a local hospice. It was here that he developed his ideas on prayer and spirituality that would come to be known as the *Spiritual Exercises*. It was also here that his spiritual and religious devotion was enriched by his service to the needy, which would come to define the ministry of the Society in the future. This in turn contributed to the Jesuit idea of "finding God in all things" that saw all life as a form of prayer.[4]

Over the course of the next several years, Ignatius was in and out of trouble with the Spanish Inquisition due to the preaching and teaching that he continued throughout Spain. As he was not a Priest, and taught a new view of prayer and spirituality, he was seen as a challenge to

[4] William. A Barry, Robert G. Doherty, *Contemplatives in Action: The Jesuit Way*. (New York: Paulist Press, 2002).

the existing authorities.[5] He eventually made his way to the University of Paris where he settled into his studies of Latin grammar and literature, philosophy, and theology.[6] During this time he also met men who would become known as his companions; famous among them was St. Francis Xavier. St. Ignatius directed his companions in the *Spiritual Exercises* during this time. Eventually, six of these men would take vows of poverty and chastity with Ignatius with the objective of going to the Holy Land. The political climate in Jerusalem was such that the companions were unable to obtain passage, so in 1538 they decided to travel to Rome to meet with the Pope with the intention of being assigned work and missions. St. Ignatius and the companions were put to work by the Pope, teaching scripture and theology locally.

During this time, the companions determined that they would form a community that would declare its allegiance and special obedience to the Pope, so that he might send them wherever necessary to do whatever duties he assigned them. This vow of obedience to the Pope, in partnership with the common vows of chastity and poverty, defined in a unique way this *Societas Jesu* (company of Jesus). Pope Paul III formally approved the order September 27, 1540.[7] Ignatius was chosen as their leader and set about writing what would come to be known as the *Constitutions* which would guide the work and the administration of the Society.

While the Society, over the subsequent eight years, had established schools for young Jesuit recruits, it was not until the invitation from civic leaders of Messina in Sicily to establish schools for their young men that the Jesuit Apostolate of education for took hold for individuals who were not enrolled in the Priesthood. From this point forward, Jesuit schools began to develop and would come to be a defining character of the Society. As new requests mounted, the Society found that there was great demand for their model of education. The following quote

[5] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits.*
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

from St. Ignatius captures the character of the schools that defined Ignatius' vision for them as focus for the Society:

> From among those who are now merely students, in time some will depart to play diverse roles – one to preach and carry on the care of souls, another to government of the land and the administration of justice, and others to other callings. Finally, since young boys become grown men, their good education in life and doctrine will be beneficial to many others, with the fruit expanding more widely every day.[8]

This quote reflected a belief that Ignatius held, and that Jesuit schools have pursued in their missions, that saw the work of schools as being an example of the Jesuit mantra that titles this work: *Ad Majorem Dei Glorium* (All for the Greater Glory of God). Today, there are nearly 3,730 Jesuit educational institutions throughout the world, with just over 2.5 million students.[9]

A Church Stronghold is Built

The development of a system of uniquely Catholic Schools in the United States, of which the Jesuits participated in through their development of secondary schools and colleges, was supported by the advocacy of the U.S. Church leadership. The First, Second and Third Plenary Councils served as early legislative impetus toward the development and subsequent growth of Catholic Schools.[10] The Plenary Councils of the Catholic Church represent a gathering of Bishops, with the support of the Papacy, with the purpose of governance over the Church.[11]The Plenary Councils are meetings of the all of the Bishops and Archbishops in the United States

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[8]Norman O'Neal, "The Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola". A Biography of Ignatius Loyola published for general use in the Society. Retrieved September 1, 2007 from: http://www.stignatiussf.org/himself.htm.

[9] Society of Jesus in the United States: Jesuit Conference. (2006). *Jesuit Schools.* http://www.jesuit.org

[10] James A. Burns, Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, and John B. Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States: A Textbook for Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges.* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937); Neil G. McCluskey,(Ed.), *Catholic Education In America: A Documentary History.* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964); Thomas C. Hunt, "Catholic Schools: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." *Journal of Research Christian Education 14* (2005); L.P. Jorgenson, *The State and the Non-Public School: 1825-1925.* (Columbia, MO: University Press, 1987).

[11]Catholic Encyclopedia: New Advent (2006)-Retrieved September 1, 2007 from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07168a.htm.

Catholic Church. The proceedings and resulting mandates reflect the beliefs and policies of the Church Hierarchy and are vetted through the Vatican, so therefore carry the legitimizing weight of Rome and the Pope. Each of these councils progressively intensified the Church's position on the education of youth in the United States. These documents, and the resultant Catholic Schools, were a component of a larger effort to develop a prosperous Catholic school system. They were also reinforced by the document titled: *Instruction of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide Concerning Catholic Children Attending American Public Schools* (November 24, 1875) which was issued from Rome through the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith.[12] The Pastoral Letter of 1919, issued by the hierarchy of the U.S. Church to the clergy and laity, championed the successes of Catholic schools in the United States and called for further support. These documents and their accompanying language around issues related to the Catholic schools reveal the commitment of the Church Hierarchy to a national network of Catholic Schools.

The First Plenary Council of Baltimore was opened on May 9, 1852. While much of the Council focused on procedural and theological issues of a young American Church, some attention was given to the growing school question as well.[13] This Council pursued a two-fold approach, which would be followed by later decrees as well, that addressed both parents and clergy. Parents were the first arm of the approach and were reminded that they were to "watch over the purity of their (the children's) faith and morals with jealous vigilance and instill into their young hearts principles of virtue and perfection."[14] The second arm addressed the bishops: "Bishops are exhorted to have a Catholic school in every parish and the teachers should be paid

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[12] McCluskey,(Ed.), *Catholic Education In America.*

[13] Michael F. Perko, (Ed.), *Enlightening the Next Generation: Catholics and Their Schools 1830-1980*. (New York: Garland, 1988), 7.

[14] Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1852, as cited in McCluskey,(Ed.), *Catholic Education In America,* 79.

from the parochial funds."[15] This marks the clear call for parents, parishioners and clergy to play a role in the formation of Catholic youth through education.

The Second Plenary Council took place in the fall of 1866. The chaos of the Civil War had delayed significant progress toward the further articulation of a Catholic school system, and as a result, the decrees of the Second Plenary Council broke little new ground.[16] They continued to remind parents of the pitfalls of "Godless education", and encouraged "pastors to devote their energy as far as they can to the erection of parochial schools…"[17]

The building of the case for Catholic schools on the part of the US hierarchy was supported from Rome with the "Instruction of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide" delivered from Rome in 1875, which articulated the belief that to allow students of "…this tender age to pass without religion is surely a great evil," and called upon the clergy to "…keep the flocks committed to their care from all contact with the public schools."[18] In addition to the articulation of risks associated with non-Catholic education and the call to clergy to create Catholic Schools, a powerful admonition was issued to parents…

> Who send them to the public school without sufficient cause and without taking the necessary precautions to render the danger of perversion remote, and do so while there is a good and well-equipped Catholic School in place, or the parents have the means to send them elsewhere to be educated, that such parents, if obstinate, cannot be absolved, is evident from the moral teaching of the Church.[19]

This strongly worded caution helped form the basis of much of the school legislation of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. The Church opposition to public schools has a number of root causes. The notion of "Godless" education of your was a primary concern to the Church

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[15] First Plenary Council of Baltimore, *Acta te Decreta Conc. Plen. I.* (Baltimore, 1858) as cited in the Catholic Encyclopedia: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen, retrieved October 28, 2007.
[16] Ibid. McCluskey,(Ed.), *Catholic Education In America.*
[17] Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, (Baltimore, 1868) as cited in Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States,*140.
[18] Congregation of Progaganda de Fide, *Concerning Catholic Children Attending American Public* Schools, November 24, 1875. Cited in McCluskey,(Ed.), *Catholic Education In America,*122-123.
[19] Ibid., 126.

Hierarchy. The Christian formation of youth has always been a fundamental tenant of the Church. In addition, the reading of the King James Bible, the teaching of children by non-Catholic teachers, the commingling of children with the opposite sex, the use of textbooks in some cases absent of a Catholic perspective and in others overtly hostile to Catholic history and perspectives all represent examples of the Church's distrust of public schools.

If the First and Second Plenary Councils were largely ineffective in their respective calls for further development of Catholic Schools, then the tone and specificity of the Third Council surely was the opposite. The Third Council also approached the issue via two constituencies: clergy and parents. Among the decrees, the call to the formation of Catholic schools became specific:

> Near each church, where it does not exist, a parochial school is to be erected within two years from the promulgation of this Council (1884), and is to be maintained in perpetuum, unless the bishops, on account of grave difficulties, judge the postponement be allowed.[20]

While this goal was not achieved, the decree did usher in rapid growth of Catholic Schools.[21]

The second approach of the Third Plenary Council, like the language of the first two, addressed the parents and their responsibilities in educating their children through Catholic means. Like the specificity around the issue of school construction by Parishes, the decree regarding parental role was equally clear and direct:

> All Catholic parents are bound to send their children to the parochial schools, unless either at home or in other Catholic schools they may sufficiently and evidently provide for the Christian education of their children, or unless it be lawful to send them to other schools on account of a sufficient cause, approved by the bishop, and with the opportune cautions and remedies.[22]

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[20] Third Plennary Council of Baltimore, *Act ate Decreta Conc. Plen. II.* (Baltimore, 1886) as cited in Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States,*123.

[21] Ibid. McCluskey,(Ed.), Catholic Education In America. Hunt, "Catholic Schools: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." *Journal of Research on Christian Education 14;* Perko, (Ed.), *Enlightening the Next Generation.*

[22] Third Plennary Council, cited in Burns et. al, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States,* 144.

The position of the U.S. Catholic Church hierarchy, and the accompanying decrees that laid it out, left little doubt of the Church's commitment to schools and its accompanying expectation for the same commitment from clergy and the laity, especially the parents.

The Pastoral Letter of 1919, from the hierarch of the U.S. Church in the name of Cardinal Gibbons, opens the section on education with the line: "The nursery of Christian life is the Catholic home; its stronghold, the Catholic School."[23] This statement reflects the conviction, on the part of the leadership, with which the hierarchy supported the ongoing development of a Catholic School system. The letter and the subsequent section on education, celebrate the ongoing growth of Catholic schools, and the belief that "education is indeed a holy work, not merely a service to the individual and society, but a furtherance of God's design for man's salvation."[24] This pastoral letter helped to further a theological justification for an institutional commitment to Catholic Schools.

Internal forces such as the Plenary Councils, Instruction of the Propaganda, Pastoral Letters and Papal Encyclicals precipitated the growth and development of Catholic schools in the United States. These Church documents reflected a policy of support for the development of a system of Catholic schools that marked the work of the U.S. Hierarchy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In addition to these internal forces, there were external forces as well that provided support for the development of a Catholic School. One significant external force was the school controversies in New York in the 1840s, often referred to as the *School Question*. This conflict revolved around the issue of public financial support for Catholic Schools through the distribution of government funds to these schools.

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[23] 1919 U.S. Bishops Conference Pastoral Letter, September 26, 1919. Washington, D.C., 9.

[24] Ibid, 10

Conflict Leads to the *School Question*

The conflict over funds for schools between Catholics, represented by Bishop John Hughes of New York, and the Public School Society in New York helped provide an external force that contributed in the development of a Catholic school system.[25] Somewhat ironic is that the debate that led to the establishment of a private Catholic system came as a result of a struggle over public funds. Catholics in New York "…found the schools of the Public School Society so offensively Protestant that they could not patronize them…"[26] They therefore requested their equivalent share of the taxes raised in support of schools by entitling certain schools "to participate in the Common School Fund."[27] This debate resulted in the creation of a City Board of Education for New York which decreed that only sectarian schools were allowed to receive school funds.[28] While the results certainly reflected a loss for the Catholics, given the goal they pursued of gaining access to public funds for Catholic schools, a corresponding gain could be seen through the subsequent development of some thirty-eight schools from the end of the debate to the death of Archbishop Hughes.[29]

While Hughes was unable to procure the share of funds that he thought was owed to the Catholic families in New York, the efforts of Catholics in Poughkeepsie were more successful. The plan reflected the efforts of Reverend Patrick F. McSweeney to convince the Poughkeepsie school board to support two parish schools as Catholic public schools.[30] The schools would function as regular public schools, with Catholic religious instruction available at the end of the

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[25] Harold A. Buetow, *The Catholic School: Its Roots, Identity, and Future*. (New York: Crossroad, 1988)
[26] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States,* 158.
[27] McCluskey,(Ed.), *Catholic Education In America*, 76.
[28] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States,* 160.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid; Timothy Walch, *Parish School: American Catholic Parochial Education From Colonial Times to the Present*. (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1996)

day for those who desired it.[31] This plan was duplicated in Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota, through the efforts of Archbishop John Ireland.[32] Eventually, under the weight of anti-Catholic sentiment and opposition to a continued religious function of schools, the Poughkeepsie, Faribault and Stillwater plans, collapsed.[33] The termination of these programs ended the drive to gain public money for Catholic schools. The focus remained now solely on the parishes and their respective development of individual schools, as well as the efforts of the religious orders, such as the Jesuits, to develop their own Catholic schools as well.

Catholic education during the late 19th and early 20th centuries is difficult to make generalizations about, however, as it was not a centralized organization with shared leadership, administration, constituencies, etc.[34] These were individual schools developed and operated by the parishes or various religious orders of nuns and/or priests. While decentralized and dependent on the character of the parish community or religious order, the common cause found through the tension around the School Question, as well as the advocacy pursued by the U.S. Church hierarchy, led to development of a network of Catholic Schools across the country.

Early Catholic Schools

In spite of the continuing conflicts both within and outside of the Catholic Church, the stage had been set for Catholic education. While American Catholic Church history begins with the earliest colonial days, it was not until 1810, however, that the first formal Catholic elementary school was established. The Sisters of Charity, led by Mother Elizabeth Seton, established the first, free parochial school in Emmitsburg, Maryland at St. Joseph's Parish.[35]

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States.*
[33] Buetow, *The Catholic School.*
[34] Walch, *Parish School.*
[35] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States.*

This began the growth of the largest alternative to public schools K-12 education system in the United States.

The establishment of Catholic education in the United States came as a reaction to the overtly Protestant character of the early 19th century, particularly the character of the emerging system of public schools.[36] There was a distinctly Protestant view "…of the United States' destiny as a Protestant nation."[37] This view carried over into the schools. All schools during the colonial days and into the early common school period were overtly religious in nature.[38] This religious nature in the school was a primarily Protestant one that took form through the reading of the Protestant King James Bible, through the teaching by members of Protestant congregations, and through the teaching of Protestant values and ethics. While these characteristics seem to be a pale offensive to the Catholic cause through distinctively Protestant elements, it was the absence of Catholic perspectives and teachings that caused the greatest concern to the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church reaction took a more functional form with the third Plenary Council in Baltimore, Maryland, 1884. The Third Plenary Council in Baltimore represented a significant moment in American Catholic Education history. It included twelve decrees; the most significant one to the development of Catholic Schools stated:

> Of the Education of Catholic Youth, treats of (i) Catholic schools, especially parochial, viz., of their absolute necessity and the obligation of pastors to establish them. Parents must send their children to such schools unless the bishop should judge the reason for sending them elsewhere to be sufficient. Ways and means are also considered for making the parochial schools more efficient. It is desirable that these schools be free. (ii) Every effort must be made to have suitable schools of higher education for Catholic youth.[39]

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[36] Spring, *The American School 1642-2004*; Kaestle, *Recent Methodolocial Developments in the History of American Education.*
[37] Buetow, *The Catholic School*, 23.
[38] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States.*
[39] Plenary Council of Baltimore, *Act ate Decreta Conc. Plen. III.* (Baltiomre, 1886)

The call for parishes to establish schools, compelling parents to send their children to these schools, and the development of institutes of higher education ushered in a new period of Catholic School growth. In 1883, the year preceding the Council, there were 2.491 schools in connection with Parishes. By 1933, this number had grown to 7,462.[40]

The growth in the number of parish schools took place simultaneously to the conflict in New York between the Catholic bishop John Hughes and the Public School Society in New York.[41] The conflict involved two components: the withholding of funds from Catholic Schools and the overtly Protestant religious influences in the existing public schools. The results accelerated the separation between Catholic Schools and public funds. Arrangements between Catholic and Public schools in the mid-19th Century, such as the Lowell Plan in Massachusetts, the Poughkeepsie Plan in New York, and the Faribault Plan in Minnesota, had provided for funding of Catholic schools with Public funds.[42] The conflict in New York with Bishop Hughes, the growing pressure from the Church hierarchy to develop a national parochial school system, and the increasing tension that resulted from an overtly protestant religious discourse in public schools all fueled the rapid growth of Catholic schools during this time.

While most of the schools that developed through the Parishes during this time were elementary schools, this period saw the growth of high schools as well. The great expansion of high schools throughout the United States began after 1890.[43] In 1890 there were some 2,526 public high schools and by 1930 this number had exploded to 23,930.[44] The growing number of

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[40] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States.*
[41] Buetow, The Catholic School, 23.
[42] Burns, Kohlbrenner, and Peterson, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States.*
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 235.

public high schools represented a corresponding growth in the significance, and therefore attention given to high schools.

This growth is significant in particular to the purposes of this research due to the prevalence of Jesuit involvement in this level of education. While many of the earliest American Jesuit schools were labeled and described as Universities, the majority of the individuals served at these schools were in fact secondary students. In fact, as of 1908, "…in 101 Catholic Colleges for men there were 10,798 secondary students, and 4,232 college students."[45] These statistics reveal the rapid growth that Catholic secondary schools underwent during this period. For the Jesuits, this represented their primary participation in American education. Their work with students was originally, and continues to be, in the areas of secondary and higher education.

Early American Jesuit Schools

The development of Jesuit schools in the United States paralleled the growth of the country and of the Catholic Church both in terms of population and in geographic expansion. While a more comprehensive discussion of the immigrant impact on the growth of the Catholic Church in the 19th century takes place later in chapter 4, it is important to draw on this context as it relates to the emergence of Jesuit Schools in the United States. Much of the early history of Catholic schools is represented by the work of religious denominations of nuns and priests, or by the individual parishes. The Jesuits themselves focused on developing a Catholic school option, in the Jesuit model, for secondary and higher education students. Jesuit school history in the United States predates the decrees of the Baltimore Councils with the founding of Georgetown in 1789. But, it was during the mid-to-late 19th century that Jesuit schools, both of secondary and higher education, began to flourish. This development proceeded by geographical trends, which reflects the progression of school development from east to west, starting with the

[45] Ibid., 237.

Maryland/New York Province, moving westward to the Missouri Province of the Midwest, and finally west to the Rocky Mountain Mission Province.

The arrival of the first Jesuits to Maryland with Cecil Calvert in 1643 marked the beginnings of the first Jesuit presence on the east coast of what would become the United States. Maryland was inhabited by the highest number and percentages of Catholics in the early colonial developments.[46] This proved to be an appropriate place then for Jesuit priests to establish the first Jesuit mission in the United States.[47] While there were early efforts at developing schools near the town of Newton, most of these efforts could be appropriately described as tutoring programs or grammar school programs at best.[48] These programs were hampered by the anti-Catholic legislation in the colony in 1704 that refused "persons professing to be of the Church of Rome" the right to "the education…or boarding of youth at any place in the province."[49] It was not until the establishment of Georgetown University in 1789 that the Jesuits had began their education apostolate in the United States.

The story of establishment of Georgetown University is a parallel story to the life and work of the first American Bishop in the United States: John Carroll. Bishop Carroll was convinced that the growing United States Church needed a Catholic University. He stated that "The object nearest my heart now, and the only one, that can give consistency to our religious views in this country, is the establishment of a school."[50] Carroll's desire to have an American

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[46] Henry De Courcy and John Gilmary Shea. *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* (New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1879)

[47] William McGucken,, S.J. *The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States*. (New York, Milwaukee and Chicago: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1932), 45.

[48] Ibid., 49.

[49] Ibid., 54.

[50] Robert Emmett Curran, S.J. *From Academy to University, 1789-1889, Volume 1.* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1993), 12.

college was rooted both in his desire to further the development of the United States Church and particularly to develop a new corps of American born and trained priests.[51]

Important to understanding the desire for the development of a home-grown corps of Catholic priests are the historical reasons for the arrival of the various European born priests. The late-18th and early-19th centuries in Europe were times of significant difficutly and struggle for the Society of Jesus, as was the case for most religious orders. The rise of the modern, democratic state was in some ways in conflict with the historic role off the Church in European societies. Priests represented, and defended in many cases, the status quo which placed many roles in the functioning of a civil society in the hands of the church.

Historian Gerald McKevitt provides a general description of the forces leading to the suppression and expulsion of Jesuits from various European countries when he explains:

> …the traumas sustained by the order in the nineteenth century reflected the challenge religion itself faced in finding a *modus vivendi* (author's italics) with forces set in motion by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Unwilling or unable to accept the political and social transformations of the post-revolutionary era, the Society and the Catholic Church at large found themselves in open conflict with the dechristianized modern state. The two powers disagreed on everything. The secular governments attempted to extend their control over activities that had for centuries been the domain of religion – marriage, public charity, and education – church and state found themselves in a face-off. The violent upheaval that attended that struggle in many European countries frequently called into question the existence of not only Jesuits, but even the papacy and the church itself.[52]

Starting with Portugal in 1759, the Jesuits experienced expulsion and banishment from Spain, France, Italy, and Germany through the late 19th century. Pope Clement XIV, bowing to pressures from European monarchs threatening to withdraw support and patronage of the Catholic Church, suppressed the Society formally from 1773-1814.

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[51] John M. Daley, S.J. *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years.* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1957)

[52] Gerald McKevitt, S.J. *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848-1919*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007): 17.

These series of misfortunate events for European Jesuits became the good fortune of a growing United States Catholic Church which was expanding due in part to the newly arriving European Catholic immigrants and due to the expanding geographical demands on the Church brought on by the westward expansion into the frontier. This is an important series of events related in particular to the establishment of Jesuit secondary and higher educational institutions throughout the country. Many of these schools, as is illustrated later, were established by the efforts of various European Jesuits.

The tension the Jesuits were facing in Europe, particularly as they relate to the suppression of and expulsion from countries such as France, Germany and Italy, provided a ready group of priests available to the growing Catholic immigrant population in the United States. While Carroll saw the value in these priests being able to administer over the Catholic populations, his belief was that a vibrant American Church would not be able to survive on these immigrant priests alone. Knowing that the growing numbers of immigrants would continue to strain the resources that the Catholic Church had by way of available Priests, Carroll saw the practical demands of this expansion. Additionally, he articulated a desire that these demands be met by growth in the number of American-born priests:

> The school, dear brethren, if aided by your benevolence, and favoured with your confidence, will be the foundation of an additional advantage to true religion in this country. Many amongst you have experienced inconvenience and disadvantage from the want of spiritual assistance in your greatest necessities, in sickness, in troubles of conscience, and counsels and offices of the ministers of religion. It is notorious to you all, that the present clergymen are insufficient for the exigencies of the faithful; and they will be more and more so, as the population of our country increases so rapidly; unless, by the providence of our good and merciful God, a constant supply of zealous and able pastors can be formed amongst yourselves; that is, of men accustomed to our climate, and acquainted with the tempers, manners and government of the people, to whom they are to dispense the ministry of salvation. Now, may we not reasonably hope, that one of the effects of a virtuous course of education will be the preparing of

> the minds of some whom Providence may select, to receive and cherish a call from God to an ecclesiastical state?[53]

It is significant that the quote above was excerpted from Carroll's first pastoral letter to the clergy and lay of the Church. His impassioned plea on the necessity for native-born and trained clergy provided support for the development of a school that would begin this training process.

The establishment of Georgetown did not happen without mishaps, however. Complicating the matter was the fact that Pope Clement XIV, succumbing to the efforts of secular leadership throughout Europe, suppressed the Society from 1773 to 1815.[54] While this led to the dissolution of most Jesuit institutions and the loss of Jesuit affiliation for its member priests, the refusal on the part of Catherine of Russia to deliver the Pope's suppression order allowed for the survival of a small band of Jesuits priests in her country.[55] This group provided the Jesuits of the United States with an opportunity to affiliate in 1805, which resulted in the reinstatement of the Society in the United States and its subsequent assignment as the director of Georgetown University. While Georgetown was initially started on Jesuit lands during the suppression, and administered by local ecclesiastic authorities, it was not until the reinstatement of the American Jesuits in 1806 that the Society claimed full ownership and administrative responsibilities for the school.[56]

Growing demands in Europe for a return of the Jesuits, driven in part by the continued demand for their secondary and higher education institutions, led to the reestablishment of the Society in 1814. Inspired by the continued growth of Georgetown University, the expansion of Jesuit educational institutions began throughout the east. The establishment of Holly Cross

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[53] Bishop Carroll Pastoral Letter, May 28, 1792, as quoted in John M. Daley, S.J. *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years.* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1957): 76-77
[54] McGucken,, S.J., *The Jesuits and Education*, 59.
[55] Daley, S.J., *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years.*
[56] Ibid.

College in Massachusetts in 1843, St. John's College (now Fordham University) in New York in 1847 (following the initial establishment in Kentucky), St. Joseph's in Philadelphia in 1851, and Boston College in 1864, furthered the growth and development of the Jesuit ministry in education along the east coast.

The establishment of East Coast Jesuit institutions such as Spring Hill College in Alabama in 1847 and Canisius College in Buffalo in 1870 reinforces the role that the immigrant clergy played in the development of Jesuit higher education in the United States through their role in the establishment of these two colleges.[57] It seems an ironic twist that Bishop Carroll's insistence on the need for a native Catholic clergy and therefore, Catholic colleges to foster these vocations, was answered by the French Jesuits of Lyon in the case of Spring Hill, and German Jesuits in the case of Canisius College.

The development of Jesuit secondary and higher education in the Midwest owes a similar debt to its European clergy. The establishment of the Missouri Province, initially as a mission for Native Americans, began due to the efforts of Belgian Jesuits from the Maryland Province, who were invited by the Bishop of the Louisiana Territory in 1823.[58] These Jesuits started the first secondary and higher education institution in the Midwest through the creation of St. Louis College in 1829.[59] While the effort represents an important start to what would become a very large and vibrant Province, the initial status of the college was tenuous at best. It does, however, provide us with a lens with which to look at the unique challenges that frontier America brought the Jesuits.

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[57] Michael Kenny, *Catholic Culture in Alabama: Centenary Story of Spring Hill College: 1830-1930*. (New York, New York: The American Press, 1931). Charles A. Brady, The *First Hundred Years: Canisius College 1870-1970*. (Buffalo, NY: Canisius College Press, 1969).

[58] McGucken,, S.J., *The Jesuits and Education*, 83.

[59] Ibid., 87.

In 1832, Reverend Patrick Kenney was appointed as the Visitor of the American Houses by the General of the Jesuit Society. Kenney's task was to assess the work of the various Jesuit ministries across the country.[60] His critical assessment of St. Louis College shines a light on the challenges that the pioneer communities posed to the employment of the strictly liberal, classical program of studies, particularly the humanistic, liberal arts tradition that defined Jesuit higher education at Georgetown and in Europe more generally. Following his favorable comments regarding the religious and catechetical program that the college was delivering, he stated that "…the object of next in importance, which is that of a classical education, is very far from being realized."[61] His evaluation of the state of the classical program of study led him to urge the General to command St. Louis to promote the Latin and Greek elements of the curriculum.[62] While this topic is pursued further in subsequent chapters, it serves as an example of the landscape of frontier America. Many of the frontier students did not have the preparation necessary to engage in such a program of study; this had to be developed over time.

St. Louis College was slow to develop and grow, but its eventual success led to further development of secondary and higher education throughout the Midwest. The era of Jesuit schools in the region saw the development of St. Ignatius College in Chicago, Illinois in 1870, Creighton College of Omaha, Nebraska in 1878, Marquette College in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1881 and John Carroll College of Cleveland Ohio in 1886. These schools were pioneers in bringing secondary and higher education to the frontier regions of the United States as the parallel demand for higher and secondary education grew. Additionally, this demand was

[60]Kenny to McElroy, February 9, 1832. In Maryland-New York Pronince Archives. As quoted in McGucken,, S.J., *The Jesuits and Education*, 88.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

accompanied by the growing demand for a specifically Catholic and Jesuit form of higher and secondary education.

The demand in the West for secondary and higher education emerged later, a direct result of the frontier disposition that marked the region during the early 19th Century. While Fr. Eusebio Kino established missions throughout areas of Mexico and Arizona in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, it was the arrival of two Italian Jesuits from the Rocky Mountain Mission in 1849 that precipitated real growth in the Jesuit apostolate in the West. Giovanni Nobili and Michael Accolti arrived in the Bay area of San Francisco following the request of a San Francisco diocesan priest, John B. Brouillet.[63] Brouillet was responding to the massive population increases from the California gold rush of 1849 that created new demands for Catholic parishes and Catholic schools.

The capacity for the society to extend its reach from the Rocky Mountain Missions of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana into California was supported by recent developments in Italy. A flurry of anti-Jesuit sentiment had been brewing for some time. It should be noted again that the Society only recently had been reinstated in 1815, after having been suppressed by the Pope in1773. While the Pope himself did not suppress the Society in 1848, he did inform General Roothaan that he would not be able to guarantee the security of the Jesuits in Italy. Jesuits were being banished throughout the Papal States.[64] The misfortune of these Italian Jesuits was conversely the good fortune of the Jesuits in the United States, and to the missions in the West in particular. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from Italy in 1848, the Province of Turin, Italy, took over the administrative responsibilities of the Rocky Mountain Mission from the Missouri Province in an effort to deploy the Jesuits to provinces where they might continue

[63] Gerald McKevitt, *The University of Santa Clara: A History 1851-1977*. (Stanford, CA: University Press, 1979), 15.
[64] Ibid., 18.

their ministry. At this time, the mission included most of the lands in the West, including the states of Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, and California.

The response of the Society to requests from California was quite favorable. Following the arrival of Nobili and Accolti in 1849, three more Jesuits arrived in 1851, five more in 1854 and another four more in 1855. The establishment of Santa Clara College in 1851 was significantly supported by the arrival of these Jesuits.[65] All the Jesuits had been educated in Jesuit European schools and they had also taught in schools themselves. This new corps of Jesuit educators also established St. Ignatius College in San Francisco in 1855.

This marked a geographic end to the establishment of Jesuit education in the United States. By 1851, virtually all regions of the United States had a Jesuit institution of secondary and higher education. While these schools would grow at different rates, this marked a defining moment for the Jesuit Apostolate. In the words of Father William McGucken:

> The prestige of Jesuit schools among Catholics, the number of their students, the uniformity of curriculum and unity of government, the emphasis placed on the classics in their schools give the Jesuit educational system a unique place in Catholic education in America; and it is a phenomenon not without interest to the student of the history of education.[66]

While the above account has a triumphant tone that characterizes much of the research on Jesuit education, particularly by Jesuits themselves, it does highlight an important trend in Jesuit education during the 19th century: a unified and prescribed curriculum, a focus on a classical curriculum, and a Catholic character. All of these would help to establish the growth and development of the first Jesuit schools in the Northwest: Seattle and Gonzaga Colleges. In addition to the spread of Catholic and Jesuit education nationally, the local and regional

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[65] McGucken,, S.J., *The Jesuits and Education*, 113.
[66] Ibid., 121.

landscape of Washington State would also contribute to the demand that precipitated the establishment of secondary and higher education in Washington.

School Growth in Washington - Era of the Academy

Secondary education in Washington, not unlike other states and territories of the early United States, began largely with the early academies that various private and public entities established in the mid-19th into the early 20th centuries.[67] At the beginning of Washington statehood in 1889, there were five schools with a four-year high school curriculum[68] and there were twenty-nine private denominational academies and seminaries.[69] The academy era in the Territory of Washington began with the opening of the Puget Sound Wesleyan Institute in Olympia in 1856.[70] Opened by a group of local Methodists, this ushered in a period which would see the opening of "…at least forty-three denominational or non-sectarian academies and seminaries" prior to the formal legalization of high schools by the State Legislature in 1895.[71]

Many of the pioneer academies continue to operate as institutions of higher education, having either closed or spun-off their respective preparatory programs: Whitman College, Whitworth College, Gonzaga University, University of Puget Sound, Seattle University, Walla Walla College, St. Martin's College, Seattle Pacific University, and Pacific Lutheran University all remain.[72] Most of these academies were developed by religious communities of priests and/or nuns, or by religious congregations. Hanson's 1950 study of Territorial Academies identified, of the forty three which existed during the academy period (1856-1895) in the

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[67] Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, "Legacy of the Academy." In Beadie & Tolley (Eds.) *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925.* (New York: Routledge, 2002): 331-351

[68] Frederick Bolton, "High Schools in Territorial Washington." *Washington Historical Quarterly* 24, 1933: 280.

[69] Howard Hanson, "Secondary Education in Washington Territory." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 41, 1950: 346.

[70] Ibid., 346.

[71] Frederick Bolton and Thomas Bibb, *History of Education in Washington.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935)169.

[72] Hanson, "Secondary Education in Washington Territory," 347.

territory and state, twenty as Catholic, six as Methodist, two each were Congregationalist, Episcopalians, Baptists and Presbyterians, while the United Brethren, United Presbyterians, Seventh Day Adventists, Free Methodists, and Lutherans each had one. Five were non-sectarian academies. Many of the Catholic schools especially, as well as some of the Protestant denominational schools, were initially established to provide "…professional training for the ministry and spiritual education and higher schooling for lay people."[73] The work of these religious communities to develop schools for "…the salvation of souls through religious teaching" came about in large part, particularly for Catholics, because of the rapid growth of the United States Catholic Church that was precipitated by the growth in new immigrants from predominantly Catholic European countries.[74] While some of the non-sectarian academies were converted to public schools, many continued as private religious institutions of higher education.[75]

This growth was particularly pronounced in Washington State where, as of 1900, twenty-two percent of residents were foreign born and an impressive forty-seven percent had at least one foreign-born parent.[76] Given the national average was thirty-four percent, Washington's rich denominational academy history is understandable.[77]

Preparing Public School Laws and Legislative Initiatives

While the academy era in Washington marks the earliest days of formal, secondary schooling in the Territory and State, it was not until 1895 that high schools were formally, and

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[73] Beadie and Tolley, "Legacy of the Academy," 37.
[74] Ibid., 306; James P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History From Colonial Times to the Present.* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 127.
[75] Hanson, "Secondary Education in Washington Territory"; Bolton, "High Schools in Territorial Washington."
[76] Charles A. Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History.* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 186.
[77] Ibid.

without conflict, endorsed by the State Legislature.[78] The first formally organized elementary school in the region was located in Ft. Vancouver, the westernmost outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). In 1832, Dr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor of the HBC Columbia District, appointed John Ball to teach his son and the other children of fort personnel.[79] Thus began the institutionalization of education in the Pacific Northwest.

While the era of the academy defined early growth of secondary schools in the Territory prior to formal legislative approval in 1895, the earliest days of the Territorial Government of Washington included references reflecting a commitment to education on the part of elected officials. In his first address to the Territorial Legislature, on February 27, 1854, Governor Isaac Stephens articulated a clear commitment to the education of youth in the region:

> The Subject of education already occupies the minds and hearts of the citizens of this Territory, and I feel confident that they will aim at nothing less than to provide for a system which shall place within the means of all the full development of the capacities with which each has been endowed. Let every youth, however limited his opportunities, find his place in the school, the college, the university, if God has given him the necessary gifts. Congress has made liberal appropriations of land for the support of the schools, and I would recommend that a special commission be instituted to report on the whole system of schools. I will also recommend that Congress be memorialized to appropriate land for a University."[80]

Governor Steven's comments reflected an early commitment to the trend of universal public schooling sweeping the nation during the mid-19th century.[81]

Prior to the establishment of an independent Washington Territory in 1853, the current State of Washington constituted the northern portion of the Oregon Territory, which had been

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[78] Bolton, "High Schools in Territorial Washington," 170.

[79] Woolworth, Stephen, "The School is Under My Direction: The Politics of Education at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838." *Oregon Historical Quarterly 104, (2003)*: 228-251.

[80] Washington Territory Records. Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, WA. House Journal 1854, 21.

[81] Spring, *The American School 1642-2004;* Kaestle, Recent Methodolocial Developments in the History of American Education; David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education.* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974); Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School: 1880-1920.* (Madison, WI: University Press, 1969)

formally established by the U.S. Congress on August 13, 1848.[82] This association between Oregon and Washington had a significant impact on the development of the earliest schools in the region. Prior to the establishment of Washington Territory, the educational laws of 1849 and 1853 were adopted by the Oregon Territorial Legislation. These laws established early guidelines for the establishment, funding, and governance of public schools.[83] These laws can be traced back to the early common school efforts of New England. Through the work of Michigan and Iowa, which eventually became the framework for Washington Law, the New England impact becomes apparent. As Clarence Aurner points out in his study "The History of Education in Iowa," this influence was manifested through laws "…which made provisions for the care of school lands, for the organization of districts, for schools support, for the schooling of children between the ages of five and fifteen, for township supervision and control of the schools, for the examination and employment of teachers, for the visitation of schools, and for a Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools."[84] The Oregon Territorial Laws of 1849 and 1853 revealed some diversion from the mandates of the Iowa laws, chiefly the choice of counties instead of townships as the political unit with school districts then accountable to the counties.[85] These differences were however, small compared to the bulk of the legislation found in these laws. Therefore, the development of the common schools in the West reflects the importance of a common school ethic and commitment developed in New England and extending across the country in 19th Century America. This fact helps to place the development of a public school in Washington within the larger framework of a national public school system.

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[82] George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest With Special Emphasis on the Inland Empire.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 204.
[83] Bolton and Bibb, *History of Education in Washington.*
[84] Ibid., 49-50.
[85] Ibid., 51.

With the advent of an independent Territory of Washington, early school law preoccupied the Territorial Legislature. The first school law was passed August 12, 1854.[86] As suggested earlier, this law reflected many of the provisions of early common school legislation from New England by way of Michigan, Iowa, and eventually Oregon. The primary function of this law was to establish sources of funding for a school system which was to serve children from four to twenty-one years of age.[87] Subsequent laws enacted by the legislature reflected the comprehensive nature with which the State Legislature approached the issue of a universal and comprehensive public school system. January 29, 1855 marked the adoption of legislation establishing a Territorial University, followed roughly nine years later on January 28, 1864 by a bill providing for an agricultural college for the Territory.[88]

The Law of 1877 constitutes a major moment in Washington Territorial history as many of the provisions continue to govern the state educational system in the state even today. The provisions which expanded upon the law of 1854, the primary legislative act governing the schools, had the following important provisions and additions:

1. School Funding. The Law articulated the proper use of federal-granted lands and respective county funding responsibilities.
2. Established the provision for the election of three school district directors and their accompanying responsibilities.
3. Provided for the establishment of graded schools.
4. Articulated subjects to be taught, notably requiring English as the exclusive language of instruction.
5. Provided for the election of county school superintendents.

[86] Ibid., 86.
[87] Bolton, "High Schools in Territorial Washington."
[88] Ibid., 212.

6. Established the Territorial Superintendent as an appointed position by the Governor with the consent of the Legislative Council instead of being elected by the Legislative Assembly.
7. Provided for the establishment of a Territorial Board of Education.[89]

The components of the Law of 1877 reflected a growing commitment to a territorial public school system. The forces of centralization were strengthened through the establishment of revenue and funding guidelines, a Territorial Board of Education, and through a delineation of subjects to be taught. Conversely, the forces of local control were strengthened as well, through the establishment of district directors (an historical antecedent to current district school boards) and county superintendents. While the tension between state and local control was to emerge, as reflective of national trends, during the early days of statehood, it is clear that both camps benefited from the growth of a territorial system of education and the accompanying increase in legislative activism related to educational reform.

One of the first acts of the Washington State Board of Education was the adoption of the first course of study for graded and high schools. Given the decentralized nature of the earliest schools in the Territory, this marked an important evolution of a unified system of public education. While the course of study prescribed only two years for high school studies, it reflected the growing prevalence of this still relatively young institution. While thin by many standards, the high school curriculum represented a significant evolution of secondary studies:

High Schools. Junior Class. Time: 1 Year

Algebra and English analysis throughout the year. Physiology and zoology, first half; philosophy and bookkeeping, second half.

[89]Bolton and Bibb, *History of Education in Washington*, 99-101; Ibid., 134-135.

Senior Year

Geometry and history throughout the year. Botany and the Constitution of the United States, first half; chemistry and astronomy, second half. Rhetorical exercises throughout the high-school course.[90]

(Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1878)

Growth of the High Schools in the Territory/State of Washington

As indicated by the provisions of the Law of 1877 described earlier, the growth of secondary education accelerated in the later part of the 19th century, driven both by population growth and the industrialization that accompanied the rapid economic development during this time.[91] While many local records on the earliest community high schools are lacking either through negligence or fire, it appears that the early 1880s marked the beginnings of rapid growth.[92]

The title of the first high school in the Territory of Washington is given to Dayton High School in the Southeastern area of the state. Academies had been providing secondary educational opportunities for much of the second half of the nineteenth century; it was the city of Dayton, however, that organized, through a district board of directors, the first public high school in 1881.[93] The course of study, as published in the Columbia Chronicle on August 14, 1880, reflected the two-year high school course of study similar to the one prescribed two years earlier by the State Board of Education:

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[90] Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Territory of Washington, Seattle, WA: (1878)
[91] Bolton and Bibb, *History of Education in Washington*; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School: 1880-1920.* (Madison, WI: University Press, 1969); William F. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School.* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
[92] Bolton, "High Schools in Territorial Washington;" 274.
[93] Ibid., 277.

High Department

Junior Class. Time: One Year

Reading – Sixth Reader begun.
Spelling – Advanced Speller, oral and written.
Writing – Regular and through instruction.
Grammar – Clark's Normal completed to Syntax.
Arithmetic – Davies Complete finished; Robinson's Progressive commenced; Mental Arithmetic regularly.
Algebra – Commenced.
History – Barnes' Brief History of the United States.
Geography – Physical, Political and Civil. Monteith.

Senior Class. Time: One Year
Reading – Sixth Reader. Selected extracts.
Spelling and Writing – Same as in Junior Class
Grammar – Clark's Normal completed. English Analysis.
Mathematics – Progressive Arithmetic completed. Algebra finished. Geometry throughout the year.
Physiology and Constitution of the U.S. First half year; Philosophy and Bookkeeping second half year.

This new enterprise of secondary education reflected national trends that saw the rapid and expansive growth of high schools in late 19th century America.[94]

So it was, that a Catholic system of education began to develop in the 19th Century alongside a growing public school system.[95] The purpose of the preceding section was to illustrate the parallel developments of public secondary schools, particularly in the Northwest, and a uniquely National Catholic school system. The Society of Jesus participated in this growth across the various provinces through its expansion of secondary and higher education institutions. The subsequent section will focus more specifically on the programs that emerged in these parallel systems, reflective of the local framework and the context of their dissimilar missions as secondary schools.

[94] Reese, The Origins of the American High School, 257.
[95] Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*, 257.

Chapter 4

Curriculum Dilemma – Ratio Studiorum v. Modernizing Trends

Growth of High Schools and Accompanying National Policy Trends

At the turn of the 19th century, American public schools did not escape the pains associated with the massive population growth caused by the strong influx of immigrants. For the purpose of situating this study within the history of education generally, the research will be given national relevance by placing it within the policy discourse reflected in the National Education Association's (NEA) two reports on secondary education: *The Committee of Ten* (1892) and the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (1918).[1] Additionally, the role of Americanization which public schools undertook will also be discussed. These topics are important analytical lenses as they will provide a comparative context for this research on Jesuit Catholic schools during the chosen time period.

The National Education Association, at the turn of the 20th Century, played a significant role in the establishment of educational policy nationally through the release of two reports: *The Committee of Ten* and *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*.[2] These two reports are arguably two of the most significant educational policy developments in secondary education in the United States. The *Committee of Ten*, led by Harvard President, Charles Elliot, came about in part due to the rapidly growing enrollments of American high schools. Herbert Kliebard, in his standard bearing study, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*, talks of a "massive new influx of students into secondary schools beginning around 1890."[3] High school-age youth were attending secondary schools at rates of 6-7% in 1890, 11% by 1900, 33% by 1920, and over 51%

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[1] National Education Association, *Cardinal Principals Report*, 1918, 10-11; National Education Association, *Committee of Ten Report*, 1893.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum* (2nd ed.). (New York: Routledge, 1995), 7.

by 1930.[4] Accompanying the rapid growth of secondary schools at the time was the interest of school organizations and policy-makers to engage in more critical analysis of and continued development of a universal secondary education system. The purpose of the *Committee* was to articulate the principle subjects that should make up the secondary school curriculum. The group was charged with the task of reporting on "…the general subject of uniformity in school programmes and in requirements for admission to college."[5]

The *Committee of Ten* came about in part due to the rapidly growing enrollments of American high schools. Most discussions of this report have labeled it a response to the desire of colleges to create a more uniform secondary school curriculum in order to standardize and facilitate entrance procedures for students who were destined to attend college.[6] The guiding principle to this interpretation is the idea that even though few would go on to college, all students should follow a similar academic series of coursework. What was good for college preparation was thought to be good for life preparation. An alternative interpretation describes the work of the committee, rather then being driven by college entrance requirements, as being driven by career educators who were looking to standardize a curriculum and reclaim control of it from lay boards of education.[7] Angus and Mirel argue that rather than domination on the part of college/university interests, the report was a "first step toward the professionalization of curriculum planning and as a direct assault on the control of high school curricula by lay boards

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[4] Ibid., 7-8.

[5] National Education Association, Report of the Committee of Ten, December 4, 1893: 3.

[6] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957*. (New York: Random House, 1961); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum* (2nd ed.). (New York: Routledge, 1995); Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School: 1880-1920.* (Madison, WI: University Press, 1969); Theadore Sizer, *Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century.* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press. 1976); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[7] David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the America High School: 1890-1995*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999).

of education."[8] This interpretation is less dependent on viewing the driving force behind this standardization of curriculum as driven by college interests. Instead, this interpretation presents the driving force as a shifting power structure between professional educators and the lay boards of education that were responsible for governance of the schools. While differing in the interpretations, both schools of thought highlight the importance of the report in articulating national policy on the secondary school curriculum.

The report of the Committee of Ten reflected a motivation to develop a uniform system of secondary education. The results of their initial survey reflected a level of disjointedness that this effort at uniformity was designed to confront:

> …the number of subjects taught in these secondary schools was nearly forty, thirteen of which, however, were found in only a few schools; secondly that many of these subjects were taught for such short periods that little training could be derived from them; and thirdly, that the time allotted to the same subject in the different schools varied widely.[9]

The lack of continuity with regard to the courses offered, as well as the timing of their offerings, in addition to the desire to develop a secondary school course because "…it is obviously desirable that the colleges and scientific schools should be accessible to all boys or girls who have completed creditably the secondary school course."[10] The efforts of the various subcommittees, divided into nine subject conferences (1. Latin; 2. Greek; 3. English; 4. Other Modern Languages; 5. Mathematics; 6. Physics, Astronomy and Chemistry; 7. Natural History (Biology, including Botany, Zoology, and Physiology); 8. History, Civil Government, and Political Economy; 9. Geography (Physical Geography, Geology, and Meteorology), resulted in recommendations regarding both content and pedagogy. The objective of the various reports, was to provide for a level of standardization and uniformity of what is to be taught, for how long

[8] Ibid., 9.
[9] Committee of Ten Report, 1893: 4-5.
[10] Ibid, 52.

it is to be taught, and in some cases, how it is to be taught. It is important to make note of the content of the Committee's proposed program of study for the secondary schools nationally, as when it is compared to the recommendations of the forthcoming *Cardinal Principles Report*, published in 1918. The differences in the content categories for instruction in particular constitute a significant change in the design of secondary schools. For the purposes of this study, the work of the *Committee* provides important national contextual considerations that help situate the development of programs of study by the Jesuit schools in Washington within a larger, national framework.

Equally powerful, and also contested, was the impact upon secondary schools by the NEA report titled *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, released in 1918. Historian Lawrence Cremin commented that the report was so significant that "…most of the important and influential movements in the field since 1918 have simply been footnotes to the classic itself."[11] Much of the research on this report has focused on the shift from the largely humanistic, classical, liberal arts approach of the college preparatory design presented by *Committee of Ten* to the new trend in differentiation that the *Cardinal Principles* report called for from American High Schools which were a result of the social efficiency paradigm emerging during this time.[12] The architects of the report defended the proposed reforms by stating that

> The foregoing changes in society, in the character of the secondary school population, and in educational theory, together with many other considerations, call for extensive modifications of secondary education. Such modifications have already begun in part. The present need is for the formulation of a comprehensive

[11] Lawrence Cremin, "The Revolution of Secondary Education, 1893-1918", *Teacher College Record* 56, 1955: 308

[12] Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*; Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum*; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*; Sizer, *Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century*; Tyack, *The One Best System.*

> program of reorganization, and its adoption, with suitable adjustments, in all the secondary schools of the Nation.[13]

That these modifications have already begun is born out through the local context, presented later in the study, of Seattle and Spokane Public high schools, both of which had diversified their program of studies prior to the 1918 report described here. The report is, however, important to illuminate the national trend which its proposals reflected.

The most common interpretation of this report reflects upon the significance of the increasing needs for an educated workforce, a workforce with relevant training to meet the needs of a growing, industrialized America. Additionally, the report articulated the role of secondary schools in the preparation of students for "life activity" through seven areas: 1. Health. 2. Command of fundamental processes. 3. Worthy home-membership. 4. Vocation. 5. Citizenship. 6. Worthy use of leisure. 7. Ethical Character.[14] This approach represented a significant departure from the model laid out in the *Committee of Ten* report, emphasizing life skills rather than focusing on a curricular model that prepared students for college.

The *Cardinal Principles* report also reflected the contested terrain over the function of secondary schools in a rapidly modernizing society. While most interpretations, represented particularly by the work of Kliebard's *Struggle*, align this report with the social efficiency paradigm that was gaining currency in education policy; this too is not uncontested terrain. Edward A. Krug's work titled, *The Shaping of the American High School* represented a perspective on the report that associated it with the social efficiency – social control movement

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[13] Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education: A Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, Appointed by the National Education Association*, 1918: 3

[14] National Education Association, *Cardinal Principals Report*, 1918, 10-11.

of the time which was particularly embodied by the works of Snedden and Kingsley.[15] This approach saw the schools as mechanisms to deliver a labor force necessary to meet the industrial demands of the time. It is clear that the authors of the report were motivated to reform secondary schools in a way that responded to the changing demands brought on by the rapid industrialization that characterized the turn of the century, and the changing labor demands that accompanied this transformation. In defense of the reform agenda of the *Report*, under the title "Changes in society," it was argued that

> In many vocations there have come such significant changes as the substitution of the factory system for the domestic system of industry; the use of machinery in place of manual labor; the high specialization of processes with a corresponding subdivision of labor; and the breakdown of the apprentice system.[16]

From this justification, it appears that considerations over the role schools play in the development of efficient sources of labor played a role in the design of the program of study recommended. Others have argued that the report reflected a Deweyan-progressive approach to secondary education through its focus on hands-on, relevant experiences as important to selection of curricula.[17] William Wraga presented a re-examination of this report in his essay, "A Progressive Legacy Squandered: The 'Cardinal Principles' Report Reconsidered."[18]

In a departure from the social control and social efficiency interpretations which are most prevalent, Wraga argues for an analysis that situates the report not only through these prevailing lenses, but also through a Deweyan-progressive approach with a view of secondary schools with "…the emphasis on the application of subject matter...the moral implications of democracy…the

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[15] Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum;* Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School.*
[16] National Education Association, *Cardinal Principals Report*, 1918: 1
[17] William G. Wraga, "A Progressive Legacy Squandered: The 'Cardinal Principles' Report Reconsidered." *History of Education Quarterly 41* (2001).
[18] Ibid.

role of the secondary school in unifying a diverse population."[19] This competing analysis reflects the uncertainty of the debate over the function of schools within American society as it pertains to the development of knowledge, skills, and dispositions deemed necessary to live a successful, contributive life in society. The language of the *Cardinal Principles* report provided support for the above interpretive framework when the authors defended its perspective on reform by stating that

> …it is only as the pupil sees his vocation in relation to his citizenship and his citizenship in the light of his vocation that he will be prepared for effective membership in an industrial democracy. Consequently, this commission enters its protest against any and all plans, however well intended, which are in danger of divorcing vocation and social-civic education. It stands squarely for the infusion of vocation with the spirit of service and for the vitalization of culture by genuine contact with the world's work.[20]

This approach seems to support Wrada's interpretation of the report in that it represented an approach to secondary education that focused on the individual as a contributing member of civic society with the interest of the individual and the common good being equivalent. While the argument that has most often been made is that the social efficiency – social control advocates had their way with the report, Wrada argues that the "…synthesis of the development of the individual and society is an identifiably Deweyan … to counter the deterministic brand of social efficiency propagated by the likes of Snedden."[21] These contested interpretations serve to highlight the significance of the report to the evolution of the secondary school during this time period.

The discussion of the national trends in secondary education reform at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century are important to framing the study of Jesuit secondary schools in Washington during this time. In part, this is important because it allows for the

[19] Ibid., 510.
[20] NEA, Cardinal Principles Report, 10.
[21] Wraga, *A Progressive Legacy Squandered*, 512.

comparison of the Jesuit development to the broader trends nationally. Additionally, this provides an important context for placing the stories of the Seattle and Spokane public high schools within the larger national framework. This will serve as an important analytical and comparative agenda for the subsequent comparison of the public high schools in Washington to the Jesuit high schools that are the focus of this study.

Local Context – Growth of High Schools in Washington State

The growth and development of public high schools in the state of Washington in many ways mirrored the development nationally. Rapid population growth stemmed from increased migration to the West, as well as the rapid economic development that accompanied the growing industries of the region. The arrival of a national railroad system in Spokane, Seattle, and Tacoma connected these cities with one another as well as with national and international trading partners. The following population figures for Washington State reflect the significant population growth that occurred during the late-19th and early 20th Centuries: 1880= 75,116; 1890 = 357, 232; 1900 = 518,103; 1910 = 1,141,990; 1920 = 1,356,621.[22] These statistics reflect a rapidly changing landscape driven by the development of the resource-based industries which defined the regional development. Successes in the timber/lumber, mining and outfitting, fishing, and agricultural industries marked the economic development of the time. These various industries created new opportunities and provided the population with wages, leading to the growth of urban centers and precipitating the development of the earliest public high schools in the state.

The population growth that Washington experienced took place as the national public school system was experiencing unprecedented growth as well. High schools in particular saw a massive increase in number and in total student attendance. The Commissioner of Education's

[22] US Census Figures for Washington Territory and State, retrieved October 29, 2007.

Report of 1889-1890 listed 2,526 public high schools serving 202,963 students. By 1910, the number of schools had grown to 10, 213 and by 1920 to 14,325 schools serving 1,851,965 students.[23] The figures, accompanied by earlier discussions of the development of a public school system in the Territory and eventual state of Washington, provide an important platform from which to describe the earliest high school efforts in the state. What follows is a description at the efforts in the State of Washington to develop secondary educational institutions. These institutions help to provide a local lens through which to view the trends articulated earlier through the discussion of the *Committee of Ten* and *Cardinal Principles* reports. These reports illustrate the national discourse around secondary education reform, while the subsequent descriptions help to articulate a local perspective to this discourse. Both of these perspectives, the national and the local, provide an important analytical and comparative context to the subsequent investigation of the Jesuit secondary schools, which are the focus of this study.

University Preparatory Department

While the above described national trends help to provide a more global context to the development of secondary education during the included time-period, the more localized story of secondary education in the State of Washington is important to this study. While many of the developments which are to be articulated predate some of the reports, they provide an important local lens through which to view the issues as they applied to secondary education in Washington. The history of secondary education in the state is embedded in the history of higher education in the state. It begins in 1862 with the establishment of the Territorial University of Washington in Seattle. The earliest available course catalogues from Washington's Territorial University appear in 1874-1875. These catalogues include a two-year Preparatory, also called

[23] Commissioner of Education, Report for the Year 1889-1890 (Washington DC: Bureau of Education, 1889). Biennial Survey of Education 1918-1920 (US Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 29 (Washington D.C., 1923), 497.

Academic, course of study. This constitutes the earliest high school program funded by public dollars in the Territory of Washington. For several years the University provided a senior preparatory department for students in the greater Seattle area.[24] The course of study provided by the University expanded to include multiple courses of study, reflective of the trend of differentiation of secondary programs of study typical to the late 19th century development of the high school.[25] As early as 1878 the University was providing Classical, Scientific, Normal and Commercial Courses of Study.[26] Below is an excerpt of the secondary courses of study offered by the University in 1880-1881:

Table 1: High School Courses of Study, Territorial University of Washington, 1880[27]

Fall Term	Winter Term	Spring Term
	Classical Course	
Caesar, Greek Lessons, History	Caesar, Greek Lessons, Algebra	Cicero, Zenophon, Algebra
	Scientific Course	
Latin Reader, History, Arithmetic	Latin Reader, Algebra, History	Latin Reader, Algebra, English Composition
	Normal Course	
History, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Penmanship	Algebra, English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, Reading	Algebra, Elements of Rhetoric, C.S. Bookkeeping, U.S. History
	Commercial Course	
Arithmetic, English Grammar, General History, Penmanship	Algebra, English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, Spelling	Algebra, Elements of Rhetoric, U.S. History, C.S. Bookkeeping

[24] Frederick Bolton, "High Schools in Territorial Washington." *Washington Historical Quarterly* 24, (1933): 274.

[25] William F. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School.* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); Kliebard, The Struggle for the American Curriculum; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School;* Angus and Mirel, The Failed Promise of the America High School.

[26] Course Catalogue of the Territorial University, 1878-1879, 9.

[27] Frederick Bolton, *Washington Historical Quarterly* 24, 275. (Annual Register, 1880-1881, 9-12 as cited in Bolton.)

The University's work within the area of secondary education provides additional insight into the general status of the high school movement throughout the state. In part, the offering of a preparatory department was a self-serving proposition. The University, in part, provided a preparatory department due to the fact that "…our common school system is in so imperfect a condition…" that students were not adequately prepared to undertake university studies upon entrance.[28] It wasn't until 1891 that the University adopted a policy of acceptance such that "Students holding diplomas from any Public High School of the State of Washington shall be admitted without examination."[29] The Board of Regents requested that the State Superintendent "…use his best endeavor to secure uniformity in course of study."[30] This report articulates the impact that higher education standards were having on secondary schools' programs of study. This was typical of the national trend whereby institutions of higher education were influencing high schools through their admission requirements.[31] As of 1895, the Regents approved the high schools in the cities of Spokane, Tacoma, Seattle, New Whatcom and Fairview as adequate to advancing students for admission to the University.[32] With this, the University discontinued the high school program.

Even though the high school program was terminated in 1895, it was reinstituted in 1898, by school President Graves, for an additional six years before it was terminated for the last time in 1904.[33] Graves reasoned that "…only nine high schools of the State give complete preparation for college and nearly three-fourths of the school districts cannot carry on work

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[28] Edmond S.Meany, M.L., *History of the State of Washington.* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946), 46.

[29] University of Washington Course Catalog 1891, Seattle, Washington, 11.

[30] Regents Report, University of Washington Course Catalog 1894-1895, Seattle, Washington, 25.

[31] Reese, The Origins of the American High School; Kliebard, The Struggle for the American Curriculum; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High Scholo;* Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the America High School.*

[32] University of Washington Course Catalog 1894-1895, Seattle, Washington.

[33] Bolton, Washington Historical Quarterly 24, 236.

beyond the eighth grade…(so) the university will bridge this gap with its preparatory school as long as may be necessary".[34] While the growth of the high schools across the state precipitated with the final termination of a high school program of study at the University of Washington in 1904, it did not precipitate a total departure from involvement in secondary education. The University continued to keep its interest in the business of high schools through de-facto role as the primary accreditor for the state. The University maintained a list of schools from which it would accept diplomas as adequate qualification for admittance. The effort to develop a list of accredited schools would assist the university in applying an admissions standard and in "…unifying the work of all the high schools, and in bridging the gap between them and the university."[35] The University continued this practice until 1909 when the reconstituted State Board of Education became the sole accrediting body for high schools statewide in.[36]

Seattle Public High School(s)

Unlike today, the University of Washington received the bulk of its student population from the city of Seattle during the late 19th century. The University abandoned the high school program in part because of the fact that the city of Seattle successfully established a public high school toward the end of the 20th century, at a time when high schools were growing in number across the region. This functioning high school took the demand away from the University to provide a high school program.

Seattle High School graduated its first class with twelve students in June of 1886. While the city had students enrolled in high school courses beginning in 1883[37], it wasn't until 1886

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[34] University of Washington Course Catalog 1898-1899, Seattle, Washington.
[35] Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Washington, 1896, 18.
[36] Frederick Bolton, and Thomas Bibb, *History of Education in Washington.* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1935), 186.
[37] First Annual Report of the City Superintendent of the Public Schools of Seattle, Washington Territory, 1885, pp. 14, 15.

that students eventually graduated. The growth was not immediate, owing in part to the damage of the Seattle Great Fire of 1889, as well as to the financial slowdown of 1893 experienced nationally, but especially in Seattle. As the table below indicates, the growth began to accelerate at the turn of the century and continued until the brief interlude of WWI and then at an equivalent pace:

Table 2: Graduation figures for Seattle High School:1886-1919[38]

Year	Graduates	Year	Graduates
1886	12	1903	103
1887	8	1904	107
1888	9	1905	161
1889	10	1906	202
1890	8	1907	257
1891	9	1908	350
189	10	1909	400
1893	15	1910	490
1894	25	1911	583
1895	21	1912	602
1896	52	1913	678
1897	42	1914	730
1898	71	1915	881
1899	46	1916	924

[38] Table draws on Seattle Board of Education Annual Reports, as found in Frederick Merrick Lash (1934), An historical and functional study of public education in Seattle Washington, Unpublished Dissertation, 207)

1900	54	1917	1,015
1901	95	1918	871
1902	92	1919	1,019
		1920	1,204

The first public high school in Seattle had a program of study which was described as a "scientific one, requiring three years' time for its completion." [39] The course was divided into an A and a B class over the course of three years. The Courses of Studies are below:

English Course – Junior Year

B Class – Algebra, Book-keeping, English Composition, Civil Government

A Class – Algebra, Physics, Physical Geography, Zoology.

English Course – Middle Year

B Class – Geometry, Physics, General History

A Class – Geometry, Chemistry, Botany

English Course – Senior Year

B Class – Trigonometry, Rhetoric, Astronomy

A Class – Arithmetic, Mineralogy, Political Economy

Spelling, Writing, Drawing, Composition, and Declamation are required throughout the course.[40]

This course of study remained largely unchanged until 1891 at which time the Seattle Public School Board adopted a much more comprehensive curriculum, and one that reflected the differentiation of course and program offerings spoken of previously that was beginning to happen nationally. It would seem, in fact, that Seattle was at least ahead of the national policy

[39] First Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Seattle, Washington Territory (1884, Seattle, WA: Lowman & Hanford), 14-15.
[40] Ibid., 59-60.

initiatives given that these reforms reflected a countrywide strategy that was not to be published until nearly twenty-five years later. This does not erase the fact that these schools will still in part motivated by college preparation, as the course of study reflected the commitment on the part of the public high schools to the "preparatory training for College and University work."[41] Principal of John W. Heston committed the public high school to the work vacated by the State University claiming "Such being the case we are obliged to provide a Classical Course."[42] The Course is designed to prepare for University or College work with "prominence given to mathematics, English and the Foreign Languages."[43] Superintendent Barnard argued, in the Superintendent's report of 1891, that "In many instances the first three years' work will give sufficient training for a College Course, but students are always advised to complete one of the Courses in the High School before going elsewhere."[44] In the Classical Course of study this included four years of study, as shown in Table 2.

A Scientific or English Course was offered as well. The Scientific/English Course was expanded to include a fourth year option. With the absence of foreign languages, this Course was described as the most general of any offered. The classes were to include "…instruction in the sciences in connection with English and Mathematics. Special attention is given to such subjects as Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Zoology, and English Composition and Literature."[45] This was an option for students who did not see the need to take a Classical Course of Study, usually because they were not interested in college studies upon completion of high school. The alternatives to the Classical Course of Study, known as the Latin Course in many cases, reflected

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[41] Annual Report (1891), Board of Education of the City of Seattle (Ingraham & Corvell), 29.
[42] Ibid., 29.
[43] This becomes an important theme when juxtaposed, as is done in the conclusion of this paper, against the Classical Courses of Studies employed by the two Jesuit High Schools in the State during the same time.
[44] Ibid., 118.
[45] Ibid.

the trend in high schools during the Progressive Era to provide diversified options based on student interest and their projected needs following completion of high school.[46]

In pursuit of this, the district also adopted a three-year course of study in Industrial or Manual Arts Training. This course reflected the social efficiency trends described earlier, that positioned the high schools as preparatory institutions for either future studies (college or university) or future work following the completion of high school study. With this in mind, the district added an Industrial Course, which was a modification of the Scientific/English course with additional work in shop and laboratory. This course of study was added for pedagogical and outcome-based reasons. Not only was the outcome of the Industrial Course an objective of the high school, but the hands-on, practical character of the educational experience that it delivered was important as well.

The Industrial course was "…valuable directly and incidentally" as it did "…much to fit young people for service in the ordinary vocations of life."[47] The employment of manual training, though coursework in subjects such as Carpentry, Iron Work – Forging and Machine Tool Work, was meant to develop the skills in the manual labor and domestic duties of the time, but to also "train the hands and eyes of the pupils while their minds are being developed."[48] The course of study in Industrial training had a civic purpose as well, according to Superintendent Barnard, "We should have skilled labor in this country to compete with the skilled labor of foreign countries."[49] This perspective underlines the two parallel objectives of the Industrial Course of Study in Seattle High School: experiential education in manual arts would train the hands and eyes as well as minds; the role of the high school in preparing students for life

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[46] Edward A. Krug, *The shaping of the American high school: 1880-1920.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press).
[47] Annual Report, 1891, 118.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Annual Report of the Board of Education of Seattle, 1892, (Seattle, WA: Lowman and Hanford), 98.

following their completion of high school. The elective trend that marked this period in public schools is reflected in this program of study as adopted by the Seattle School Board (see Table 3). This was a trend that continued to make its mark in the district. The growth of schools and the accompanying increases in enrollment precipitated the addition of programs of study in the school. These developments were in response to the local and national local labor markets which had new demands as to the type of workers that were needed from a comprehensive high school. The trend towards social efficiency and electivism nationally found a sympathetic partner in the Seattle Public Schools. Table 3 presents the Course of Study that reflected this trend in Seattle. This serves as an important comparative framework to the more liberal arts focused, classical course of study that was offered at the Jesuit schools that are the focal point of this study. The diversity of the courses offered, as well as the Industrial program of study itself represent clear distinctions between the comprehensive public high schools of Seattle and Spokane and the programs of study at their Jesuit counterparts.

Table 3: Seattle High School Courses of Study: 1891[50]

	Scientific	Classical	Industrial
1st Year	• Algebra • English Analysis • English Comp. • Physiology • Reading • Music and Drawing • U.S. History • Comp. and Rhetoric • Zoology	• Algebra • Latin • Physiology • Reading • Music and Drawing • English Comp. • Comp. and Rhetoric	• Algebra • English Analysis • English Comp. • Physiology • Carpentry • Industrial Drawing • Model and Object Drawing • Comp. and Rhetoric • Carpentry & Joining • Drawing
2nd Year	• High Algebra • Physics • General History • History • Physics Practicum • Drawing • Plane Geometry • Botany • Reading and Music	• Higher Algebra • Physics • German or Greek • Latin • Drawing • Plane Geometry • Reading and Music	• Higher Algebra • Physics • Pattern Making • Drawing • Plane Geometry • Wood Turning • Industrial Drawing • Mechanics • Iron Work-Forging
3rd Year	• Solid Geometry • Physical Geography • Civil Government • Drawing • Chemistry • English Literature • Laboratory Practice • Review Alg. & Arith. • Geology	• Solid Geometry • German or Greek • Civil Government • Latin • Drawing • Review Alg. & Arith.	• Solid Geometry • Iron Work-Forging • Civil Government • Industrial Drawing • Chemistry • Laboratory Practice • Review Alg. & Arith. • Machine Tool Work • Machine Drawing
4th Year	• Trigonometry • Geology • English Literature • History of Civilization or History of Education • Drawing • Astronomy • Mineralogy or English Composition • Psychology • Moral Philosophy • International Law or Science of Education • Political Economy	• Trigonometry • Latin • Greek or German • History of Civilization or History of Education • Drawing • Astronomy • Latin Lit. & Comp. or Greek Lit. & Comp • Psychology • Moral Philosophy • English Literature or German Lit. • Political Economy	

[50] Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Seattle (1891), (Seattle, Washington: Lowman and Hanford).

The growth of the Seattle area was mirrored in the growth of the high schools across the city. The first high school was offered in the Central School building until 1902, at which time it was moved to a separate building. Across town, in the unincorporated Ballard area, a high school program was offered beginning in 1901. The name of the Seattle high school was changed in 1902 to Washington High School and eventually, following the construction of a new building on Broadway avenue on Capital Hill, to Broadway High School (1908).[51] Additional schools were built in the Seattle area during this time reflecting the growing demand that accompanied the fast-growing population of the city. Enrollment in Seattle's high schools grew from 700 in 1902 to 4,500 by 1910. This dramatic increase in student population precipitated the development of Franklin High School (1906), Lincoln High School (1907), Queen Anne High School (1909) and West Seattle High School (1917).[52]

The next significant change to the Courses of Study came in 1899 and continued the trend of offering diverse options of courses based on student interests and future needs. The course of study expanded from the three courses: Classical, Scientific/English, Industrial to five courses: English Studies, Latin Scientific, Modern Language, Classical and Manual Training (See Table 4). This move reflected the elective and social efficiency trends of the time on a national level, as well as the more localized context of expanding labor needs, increased student enrollment, and subsequent demand for more diversified options. An examination of the public course of study provides the context that will be important in subsequent comparisons with the work at the local Jesuit Institutions.

[51] The dates for the school openings were provided by the book by Nile Thompson and Carolyn J. Marr, Building for learning: seattle public school histories, 1862-2000 (Seattle Public School Press).

[52] Ibid.

Table 4: Seattle High School Courses of Study 1899[53]

Classes	English Studies	Latin Scientific	Modern Language	Classical	Manual Training
1st Year	• English • Algebra • Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Drawing	• Latin • Algebra • Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Drawing	• English • Algebra • Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Drawing	• English • Algebra • Latin • Drawing	• Eng, Latin or German • Algebra • Drawing • Carpentry • Wood Carving
2nd Year	• Rhetoric • Plane Geometry • Civics • Botany • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Latin • Plane Geometry • Botany • Drawing • Composition Writing	• German or French • Plane Geometry • General History • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Latin • Plane Geometry • Rhetoric & English Literature • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Physiology • Phys. Geog. • Plane Geometry • Drawing • Wood Turning • Pattern Making • Composition Writing
3rd Year	• General History • Physics • Review of Arithmetic • Zoology • Drawing • Composition Writing	• General History • Physics • Review of Arithmetic • Zoology • Drawing • Composition Writing	• English Literature • Physics • German or French • Drawing • Composition Writing	• Latin • Physics • German or French • English Literature • Drawing • Composition Writing	• General History • Solid Geometry • Review of Arithmetic • Physics • Drawing • Forging • English Literature • Composition Writing
4th Year	• English Literature • Chemistry • Mineralogy • Political Economy • U.S. History • Descriptive Astronomy or Elementary Psychology • Composition Writing	• English Literature • Chemistry • Mineralogy • Political Economy • U.S. History • Descriptive Astronomy or Elementary Psychology • Composition Writing	• German or French • Chemistry or Botany • Political Economy • U.S. History • Review of Arithmetic • Composition Writing	• Latin • German or French • General History • English Literature • Composition Writing	• Botany or Zoology • Civics • Political Economy • Chemistry • English Literature • Drawing • Machine Work • Composition Writing

[53] Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Seattle (1899), (Seattle, Washington: Metropolitan Printing).

The addition of a fourth year in the Manual Training Course added courses in the humanities: English Literature, General History, Composition Writing; and the sciences: Botany, Zoology, Chemistry. The Modern Languages Course of Study included three years of German or French in addition to a mix of courses which make up the Latin Scientific and the Classical Course. Courses in Latin take place in the Classical Course and the Latin Scientific, but are otherwise absent from the other three courses. This becomes an important point of comparison with the Jesuit Secondary Schools, as too does the absence of Greek from all courses of study. The Classical Course would be the most likely location for this course, but in the case of Seattle high schools, this was not deemed an important course. This also provides an important comparison in later sections.

The above described programs of study served as the framework for the Seattle Public School's high school curriculum through the course of the next couple of decades. These diversified offerings reflected the "…proper recognition to new-felt social needs and demands: eg. to physical well being, vocational training, and training for carrying of the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy."[54] The role of the schools to prepare students for the activities which lay beyond high school, whether further academic or industrial studies or entry into the labor market, precipitated the need to "…classify these purpose by careful supervision into lines of high school work that the students can follow to their best advantage."[55] This role reflected the social efficiency trends that guided the work of the schools. These trends emerged in the courses of study across the Cascade range in Spokane Public High Schools during this time as well.

[54] Superintendent's Report (1916-1921), Seattle Public School District. (Seattle, WA), 52.
[55] Ibid, 57.

Spokane Public High School(s)

Spokane graduated its first high school class of seven pupils in 1891. While students had begun attending classes beyond the eighth grade, it was not until June 26th, 1891 that a four-year course of study was completed.[56] Spokane's population grew and precipitated the establishment of a second high school in1907 (Hillyard High School), and a third in 1908 (North Central High School). Additionally, South Central High school became Lewis and Clark High School upon completion of this much larger school.[57] The growth in numbers of schools in Spokane indicated the rising demand for secondary education that accompanied the population and economic growth that marked the early 20th century in the Spokane area. The total population, at the beginning of 1890 in Spokane, was 19,922 people. Over the course of the next twenty years, Spokane experienced dramatic growth reaching a total population of 104,402 people in 1910. This five-fold increase in total population of the city was outdone by the thirty-fold increase in high school graduates. The first graduating class of seven students pales in comparison to the 1910 graduating class of 219.[58]

Table 5: Graduation figures for Spokane High School 1891-1919[59]

Year	Graduates	Year	Graduates
1891	7	1906	137
1892	8	1907	153
1893	9	1908	184
1894	10	1909	193
1895	20	1910	219

[56] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington, (1891). (Spokane, WA: W.D. Knight.), 151.
[57] High Davis, ED. First class for 100 years : Spokane Public Schools, School District No. 81, 1889-1989 / contributors, (1989) (Spokane WA: Spokane Public Schools), 64-65, 51-52, 89-90.
[58] Annual Report of the Spokane Public Schools (1942): A brief history by Orville Clyde Pratt, 38.
[59] Annual Report of the Spokane Public Schools (1942): A brief history by Orville Clyde Pratt, 38.

1896	37	1911	223
1897	31	1912	245
1898	26	1913	288
1899	35	1914	360
1900	38	1915	392
1901	58	1916	420
1902	66	1917	413
1903	64	1918	483
1904	89	1919	447
1905	116	1920	486

These numbers above help highlight the growing demand on the school brought on by increased enrollment. The course of study found in Table 6 below reflects the same offerings available to the first graduates in 1891, with one notable exception: the addition of the Industrial Course of Study. This program was added with similar reasoning as cited in Seattle, the new labor demands a result of the "…great changes…taking place in the social and industrial life"[60] of a rapidly growing Spokane, as well as a pedagogical perspective on Manual Training based… "upon the soundest of psychological and pedagogical principles."[61] The options that the Courses of Study offered reflected a commitment, as articulated in the Second Annual Report of 1892 "…in the modern idea of practical education, the sort of culture which develops self-help ness in the pupil…"[62] This commitment to a practical education, as the object of secondary studies, provides an important comparative perspective when put side by side later to the Jesuit high school courses of study with their focus on the liberal arts and classical program of study. The

[60] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington, (1892). (Spokane, WA: W.D. Knight.), 43.
[61] Ibid., 43-44.
[62] Ibid., 32.

growing student population at the high school was able to experience a growing list of courses for the next four years, as reflected below in Table 6.

Table 6: Spokane High School Programs of Study, 1892[63]

Course of Study: 1892	Latin Course	Scientific	English	Industrial
9th Grade	• Int. Algebra • Physical and Polit. Geog. • Latin Gram. and Reader • Drawing • Civics	• Int. Algebra • Physical and Polit. Geog. • English Grammar • Drawing • Eng. Gram. and Comp. • Civics	• Int. Algebra • Physical and Polit. Geog. • English Grammar • Drawing • Eng, Gram. and Comp. • Civics	• Int. Alegbra • Physical and Polit. Geog • English Grammar Drawing • Eng. Gram. and Comp. • Civics
10th Grade	• Higher Arithmetic • German • Caesar and Prose Comp. • Caesar and Prose • Higher Algebra • Botany	• Higher Arithmetic • German • Book-keeping • High Algebra • Rhetoric • Botany	• Higher Arithmetic • Eng. History or Drawing • Book-keeping • Higher Algebra • Rhetoric • Botany	• Drawing • Eng. History or Higher Arithmetic • Book-keeping • Carpentry • Rhetoric
11th Grade	• Natural Philosophy • German • Cicero and Prose • Central History • Geometry • English Literature	• Natural Philosophy • German • American Literature • General History • Geometry • English Literature	• Natural Philosophy • Drawing • American Literature • General History • Geometry • English Literature	• Natural Philosophy • Drawing • American Literature • Wood Work • Geometry • Metal Work • English Literature
12th Grade	• German • Geometry • Virgil • Chemistry • Psychology • Geology	• German • Geometry • Astronomy • Chemistry • Zoology • Psychology • Geology	• Geometry • Astronomy • Chemistry • Zoology • Psychology • Geology	• Geometry • Chemistry • Astronomy • Metal Work • Psychology • Zoology • Geology

The above course of study served as the offerings available to students in the Spokane high school until 1896, at which time the school board changed the program of study as a result of financial pressures associated with recent legislation which redirected some of the resources that had previously funded the work of the Spokane high school. One of the noticeable elements

[63] Ibid.

of this course of study is the absence of the Industrial Course. Rather then reflect a changing view of the role of the high school in providing an industrial, commercial, manual arts training, it was for financial causes that the Board of Education dropped this program. The Superintendent's report of 1896 claims the Course was a casualty of the redistribution of school revenues that resulted in the Rogers Bill, also known as the Barefoot Boy Bill. This bill is claimed to have taken "…large sums of money out of the cities and distributed the same throughout the state. The result of that bill has been to cripple the school work in the cities… and in addition the department of manual training was thrown out of our High School course."[64] This continued to be the case until 1904 at which time the Commercial Course returned as an option in Spokane high schools.

[64] Ibid, 35.

Table 7: Spokane High School Courses of Study, 1896[65]

Course of Study: 1896	Latin Course	Scientific Course	English Course
9th Grade	• Int. Algebra • Algebra • Physical Geography • Physical Geography, or option • English Grammar and Comp. • Latin Grammar and Reader	• Int. Algebra • Algebra • Physical Geography • Physical Geography, or option • English Grammar and Comp. • Bookkeeping, or Drawing • Option	• Int. Algebra • Algebra • Physical Geography • Physical Geography, or option • English Grammar and Comp. • Bookkeeping, or Drawing • Option
10th Grade	• Plane Geometry • Rhetoric, or Botany • Civics • Caesar and Prose Composition • Caesar and Prose • German, or option	• Plane Geometry • Rhetoric • Civics • Botany • German	• Plane Geometry • Rhetoric • Civics • Botany • Option
11th Grade	• Higher Algebra • Higher Arithmetic • Natural Philosophy • Cicero and Prose, Roman History • German, or option	• Higher Algebra • Higher Arithmetic • Natural Philosophy • American Literature • English Literature • German	• Higher Algebra • Higher Arithmetic • Natural Philosophy • American Literature • English Literature • Option
12th Grade	• Solid Geometry • Trigonometry, or option • Chemistry • Virgil and Grecian History • German, or option	• Solid Geometry • Trigonometry, or option • Chemistry • General History • German	• Solid Geometry • Trigonometry, or option • Chemistry • General History • Political Economy, or option • El. Psychology, or option

Two years following the withdrawal of the Industrial Course of Study, the Courses of Study again changed with the division of the Latin course to the Latin and Classical Course of Study. The addition of the Classical study reflected the trend of developing a course of study that was driven by the university admission trends during the time. The statistics on the number of graduates in each course of study, from 1901-1902, reflected the prevalence of the Latin course as the primary choice by students during the time. The following breakdown reflects the

[65] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington, (1896). (Spokane, WA: Quick Print.) 146-147.

distribution of students in the respective courses of study: Classical = 4, Scientific = 20, Latin = 83, English = 16.[66]

The Commercial course of study returned in 1904. As a result of the rapid growth of high schools it was clear that "…this department of the public schools system is becoming more and more popular and its value greatly enhanced as its curriculum is being extended to include subjects of practical value to the masses as well as culture and discipline."[67] The enrollment figures in the high school reflected "…the large preponderance of girls over boys…attributed partly to the fact that there is in this city an exceptionally strong demand for boys of high school age to work in stores and offices…and partly to the absence from our course of studies which involve the element of Manual Training."[68] This statement reflects two main themes that emerged from the changing landscape of the Courses of Study: the high schools responded to the growing demands resulting from the mix of students attending the schools - those destined for college and those destined for the workforce; and the high schools responded to labor demands of the local economy. These efforts on the part of the schools provided skills which would be of service to students who desired blue collar jobs following the completion of high school.

[66] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington. (1902), 54.
[67] Biennial Report of Public Schools of Washington. (1904), 15.
[68] Ibid.

Table 8: Spokane High School Courses of Study, 1904[69]

1904 Courses of Study:	Classical Course	Scientific Course	Literary Course	Commercial Course
1st year	• Algebra • English • Greek History • Roman History • Latin	• Algebra • English • Physical Geography • Freehand Drawing	• Algebra • English • Greek History • Roman History • Physical Geography or Freehand Drawing	• Algebra • English • Physical Geography or Freehand Drawing • Commercial Arithmetic – Business Forms • Commercial Geography
2nd Year	• Plane Geometry • Rhetoric • Latin • Greek, French, or German	• Plane Geometry • Botany or Physiology • Rhetoric • Latin, German or French • Botany or Zoology	• Plane Geometry • Rhetoric • Mediaeval History • Modern History • Botany or Physiology • Botany or Zoology	• Plane Geometry • Rhetoric • Botany or Physiology • Stenography and Typewriting • Botany or Zoology
3rd Year	• English History • Physics • Latin • Greek, French or German • English Literature	• English Grammar • Latin, German or French • Physics • English History • English Literature • Algebra (Advanced)	• English Grammar • English history • Physics • Option • English Literature • Algebra (Advanced)	• English Grammar • English History • Physics • Bookkeeping • English Literature • Commercial Law
4th Year	• U.S. History and Civics • Latin • English, Greek, German or French • Option	• U.S. History and Civics • Solid Geometry • Chemistry • Trigonometry • Option	• English Literature • U.S. History and Civics • Chemistry • Option	• English Literature • U.S. History and Civics • Economics • Advanced Stenography and Typewriting • Option

The result of the addition of the Commercial course in 1904 was important in that "…over 40 per cent of the last entering class enrolled in this course."[70] Such a significant interest in this course is remarkable, given its short lifespan of two years, and underlines that fact that there was a rising demand for this type of program in an industrializing Spokane. The Principal of Spokane High School, David Cloyd, commented that this increase "emphasizes the

[69] Biennial Report of the Spokane Public Schools (1904).(Spokane, WA: Union Printing).
[70] Biennial Report of the Spokane Public Schools (1906).(Spokane, WA: Union Printing), 20.

fact that commercial interests are calling for well-educated and technically trained men and women who are looking to the High School for a thorough and extensive course of instruction."[71] This demand extended beyond the mercantile-based curriculum of the Commercial Course to the more labor-based curriculum course of study in Manual Training added in 1906. This new program of study, in addition to the courses in the Commercial Program, added mechanical drawing and shop work for boys and domestic art and freehand drawing for girls.[72] Aside from the elimination of Greek from the Classical Curriculum in 1912[73], the courses of study remained largely unchanged from 1906-1920, the point at which this study ends.

The enrollment statistics at Lewis and Clark High School in 1916 reflect the demand that persisted for a diversified offering of courses of study at the secondary level in Spokane. The enrollment figures for the various programs were as follows:

Table 9: Enrollment figures, by Course of Study, Lewis and Clark High School, 1916[74]

Courses of Study:	Boys	Girls	Total
Academic	430	357	787
Commercial	206	245	451
Manual Training	191	0	191
Home Economics	0	362	362

The Academic program, which consisted of the college preparatory track (Classical Course) as well as the more general courses of study (Scientific and General), was the most popular track, but if one were to combine the Commercial and the Vocational (Manual Training and Home Economics) it becomes apparent that there was a great deal of demand for both. This then

[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., 27.
[73] Biennial Report of the Spokane Public Schools (1912).(Spokane, WA: Union Printing).
[74] Biennial Report of the Spokane Public Schools (1916).(Spokane, WA: Union Printing), 47.

reinforces two major themes that emerged from the curriculum at both Spokane and Seattle Public high schools, 1) the significance of a diversified program of study in response to the diverse demands of the students for their coursework, and 2) the demands of the community at large on their high schools to provide the skills and training necessary for students to be productive as a result of a high school education.

An additional observation of later catalogues reflects the impact of the programs that emerged following the completion of WWI. Earlier, the description of the themes of the Cardinal Principles report of 1918 reflected the dominant discourse around the purposes of high schools during that time. The 1921 report from North Central high School was organized in a format that utilizes similar, and in some cases identical, language to those eight themes discussed earlier.[75] Principal Kennedy's discussion of the work at the school during the year utilized "the educational platform for modern education, now widely accepted. Its seven planks may be stated as follows:

1. Health and physical development.
2. Acquisition of at least the minimum of useable and accepted English and Arithmetic.
3. Worthy home membership.
4. Some positive preparatory steps toward self-support.
5. Training in citizenship.
6. Right use of leisure time.
7. Character Growth.[76]

[75] The Cardinal Principles Report of 1918 included the following areas in preparation for life activity: seven areas: 1. Health. 2. Command of fundamental processes. 3. Worthy home-membership. 4. Vocation. 5. Citizenship. 6. Worthy use of leisure. 7. Ethical Character. (Cardinal Principles Report, 1918, 10-11.)

[76] Annual Report of Spokane Public Schools (1921), 29.

The importance of the dominant trends on a national level are apparent in the use of these planks chosen as the primary framework for the subsequent discussion of the years' work at the high school. This point is made to reinforce the importance of the national discourse to the development of programs of study at the local level.

A comparison of the trends in the course offerings of Spokane and Seattle Public High Schools, to the trends revealed in the Jesuit High Schools of the same cities reflects a marked difference in the type of secondary education offered by the respective institutions. While it is not the place here to make this comparison, as it will be done in the conclusion of this study, it is important to highlight and summarize the key characteristics that describe the programs of the Seattle and Spokane public high schools. This situates the forthcoming exploration of the programs of study at the Jesuit High schools such that it allows for a similar comparison of their respective programs. It is clear from an evaluation of the various courses of study, and from the comments of the superintendents and principals in the annual report, that high schools served a broad role in their communities. With the growing enrollment of students, and the expanding labor and commercial needs of the Spokane and Seattle communities, the schools were expected to meet the diversified needs that these two trends precipitated. The delivery of an exclusively college preparatory/classical course of study designed for the college bound student was not enough to fulfill the mission of these schools. These were comprehensive high schools and as such, in the words of the *Cardinal Principles Report* were reforming due to

> The growing recognition that progress in our American democracy depends in no small measure upon adequate provision for specialization in many fields is the chief cause leading to the present reorganization of secondary education. Only through attention to the needs of various groups of individuals as shown by aptitudes, abilities, and aspirations can the secondary school secure from each pupil his best efforts. The school must capitalize the dominant interest that each boy and girl has at the time and direct that interest as wisely as possible. This is

> the surest method by which hard and effective work may be obtained from each pupil.[77]

This charge for specialization reflected the reality at both Seattle and Spokane high schools during this period through their respective diversity of course offerings. The Jesuit schools, on the other hand, pursued a different approach through their course offerings. While it will be shown that the classical course continued its popularity at the Jesuit high schools, the Jesuits also modified their model of secondary education in the face of local and regional demands.

Humanistic Roots of Jesuit Secondary Education

The Jesuit Society established schools for the purpose of training future Jesuits, in addition to offering a liberal arts education to prospective students. These schools were to form new Jesuits through studies in the humanities, philosophy and theology. This Ignatian Humanism, as it has been called by some, "…argues for a God at work in the lives of people even when they give up on religion or the notion of God."[78] The early educational vision of the Society was strongly influenced by the humanist movement of the time and the educational experience of the Companions, as the founding members of the Jesuits are often referred. The experience that the Companions had while attending the University of Paris led to the adoption of components of their educational model during their time there.

From the earliest days of the Society's work in education, and consistent with the Parisian model of education that marked the academic training of the founding members, there was a commitment to order in the approach to education. This order was clearly reflected in the publication, in 1599 of the Ratio Studiorum (plan of studies). Jesuit Historian John O'Malley

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[77] NEA, Cardinal Principles Report, 15.

[78] Modras, Ronald. *Ignatian Humanism: A Dynamic Spirituality for the 21st Century*. (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2004): XVIII.

reminds us that "The vast majority of Jesuit schools implemented only a truncated version of the grand design envisioned by the Ratio…"[79] None the less, the *Ratio* did provide a framework for secondary and higher education under which Jesuits schools developed. The plan of studies "…included the humanities -- literature, history, drama, and so forth -- as well as philosophy and theology."[80] The Ratio has been the source of extensive writings on Jesuit educational history, as it provides a particular perspective into the early educational philosophies and learning theories of the Society. While never perfectly adopted by Jesuit schools, the *Ratio* has proved a lens into the thinking of the early founders of the Society, particularly as it relates to the fusion of the spiritual characteristics of the Society to its educational practices.

The Ratio, appears largely as a "how-to manual" as it relates to the courses offered, their respective sequence, the administrative roles in the school, and the pedagogical approach by the teacher. This was placed, however, within the context of the religious purpose of Jesuit education. The Ratio opens with the following charge: "It is the principal ministry of the Society of Jesus to educate youth in every branch of knowledge that is in keeping with its Institute. The aim of our educational program is to lead men to the knowledge and love of our Creator and Redeemer."[81] This focus was consistent with the call, on the part of the founder St. Ignatius, to seek to find God in all things and would play-out through the delivery of secondary and higher education. Reverend Charles Coppens, in an article titled "The Spirit of Jesuit Education" that appeared in an early 20th century education journal, provides an application of this Jesuit spiritual

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[79] John O'Malley, S.J., *From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to the Present*: 138. In Duminuco, Vincent. J. (Ed.). *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2000.

[80] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 1

[81] Farrell, Allen P., S.J. (transl.) *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*. Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits: Washington, DC: 1970: 2.

disposition (finding God in all things) in his description of how this manifested itself in the school experience:

> Of course, we must teach literature and science and mathematics and all the branches of the course and teach them well. Why? That we may get more boys to educate and boys who will hereafter be capable of exercising a wider influence, able to do the greater things *A.M.D.G.*(Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam – All for the Greater Glory of God), that we may gain their confidence, their love, gain their minds and hearts and fill them with God and zeal for the things of God…Thus understood, our education is something of extreme value in the Church and in the State; it is the copious source of sound through in literature, of sound morals in ethics and politics, in public and private life.[82]

This quote articulates the religious foundation that was at the core of the educational experiences of Jesuit education and helps to articulate the Jesuit Humanism that has guided the work of the schools of the society.

The *Ratio*, developed with an eye to 16th Century Italian families, represented a new approach to education, and one that was consistent with the goals of the families who were sending their students to these schools. Ignatian humanism, from a curricular perspective, was a "Renaissance humanism…a cultural and education program whose focus of interest can be roughly described as literature – The Latin and Greek classics."[83] Rigorous religious and academic instruction was sought and this approach operated with the assumption that "…literary or humanistic subjects could be integrated into the study of professional or scientific subjects; that is, it assumed that the humanistic program of the Renaissance was compatible with the Scholastic program of the Middle Ages."[84] With the success of the secondary schools in Italy, and the roadmap provided by the *Ratio Studiorum* as a program of study, the Society of Jesus became anchored in its work in education.

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[82] Charles Copens, "The Spirit of Jesuit Education," *The Teacher's Review*, VI, No. 2 (April, 1915): 25-26. As cited in McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education*, 155.
[83] Ibid, 56
[84] Ibid, 2

The humanistic roots of the Society of Jesus have been a source of scholarship on the earliest establishment of the Jesuits as well as their on-going character and way of being.[85] This body of research was recently strengthened through Ronald Modras' study: *Ignatian Humanism* (2004) which highlighted a specific Catholic-style humanism begun during the time of Ignatius and carried on through the work of subsequent Jesuits.[86] While there is a clear religious component to Ignatian humanism, it is only briefly explored here, as the focus is more specifically on the courses of study. It is worth mentioning though, given the objectives of the Catholic Church in providing for specifically Catholic education, and that "Ignatian humanism…argues for a God at work in the lives of people."[87] In response to the growing U.S. Catholic church, increasing demands for a uniquely Catholic education persisted. The Jesuits, with their long and rich history in education, stepped-in to this arena throughout the nation, and for the purposes of this study, in the Northwest as well.

Establishment of Jesuit Schools in the Northwest

The establishment of the two Jesuit High Schools included in this study reflected a new direction for the apostolic work of the Society of Jesus. While institutions of secondary and higher education had been established in the East (Georgetown, Fordham, Spring Hill, Canisius, etc.), the Midwest (St. Louis, Marquette, Creighton) and the West (Santa Clara, San Francisco), it was not until 1886, with the opening of Gonzaga College to seven boarding students, that secondary and higher education in the Catholic and Jesuit tradition made its entry into the Pacific

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[85] See Letson, Douglass, & Higgins, Michael. *The Jesuit Mystique.* Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan Canada, 1995; McGovern, Arthur F., S.J., *Jesuit Education and Jesuit Spirituality.* St. Louis, MO: The Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality, 1988; Barry, William. A., & Doherty, Robert. G. *Contemplatives in Action: The Jesuit Way*. New York: Paulist Press, 2002.

[86] Modras, R. *Ignatian Humanism: A Dynamic Spirituality for the 21st Century*. (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2004)

[87] Ibid, XVIII

Northwest. This history owes a great debt to the vision and the work of Gonzaga's founder and Provincial of the Rocky Mountain Missions: Father Joseph Cataldo.

Jesuit Secondary Schools – Cataldo's Legacy

Father Joseph Cataldo was born March 17, 1837 in Terrasini, Sicily. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1852, was ordained in 1862 and immediately made his way to the United States to continue his studies in Theology.[88] Following the completion of his studies at Santa Clara University, he began the work which originally brought him to the United States: mission work among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains.

Father Cataldo arrived in the Inland Northwest during the decade that saw the establishment of many missions throughout the nation in general, and especially among the tribes of the Northwest. Father Cataldo himself started missions among the Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, and Nez Perce tribes during the late 1860's. His work was motivated by his desire to transform the native tribes into "good Christians and good citizens, industrious and self-supporting."[89] This perspective reflected the common view among missionaries and government officials alike, as to the potential that the work of the various missionaries would bring to the assimilating efforts of the United States.[90] Cataldo believed that the establishment of the missions would have an evangelizing effect with the local tribes. The missions would also provide the foundations for the growing Catholic communities in the west that began to develop as the

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[88] George F. Weibel, S.J. (1928*). Rev. Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J.: A short sketch of a wonderful career.* (Reprint from Gonzaga Quarterly, March 15, 1928.) (Spokane, WA: Inland-America), ii.

[89] As cited in Gerald McKevitt (1986): "The Jump That Saved the Rocky Mountain Mission": Jesuit Recruitment and the Pacific Northwest." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 55, No.3., 433.

[90] This topic is explored in greater detail in the following works: Francis Paul Prucha (1976), *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indians: 1865-1900*, (Norman: University of Nebraska Press.) Robert Keller (1983). *American Protestantism and US Indian Policy: 1869-1882*. (Norman: University of Nebraska Press). Francis Paul Prucha (1979). *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press).

railroad continued to provide access to areas once only occupied by the local tribes and the various missionaries.

The growth of the missions in the Rocky Mountains precipitated a significant event in the history of the Jesuit Society in the Northwest and one that is a fundamental component of Cataldo's legacy. Cataldo's letters to the General of the Society (Fr. General Peter Beckx) in 1881 reflected his disdain for the Protestants with whom he was for competing for federal money and access to the Indian and eventually white populations of the region. His description of the creation of a Protestant institution of secondary and higher education in the area was cause for great concern, as the Indian "…inside the walls…is taught to despise our holy faith."[91] His commitment to the work of the missions and the eventual work of the Catholic secondary and higher education institutions led him to request additional Jesuits to aid in the ministry. This was a difficult request however, as most Jesuit institutions were also growing, and competition for manpower was stiff.

In 1884, on the pretext of accompanying Bishop Aegidius Junger of Seattle to Rome, Fr. Cataldo was able to gain audience with Antonio Anderledy, the General of the Society, in order to request additional members.[92] While initially rejecting his request, the General ultimately allowed Cataldo to recruit both money and men from the European Jesuits. This trip, and the subsequent success that Cataldo had in recruiting members to the Rocky Mountain Mission, was referred to as "The Jump that saved the Rocky Mountain Mission" by none other than Cataldo himself.[93] With Cataldo's recruitment of thirty-one new Jesuits, he had secured a new corps of Jesuits to staff the missions, and more importantly, the schools of the Northwest. This new

[91] OPA, Letter to General Beckx, November 10, 1881.
[92] McKevitt, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 55, No.3, 435.
[93] Ibid., 441.

troupe of Jesuits proved to be an invaluable resource to the new emerging focus of the Jesuits in the Northwest: their schools.

Gonzaga High School/College

The establishment of Gonzaga College in Spokane in 1886 ushered in a new stage in Northwest Jesuit history. As discussed earlier in chapter 2, the late 19th centuries saw a shift in the Jesuit Apostolate from the missions to the schools. As the federal funding of the contract schools that the Jesuits administered on the missions began to dry up, the Jesuits shifted their focus to the establishment of institutions of secondary and higher education. This stage shifted the primary ministry of the society from the missions to the schools, at both the secondary and college level. Two more secondary schools were established in the province over the course of the next forty years in Seattle and Tacoma (St. Leo's) in 1893 and 1912, respectively. In Seattle, in 1893, the Immaculate Conception School was founded by Fr. Victor Garrand and Fr. Adriane Sweere.[94] The name was later changed to Seattle College in 1898. While Gonzaga and Seattle were initially described as colleges, their character was significantly secondary due to the fact that the primary attendance was at the high school. These schools were to become the most important concerns of the society and Joseph Cataldo's support of their development has rightly earned him an important place in the institutional history of these schools, particularly at Gonzaga.

Cataldo became a great advocate for the city of Spokane during his tenure as Provincial and Founder of Gonzaga. While his initial objective was to develop a center to train Jesuit Priests to serve in the missions, this work was redirected to developing an educational center for your Jesuits and non-Jesuits alike due to the rapid development occurring in the Inland

[94] Wilfred P. Schoenberg, *Paths to the Northwest: A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province.* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982).

Northwest. During the 1880s, as the Northern Pacific Railroad Co. determined its route out West through the Spokane area, a competition developed between Spokane and the growing town of Cheney, just 15 miles west of town. Cataldo attributed the selection of Spokane as the major stop for the train, in part, to the presence of Gonzaga in the growing economic center of Spokane.[95] Cataldo spoke with great affection for Seattle, and more so for his beloved Gonzaga and saw them as mutual recipients of each other's success: "Spokane is made up of much relating to Gonzaga, but in the beginning, Gonzaga was in very truth the Mother of Spokane."[96]

Cataldo had resolved to purchase land in the Spokane Falls area in 1880 with a series of objectives. Initially, his vision was to create a center for the Jesuit missions of the area with a school for both Indians and white settlers who began to arrive with the completion of the railroad. The completion of the railroad and the accompanying growth of the agriculture and mining industries of the Palouse in Southeast Washington and the Silver Valley in North Idaho precipitated significant population and economic growth in the region.[97] Cataldo also considered the competition with the various Protestant churches that were also developing missions and colleges in the region. In particular, he claimed that the Methodists would take advantage of the growing demand for secondary and higher education in the region. Cataldo had received a letter of request on Oct. 1, 1881 from a group of Spokane citizens requesting the development of an institution of higher education, followed by a commitment to commit $10,000 to the construction of such a college.[98] Cataldo explained his urgency in building the college because "…if we do not pursue further the project, showing the Indians that our schools are not only good for them, but for whites as well, in just a few years we will have squandered the fruit of 40 years of

[95] OPA, Cataldo Letter to Fr. Hughes, August 14, 1926, reflecting of the legacy of Gonzaga University.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Weibel, *Rev. Joseph M. Cataldo, S.J*, 23.
[98] OPA, Letter from Citizens to Cataldo, October 1, 1881 and October 21, 1881.

strenuous missionary endeavors."[99] His desire to have a center to support his missions was supported as well by the increasing numbers of pioneer students who were looking for secondary and higher educational institutions. Cataldo claimed "The Whites are pressing me for their business."[100]

The three key events were now completed and set the stage for Gonzaga to begin its work: Father Canestrelli's identification and Cataldo's purchase of the tract of land on the north bank of the Spokane River (October 13, 1881)[101]; Fr. Urban Grassi's completion of the brick school building on the Spokane Falls location (1883-1884)[102]; Cataldo's return from Europe with a new corps of Jesuits to staff the missions and the schools (1885).[103] With these accomplishments, Gonzaga began a ministry that continues to this day, some 120 years later.

Gonzaga Curriculum

The opening of Gonzaga, on September 17, 1887, marked the beginning of Jesuit education in the Northwest. Gonzaga's early curriculum reflected a character that was dominated more by the secondary education that it provided than collegiate education. Of the seven students that made up the first class at Gonzaga, only one was registered for collegiate classes.[104]

The first recorded catalogue for Gonzaga College was for the 1887-1888 school year and articulated an institution whose "…object is to afford Catholic youth the facilities for securing a solid and complete education, based on the principles of religion and calculated to fit them for a

[99] OPA, Letter from Cataldo to Superior of the Jesuits; Fr. General Bleckx, November, 10, 1881.
[100] Ibid.
[101] OPA, Cataldo Papers, Sketch of the Spokane Mission, 51-54.
[102] Schoenburg, 56.
[103] McKevitt, 451.
[104] Schoenburg, 84.

successful career in life."[105] The religious purpose of the school can be found as well in the Course of Studies, described as offering "every facility for a classical and commercial education. It comprises the Latin, Greek and English Languages, Christian Doctrine, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Penmanship and Bookkeeping. German and French are optional."[106] This curriculum did not include a breakdown by year until later catalogues, but took place over the course of three years: 1st and 2nd Grammar, Preparatory. This three-year curriculum was expanded to included a third year in the Academic department, which was the equivalent of a typical high school department, with the first year called the Preparatory year distinguishing it from the high school/college preparatory program.

While the earliest Courses of Study were referred to as classical and commercial, it was not until the Catalogue of 1891-1892, that the language of business training came to be used. The reference was more of a criticism of business training than a solid endorsement of the idea for the high schools. Additionally, there was no noticeable change to the Course of Study that was offered at Gonzaga. The catalogue statement includes language that appears, in fact, somewhat hostile to the idea:

> Application is often made for a special training, which shall fit the student immediately for business. Experience, however, proves that but a very poor substitute for education can be found in the almost exclusive development of a single faculty. The most successful business man is not he who has learned merely to read, write and cipher; but the one who, with true far-sightedness, having first had all his powers developed by a liberal education, is enabled afterward to bring a ten-fold mental activity to mercantile pursuits. The details of business life can be learned only by practice; and these once mastered, superior training makes itself felt from the very outset.
>
> Instead, therefore, of adopting a special commercial drill, the College secures the most thorough instruction in all the branches of mathematics, together

[105] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1887-1888. (Spokane Falls, WA: The Spokane Printing Co.), 2.
[106] Ibid., 4.

> with solid classical training, without, at the same time, allowing want of success in the one to interfere with advancement in the other.[107]

It appears that Gonzaga remained committed to its liberal arts, humanistic educational foundations, but that it also recognized that in order to survive as an institution of secondary and higher education, it would have to accommodate local pressures as well. These local pressures, which in this case revolve around the offerings on the part of the College, revolved around the types of programs of study that were available to students. The previously described mercantile and economic development of the region would eventually begin to exert pressure on the school, given the rapid economic and population growth that the Spokane area was experiencing following the recent arrival of the railroad. It should also not be forgotten that this mirrors the parallel developments of the farming region of the Palouse and the mining region of the Silver Valley. It was the late 1880s that saw a surge in economic activity in both of these industries.

Beyond courses in penmanship and bookkeeping, there is little evidence of business-focused coursework that commonly made up a Commercial, Industrial, or Manual Arts curriculum such as that found in the public high schools of the region. It was not until 1898 that the curriculum was significantly changed as related to the delivery of a Commercial Course of Study.

It appears that the local pressure for a Commercial Course of study finally reached a level that Gonzaga deemed it necessary to change the offerings to reflect the demands of the continued economic growth and the accompanying population increases of the time. 1898 saw the first inclusion of a Commercial Course of Study to the Programs of Study offered at Gonzaga. The quote on business training remained the same in the opening of the catalogue, but in the lists of Programs of Study, a Commercial Course was now available.

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[107] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1891-1892. (Spokane, WA: Willcox Printing.), 6-7.

> This Course offers to those who do not wish to avail themselves of a regular classical training, the means of acquiring a good English and Commercial education. It embraces Book-keeping, Type-writing, Stenography, a full course of Arithmetic, with the Elements of Algebra; and to a complete Grammar Course it adds the Study of Style, the principles and practice of the minor species of Composition, especially Letter-writing and a course of Religious Instruction.
>
> *The complete development of this department of the College will be the special aim of the faculty during the coming year.* (Italics in the text)[108]

This marks the first reference to specific coursework that would constitute a Commercial Course of Study. This course of study appears below in Table 10. Notably different from the Academic Course of study which constituted the equivalence of a high school program of study, is the addition of Stenography and Type-writing, and a scaled-down mathematics and language curriculum. The following year the accomplishment of the complete development mentioned above appears in the catalogue. This local pressure seems to have appeared through the expanding demands of the students themselves, as the catalogue, articulated this demand in stating that "…the College authorities have considered it their duty to open a Commercial course, to meet the wants of many young men, whose age or other circumstances allow them to remain but a few years at College."[109] This accommodative approach to the demands of the students helps to highlight the accommodative stance that the college took toward the local pressures that emerged from the community served by the school.

[108] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1898-1899. (Spokane, WA: Shaw and Borden.), 19.
[109] Catalogue, 1900-1901, 7.

Table 10: Gonzaga College, Commercial Course (High School), 1899[110]

Course of Study 1899	**Religion**	**Language**	**Math**	**History**	**Elocution**	**Special Branches**
3rd Comm. Class (10th)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪English Branches	▪Arithmetic	▪History & Geography	▪Elocution	▪Bookkeeping ▪Stenography & typewriting ▪Penmanship
2nd Comm. Class (11th)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪English Branches	▪Mathematics	▪History & Geography	▪Elocution	▪Bookkeeping ▪Stenography & typewriting ▪Penmanship
1st Comm. Class (12th)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪English Branches	▪Mathematics	▪History & Geography	▪Elocution	▪Bookkeeping ▪Stenography & typewriting ▪Penmanship

The 1889-1900 school year is an important one for the comparative analysis of the course offerings available at Gonzaga. During this year, based on the evidence available in the Catalogue, a significant change occurred in the Program of Study. It is hard to evaluate this change other than it reflects the trends in the region toward economic development and an accompanying industrialization. This is the first mention of a course in Assaying. Assaying is the "Qualitative or quantitative analysis of a metal or ore to determine its components[111]." The description of this course, added as a stand-alone section in the General Regulations of Gonzaga, was one that reflected a significant response to the local context: "The character and needs of the great Northwest induced the College authorities to give special attention to this course. Henceforth it will be obligatory on students of Philosophy and those of First Commercial."[112] Subsequent references in the catalogue also serve to illuminate the local pressures that

[110] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1899-1900. (Spokane, WA: Shaw and Borden.)
[111] Definition retrieved from Dictionary.com September 15, 2007.
[112] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1899-1900. (Spokane, WA: Shaw and Borden.), 5.

precipitated the development of courses and programs of study meant to respond to these demands:

> The rapid progress of the mining industry in the great Northwest and notably in the vicinity of Spokane has induced the College authorities to give special attention to this course…During the past year there was erected and equipped, in a special department, an assayer's furnace and a chemical laboratory, together with all conveniences for both the "Fire Assay" and the "Wet Method," or assay by chemical analysis.[113]

The reference to the character and needs of the Northwest helps to illustrate the College's response to the industry and commercial needs that were emerging parallel to the development of these industries throughout the region.

A closer look at the Commercial Course is helpful in distinguishing between this course and that of the regular Academic course. While earlier programs of study included courses in Stenography, Bookkeeping, Typewriting, the 1899-1900 school year ushered in the addition of the above mentioned Assaying class, as well as a class in Commercial Law. A course in Chemistry was aligned with the Assaying course in the 1901-1902 catalogue. The collection of these courses reflected the mercantile and resource based economic development that was taking place in the Inland Northwest at the turn of the 20th Century. The Commercial Course contained significant overlap with the regular Academic Program (which constituted the typical high school classical course of study meant to prepare one for higher education) with classes in Christian Doctrine, English, Math, History, and Elocution. These courses provided a sort of Core program in both the Academic and Commercial departments. These Courses were then distinguished from one another by the additional classes which constituted the Course of Study. The Commercial Course described above contained the industrial and mercantile-based courses also mentioned above.

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[113] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1900-1901. (Spokane, WA: Inland Printing.), 8

The differences in the Academic Course and the Commercial course are most noticeable in the omission of Latin and Greek in the Commercial Course. This is no small difference considering the primacy of these subjects, especially Latin, in the *Ratio*. The humanistic tradition, with its focus on Latin and Greek was fundamental to the *Ratio*. William McGucken's discussion of the humanistic roots of Jesuit secondary education supports the primacy of Latin when he explains:

> The Jesuits…were convinced that he was the educated man who was *eloquens*; in other words, eloquence in speech and writing was the aim of education. The portal to this culture was through *eloquentia Latina*…This explains the emphasis on the classics in the *Ratio*.[114]

It is not an insignificant detail then that Gonzaga was offering a program of study that did not reflect this clear commitment to the classics of Latin and Greek. While students in the Academic Course have three-years of Latin and Greek studies, there is no coursework in these areas in the Commercial Course. The English and Mathematics curriculum is virtually identical in both Courses. The exception to this rule in the study of English can be found in the inclusion of "Letter Writing"[115] in each year. Additionally, while the Academic Course of Study includes three years of history, the Commercial Course only includes history in the first year of study. For the next decade, this represented the framework for the Commercial Course.

[114] McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education*, 35
[115] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1901-1902. (Spokane, WA: Inland Printing.), 25-26.

Table 11: Gonzaga College, Academic (High School) Course of Study, 1899[116]

Course of Study: 1899	**RELIGION:**	**LANGUAGES:**	**MATHEMATICS:**	**ACCESSORY BRANCHES:**
Preparatory (9th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪English	▪Arithmetic	▪Bible Study ▪Geography ▪Penmanship ▪Elocution
Third Academic (10th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪English	▪Arithmetic	▪History ▪Geography ▪Penmanship ▪Elocution
Second Academic (11th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪Greek ▪English	▪Percentage Discount, etc. ▪Algebra to factoring	▪History ▪Geography ▪Penmanship ▪Elocution
First Academic (12th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪Greek ▪English	▪Complete Algebra	▪History ▪Elocution

The first significant change to the Course came during the 1909-1910 school year with the removal of chemistry and assaying from the Commercial Course of study. While the catalogue makes no mention of the removal of these courses, they do not appear again as offerings at Gonzaga. Neither does the Commercial Course replace the Assaying and Chemistry classes with any additional offerings. It seems likely that there was a reduction in interest and demand for these courses in Assaying and Chemistry and therefore, they were dropped. A closer analysis of the relationship between the mining industries of the region and the demand on coursework would be necessary to draw any more definitive meaning from this omission. It is an important development though as it illustrates an accommodative and responsive approach to education that is often associated with the humanistic traditions that helped define the *Ratio*. Modras makes this connection of accommodation to these historical antecedents when he describes how the "…Jesuit habit of accommodation had its origins in Renaissance rules for

[116] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1899-1900. (Spokane, WA: Shaw and Borden.)

rhetoric. To have an impact on people, an effective Jesuit missionary or spiritual director had to know when and how to adapt to circumstances."[117] The adaptive character of Gonzaga, as viewed through the evolving programs of study, helps to place it within the larger tradition of Jesuit Education and even Jesuit spirituality, as it relates to an accommodative stanse.

Subtle, but important changes continued in the Commercial and Academic courses of study throughout the 1910-1914 school years. As mentioned earlier, the Assaying and Chemistry courses were dropped from the Commercial Course of study in 1909. Another significant, although short-lived adjustment, was made to the Commercial Course during the 1912-1913 academic school year during which time Gonzaga reduced the program of study from three to two years. An evaluation of this change reveals a truncated program of study with a reduction in the number of years of study, but no significant change in the courses offered. Students were still expected to take Christian Doctrine, English and Mathematics, similar to the Academic Course of study, as well as the typical Commercial Courses in Bookkeeping, Stenography, Typewriting, Penmanship and Commercial Law.[118] The Commercial Course returned to a three-year program the following year with the only noticeable difference being the addition of a course in Commercial Geography during the first and second year.[119]

One other notable change during the 1913-1914 school year was the change in the Academic Course from three years, as had been the tradition, to four years, which was the dominant trend in the local public schools and may have reflected a desire on the part of Gonzaga to be seen as offering a competitive program of study with those of the local public schools. The offering of a Preparatory Course, which Gonzaga had been doing since its second

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[117] Ronald Modras, "The Spiritual Humanism of the Jesuits", *America*, February, 1995.
[118] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1912-1913. (Spokane, WA: Grauman-Walker.), 47-49.
[119] OPA, Catalogue of Gonzaga College, Spokane Falls, Washington Territory, 1913-1914. (Spokane, WA: University Publication.), 37-40.

year of operation (1888-1889), was in fact the first year equivalence of high school. The adoption of a 4-year program reflects a response to the trend during the time. It is likely no coincidence that this took place during the year that Fr. James Brogan, S.J. took over as the President of Gonzaga University[120] and began to pursue accreditation of the various University Programs. It is likely that Brogan's perspective on accreditation and the unavoidable comparison to public and private counterparts led to the adoption of language which placed the high school program of study within the trends of the time.[121]

This accommodative approach provides an important theme to the coursework offered to students through the Academic and Commercial Courses of Study. The core program of study in the Commercial Course maintained elements of the classical, liberal arts, and humanistic approach to education that defined Jesuit secondary education.[122] This commitment to the typical Jesuit curriculum was maintained while also responding to "the desire of the pioneer communities for material advancement, especially in the West, brought about the introduction of 'mercantile' courses."[123] Gonzaga's response to the demands placed by its own students for a program of study other than the strictly classical course, in addition to the local economic development, particularly in the mining regions of the Silver Valley, help to illustrate how the school responded to the unique issues that its geographical location and the makeup of its student body seem to have precipitated.

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[120] Gonzaga had obtained its charter as a University, following the addition of a Schools of Law and Engineering, in 1912. See Schoenburg (1963) *Gonzaga University: Seventy Five Years* (Spokane, Washington: Gonzaga University), 212-222.

[121] According to Schoenburg, Gonzaga High School appeared on the State Board of Education's List of Accredited schools beginning in 1921, 291.

[122] A more complete discussion of the high school curriculum in Jesuit schools appears in *The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practic, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States* (1932) by William McGucken, S.J. (NY, NY: Bruce Publishing Co.).

[123] Ibid., 193.

Seattle High School/College

The high school history of Seattle College (currently divided as Seattle University and Seattle Preparatory School) begins similarly to that of Gonzaga with the purchase of land upon the request of the Superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission, Father Joseph Cataldo.[124] Fr. Cataldo had instructed Father Leopold Van Gorp in 1891 to purchase land for the eventual construction of a school. Parallel to this development, Bishop Aegidius Junger of Seattle requested that the Jesuits take over an existing school, St. Francis Hall, which was being overseen by a parish priest (Fr. Prefontaine). Fr. Cataldo agreed to this, and assigned Jesuits Victor Garrand and Adrian Sweere to run the school. They did so and provided an educational program closer to a parochial, elementary curriculum than that of a College, or even College preparatory curriculum[125] St. Francis Hall served as the site for the school until completion on December 8, 1894, of a separate building on the land purchased previously by Father Van Gorp.[126] This move sparked the spinning off of the elementary school to the Sisters of the Holy Names, who took over the following fall.[127]

Though Seattle College began offering classes as early as 1891 through the St. Francis School, even as late as 1898 the program of study offered at the school was "…not even equivalent of a complete high school curriculum."[128] The late 1800s in Seattle saw a major fire (1889), an accompanying slowdown in economic activity once the railroad had been completed in 1884, and the economic crisis of 1893 stemming from rapid inflation. These events did not help the young Jesuit institution. A lifeline was thrown to the school in 1897 with the Klondike

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[124] Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J. (1987). *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest: 1743-1983*. (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press), 384.
[125] Ibid., 385. See Also Timothy F. Cronin (1982), *Seattle University: 1891-1966*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Cronin, 40.
[128] Ibid., 43.

Gold Rush in Alaska that brought numerous prospectors through Seattle to get outfitted for the journey and exploration for gold in the region.[129] The economic development, followed by the rapid population growth from 80,000 inhabitants in 1900 to 235,000 in 1942,[130] provided growing demand that would begin to fill the rosters at Seattle College and Seattle High School.

The first College catalogue appears before the 1901 academic year. This likely represents the first year that Seattle offered a full Academic high school and College Course. The catalogue opens with the following "Aim of its Directors:"

> Seattle College is under the sole and exclusive control of Members of the Society of Jesus. As educators, they aim to secure the gradual and just development of mind and heart together. They recognize moral training as an essential element of education, and spare no effort to form their young charges to habits of virtue, while offering them every facility and aid to the highest mental culture. It is their ambition to form men of deep thought, solid principles, virtuous habits, and of sound religious convictions, without which they deem education little better than worthless. The formation of Christian character in the classroom is their life's aim.[131]

This commitment to the Christian character was consistent with the Christian humanism that guided the development of a uniquely Catholic/Jesuit education that was articulated in the *Ratio*. Additionally, the spirituality of the Jesuits was rooted in the belief that this educational work that they undertook had at its core a commitment to Christian formation. The Twenty-fifth General Congregation[132] was held in 1906 and stated that

> Due attention should be paid, as is right, to the special purpose which the Society has in conducting colleges, namely, not only that all the faculties of our students should be developed by a proper methodology, but especially that they be educated in faith, piety, and character, that they become accustomed to discipline, and learn to live virtuously. But above all, care must be taken that they be taught Christian doctrine…[133]

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[129] Richard C. Berner, *Seattle in the 20th Century* (1991). (Seattle, WA: Charles Press). Vol 2, p 1.
[130] Cronin, 42.
[131] Seattle College Course Catalogue (1901). (Seattle, WA: Kelly Printing), 3.
[132] General Congregations are held in Rome periodically with the intention of electing a new Superior General and/or developing policy which will guide the Society.
[133] Twenty-fifth General Congregation, 1906, as quoted in McGucken, *The Jesuits and Education*: 154.

The above two statement articulates the evangelizing element of a Jesuit, Catholic education, while the statement below does the same for the liberal education that is fundamental to a Jesuit form of education:

> The course of instruction at Seattle College is based on the idea that a complete liberal education should aim at developing all the powers of the mind, and should cultivate no one faculty to an exaggerated degree at the expense of the others. During the early part of the course, the student's attention is principally devoted to acquiring an accurate knowledge of his native tongue and of elementary mathematics, with all the branches that are ordinarily taught.[134]

This statement reinforces a commitment to a liberal education that describes the Jesuit model of secondary and higher education during this time period.

Similar to the Academic Course of Study offered at Gonzaga during this time, Seattle offered a three-year program of study (Table 12) at the high school with a preparatory year equivalent to the first year of most high school offerings.[135] A noticeable difference from the early Academic Course is the absence of any reference to business or commercial training and the lack of any coursework in these areas. While the earliest Academic Course at Gonzaga still included courses in Bookkeeping, Stenography and Typewriting, there were none of these offered in the Academic Course at Seattle during the early years of operation.

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[134] Ibid., 5.

[135] The Preparatory course was dropped in 1904-1905 followed shortly thereafter (1910-1911) by the addition of a 4th year of high school studies.

Table 12: Seattle College Academic Course (High School), 1901[136]

Course of Study 1901	**Religion**	**Language**	**Mathematics**	**History**	**Special Branches**
Preparatory (9th Grade)	▪Catechism	▪English	▪Arithmetic	▪Bible History	▪Geography ▪Spelling ▪Reading ▪Penmanship ▪Daily Practice ▪LTR Writing ▪Declamation
3rd Academic (10th Grade)	▪Catechism	▪English ▪Latin	▪Arithmetic	▪History of U.S.	▪Geography ▪Reading ▪Declamation
2nd Academic (11th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪English ▪Greek ▪Latin	▪Arithmetic	▪Modern History	▪Geography ▪Elocution
1st Academic (12th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪English ▪Latin ▪Greek	▪Algebra	▪History	▪Elocution

This marks a distinct difference between the secondary educational efforts of Seattle and Gonzaga. Gonzaga appears to respond earlier to the pressures for a Commercial Course of study. Cronin speculates that a lack of available faculty or student demand may have been the reason for the delayed offering of a Commercial Course of study at Seattle.[137] It was not until the 1905-1906 school year that Seattle added a Commercial Course of study. The choice to add this option to the Courses of Study seems to be a response, at least in part, to the local demands of parents and students:

> An early entrance to their boys into business is desired by many parents, who at the same time fully appreciate the thorough liberal education of mind and heart to be gotten in a Catholic College, which, while it prepares the student for the battle of life, safeguards his spiritual interests.
>
> To meet this demand a Commercial Course has been introduced which, besides the ordinary branches, embraces the study of bookkeeping, shorthand and typewriting.

[136] Seattle College Course Catalogue (1901). (Seattle, WA: Kelly Printing).
[137] Cronin, 71.

> This course, however, is not taught independently of the classics, but is made to run along with, and supplement them, and is begun only in the second year of the Academic Course.[138]

The addition of the Commercial or Business Course, as it is also alternately referred to in the catalogue, while less developed and comprehensive than that of Gonzaga's, similarly responds to the local demands of parents, students and labor/industry needs.

The Commercial Course at Seattle continued to be a supplemental option to the Academic high school Course with the addition of bookkeeping, shorthand and typewriting. In comparison to the Commercial Course at Gonzaga, the one offered at Seattle was scaled-down. The fact that the Course was not given its own program of study and included only three additional courses to the Academic program, leaves the interpretation that it was either not highly valued or not in high demand. The Gonzaga Commercial course on the other hand, included, in addition to the above courses offered in Seattle, classes in business law, chemistry, assaying, and stenography. The Seattle Commercial Course existed as a stand-along program to the Academic Course. The Course Catalogue in 1913 in table 13 articulates the place which the Commercial Course took as a supplement to the Academic Course.

[138] Seattle College Course Catalogue (1905-1906). (Seattle, WA: Kelly Printing), 24.

Table 13: Seattle College, Course of Study, 1913[139]

Course of Study 1913	Religion	Language	Math	Science/ History	Elocution or Debate	Electives or Penmanship
First Yr. (9th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪English	▪Algebra	▪Civics	▪Elocution or Debate	▪Penmanship
Second Year (10th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪English	▪Algebra ▪Plane Geometry	▪Elem Science, ▪Physical Geography	▪Elocution or Debate	▪German or French ▪Commercial Branch
Third Yr. (11th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪English	▪Plane Geometry	▪Modern History	▪Elocution or Debate	▪French or German ▪Commercial Branch
Fourth Year (12th Grade)	▪Christian Doctrine	▪Latin ▪Greek ▪English	▪Solid Geometry ▪Plane Trigonometry	▪Modern History	▪Elocution or Debate	▪French or German ▪Commercial Branch

The Business/Commercial Course of Study at Gonzaga was not only older than that of its counterpart across the Cascades[140], but it was also much more developed. The development of a stand-alone Commercial Course at Gonzaga, as opposed to the Seattle Commercial Course being offered as a supplement of three elective courses to the Academic Course, reflects a much more developed program. While Gonzaga did eventually embed (1918) the Commercial Course through a similar approach to the Seattle one, with its elective element in the Academic Course, it had a much longer and more significant place in the offerings. The Seattle program which began with little additional coursework in 1905-1906, ended less than a decade later with its removal from the catalogue in 1914-1915[141].

The Course of Studies Introduction in the above mentioned catalogue provides insight into the educational disposition which guided the work at Seattle:

[139] Seattle College Course Catalogue (1913-1914). (Seattle, WA: Kelly Printing)
[140] Gonzaga added reference to commercial/business training in the 1891-1892 catalogue and developed a full Commercial Course of Study for the 1898-1899 school year.
[141] Seattle College Course Catalogue (1914-1915). (Seattle, WA: Kelly Printing)

> Experience shows that the ancient classics hold first place as the most efficient instruments of mental discipline. As the studies of the College are designed to impart a thorough liberal education, hence the Classical Course is followed.[142]

In contrast to the commercial course at Gonzaga, the program of study at Seattle College seemed to stay more true to the *Ratio* model of education with its focus on the classics, the languages and the sciences. While Gonzaga dropped Latin and Greek from its commercial course, at no time did the Seattle course of study not include coursework in these courses. The absence of significant elective system, the limited Commercial Course, and the prevalence of the languages and the humanities in the Academic Course of study reflect the humanistic and liberal arts commitment that characterized Seattle College's high school program.

Conclusion

This theme of the liberal/classical/humanistic course of study versus a more progressive, diversified elective system, serves as an organizing thesis for this study. While Gonzaga provided a much more comprehensive Commercial program, it too committed to the liberal arts and humanities based high school program that is the legacy of Jesuit Secondary education going back to the original work in education during the days of Ignatius. The original Ratio Studiorum of 1599 with its focus on the classics, as well as the revised Ratio of 1832 with its added focus to the study of the mother tongue and increased attention to subjects in history, geography, mathematics and the natural sciences, both placed the classical studies at the top of the list. Studies in Latin and Greek were the foundations upon which the studies of Jesuit Institutions were to be formed. This commitment was a universal one. It transcended the demands for more individualized programs which responded to student demands and/or perceived needs. Additionally, it was universal in that a classical course was believed to be the best formation for students, regardless of their eventual lot in life. As opposed to being "college prep", the classical

[142] Ibid, 22.

course, even with supplemental commercial coursework, was "life prep" and therefore appropriate for all students.

In contrast, the public schools of Spokane and Seattle were operated with a different set of assumptions. These schools reflected the national trends in secondary education at the turn of the 20th Century. The demands of social efficiency and industrialization precipitated the development of courses of study at the secondary level that responded to student interests, labor force demands, and the accompanying role of the high schools in developing in the students the skills and knowledge necessary to meet these demands. The public schools were responding to various student interests and needs with a diversified set of offerings for students.

While this topic is taken up further in the conclusion, it is important to highlight the distinct difference between the Jesuit and public high schools in the state of Washington during the earliest days of the secondary school movement. All of the institutions under consideration in this study experienced rapid student population growth (minus the decreased enrollment that accompanied the War years) that characterized the national trend during this time. It was in their respective responses to this demand that a distinct difference can be perceived. The development, on the part of the public high schools in Seattle and Spokane, of a well-developed industrial/manual arts program as well as the diversity of Programs of Study available in general, reflect the adaptive efforts of these schools. While not nearly as pronounced, the Jesuit schools also were adaptive in their programs of study, albeit with a bit less flexibility. While Gonzaga had a much more developed commercial course of study, the inclusion of curricula outside of the classical liberal arts model, defined by the *Ratio*, reflect the accommodative disposition of both Seattle and Gonzaga.

In addition to the academic/curricular dimension explored in this chapter, another trend in secondary education prevailed during this same time period. The growing homogenization of the United States as a result of massive immigration in the mid- to late-19th Century and the accompanying urbanization; the settling of the school question that secured a non-religious secondary school system; and the accompanying growth of Americanization initiatives throughout the nation, precipitated new initiatives within the high schools. The civic purpose of the schools became an important policy and practice issue in public schools. The following section will investigate more specifically the responses of both the public and Jesuit High schools in the state of Washington to this national trend.

Chapter 5

Cultural Dilemma – Catholic and American

Civic Purposes of Schools

Another component of the discourse over the function of secondary schools during the late-19th and early-20th centuries is reflected in the issue of the civic purpose of schools. Schools in American history have provided many services to their communities, particularly through the education of children. In addition to the socialization of children, the custodial role that the schools play in the daily life of Americans, and the academic development that highlights the work of K-12 education, the schools have also held a special responsibility in the education of citizens in the United States. The connection between the Common School and Republican ideals of democratic process, rights and responsibilities and constitutional processes is one that has been made often in research on early United States Educational history.[1] As part of the evolution of the common school movement, there was a focus on educating for a common civic purpose, precipitated by the dramatic increase in immigrants in the early to mid-19th century.

This shared set of values was a prerequisite to the reflective decision making and participatory character that a democratic republic necessitates. In her work on the role of schools in civic education, Amy Gutmann argues that,

> "…the public justification offered for a publicly funded system of primary and secondary education has long been that of providing educational opportunity for all and educating all to the skills and virtues of democratic citizenship."[2]

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[1] Joel Spring, *The American School 1642-2004* (6th ed.), (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005); Steven E. Tozer, P. C Violas and Guy Senese, *School and Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (4th ed.). (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974); David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education: 1785-1954*. (Madison, WI: University Press, 1987).

[2] Gutmann, Amy, "Why Should Schools Care about Civic Education?" in Lorraine. M. McDonnell and Michael. Timpane, (eds.), *The Democratic Purposes of Education*, Kansas City, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2000: 80

This assumption of the primacy of the skills and virtues of democratic citizenship is supported by the historical evolution of the school in this capacity. The inclusion, in the *Cardinal Principles Report* of civic education as one of the seven main objectives of education provides an example of the skills and virtues of democratic citizenship that reflected the dominant discourse during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Civic education is described as that which "…should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act well his part as a member of neighborhood, town or city, State and Nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems."[3]

Rosemary Salomone opened her essay on "Common Education and the Democratic Ideal" with a clear articulation of this,

> A century and a half ago, education reformers conceived of the common school as the institution where our democratic and republican roots would come together. Designed to meet the needs of swelling European migration and rapid industrialization, mass compulsory schooling would develop in children the skills, understandings, and character traits necessary for them to participate as informed citizens sharing a public philosophy. Government-operated schools would develop civic virtue and national identity through a shared set of values reflected in the curriculum.[4]

This commitment to a civic purpose of schools has been a common theme in American public school educational history. This period was marked by a massive population growth occurring from rapid immigration trends. Schools were seen as particularly important to their historic civic purpose, particularly as it relates to preparing young Americans to be contributing members of their society. The role of the school was to prepare citizens of the Republic to be informed, active and loyal members of their local and national communities. Given the increasing diversity that resulted from the rapid immigration of the late 18th century in particular, civic education

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[3] Cardinal Principles Report, 7-8.
[4] Diane Ravich, *The Revisionist Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools.* (New York, NY: Gasic Books, 1978), 213.

took on a particularly assimilative character in that schools were seen as institutions capable of preparing immigrant children to be productive members of society and supporters of the Republic.

Schools as Assimilating Agents

Schools were to be the place by which society assimilated immigrants in the manner championed by Stanford professor Ellwood Cubberly. Cubberly spoke of an immigrant population as "largely illiterate, docile, often lacking in initiative, and almost wholly without the Anglo-Saxon conceptions of righteousness, liberty, law, order, public decency, and government, their coming has served to weaken and corrupt our political life."[5] Cubberly proposed schools to be state institutions with the capacity to "assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular Government."[6] In this sense, to be American, meant to adopt characteristics, dispositions, language and culture of Anglo-American Protestant culture. Carl Kaestle describes a number of propositions which articulate this Protestant ideology that are worth mentioning:

> The sacredness and fragility of republican polity (including ideas about individualism, liberty and virtue); the importance of individual character in fostering social morality; the central role of personal industry in defining rectitute and merit; the sanctity and social virtues of property, the equality and abundance of economic opportunity in the United States; the superiority of American Protestant culture; the grandeur of America's destiny; and the necessity of a determined public effort to unify America's polyglot population, chiefly through education.[7]

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[5] Cubberly, Ellwood. *Changing Conceptions of Education*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1909: 15-16

[6] Cohen, Robert & Mohl, Raymond, *The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling*, Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1979: 85

[7] Carl F. Kaestle, Ideology and American Educational History. *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol 22, No .2. 1982: 127-128

These propositions help to define the dominant discourse around the civic purpose of schools through a paradigm that was uniquely Protestant. Comments such as those made above by Cubberly reflected a Protestant hegemony that privileged this ideology over all else.

This definition of being an American was one of exclusion rather than inclusion, if measured against a standard of equity. This standard, however, conflicted with the dominant paradigm that defined the Americanization movement as the positioning of Protestant ideology and dispositions as descriptive of the civic ideal did not in fact reflect a paradigm of equality. Rather, it was one of inequality due to the fact that a certain group was reflected the dominant paradigm that illustrated the Republican and civic ideal. In particular, the Protestant nature of this paradigm was an intentional component of the movement. Carl Kaestle's research reflects the reality that,

> Most of the common school reformers…were native-born Anglo-American Protestants, and their public philosophy called for government action to provide schooling that would be more common, more equal, more dedicated to public policy, and therefore more effective in creating cultural and political values centering on Protestantism, republicanism, and capitalism.[8]

The Irish immigration to the United States and the resulting reactions by Protestant leaders were cited as an example of the role of schooling in acculturation. Joel Spring described the Irish example as one which articulates the hegemonic and privileged position that the Protestants held as viewed through the lens of the ideal American citizen: "Protestant Anglo-Saxons feared that the 'drunken Irish,' acting mainly out of 'passion' rather than reason, might destroy the American dream."[9] This revealed on-going tensions between Protestant and Irish Catholic school leaders which eventually led to the creation of an independent, Catholic parochial system

[8] Spring, *The American School*,102-103.
[9] Ibid., 103.

of schooling. As Spring says, the dominance of an Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture in schools was reinforced through the Catholic/Protestant tensions through which "the Catholic rebellion against public school reformers gave proof to the argument that the common school reflected a primarily Protestant ideology."[10] This Protestant ideology, which included "moralist and assimilationist"[11] came to define the dominant paradigm of the Americanization movement of the early 20th century.

The common approach of schools as a civic training ground, reflective of Protestant ideology, has a past that is contested according to Spring. The defining attributes of what it means to be "Americanized" are important to an understanding of the historical civic mission of schools. Spring reminds the reader that "…*Americanize* and *Americanization* (author's italics) referred to a process of deculturalization where immigrant languages and cultures were replaced by English and Anglo-American culture."[12] Controlling the language of instruction was a powerful assimilative mechanism that was employed by Americanization advocates. In 1903, fourteen states mandated that instruction was to be in English only. By 1923, this number had grown to thirty five states.[13]

Americanization programs also intensified and strengthened the patriotic element of civic education in the decades leading up to and following World War I. David Tyack describes how the "frenzy of nativism during World War I and its aftermath turned 'Americanization' into yet another pedagogical specialty."[14] Nativist sentiment responded to the growing number of immigrants who arrived in late-19th and early - 20th century in the United States. The

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[10] Ibid., 108.
[11] Kaestle, Carl. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983:77.
[12] Ibid., 224.
[13] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, 171.
[14] Tyack, David, *Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

immigrants were seen as a threat to the status quo and dominant cultural norms that were defined primarily by Protestant ideology. Public schools were seen as state-mandated institutions with access to a large group of citizens, and students, and were accountable to "produce patriots."[15] It was in schools that this patriotic frenzy could take root and be strengthened and developed in American youth.

The strong influence that the forces of Americanization were having on campus was not reserved just for K-12 schools but was reflected in the work of colleges and universities as well. Clyde Barrow's work on the impact of a capitalistic paradigm on universities explains the complex and elaborate recruitment of the university in support of war preparedness and war itself. Various programs, particularly in the decades leading up to and throughout World War I, such as the Committee on Education and Special Training (CEST), Student Army Training Corps (SATC) and the National Historical Service Board (NHSB) all represented efforts on the part of the state to co-opt universities as co-participators in any war effort.[16]

The trends toward an Americanist, defined in large part by Protestant ideology, version of a civic purpose of schools was one consistent with the general response to the immigration which marked the time being discussed here. As large groups of immigrants, primarily from Europe, arrived en masse in the 19th and 20th centuries, schools were seen as a place to develop in these new immigrants the knowledge and disposition, defined in part by a commitment to Republicanism, that was necessary to make them full, participating and contributing members of society. Given that large numbers of these immigrants were Catholics, the imposition of this Protestant ideology, through the civic and Americanization programs common to these time, is

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[15] Ibid., 79.

[16] Barrow, Clyde, *Universities and the Capitalist State: Corporate Liberalism and the Reconstruction of American Higher Education, 1894-1928*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

important to the context of a growing Catholic system of education seen as an alternative to the Protestant-influenced public schools.

An Immigrant Church

The United States Catholic Church, particularly in the mid-to-late 19th century and early 20th century, grew in great numbers as a result of the massive immigration trends from Europe that mark this time period. The first wave of immigration came primarily from the Northern European Germans and Irish, which the second wave came largely from southern and eastern European countries. These patterns and statistics were discussed in greater length in chapter two, but a brief description of these immigration trends helps to illustrate the impact, both in numbers and geography, that immigration had on the Catholic Church and therefore the development of Catholic schools. A description of these immigration trends are also helpful to place the development of the Catholic population within the context of the above described Americanizaiton and assimilation trends that marked the Protestant version of a civic purpose of schools.

While the discussion here falls short of a comprehensive description of the trends of immigration in the century of such pronounced growth, it is a starting point to a better understanding of the implications to the American Catholic Church, and more specifically to the American Catholic schools. As Shaughnessy stated, the "…millions of different races and nationalities…made their way to a strange country" and changed the faces of the United States as well as the Catholic Church.[17] The influx also included immigrants from Mexico, Canada, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, Spain and Turkey, and while under described here they contributed to the powerful growth of the United

[17] Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith*, 268.

States.[18] This growth served as the primary engine for the American Church, as many of these immigrants were Catholic. This growth however was not devoid of a certain degree of difficulty. The accelerated pluralism in the Church membership precipitated fundamental "growing pains" for the Church in America that resulted in a power struggle, as described by Catholic historian Andrew Greeley, between Americanizing and Anti-Americanizing factors and characters in the Church.[19]

Catholic – American Tension

The idea of being American and Catholic, and the results of this dual identity, are a source of scholarship in Church history, and specifically in Catholic school history. As Vincent Lannie states in his study of Catholic educational historiography, the compatibility of Catholicism and Americanism was a contested issue where "Protestants usually denied this possibility while Catholics always championed factuality."[20] Catholics believed strongly in the capacity for citizens to be American and to be Catholic. In fact, certain Catholic intellectuals (Orestes Brownson) and clergy (Bishop John Spalding) even believed that American society would benefit most profoundly to the "…church's moral and spiritual leadership."[21]

In addition to this tension between Catholics and Protestants over compatibility with Americanism, there was also tension within the U.S. Catholic Church on this issue. The external struggle has largely been defined by Catholic schools emerging in a Protestant dominated

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[18] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*; Hennesey, *American Catholc*; Shaughnessy, *Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith*; James A .Burns, Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, and John B. Peterson, John. B. *A History of Catholic Education in the United States: A Textbook for Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges.* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937).

[19] Andrew M. Greeley, *The Catholic Experience: An Interpretation of the History of American Catholicism*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 20.

[20] Vincent P. Lannie, "Church and School Triumphant: The sources of American Catholic Educational Historiography." *History of Education Quarterly 16* (1976): 133.

[21] Sanders, James W. "Review: American Catholic Education", *History of Education Quarterly,* Vol. 30, No. 3. (1990): 385.

paradigm, and was particularly heated over issues of access to taxes which supported Catholic schools that would serve a distinctly Catholic purpose.[22] Internally, the tension was related to the character of a distinctly American, Catholic Church. The tension between specifically American values and specifically Catholic value existed in the school question as well.[23] These struggles helped to frame a growing church, working both to secure itself and to define itself in a rapidly growing United States. The two contexts, Catholic struggles to establish Catholic schools under a dominant Protestant paradigm, and the internal tension in the Church over Americanism, serve to frame the literature on this topic.

Father Thomas Schields, Catholic educational historian at the Catholic University of America at the turn of the 20th century, wrote:

> In the great task before us of Americanizing the children of the nation, particularly the foreign born and the children of foreign born parents, the Catholic school has many advantages which the state schools do not share and the Catholic schools should, therefore, be proportionately more effective in performing this patriotic service.[24]

These advantages were to be found in the morality and spirituality that was to be integrated into the educational experiences that Catholic schools were to supply. Shield's statement is an example of a trend in Catholic Educational historiography as it relates to the intersection of a distinctly Catholic and American identity. The works of early scholars such as Isaak Hecker

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[22] L. P. Jorgenson, *The State and the Non-Public School: 1825-1925.* (Columbia, MO: University Press, 1987); Neil G. McCluskey, *Catholic Viewpoint on Education.* (Garden City, NY: Hanover House, 1959); Shields, Thomas. E, "Catholic Education: The basis of True Americanization." In Walter. B. Kolesnik, & Edward. J. Power (Eds.), *Catholic Education: A Book of Readings* (pp. 27-38). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965; Douglas J. Slawson, *The Foundation and First Decade of the National Catholic Welfare Council.* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992).

[23] Philip Gleason, "Baltimore III and Education." *U.S. Catholic Historian 4* (1985); Philip Gleason, *Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Andrew M. Greeley, The *Catholic Experience: An Interpretation of the History of American Catholicism*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967); Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); F. B. Veverka, *'For God and Country': Catholic Schooling in the 1920s.* (New York: Garland, 1988).

[24] Shields, 19

(1819-1888) and Orestes Brownson (1803-1876) championed a brand of Catholicism companionable with Americanism. Scholars have continued to write about this relationship.

The debate over sending Catholic children to public schools, which were seen as being considerably influenced by Protestant ideology, pusuing public funds for Catholic schools, or forging and course independent of public funding came to be known as the "school question." Significant to the debates on the school question and the compatibility between the American and Catholic identity was the friction over these issues internally. Not isolated to tensions with a Protestant paradigm, the school question precipitated great tension within the U.S. Catholic Church itself. Contemporary studies have looked at the issues of Americanization and Catholicism through the de-nationalization of the parishes and the curriculum in largely ethnic schools in the early parochial school days.[25] Common to the immigration patterns of this time, ethnic enclaves popped up in cities as immigrant groups settled with members of the Eurpean communities from which they came. What resulted was a Catholic parish community that reflected these ethnic distinctions and developed schools that were responsible for the preservation of the cultural norms of these groups. These trends eventually shifted however as the period came to be one which reflected the adaptation of Catholic to that of American such that the two would be compatible within both parishes and schools.

A more modern and focused study which illuminates this trend was done by Veverka in his exploration of Catholic Schooling in the 1920s. His book *For God and Country: Catholic School in the 1920s* (1988) reflects the role that the schools played in contesting the struggle between a Catholic and American identity, particularly through the defense of the Catholic

[25] Thomas M. Matovina, "The National Parish and Americanization." *U.S. Catholic Historian 17* (1999). William J. Galush, "What Should Janek Learn? Staffing and Curriculum in Polish-American Parochial Schools, 1870-1940." *History of Education Quarterly 40* (2000).

school movement, and the more accommodative approaches such as the pursuit of accreditation. He concludes that the Catholics chose to develop a parallel independent system of schools from the public system, while accepting the "Americanization in the form of state regulation of parochial schools and argued that their schools were the most truly American in the land – separatism and Americanism united."[26] A study by Anne Marie Ryan, (2006) *Negotiating Assimilation: Chicago Catholic High Schools' Pursuit of Accreditation in the Early Twentieth Century*, reflected the pressures that led Catholic schools to pursue accreditation as part of a larger assimilative role that Catholic schools attended to as participants in the Americanization trend of the time. Her study explored the internal and competitive pressures that led to the pursuit of accreditation by the Catholic high schools. This fact is important in that the Catholic schools, while developed to deliver a parallel system of uniquely Catholic education, still faced the pressures to provide an equivalent education. This is not to say the same, as a fundamental purpose of Catholic education was the integration of religion and faith throughout all of the educational experience, but it does illustrate the reality that these schools served students and families with aspirations that transcended an exclusively religious mandate. The pursuit of accreditation, by Catholic schools, reflected the competitive pressures imposed on the Catholic schools by outside forces.

Americanizing versus Anti-Americanizing Forces and Characters

The tension in the United States Catholic Church between Americanizing and Anti-Americanizing forces is enmeshed in the development of the Catholic schools system, as a fundamental element of the debate revolved around the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith, to the growing number of faithful in the United States. The relationship between the church, the

[26] Sanders, Review: American Catholic Education, 383.

state, and the family, especially as it related to the passing on of the Catholic faith was fundamental.

The rapid growth of the immigrant Catholic population did not happen without growing panic concerning such an expansion. As most of the immigrants were working-class people, many of whom were unskilled laborers, there was a tendency for them to consolidate by national group in urban centers.[27] The subsequent development of national communities precipitated an acceleration of the tension between American Church forces and actors who favored the Americanization of the Church, and its members who opposed it.[28]

The Americanization efforts, with their desire to have diverse parish communities as opposed to ethnically defined churches and schools, especially on the part of Bishops Carroll, Ireland Keane, and Archbishop Gibbons were rooted in a devotion to both the Republic and the Church.[29] Tension arose between these Americanizing clergy and anti-Americanizering clergy, such as Bishops Corrigon and McQuaid, over the adaptive and accommodating direction and integration of Catholic Church culture with the merging American culture. Additionally, the relationship between the Hierarchy in Rome and the Church leadership in the United States was strained, especially as their relationship reflected the respective visions on the power distribution of the Church. The Hierarch in Rome was concerned that the modernizing forces of the United States culture, and its commitment to the Republic, might supersede a commitment to and

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[27] Shaughnessy, *Gerald. Has The Immigrant Kept the Faith? A Study of Immigration and Catholic Growth in the United States 1790-1920*. New York: Macmillan, 1925; Hennesey, James. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981; Dolan, James. P. *The American Catholic Experience: A History From Colonial Times to the Present.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.

[28] Greeley, Andrew. M. *The Catholic Experience: An Interpretation of the History of American Catholicism.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967.

[29] See Footnote #40

obedience to the Church. Divergent views of the United States Church by the Americanizing and Anti-Americanizing forces within the Church added even more tension.

The Americanization trends in the United States, as well as those within the American Church, were both proactive and reactive. They were proactive in their desire to grow an American church, and reactive in that some of the Nativist trends of the time, with their anti-immigrant and anti-American sentiments precipitated a need to articulate and defend an Americanized Catholic Church.[30] This Americanized approach envisioned a Church that put aside customs and language of the dominantly European context, in favor of assuming the values and culture of American Society.[31] Additionally, this Americanizing approach did not see the democratic values and systems of the Republic as a threat to the Church. Rather they saw them, assuming they were working "outside" of the Church, as qualities not in conflict with the Church and in fact as a force which would help precipitate growth and expansion of the Church.

Chief among those in support of the Americanization of the United States Catholic Church was the "First Citizen" himself, Bishop John Carroll of Maryland, the first Bishop elected in the U.S. Church. The title "First Citizen" can be traced to a series of public debates, conducted primarily in the Maryland *Gazette* through a back-and-forth series of articles, in which Carroll assumed the title of "First Citizen" in defense of efforts being made to limit the fees that the British governor could collect.[32] This story and the subsequent title reflected Carroll's commitment to the Republic.[33] This loyalty was carried on by the very public and very verbose John Ireland, Bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, from 1884-1919. Ireland displayed a remarkable devotion to the American Republic: "Republic of America, receive from me the tribute of my

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[30] Jorgenson, L. P. *The State and the Non-Public School: 1825-1925*. Columbia, MO: University Press, 1987: 28
[31] Greeley, *The Catholic Experience*, 33.
[32] Ibid, 37
[33] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience,* 107

love and my loyalty. With my whole soul I do the homage. I pray from my heart that thy glory be never dimmed."[34] Like Carroll and other Americanists, Ireland did not see an incompatibility between American and Catholic: "I can truly say that my Catholic heart and my American heart are one…Church and Country; soul and body; the one is necessary to the other, and there is no distinction between the love we owe to the one and that with the other demands."[35] Ireland's controversial speech to the National Education Association (NEA) in 1890 was often interpreted as support for public schools at the expense of Catholic ones. This was reiterated by the Fairbault and Stillwater plans, which displayed an accommodating sentiment that reflected the disposition of the Americanizers of the time.[36]

Of additional concern to the Americanizers such as Carroll and Ireland was the desire for the Church to pursue a policy for the cultural assimilation of its members to American society. John Carroll made his wishes for a native born clergy very clear during his time as Bishop. Carroll was convinced that the American Church needed clergy who were "accustomed to our climate and acquainted with the tempers, manners, and government of the people, to whom they are to dispense the ministry of salvation."[37] While this goal was far from being achieved during Carroll's tenure, he "…insisted that they not only learn English, but also become sensitized to American Culture."[38] Ireland as well supported the assimilation paradigm and "…favored the Americanization of the foreign-born and abhorred any step that would promote a 'spirit of nationalism' among the diverse groups of immigrants in the church."[39] Ireland was an outspoken opponent of the efforts of German and Polish clergy in the United States to gain approval for

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[34] Greeley, *The Catholic Experience*, 153
[35] Ibid, 148
[36] Burns, James. A., Kohlbrenner, Bernard. J., & Peterson, John. B. *A History of Catholic Education in the United States: A Textbook for Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges.* New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937.
[37] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience,* 107
[38] Ibid, 108
[39] Ibid, 298

ethnic parishes that functioned with the native language and culture of the immigrant group. Ireland argued that "It is the knowing of the language of the land…to prove our attachment to our laws, and our willingness to adopt, as dutiful citizens, all that is good and laudable in its social life and civilization."[40] This assimilative paradigm came to be a powerful force within the Americanizing efforts of Church leaders.

In addition to its approach to American culture and the role of the Church in engaging and assimilating its members, the Americanizing leaders of the Church pursued a vision of the institutional structure of the Church in the United States. Their vision was in opposition to many Church leaders in Europe, as well as to the anti-Americanizing factions within the United States Church. John Carroll took the lead in this arena even prior to his election as the first Bishop of the United States. He envisioned a Church led by a native clergy that was independent in its capacity to shape a system of internal governance, elect bishops, and the democratization of Church life through lay participation. This approach borrowed certain elements of the European-based Catholic Enlightenment while still remaining uniquely American through the commitment to Republican institutions and to the character of American culture following the Revolution.

In contrast to the accommodating and assimilating approaches of the Americanizers discussed above, there were leaders within the American Church hierarchy who saw the establishment and subsequent growth of the Catholic Church as needing to be counter-cultural to American society instead of adaptive. As described by Greeley, their vision was of an American Church that was at once in America but stood apart from it. This tradition saw Catholicism as "…a subculture having values which are distinctively different from the values of the larger society…and the Church's role in American life is not to become thoroughly integrated into it,

[40] Ibid, 302

but rather to stand apart from it and condemn those evils which it sees all around it."[41] These evils, in the views of the anti-Americanizers, could be found in the Protestant character of the public schools defined by the reading of the King James Bible and the anti-catholic textbooks that prevailed, or even worse through the godless approach to education that the public schools proposed. In contrast to the devotion to the Republic expressed by Carroll and Ireland, the anti-Americanizing sentiments of the likes of the Archbishop of New York, Michael Corrigon, Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, NY, expressed a belief that "…the more the Church compromises with American institutions and American culture the less Catholic it will be."[42] This modern culture, committed to a Protestant ideology, proposed an America counter to their view of what it meant to be Catholic and loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. This tension provides an important analytical lens through which to investigate the approach by the Catholic schools to this issue as they continued to emerge as parochial K-8 schools and as Catholic secondary and higher education insitutions.

The Nativist sentiments, as they were known, of the mid-1800s reflected a growing anti-immigrant and correspondingly anti-Catholic fervor in the United States. While rooted in xenophobic tendencies certainly, the anti-Catholic element finds its antecedent in part "since Martin Luther rallied the German princes against the Church in Rome."[43] This movement reached a zenith in the successes achieved by the avowed anti-Catholic Know-Nothing party. This hostility proved to be an impetus for the anti-Americanizing forces within the Church as it reflected a disposition that was "Hostile to the Protestant majority, suspicious of governmental

[41] Greeley, *The Catholic Experience*, 20
[42] Ibid
[43] Jorgenson, L. P. *The State and the Non-Public School: 1825-1925*, 28

enterprise, and averse to the active, melioristic spirit of the times…Their Catholicism was the symbol as well as the seal of their separation from culture."[44]

As with the Americanizers, of primary importance to the anti-Americanizers, and therefore the source of conflict between the two, was the relationship between the Roman hierarchy of the Church, particularly with regard to Church governance and the role of national communities within the Catholic Church. Bishops Corrigan and McQuaid advanced a position for the American Church that was the antithesis of the accommodative and adaptive stance of Americanists like Gibbons and Ireland. As Dolan describes, McQuaid believed that, "Rather than build bridges and seek accommodation with the American system, he sought to erect walls to protect the children from the 'wolves of the world' who were 'destroying countless numbers of the unguarded ones'; and so 'if the walls are not high enough,' said McQuaid, 'they must be raised, if they are not strong enough, they must be strengthened.'"[45] While this quote is in response to the debate over schooling of Catholic children, it captures the spirit of separation and an aversion to adaptation and accommodation to American culture. Archbishop Corrigon, while being a friend and an apprentice of McQuaid's, shared his conviction and "…implicitly denied concord between the Assumptions of America and those of the Church."[46] These "Assumptions of America" were either non-religious or embedded with Protestant ideology; both of which were unacceptable to the anti-Americanizers like Corrigon and McQuaid. Corrigon had an institutional concept of the Church; the Church was the ultimate authority, unchanging and

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[44] Cross, Robert. D. *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958: 25

[45] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience,* 273

[46] Slawson, Douglas. J. *The Foundation and First Decade of the National Catholic Welfare Council*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992: 5

divine. This disposition did not allow for the adaptation and accommodation of the Americanizers.

In stark contrast to the assimilative approach of the Americanizers were the nationalistic efforts on the part of the Polish and especially German clergy during this time. Most illustrative of this tension was the movement, labeled Cahenslyism, initiated by German lay people and clergy alike. Named after a German Catholic layman, Peter Paul Cahensly, this movement was directed at Rome in an effort to gain support for German Catholics in the United States. Following the meeting of members of the society of the St. Raphselsverien (a benevolent society created to support the German Catholic emigrant) in Lucerne, Switzerland in1890, a petition was delivered to the Pope which requested the granting, in the United States, of "…separate parishes for each nationality, administered by priests of the same nationality, catechetical instruction in the mother tongue, separate parochial schools for each nationality, equal rights for the clergy of each nationality, and representation within the hierarchy of each nationality."[47] This approach, in addition to the Polish-Catholic efforts for "more Polish Bishops, a curriculum of Polish studies in the seminary, and the continued establishment of separate Polish parishes" reflected the opposition to the assimilative practices of the Americanization movement within the United States Catholic Church.[48]

While ethnic parishes and schools were vigorously and successfully opposed by the Americanizers within the Church, and eventually came to reflect the diversity of their respective demographics, the anti-Americanizers could find some solace in the Papal encyclical titled: "Testem Benevolentiae: Concerning New Opinions, Virtue, Nature and Grace, with Regard to Americanism." Pope Leo XIII , on January 22, 1899, in response to the growing tension over

[47] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience,* 298
[48] Ibid, 300

Americanism, delivered an encyclical which was clear in its refutation of efforts to liberalize the Church in an American model. While the Americanists may have come out ahead on the issue of assimilation, they would have to wait for a more liberalized, democratic model of Church leadership and governance. And while the establishment of a Catholic school system in the United States is most often discussed within the context of a reaction to the Protestant culture of the Common School movement, the tension between the forces of Americanization and those opposed to this trend also had an impact on the character of the Catholic schools.

The impact of the tension over being American and being Catholic is important to this examination of Catholic, Jesuit schools through an analytical lens that employs the civic and Americanizing trends of schools in the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries. The tension these schools felt over this issue reflected the tension that the United States Catholic Church, particularly through the experiences of its many new European immigrant members, dealt with as it fashioned a national system of schools that was at the same time Catholic and American. This framework helps situate the more focused examination of the Washington state context through the stories of the public and Jesuit high schools during this time period.

Local Context: Spokane Public Schools

The record with regard to Spokane Public Schools seems typical of the civic purpose and Americanizing disposition that schools adopted during the early 20th Century. Through the sponsorship of military training, an articulation of an assimilative and patriotic mission of the schools, and the responses through the efforts of the schools and student's in support of World War I, it is clear that Spokane Public schools pursued a mission consistent with trends in Americanization, patriotism and assimilation.

References to school's purpose in the development of citizenship and patriotism of the students appear as early as the 2nd Annual Report of the Spokane Public Schools in 1891. The *Rules and Regulations* state:

> All teachers are expected to impress upon the minds of their pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice and patriotism; to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity and falsehood; to instructing them in the principles of free government; and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties and dignity of American citizenship.[49]

The reference to patriotism and American citizenship reflect the national discourse on the civic purposes of schools that characterized the time period. This discourse demanded an active role on the part of the schools in the development of the civic knowledge, skills and dispositions which were typical of the dominant paradigm that defined the elements of responsible citizenship.

The comments by Sayer, Superintendent of Spokane Public Instruction in 1900 reflect a significant commitment to this patriotic form of citizenship and is almost striking in its call for supporting the country:

> Teaching a child to desire to obey government, i.e., self-government while very essential, is yet, in importance, one step below loving one's government or country. A child may grow into a self-governing citizen and go about the affairs of life and respect the rights of others and yet not have a deep-seated love of country. The admiration for and desire to promote the welfare of country is a distinct feature in education. Deep-seated patriotism respects law. It recognizes that a law which is a dead letter represents so much decay in our body politic.[50]

This statement positions the role of education as an important one in the development of the child as a citizen. Additionally the citizen's role is defined primarily as "loving one's government and country" and therefore the development of this value is taken on by the schools. This position, while reflective of the Superintendent's views on the issue, would seem to be

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[49] Spokane Public Schools 2nd Annual Report (1891-1892), (Spokane, WA: W.D. Knight Co.): 114-115
[50] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington (1900), (Spokane, WA: Shaw Borden Co.): 40.

consistent with the dominant discourse around patriotism and citizenship and the role of the school in the development of both. Superintendent Sayer continues to articulate his defining parameters around citizenship and patriotism:

> A self-governing citizen is important because he does not become a menace to the State. How much more important is a patriotic citizen who rushes to the defense of State? The intense love of country, this quickened public sentiment, is patriotism. What greater work can public schools engage in?[51]

Once again there are two themes which emerge from this statement: patriotism is defined by an intense love of country which is accompanied by a seemingly blind defense of this country; schools should be engaged in this work as part of their work with students.

In addition to the patriotic discourse which defined the civic purpose of the school, there was attentiveness to the assimilative trend that was discussed earlier. This trend was in part a response to the massive immigration that marked the mid- to late- 19th centuries across the country. In Superintendent Sayer's 1902 report, he made the statement that "The rapid growth of population has brought pupils from all sections of the country. We have had to assimilate this heterogeneous mass."[52] This vision of the school as an important assimilative agent was consistent with national trends.

Similar to the national trend, Spokane Public Schools adopted a Cadet Corps program in 1896.[53] This program provided for the type of military training that high schools and colleges across the nation were engaged in as a physical, mental, and military training component of the high school experience. While the Cadet Corps represented the earliest reference to a military program, the onset of World War I led to significant activity in support of the American efforts in the war. The impact of the war was considerable both in the types of activities that it

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[51] Ibid
[52] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington (1902), (Spokane, WA: Shaw Borden Co.): 18
[53] Annual Report of the Spokane Public Schools, Superintendents Report: History of the Spokane Public Schools: Third Decade: 1895-1905 (1921): 10.

precipitated in the students, as well as the curricular implications of the wartime and post-war labor demands.

The Junior Red Cross was established at the beginning of the 1918-1919 school year. The Junior Red Cross was a program that served as "…the principle instrumentality through which the children of America contributed their share toward winning the war. The response of children to the idea was immediate and enthusiastic; they entered upon every suggested line of work with the utmost readiness and zest."[54] The work of the Junior Red Cross included the gathering of donated items such as articles of clothing in addition to the actual creation of items. In fact, "The high schools knitted 1,625 articles and sewed 6,939 articles"[55] during this time. The end of the war caused a change in direction for the Junior Red Cross and following the armistice it redirected its efforts and adopted various health programs for children.

The comments made in superintendent's report in a section titled *the Schools and the War* reflected two different conversations around the role of the school and the students in response to the war. The first response reflects upon the work of organizations such as the Junior Red Cross, the numbers of volumes donated to cantonment libraries, the pledges of food conservation, the number of purchased savings stamps, etc, through a celebratory list of the efforts of the teachers, students and their families.[56] The second response came in the form of "the influence of the war in bringing about a reconstruction of educational aims and ideals. Some of the directions in which education will be modified are already apparent and should receive immediate and careful consideration."[57] The three areas attended to in the Superintendent's report were: physical education, vocational education, and teaching of patriotism.

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[54] Ibid, 48
[55] Biennial Report of the Public Schools of Spokane, Washington (1918), (Spokane, WA: Shaw Borden Co.): 48
[56] Ibid, 28
[57] Ibid

The increased attention to physical education was cited as a response to the "…painful revelation to the American people that almost 30 per cent of the young men in the draft were physically unfit to become soldiers."[58] The result was an increased attention to physical education and basic health and wellness, including basic dental and vision evaluations.

Vocational education had been a part of Spokane schools since the Industrial/Manual Arts Course was first offered in 1892. The war brought about heightened attention to these programs as "…we were unready to get ready because of our relative scarcity of skilled, technical, scientific workers."[59] From war grew a perception that high schools needed to prepare students for this type of skilled labor and that upon resolution of the war, instead of reducing the attention to the vocational program, "Rather we shall harness the schools as never before to the work of the world."[60] The continued offering of the Industrial/Vocational program in Spokane, and the significant student participation in these programs reflected the strengthening of these programs following the war.

The war began during a time of heightened patriotism and Americanization trends throughout the nation, and particularly in schools. The war served to amplify this disposition in schools even more. Spokane schools, as articulated by the superintendent, had been given "…a new impetus and a new direction to the teaching of patriotism."[61] This took form in both the implicit and explicit curriculum. The war precipitated a three-fold focus on physical education, vocational education, thrift, and that it was especially important that "Patriotism be lived in the

[58] Ibid, 29
[59] Ibid, 29
[60] Ibid
[61] Ibid

form of individual service."[62] This individual service, through the work afforded the student at school, was a method by which schools would manifest their civic purpose.

While Patriotism, Americanism, and Assimilation represent important themes of the civic purpose of education, the highlights an additional perspective, which is the role of the individual contributing to the common good through his/her individual service. Dewey talked of this perspective to a civic purpose in schools toward the forming of a democratic society when he articulated that: "A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic."[63] Applied to schools, this notion of the development of a democratic society, a clear civic purpose within which schools participate, depends on the capacity for individual participation. This participation reflects the previous quote on patriotism that demands a form of individual service. Schools were places to provide students with the opportunities to develop their interests and skills in areas that they then will be able to participate, thus engaging in the democratic process. Again on this point, Dewey claimed that "…if democracy has a moral and ideal meaning, it is that a social return be demanded from all and that opportunity for development of distinctive capacities be afforded all."[64] This quote serves as particularly important call to schools in that a function of their civic purpose to develop distinctive capacities in students that they might then be able to provide social return.

Local Context: Seattle Public Schools

The story of Seattle pubic schools is similar to Spokane's in that the forces of Civic Education, particularly through the trends of Americanization, Assimilation and Patriotism,

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[62] Ibid, 30

[63] Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education.* NY, NY: Free Press. 1916: 99

[64] Ibid, 123.

existed at the turn of the century, and began to gain more attention during and after World War I. There was an additional element in Seattle, however, since these concepts were contested and there was push-back on the part of the Administration (Superintendent) and the Board members to the pro-military and Americanization/Patriotism trends during this time.

The 1889 catalogues articulate this mission in the early work of the schools: "Pre-eminently should the school prepare for the duties of citizenship. Our pupils should leave school intelligent patriots. From the primary school to the end of the course a love of country should be fostered."[65] This theme reflects the patriotic discourse that defined responsible citizenship as love of country. The inclusion of a military department during the early days of the high school was standard procedure. It is difficult to interpret the length of the military program following its addition to the school program in 1892, as there is no mention of its cancellation in the various programs of study, but it does surface as a contentious issue in 1915 with the efforts to reintroduce military training at the high schools. However, the Superintendent's report on the addition of a military company supported its development because

> Young men in such a company gain a knowledge of military affairs which may prove useful in after life, and they learn to render implicit obedience without questioning the course of authority – a most useful lesson for citizens, and one not obtained in any other relation so effectively as in this.[66]

Consistent with the trends of the time, the Superintendent articulates a belief in the usefulness and appropriateness of military training in an educational environment. Coupled with the previous statement on patriotism, it seems that Seattle was typical to most communities; there was a growing sense of Americanism and patriotism that was making its way into the program of Seattle high school.

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[65] Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of Seattle, WA (1889). (Seattle, WA: W.M. Hughes Co.) p. 12-13

[66] Annual Report of the Board of Education of Public Schools of Seattle, WA (1892). (Seattle, WA: Lowman & Hanford) p. 103

Yet, Seattle education contains a history, however short-lived, of rejecting the notion of schools as seedbeds for the military and as institutions of patriotism. Some of this animosity may be attributed to the aggressive tactics of the Pro-Patriotism group known as the Minute Men. The Minute Men were a volunteer civilian group that operated as a local division of the American Protective League (APL) and had a purpose of "…suppressing sedition and treason and efforts to embarrass the government in the prosecution of our present war."[67] Their work focused on the firing of teachers who were unsupportive of the war (of which they successfully had seven fired); the recall of board member Anna Louise Strong; the drive to drop German as a foreign language option; the drive to drop certain textbooks thought to be pro-German.[68]

In addition to his efforts to defend his teachers, board member Strong, and the teaching of German, Superintendent Cooper also tried to keep from adding a military department to the high school program. Cooper found allies in the Federation of Women's Clubs who protested "military addresses…or any addresses of a political nature"[69] and other members of the Board, the Administration, and parents as well. The onset of the war in 1917, however, proved to provide too much support to resist the inclusion of military training in the school by the United States' Army's School Guard in the spring of 1917. Additionally, Seattle public schools participated in traditional programs in support of the war through the sale of war bonds, instructions on saving food, and the development of a school garden as part of the United States School Garden Army.[70]

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[67] The treatment of this issue here draws primarily on the following work: Bryce E. Nelson (1988), *Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930*.(Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press). Nelson provides a detailed review of the conflicts between Superintendent Cooper, Board member Strong, and the Minute Men.

[68] Nelson, p. 117

[69] Ibid, 110

[70] Ibid, 112-113

It seems clear that even in a progressive environment such as Seattle that the Americanization and Patriotism movements won the day. The Superintendent's report of 1916-1921 reflected this commitment in its description on: American Ideals and Citizenship in School.[71] The following definition of Americanism, taken from the work of an unnamed student, provides the foundation on which the Superintendent argued for the American Ideals and Citizenship program in schools:

> Americanism is more than a system of government; it is the spirit of a national life. The American people believe in self-government tempered with wisdom. They believe also that a nation has a right to live its own life without interference by other nations.[72]

While it is not the objective here to do a comparative analysis of the motives of Americanization and Patriotism in other locals, particularly Spokane, it is notable that this definition relies less on a disposition of "unwavering love of country" and instead on a belief in government, self-determination, and national liberty. Even if one were to interpret this as a scaled-down form of patriotism and Americanization from that of the trend nationally, it is clear that Seattle Public Schools also saw a commitment to develop students to "…grasp the true meaning of the ideals and principles of our government."[73]

The Americanization, patriotism, and military programs of the Seattle and Spokane Public schools are similar to the programs that emerged nationally in this area. The development of citizenship knowledge, skills and dispositions had clearly become the domain of the public schools during the early 20th century and were strengthened by the support that developed following the United States' entrance in World War I in 1917. While not uncontested terrain, as the examples of Seattle highlight, the dominant

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[71] Superintendent's Report (1916-1921), Seattle Public Schools, p. 86
[72] Ibid
[73] Ibid

discourse of the time was one that placed schools at the center of the development of citizens, and this ideal citizen was one who embraced the Americanization and patriotism movements that defined the times.

Seattle College High School

The issue of a civic purpose of schools in the Catholic schools is a slightly different discussion from that of their public school counterparts. Embedded in any discussion of morals and civic duty, within a Catholic context, is a discussion of religion. While it is not the objective here to analyze the language and offerings in religious instruction as they relate to civic purpose in schools, it is an important context to include in this discussion. Since the mission of the Catholic, Jesuit institutions was first and foremost a religious one, this must at some level have had implications on their respective sense of themselves as institutions with a civic purpose.

The material available for review for Seattle College/High School fall somewhat short of its public counterparts in Spokane and Seattle. This is due in part to Seattle's development as an institution of secondary education, which was much later than the public school counterparts in Seattle and Spokane. Additionally, the catalogue and the yearbook equivalent at Seattle were less developed than their counterparts and therefore provide less material from which to draw conclusions. These two points however, do not preclude the addition of some description of Seattle's context as it relates to a civic purpose of the High School with special attention to Americanization, patriotism, and military training issues. Seattle's mission past and an institution in the Rocky Mountain Mission, the focus on the English language in its curriculum, and the accompanying anecdotal evidence of heightened patriotism during the time, all provide insight into the

role the Jesuits saw for the school in issues of civic purpose, Americanization, patriotism and war preparedness.

The Seattle College Catalogue of 1905-1906, ends with the statement that "…the purpose of Jesuit teaching is to lay a foundation broad and deep upon which the future structure of civil and religious life may securely rest."[74] This nod to civil life is an important one for the discussion presented here. As mentioned earlier, it is difficult, within the context of Catholic, Jesuit institutions to separate the civic/civil purpose from the religious one, and further reading of college materials reflects the primacy to religion in the school's mission. Religion was, after all, the method through which to develop, in students, the morals and values that were important to both the Church and to civil society. The Seattle College Catalog, however, does reinforce the idea that this notion of civic and civil purpose was within the purview of the institutional mission.

The mission roots of the Society of Jesus in the Northwest are an important issue to this discussion, and particularly to the Americanization movement of the time. Putting aside the tension and conflict between the Catholic and Protestant missions over access to the tribes and the associate dollars that accompanied the mission work in the late 1800s, the Christian mission history is a history of assimilation.[75] Thomas Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1888-1893, claimed that the purpose of Indian education was to "instruct in the rights privileges and duties as American citizens; they should be taught to love the American flag. They should be imbued with a genuine

[74] Seattle College Course Catalogue (1905-1906). (Seattle, WA: Kelly Printing Co.): 8.
[75] This issue is addressed in depth in the following book: Francis Paul Prucha (1979). *The Churches and the Indian Schools: 1888-1912*.

patriotism."[76] This perspective permeated the missions, particularly the government contract schools which received financial support to deliver instruction to Indian children. The language of citizenship, civilization, American, and assimilation were all used to capture the roles of the churches in their work with the missions. This legacy of Jesuit ministries in the Northwest found its way into the work of the schools.

The first two publications of the Palestra (the Seattle College Annual), were published following the outset of WWI, but prior to the United States entrance in the war. Each publication contained articles by students that reflected both the patriotic fever that accompanied the outset of the War, as well as the discourse in institutions of secondary and higher education which focused on the civic purpose of schools. The tone of these writings likely reflected a more general tone within the school. Patriotism was held up as a primary disposition, equal and related to that of religion. "Patriotism is a moral and religious duty in every country: patriotism is a duty, in America it is a duty thrice blessed."[77] This equivocation of patriotism as religious duty privileges the later with its association with the former and likely reflects the discourse of the time in the general public, and the schools as well.

The outset of WWI and the subsequent entrance into the war by the United States had a significant impact in Seattle. A result of the War was a significantly reduced enrollment, particularly in the College Course, due in part to increasing numbers of enlisted and drafted individuals. Increasing wages for dockworkers also lured young men away from school.[78] The ensuing reduction of students resulted in the discontinuation of

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[76] As quoted in Lawrence B. Palladino, S.J. (1922). *Indian and White in the Northwest: A history of Catholicity in Montana*, 110

[77] Leon Reilly (1915). *Patriotism*. Palestra: Seattle College Annual, 46.

[78] Cronin, *Seattle College*, 118

the College Course in 1918[79] and lasted until 1922. In addition to the discontinuation of the College Course, the Academic (high school) Course dropped German from the Modern Language offering in 1919, leaving French and Spanish as the only languages offered. While there is no mention in the catalogue for the reason behind omitting German, it is certainly possible that the pressures which caused the Seattle Public School district to drop it may have caused the Jesuits to do the same in order to avoid conflict.

Gonzaga College High School

The story of Gonzaga is also rooted in the mission history of the Jesuits in the Northwest. The history of Gonzaga, it could be argued, is even more steeped in the Americanization traditions of 19th century Indian policy, given the fact that Gonzaga was founded under the pretext of teaching Indian students as well as young Jesuits who were being prepared for teaching at the mission. This legacy of "civilizing" and "Americanizing" the Indian tribes was embedded in the Christian purpose under which these schools operated. In addition to this tradition, the primacy of English in the curriculum, the prevalence of civic events hosted by the college, the establishment of a cadet corps and a Student Army Training Corp (SARTC) on campus, and the patriotic and Americanization languages of the student magazine editorials, all shed light on the character of civic education at Gonzaga.

The primacy of English in the curriculum is clear on many levels. The first and most obvious level is that it is the only discipline that was required throughout all years of all Courses of Study. English was also privileged as the only discipline to be given its own description in the General Regulations in the Course Catalogue. The 1892 catalogue, and throughout subsequent catalogues, presents the study of Greek and Latin "as an invaluable aid to the study of English."[80]

[79] Seattle Course Catalogue (1919-1920), 11.
[80] Gonzaga Catalogue (1892): 7.

This approach, while also rooted in a pedagogy that relied on the studies of the classical languages, also reflected the trend during these times of privileging the study of English as a primary objective of schools, and certainly one in support of the Americanization trends of the time. The student newspaper *The Gonzaga* of 1920 included an editorial that presented the assimilative place that English played in the discourse as well:

> A very important and serious problem which confronts the government today is the Americanization of the alien speaking residents. If a nation's integrity is to be preserved, means must be devised to unite the conflicting racial elements in our population into a homogenous whole.[81]

The language utilized by the student editor reflected the role of English in the assimilative purpose of the Americanization movement.

The prevalence of civic events on campus also provided evidence that there was a sense of civic purpose that permeated the work of Gonzaga. These examples are presented as examples of Patriotic celebration and ritual that reflected an important aspect of civic education. Throughout the College Catalogue, there are descriptions of civic events hosted at the college. These events were largely patriotic in their scope. Events such as the celebration of the "400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America"[82], dramatic productions on campus celebrating Washington's Birthday[83], and a "Military Operetta, Drama and Exhibition Drill"[84] reflect a clear commitment to developing the patriotic and civic pride that was the trend during these times.

Gonzaga added a military department during the 1899-1900 school year. This addition, compared with "…military companies existing in many of the best colleges and academies in the country"[85] was supported by the War Department. The discussion of the purpose behind this

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[81] Gonzaga (1920), Vol XI, No. 4, 167
[82] Ibid
[83] Gonzaga Catalogue (1897), Gonzaga Catalogue(1905)
[84] Gonzaga Catalogue (1902)
[85] Gonzaga Catalogue (1899-1900), 6

addition articulates both a pedagogical and civic purpose: "…military exercise promotes the physical development of the students, propriety of bearing, and habits of order, precision and obedience."[86] This was not the last time that the military departments would be invited onto campus. Following the onset of WWI, and the eventual entry of the United States, President Wilson, in May of 1918, established the Students Army Training Corps (SATC) with the "…two-fold object: first to develop as a great military asset the large body of young men in the colleges; and second to prevent unnecessary and wasteful depletion of the colleges through indiscriminate volunteering, by offering to the students a definite and immediate military status."[87] Gonzaga'a SATC group began in September of the following year. This effort, in addition to the selling of war bonds by Father Laherty and the establishment of a war garden by Father Bennett[88] reflects the patriotic fever which captured the campus during the war.

The pages of the Gonzaga student newspaper are filled with civic topics such as women's suffrage, the direct election of Senators, the defense of the Panama Canal, as well a myriad of patriotic prose. "We cannot honor America with too deep a reverence; we cannot love her with an affection too pure and too perseverant; we cannot serve her n energy of purpose too steadfast."[89] It seems clear, that a culture of civic pride and patriotism permeated Gonzaga's campus in support of the trends of Americanization of the time. This "love of country" paradigm is consistent with the discourse that defined this sort of devotion to country, made manifest at least in part through the celebration of key patriotic events in American history, as a valued form of responsible citizenship.

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[86] Gonzaga Catalogue (1900-1901), 8
[87] As cited in Schoenburg (1963) from the Gonzaga Papers regarding S.A.T.C. Comments were sent to University/College Presidents by the Secretary of War Newton Baker.
[88] Schoenburg, p. 250-251
[89] Gonzaga (1920), Vol II, 81-83

While the history of the Catholic Church in America is one that has at times reflected the tension between membership in the Church and the United States, it seems that Americanization trends carried the day in the Jesuit high schools in the Northwest. These schools, particularly as Catholic institutions, took the development of morals as a fundamental mission of the schools and saw this moral development as an important civic disposition. These schools, as Catholic and Jesuit schools pursued a particular type of citizenship in that, as William McGucken states: "The Jesuit – and Catholic – concept of man regards him not merely a citizen of this or that commonwealth; his is more than that, he is a citizen of the lager commonwealth of the Kingdom of God…The Jesuit school prepares not merely for citizenship, but for Christian citizenship."[90] This Christian citizenship was seen in support, but Jesuits, as the most effective form of American citizenship.

Additionally, the Patriotic paradigm was an important one in these schools and was consistent with the trends that marked the work of their counterparts the public schools. Examples such as the articulation of the importance of the English language as an assimilative agent in the schools, patriotic cultural events and war support efforts, and reverence for America as a form of patriotism illustrate ways in which Jesuit secondary schools situated themselves in the discourse of a civic purpose to schooling. While the evidence presented here is somewhat limited, the work of these schools indicated a commitment to the development of patriotic, participatory citizens as a part of their mission. Additionally, while the description of a civic purpose of schools that is defined primarily by the patriotic and assimilative motives is a bit incomplete, it did serve to place the Jesuit schools within a larger trend that focused on these two elements as critical civic components.

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[90] McGucken, *The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States*, 150.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

It is helpful to provide a brief revisiting of the research questions which guided the study. This will allow me to articulate, in a brief summary, the findings that the research has uncovered:

1. What led to the development of the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest beginning in 1886?
2. How was the makeup and character of the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest in or out of line with the trends of secondary education both nationally and locally?
3. How did the Catholic, Jesuit secondary schools in the Northwest reflect the tension in the United States public and Catholic Church between Americanizing and Anti-Americanizing forces?

The questions provide a helpful framework with which to articulate the major themes that have emerged from the study. Additionally, considerations of contemporary contexts as it relates to the themes of the study provide a final lens through which to view the relevance of the research.

Development of Jesuit Schools

The first question was designed to uncover the historical antecedents to the initial establishment of Jesuit secondary education in the Northwest. It became apparent that both internal and external forces led to the establishment of Jesuit high schools in Washington State. The expansion of a national Catholic system of education, endorsed by the hierarchy of the American Church, as well as the parallel development of Jesuit institutions of secondary and higher education were two factors which led to the development of Jesuit schools. Additionally, the national trends in population growth and the subsequent growth in demand for secondary

education also characterized the Northwest schools. Finally, the mission work of the Jesuits in the Northwest provided a platform from which to launch the secondary schools in the area.

The development of a national Catholic school system was precipitated by initiatives at the local level, as well as at the national level. At the local level, the conflict in New York over access to school funds which accompanied the debates between Catholics and Protestants over the character of the public schools encouraged the establishment of Catholic schools in the area. This trend was repeated in communities across the country that desired a Catholic education for their children. Positions taken by the United States Church authorities through the first, second, and third Conferences of Baltimore, their accompanying call for Catholic schools attached to every parish, and their desire for mandatory attendance of the children of Catholic families, all lent a national voice to the efforts to develop Catholic schools.

Although not addressed with much detail in this research, it is important to mention the uniquely religious purpose for which Catholic schools were undertaken. The goals of the early founders of Catholic schools were both reactive and proactive. Reactive in that they were responding to the overtly Protestant character of the public schools, which in some cases played-out with distinctive anti-Catholicism. Additionally the removal of religious purposes from public schools was particularly troubling to Catholics as the school was seen as the natural extension of the family and the family was seen as a particularly important part of the development of faith and a commitment to the Catholic Church. As Catholic education historian and philosophy Harold Buetow argues, the Catholic Church "…sees the Catholic school as a privileged place which is potentially a temple because of the sacredness of its pursuits, and a beacon, lighting the way to a life of moral courage and providing leadership for the necessary Catholic responses to

current change."[1] This purpose, while not explored in much depth in this research, helps to provide an organizing framework through which the more specific activities, curriculum, etc. reflect this distinct Catholic character. This approach is consistent with the Society of Jesus' perspective on the religious function of schooling. The earliest Jesuits did not set out to develop a Catholic school system; rather they were drawn into the industry due to demand and their unique skill sets. This worked though for St. Ignatius' vision of the apostolic mission of his recently formed order because of "…the reverence Ignatius had for teaching and learning as metaphors for God's way in guiding human decisions."[2] The Jesuits of the United States have continued this religious mission through the ministry that is their schools.

The establishment of Georgetown in 1789 marked the beginning of what has become one of the primary apostolic works on the part of the Society of Jesus in the United States. Some 200 years later the work of the Jesuits in secondary and higher education in the United States expanded to include 49 high schools and 28 colleges and Universities, spread throughout the country. The development of Jesuit institutions of higher education followed the waves of population growth with the establishment of schools along the east and west coast and then on into the interior Mid-west and eventually to the remote regions of the Northwest in the late 19th century.

The character of the Northwest in the late 1800s was going through tremendous change due to rapid economic growth. Tapping the area's natural resources (timber, fish, minerals, fertile soil) followed by the growth in transportation infrastructure (marked especially by the arrival of the railroad), led to a dramatic growth in population. Population figures for King County in Seattle and Spokane County reveal this dramatic growth. King County grew five-fold

[1] Buetow, Harold. A. *The Catholic School: Its Roots, Identity, and Future*. New York: Crossroad, 1988: 14.
[2] Duminuco, Vincent. J. (Ed.). *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*: 4.

from 1890 to 1920 from 63,989 to 389,273.[3] Similarly, Spokane grew from 37,487 in 1890 to 141,289 in 1920.[4] This rapid population growth was accompanied by increasing demands for secondary and higher education in the area and resulted in the establishment of academies and the Territorial University in the mid-19th century. Both the private and public institutions in the state had corresponding growth as well.

The mission history of the Jesuits in the Northwest provides one final component to the growth of Jesuit schools in the area. The foundational history of the Society of Jesus in the northwest is a mission history, articulated well by the name which designated the region of the Northwest: The Rocky Mountain Mission. The work of the Jesuits with native populations of Eastern Washington, North Idaho, and Western Montana in particular, provided a platform from which the Jesuit schools were developed. The mission work in the region provided both the supply and demand necessary to undertake the development of the schools. The supply came from Jesuit priests, most of whom came from European backgrounds, and who provided the manpower to staff the schools. The establishment of Gonzaga was designed to provide an education for Indian children as well as for white children in the region. Additionally, the system of education available at Gonzaga would allow for the training of a local corps of Priests-in-training who would eventually be sent back out to the missions to work in the schools. When the mission work of the Society began to crumble following the termination of public dollars for the contract schools, the foundation had already been set through the growth of the number of Jesuits in the region who came to work in the missions.

[3] United States Census Bureau Population Figures.
[4] Ibid.

Secondary Education Trends: National and Local Comparison

The second question provided a framework with which to explore the development of the Jesuit high schools within the context of the local and national trends in secondary schools during 1886-1919, the time period included in the study. Similarities and differences emerged from this comparison. The Academic Course, which marked the high school curriculum at the Jesuit schools, was similar to the Classical Course in the public school counterparts. The establishment of a commercial course on the part of the Jesuit schools also reflected a similar accommodative approach to the demands of both industries and families that secondary schools provide better preparation for the students who did not pursue higher education. Marked differences emerged as well, however, with the diversity of Courses of Study which the public schools offered. This comparison provides similarities and differences in the type of high school education being offered by the Jesuit schools and their public school counterparts.

The Academic Course (high school) at the Jesuit schools in the Northwest was very similar in style to the other Jesuit institutions across the country. The *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, "The Plan and Methodology of Jesuit Education", provided a 400 year-old tradition of a classical, humanistic, liberal arts education for the Society of Jesus. While never followed to the letter by Jesuit institutions, this plan did provide a template for secondary and higher education. The resulting Academic Course in the Jesuit high schools was one that was similar in style to the Classical Courses offered at the public high schools in Spokane and Seattle. While a bit less committed to the study of Greek, these programs at the public schools reflected the type of education proposed by the NEA's Committee of Ten Report of 1892. This report was developed as an effort to standardize the national curriculum at the public high schools. It recommended an academic program that focused on a traditional college prep

curriculum. While it did not contain the religious studies program that all Jesuit schools included, this approach was similar to the Humanistic tradition that guided the *Ratio* and the subsequent courses of studies that were offered at Jesuit Institutions.

The Academic Course was the primary framework for studies at the schools and the adoption of Commercial Courses of Study reflected an accommodative disposition by the Jesuit schools. The national trend toward electivism and vocational education, while not supported preferable to the typical Academic Course, found its way into the Jesuit schools. The Jesuit schools came to grips with the local industry demands as well as the demands of the families and students for whom continuing on to higher education was not an option. The addition of the Commercial Course of study in general, and the addition of an Assaying program at Gonzaga more specifically, reflected the trends during the turn of the century that demanded more then just a college preparatory experience from institutions of secondary education.

One distinct difference that emerged from the research was the significant differences between the Course of Studies options available at the Jesuit and at public high schools. The public high schools in Seattle and Spokane reflected the increasing demands for workforce training and job preparation that typified the growth in vocational programs nationally. The establishment of Scientific Courses of Study, Industrial Courses of Study and Manual Arts Training at the high schools provided a marked contrast from the offerings of the Jesuit schools. This difference reflects an important distinction between the missions of the Jesuit and public schools: the public schools were expected to serve a more diverse set of students as well as a more diverse set of demands by the public, the universities, and even the students themselves. The elective system that was a national trend also highlighted this distinction. The public schools provided a variety of courses of studies that allowed for an elective system of

coursework for the students. The programs at the Jesuit schools of the Northwest are better characterized by the following comment by a graduate of a Jesuit school in the early 1900s: "…one of the Fathers told us, 'We offer you one elective here: you can either take what we offer or leave!'"[5] While the Courses of Study at the Jesuit institutions provided for some selection, it paled in comparison to the diverse offerings presented by their public schools counterparts.

American and Catholic

"In the union of Catholic faith and American civilization…a future for the Church brighter than any past,"[6] claimed Isaac Hecker, the founder of the Paulist order of priests. This disposition frames the context of the third question, which was meant to provide a framework through which to explore the tension between being American and being Catholic. The time period which frames this study was a period marked by growing patriotism and Americanization, brought on by immigration and forces of assimilation initially, and by subsequent militarization that marked the buildup to and eventual entry into World War I. The Catholic tension between being American and being Catholic emerged during this time due in part to the internal and external forces of the Catholic Church. Hecker's pro-American tone was not the exclusive discourse going on within the United States church.

External forces, marked in particular by the Nativist movement of the late-19th, early-20th Centuries, emerged with an anti-Catholic paradigm that tried to situate the American Church outside of the discourse on being America. Organizations such as the Know-Nothing Party and the American Protective Association advocated a view which placed the American

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[5] Gerald McKevitt, *The University of Santa Clara: A History: 1851-1977*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979), 152-153. The quote is taken from an interview with Richard Twohy, Jr, S.J., Santa Clara, CA, June 1971.

[6] Bruce Nieli, Bruce, "The Legacy of Isaac Thomas Hecker: Uniting American Spirituality." *America Magazine*, Vol. 194, No. 15, April 24-May 1, 2006.

Catholic Church in an anti-American light. These groups argued that a citizen could not be loyal to both the Pope and the Republic.

Tensions existed internally as well within the Catholic Church. Phillip Gleason, the past president of the American Catholic Historical Association, has written extensively about the tension within the church over the modernization of the church in the United States and the accompanying debate. Through examinations of the early legislation from the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, known as the Councils of Baltimore, and through further discussions of the modernizing influences of the American culture on that of Catholic culture, Gleeson[7] discusses the tensions between liberals and conservatives over the direction of the Church. His research expanded on existing research from historians such as Robert Cross[8], who had begun in the middle of the 20th century, to look at the impact of these modernizing issues on the school question, particularly as it related to the Americanizing trends in relationship to the Church hierarchy. The pursuit of ethnic parishes by some Bishops and parish priests provides an example of this approach. Rome weighed in on this issue as well with the publication of Leo XIII's 1899 Encyclical. While directed more at the issue of a unique American Catholic Church with special privileges not afforded the rest of the Church, it still places the issue of Americanization within the internal discourse of the Church:

> …we are not able to give approval to those views which, in their collective sense, are called by some "Americanism." But if by this name are to be understood certain endowments of mind which belong to the American people, just as other characteristics belong to various other nations, and if, moreover, by it is designated your political condition and the laws and customs by which you are governed, there is no reason to take exception to the name. But if this is to be so understood that the doctrines which have been adverted to above are not only indicated, but exalted, there can be no manner of doubt that our venerable

[7] Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[8] Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univesity Press, (1958).

> brethren, the bishops of America, would be the first to repudiate and condemn it as being most injurious to themselves and to their country. For it would give rise to the suspicion that there are among you some who conceive and would have the Church in America to be different from what it is in the rest of the world.[9]

This Encyclical sheds light on the Church's position: while the unique elements of an Americanism that is directed at membership in the nation is an appropriate pursuit, one that challenges the authority and the autonomy of a centralized Roman Catholic Church is not. Statements such as this may have leant support to critics of an American Catholic Church, but they did not change the trend, even in the Catholic Church, to strong participation in the Americanization paradigm of the time.

The experiences of the Jesuit high schools in Washington serve to articulate this last point. There appeared within the schools, a commitment to a civic purpose of the high schools which reflected the Americanization and patriotism trends of the time. Similar to their public school counterparts, the Jesuit schools celebrated cultural events that were based on Patriotic themes, relied on the teaching and learning of English as an important assimilative practice, engaged in activities such as war gardens, SATC (Cadet Corps) and other war support efforts. Different, however, from their public school counterparts was the Jesuit view of the role that morals played in the development of citizens and that this moral development was dependent on the religious component of education:

> The Jesuit system of education, then, aims at developing, side by side, the moral and intellectual faculties of the student, and sending forth the world men of sound judgment, of acute and rounded intellect, or upright and manly conscience. And since men are not made better citizens by the mere accumulation of knowledge, without a guiding and controlling force, the principle faculties to be developed are the moral faculties.[10]

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[9] Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae: Concerning New Opinions, Viture, Nature and Grace, With Regard To Americanism: (Encyclical promulgated on Januarry 22, 1899).

[10] Gonzaga Catalogue, 1913-1914: 8.

This notion of being "made better citizens" through the development of moral faculties, based in particular on religious formation, marks the unique character of the Jesuit approach to civic education.

Implications

The goals of this research, as described in the Introduction were both descriptive and analytical. Descriptive in that the project was designed to "Breathe in Tradition," as Fr. Steve Sundborg stated in the Jesuit/Lay conference I attended this summer. A primary objective, as articulated by the research questions, was to tell the early story of Jesuit High School education in the Northwest, particularly the state of Washington. These stories of Gonzaga College/High School and Seattle College/High Schools are important to the body of research on Catholic, Jesuit schools, as well as high school more broadly. This project was analytical in that there was a comparative approach taken to the story of these schools. The analytical framework was provided by comparing the work of the local public high schools in Spokane and Seattle, particularly as related to the programs of studies offered and their sense of a civic purpose of their work as public high schools to that of the Jesuit Schools. This comparison helped to illuminate unique characteristics and approaches undertaken by both the public and Jesuit schools. What emerged, and what will serve as the closing comments to the research, were three major insights/themes that shed light on larger issues about education in general:

Context Matters

The story of both the Jesuit and public high schools, at the turn of the 20th centuries, were stories that emerged as a result of the unique cultural, social and economic features of the places within which these schools developed. The early history

of the Northwest is a pioneer history in that economic expansion and transportation were late to arrive in comparison to other parts of the country. This delayed development did not slow, however, the rapid development that eventually ensued with the arrival of the railroad, and the discovery of and employment in the vast timber, agricultural and mining industries that began to immerge at the end of the 19th centuries. This context is important as the economic development led to significant population surges in the region, which in turn led to significant increases in demand for schooling beyond the elementary grades. What followed was the development of high schools that responded to the growing desires on the part of many, reflected across the country, to pursue secondary education In addition to the population growth brought on by this economic development, schools became a more important feature of the social, cultural and economic landscape as they took on a role of preparing students for life beyond high school. As seen in the public schools in particular, this task was impacted by the increasingly diverse labor market needs that the rapidly industrializing region demanded. In response to this, the high schools began to develop more differentiated programs of studies to meet these needs.

The context of the Jesuit high school was an important theme to this research as well, especially as it relates to the local circumstance. While rooted in the liberal/classical education that was guided by five hundred years of Jesuit educational experience, with the roadmap that was the *Ratio Studiorum*, the Society also responded to the local context in the programs that they offered through these high schools. While committed especially to the classical course, the Jesuits did not ignore the local context

and demands placed by both the regional labor needs and the desires of the students, and eventually offered a commercial course designed to address these wishes.

On contemporary example within which to situate this historical study recently appeared in the *Spokesman-Review* newspaper this past month. The article discussed the growing demand in the manufacturing and trade industries in the Inland Northwest and the shrinking supply of skilled workers to fill these positions. This scenario sounds similar to the issues facing the public schools at the turn of the century. It is as if the following quote was pulled from the *Spokane Chronicle* 100 years ago: "Long-term manufacturing executives say, high school and community colleges need to better educate teachers and students about careers that don't involve liberal arts degrees."[11] This discourse serves as an important reminder to the fact that schools are part of a social history and can help to inform current debates.

The notion of context is also an important construct for the field of education in contemporary times as well. Whether on the more macro, policy level, or the more micro, student level, contextual considerations are important for teachers as well as researchers and policy-makers. This study revealed how the context of place (Northwest) and the accompanying development mattered to the demands placed on the schools. Additionally, the context of audience mattered as well given that the public schools needed to provide a diverse set of offerings in order to meet the demands of the students, as well as the labor markets in the areas these schools served. Increasingly, schools are being evaluated for their preparation of students for life beyond high school. As it was during the time period of this study, this is not a fixed outcome on which schools can

[11] Parker Howell, "Help Wanted in Washington", *Spokesman Review*, September 30, 2007.

design their respective programs given that students are headed for different places beyond once they have completed high school.

Curriculum Matters

This idea leads naturally then into the next major theme which is that curriculum also matters. This study included significant description and evaluation of curricula at both the public and Jesuit high schools. The purpose of this descriptive and evaluative approach was to articulate the unique character of each of these brands of secondary education, as revealed by the programs of study offered at the respective schools.

In the case of the Jesuit schools, religion and language (classical, English and other foreign languages) were privileged over science. Conversely, in the public schools, science was placed alongside languages. This comparison reflected important differences to the delivery of a secondary education. While it was not discussed in depth within the context of the challenge that modernity placed before the Catholic Church, it is clear that this example provides a very local and narrow example of a larger systemic discourse that was going on in society, and particularly within the Catholic Church. The curriculum that emerged within both the public and Jesuit high schools was a reflection of both the mission and character of these schools, as well as the demands placed upon them.

This provides an important connection to contemporary issues related to curriculum as well. One point of tension is that schools are faced with the question: What drives the program that is delivered through the school, market or mission? Institutions of secondary and higher education are forced to reconcile the sometimes competing demands that the above questions uncovers. The reality for these institutions now, as at Gonzaga and Seattle Jesuit High Schools at the turn of the century, is that both

matter and cannot be ignored. In the case of the Jesuit schools, while they remained committed to their humanistic/liberal arts roots, they adjusted as well to the local demand for commercial programs.

This notion of curriculum has an important contemporary context as well. Currently, there is an ongoing debate between advocates and defenders of a liberal arts/college readiness program at the high school and those who promote workforce training at the high school level. These two perspectives have important implications to the directions that high schools will take with regard to their preparation for life after high school.

Schools as Contested Terrain

That schools have been historically contested terrain is a third and final major theme/issue that has emerged as a result of this research. In both the public and private high schools stories that unfolded in this research, there was tension as to the types of secondary curriculum that should be offered. The public schools in particular were pulled in different directions as a result of the rapidly diversifying population at the high school level. Colleges had specific expectations that these schools would provide a classical curriculum that would prepare students appropriately for the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in higher education. Local labor markets also demanded a new skilled worker from the high schools and as a result caused the evolution of a strictly classical program of study at the high school to a much diverse set of offerings for high schools students with as many as five programs of study from which to choose. The public schools were able to navigate these competing demands by the colleges and the labor markets by allowing students to choose a more specialized program to meet their

needs. The parents and students themselves also participated in shaping this contested terrain that was the high school in that their diverse demands for relevant programs of studies helped pressure the schools to diversity their offerings.

The Jesuit schools also had to contend with this notion of high schools as contested terrain. References and a commitment to a program of study committed to approach articulated in the *Ratio* and other liberal/classical education models are found throughout the Gonzaga and Seattle materials from the late-19th and early-20th centuries. This did not, however, keep them from another distinctly Jesuit disposition: accommodation. With the addition of a Commercial Course of Study, in part due to the economic demands of the local economy, particularly the mining institutions, these Jesuit schools adopted an accommodative approach by straying from the strictly classical course of study that marked the Jesuit tradition in high schools.

With respect to the idea of history of schools as contested helping to inform current debates; the present issue in Spokane over the Math wars provides an additional contemporary example of how school history can help to shed light on current issues. In Spokane, there has been a very public debate about the math curriculum (Integrated Math) that was recently adopted by Spokane public schools. One of the most public and vocal critics of this math curriculum has been a math professor at Gonzaga University. The argument that she is making is that the integrated math curriculum does not adequately prepare students for the math expectations that they will encounter when they enter college. The schools district defends the choice in part due to the fact that many of the students which they serve do not in fact go to college, and therefore are entitled to a relevant math curriculum to their needs after high school. The debate sound strikingly

similar to the tension over the strictly Classical Program of Study versus the Industrial/Commercial/Manual Arts programs that emerged at the turn of the century.

It is with these contemporary examples of issues facing high schools that bring this research to a close and serve as reminders as to the important roles that schools play in the social histories of their communities. This is in fact a major theme of this research: schools reflect the context of the place and time within which they operate. This theme applied well to the story that unfolded about both the public and Jesuit secondary schools in Washington State at the turn of the 20th Century.

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