6. How Religious Diversity Changed America

On the eve of the Revolutionary War, most of the colonies boasted churches supported by law and thus had not broken free of their European past on matters of conscience. Nine of the colonies had elevated one or more denominations to be the established church within their realm. These churches were supported by taxes raised specifically for that purpose and by discrimination of various kinds against those who worshiped differently or not at all.

Throughout the colonies, though, and often below the surface, a swift current already was moving. New waves of immigrants were coming ashore with different ways of worshiping God. The Anglicans and the Congregationalists soon had to share the land with many others of different faiths. As immigration increased diversity, so, too, did growing factionalism among the groups already in America. Groups broke off from the older churches to start their own denominations, adding to religious pluralism.

The growing diversity of the colonies and, later, the nation itself would profoundly shape the direction of religious freedom and of the religious curriculum of the early schools. The great melting pot, just getting under way in the colonial period, would eventually consist of so much diversity of belief that no denomination would be strong enough to sustain an establishment of its faith as either a state or a national church. The new faiths in America needed religious freedom in order to throw off the established churches and grow their own denominations. Their alliance with such constitutional framers as
Madison and Jefferson helped realize religious liberty in Virginia and then helped in ratification of the First Amendment guarantees. Religious freedom, in turn, encouraged broader diversity. This broader diversity would eventually make it inevitable that people of different faiths would have to agree to remove religion from the public schools or else remain in perpetual conflict over whose prayers, whose Bibles, and whose symbols would reach impressionable children.

Neither of the two dominant groups, the Congregationalists in New England and the Anglicans in the South, could turn back the strong tide of diversity that began to engulf their religious establishments. Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, the two colonies that most openly proclaimed religious freedom, were not alone in seeing an onrush of people of various faiths. The Anglicans enjoyed an established church and some sixty parishes in Virginia by 1700, with restrictive laws against dissenters, yet a variety of other denominations still made inroads into the colony. Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians all entered the state, settling largely on the western frontier. Maryland, although an Anglican royal colony, had originally been settled under the proprietorship of a Catholic family and remained the center of Catholicism in the colonial period up to the Revolutionary War. Maryland was also home to about half of all the Methodists in colonial America by the time of the war.

Farther south, the Anglican establishments in the Carolinas and Georgia tolerated many other denominations. Huguenots, or French Protestants, fled to South Carolina by 1700 and were joined there by Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. In North Carolina, other denominations overwhelmed the officially established Anglican Church. There were more Baptist churches than Anglican in North Carolina by midcentury, and the colony also boasted ample numbers of Moravians, Quakers, Presbyterians, and German Reformed Protestants. In Georgia, Lutherans, Jews, Scottish Presbyterians, and Moravians coexisted with the established Church of England.
Diversity also came through the birth of new denominations. By 1740, the Congregationalists had more than four hundred churches and dominated the religious life of New England, but their power had reached its peak. What challenged the old Puritan hegemony in New England was a strong movement of religious revival. The Great Awakening swept through New England and all the colonies from around 1730 to the Revolution, forever changing the course of faith in America. Church worship had long since assumed a passive formalism, but with the Great Awakening came a resurgence of personal piety. Jonathan Edwards, a New England theologian, argued that an emotional commitment from the heart would bring a person to a spiritual transformation.5

With this birth of evangelicalism in America, preachers traveled the countryside delivering emotional sermons at outdoor revivals, reminding the faithful that they teetered on the edge of an abyss marked by fire and eternal damnation. Faith became an intense personal experience, far removed from the quiet solemnity of the church pew, as preachers brought fire and brimstone down on fearful parishioners who shrieked in response and sometimes fainted outright.

Although the Great Awakening renewed the spiritual commitment of many people, it sharply divided the Anglican churches in New England and eventually helped to dissipate their monopoly of religious power. It was through the evangelical movement that the Baptist and Methodist denominations flourished throughout the colonies, soon enough overwhelming—with their number of adherents—both of the old-line Anglican and Congregationalist traditions. Gospel preaching reached the South and brought enormous growth to the Baptist and Methodist faiths. Many Congregationalist churches in New England saw revivalism as a return to traditional Puritan practice and actually migrated to Baptist affiliation. The Great Awakening was, according to historian Sydney E. Ahlstrom, “an apocalyptic outburst within the standing order, a challenge to established authority.”6

With so many religious denominations afoot in the land, support for religious freedom came of necessity. Many sects vied to recruit
people for conversion to their faith, while others simply wanted to practice their traditions without harassment by the state. Whatever their goals, the one thing that all the nonestablished denominations had in common was the need for the liberty of conscience that would enable them to worship their god as they saw fit. Sidney Mead argues that the various churches “all were practically unanimous on one point: each wanted freedom for itself.” Mead explains that “by this time it had become clear that the only way to get it for themselves was to grant it to all others.”

The evangelical sects that helped bring religious diversity to the colonies aided America’s thrust toward religious freedom. It was an odd coupling indeed that brought the evangelical sects of the Great Awakening into alliance with deist statesmen, such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Though all of them were Christians, miles of difficult ground separated the evangelicals from the deists. On the issue of freedom of conscience, however, they found a common purpose.

Products of the Enlightenment (i.e., followers of Locke and the concept of natural law), the deists believed that God ruled the universe and the affairs of humans, but they thought that creeds, dogmas, and ecclesiastical authority were the source of much of the world’s mischief. Deists generally believed, in opposition to many Christian denominations, that humans received salvation through their deeds, virtue, and benevolence, rather than through faith in God and Scriptures alone.

Madison, Jefferson, and other deists gathered their strength from John Locke and other great moral philosophers of the Enlightenment. In 1688, Locke, a theologian and political theorist, wrote his influential *A Letter concerning Toleration*, in which he clearly grasped the dual nature of religious freedom—the separation of church and state into separate realms and the right of all to practice their beliefs free of state control. “I esteem it above all things necessary to distinguish exactly the business of civil government from that of religion and to settle the just bounds that lie between the one and the other,” Locke wrote. “If this not be done, there can be no end put to the con-
troversies that will be always arising between those that have, or at least pretend to have, on the one side, a concernment for the interest of men’s souls, and, on the other side, a care of the commonwealth.”

What was the proper role of civil authority? Locke argued that the government had no power to compel the use of any ceremonies of worship: “The only business of the Church is the salvation of souls, and it no way concerns the commonwealth, or any member of it, that this or the other ceremony be there made use of.”

Locke was very much on the minds of Jefferson and Madison during a critical decade in which Virginia became the first state to end its official church. With its established Anglican Church and its repressive measures against religious dissenters, Virginia looked to many citizens like it was subject to much of the same kind of excessive religious zeal that had repressed Europe for an age. Although more than half of the colony’s population was comprised of dissenters of various sects, they were required by law to attend Anglican services. Baptist ministers suffered imprisonment and whippings.

Then began a peaceful revolution that created religious liberty in Virginia and provided the model for the similar guarantees written into the First Amendment just a few years later. In 1776, Virginia adopted its Declaration of Rights as part of its new constitution, a provision of which stated that “all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.” In December 1776, with Baptists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians lobbying hard for an official end to the establishment, the legislature ended all punishment of heresy and no longer required the dissenters to pay taxes in support of the Episcopal Church, which had succeeded the Anglican Church of England after ties with England were broken by the Revolution.

Although a major step, it wasn’t enough to completely sever state support of religion. The dissenters wanted the end of forced taxation in support of any religion, including their own. The showdown over freedom of conscience in Virginia came in 1784, when Patrick Henry introduced his bill for a general assessment of Virginia taxpayers for
support of teachers of the “Christian religion.” In the preamble, Henry justified his bill without reference to religious doctrine of any kind; his bill was justified, he wrote, because “the general diffusion of Christian knowledge hath a natural tendency to correct the morals of men, restrain their vices, and preserve the peace of society; which cannot be effected without a competent provision for learned teachers.”

Making handwritten notes as he prepared to oppose the bill, James Madison wondered how judges would resolve the myriad theological questions that would arise under Henry’s bill if it became law. His concerns eerily foreshadowed the questions that would be asked two centuries later when judges grappled with Ellery Schempp’s challenge to Bible reading in the public schools. Which version of the Bible should be used, and whose interpretation should be conveyed? “What clue is to guide Judge thro’ this labyrinth?” Madison asked.

Henry’s bill had expressly included all Christian sects and said that all were equal before the law. His bill would have amounted to a multiple establishment of religion in the state of Virginia—specifically, the establishment of all the Christian denominations through the support of taxation. Although the dissenters against the old Anglican establishment would have been included in this new order, most of them, including the Baptists and Presbyterians, vociferously opposed it.

Madison’s legal maneuvering and political arguments eventually carried the day. He managed to delay consideration of the bill until late 1785 and helped Henry get elected governor, thus removing him from the very place where he could be at the greatest advantage in advancing his bill. But Madison’s greatest contribution to the defeat of the general assessment was his authorship of what would become recognized as one of the most influential documents for religious liberty in world history. His *Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments* articulated the dual nature of religious liberty that would soon be guaranteed not only in Virginia but also in the First Amendment.

In his *Remonstrance*, Madison referred several times to the “free
exercise of religion”—the same phrase as would appear in the First Amendment—and argued that each person’s religion “must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable right.” The entire Remonstrance was a rejection of the establishment of religion. As to civil society, Madison argued, “Religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance.” Madison said that the verdict of history backed his assertions on establishment of religion: “During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the Clergy, ignorance and servility in the laity, in both, superstition, bigotry and persecution.”

The opposition to Henry’s assessment bill produced a stunning victory for religious freedom. The Virginia legislature refused to pass Henry’s bill. Instead, it enacted Thomas Jefferson’s Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom. The new law guaranteed that Virginians would not be required to support any religious group and would not otherwise endure any burdens because of their beliefs. Rather, they would be able to maintain their religious beliefs, which would “in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.” Virginians now enjoyed religious liberties that would soon be written into the First Amendment.

One by one, all of the states that had maintained establishments of religion began doing away with them in the years after the Revolution. But political battles raged in many of the states. As Leonard Levy has pointed out, six states replaced their earlier single or dual establishments of religion with multiple establishments before doing away with them altogether. The growth of dissident Protestant sects that opposed the existing Anglican and Congregationalist establishments—and, in fact, any establishments at all—doomed the possibility of any continued union between church and state. Massachusetts, the home of the Puritans, became the last state to end its religious establishment, when its voters approved an amendment to the state constitution in 1833.
The delegates to the U.S. Constitutional Convention were men from the Roman Catholic Church and from all the major Protestant sects then in the country, except for the Baptist sect. So diverse was the assembly and so far into the process of disestablishment were most of the states, argues historian Anson Phelps Stokes, that there was no chance of the convention ever elevating one denomination to the status of national church. That “is one reason why the First Amendment must be interpreted more broadly than merely as preventing the state establishment of religion which had already been made almost impossible,” writes Stokes.16

This diverse assemblage wrote only a few references to religion into the U.S. Constitution in 1787. On August 20 of that year, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, a state that had endured an Anglican establishment, moved to ban any religious tests or qualifications as a condition of holding federal office. The delegates unanimously passed his proposal, and it became part of Article VI of the Constitution.17 In his Commentaries on the Constitution, Joseph Story, a leading constitutional scholar of the nineteenth century, wrote that the ban reflected more than opposition to religious tests: “It had a higher object: to cut off forever every pretense of any alliance between church and state in the national government.”18

In the same paragraph of Article VI, the delegates also required officeholders to take an oath or an affirmation to support the Constitution. Oaths normally made reference to the deity, but affirmations did not. The delegates weren’t concerned about showing sensitivity to atheists or agnostics but did understand that there were then some Protestant sects in the country—Quakers, Mennonites, and Moravians—who objected to oaths as violations of biblical requirements.19

The absence of religion in the Constitution had a much deeper political meaning. The Constitution established a national government with certain specific powers enumerated in the document itself; in the absence of a specific grant, the new federal government lacked
the power to legislate or otherwise act. Because the Constitution made no positive grant of power to the national government to act in matters of religion, the government could not constitutionally legislate any establishments or any religious assessments, nor could it enact any disabilities against particular sects or against religion in general. It was devoid of any such authority.

The proposed U.S. Constitution endured gale force winds when it landed in many of the thirteen state legislatures for ratification. Debate raged over the relative power of the national and state governments. The Anti-Federalists argued that the Constitution would bring on a tyranny reminiscent of the one they had just thrown off—that a strong central government would usurp state functions and that the failure of the Constitutional Convention to include a bill of rights within the document would inevitably lead to violations of individual rights and liberties. Madison did not oppose a bill of rights, but he thought, as did most Federalist leaders, that the federal government had not been granted the power to legislate on such matters as the freedoms of speech, press, and religion and so could not threaten individual liberty. In the end, a promise by Madison and other Federalists to produce a bill of rights soon after the new Congress assembled pushed some reluctant states to ratify the new Constitution, bringing the government into being. Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and three other states of the original thirteen ratified the Constitution with calls for amendments, many protecting individual rights.20

Good to his word, Madison introduced amendments to the Constitution on June 8, 1789, at the first session of the nation’s First Congress. As consideration of the amendments continued during the summer and into the fall, some committee work was shrouded in secrecy, while other deliberations were poorly reported—a situation that would plague the Supreme Court centuries later as it tried to interpret the constitutional provisions. Congress approved amendments to the Constitution, collectively known as the Bill of Rights, and ratification was completed in 1791.

The First Amendment—originally the third amendment, before the first two failed passage—provided two protections for religious
liberty: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” While the First Amendment left each state free to act as it wished subject to its own constitution, the federal government was prohibited from supporting religion or from interfering with a person’s right to exercise his or her own religious beliefs. It would be more than a century and a half before the U.S. Supreme Court would begin to say what those two guarantees for the liberty of conscience actually meant.

The diversity of religious sects and their demand for the end of established churches propelled Virginia and then the country toward a fateful decision on religious freedom. In turn, the constitutional guarantees themselves sparked a further expansion of religious pluralism that in the future would profoundly affect every aspect of American life, most especially religion in the nation’s schools. It would be hard to exaggerate the significance of this break from the past.

In Europe and in nine of the thirteen colonies, the government and one or more religious denominations had allied themselves for mutual benefit. The government enjoyed the unity and stability that came with the majority of its citizens subscribing to the same set of beliefs and a single source of moral values. For its part, the church gained the power of the state’s sword. It did not have to proselytize for adherents, because all citizens were compelled to belong. It did not have to urge attendance on Sunday, because the state required all to attend. It did not have to worry about raising funds, because the state taxed everyone on its behalf. Perhaps most significant, it did not have to worry about competitors, because the state persecuted dissenters.

When the United States adopted religious freedom, it set every denomination within its borders adrift from the state and required them to rely on their own wits for survival. This choice proved a seminal one in history, for it unleashed a torrent of energy that would remake the religious landscape of the young nation. At the time of the American Revolution, only 17 percent of the country’s population
had membership in a church. The enormous number of unchurched people represented a major opportunity to spread the Gospel and to grow individual sects in size and influence. Without the government to help them, all the denominations were left to gain new adherents solely through the power of persuasion. So the denominations set about competing with each other to grow their churches and expand their influence. What emerged in the new nation was a free marketplace of religion, such as Western civilization had never seen.

Adam Smith, the great political economist, commented in *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776 that religious establishments and commercial monopolies of the eighteenth century shared many of the same characteristics. In countries with established churches, he said, the clergy need not compete to gain adherents, so they were “apt gradually to lose the qualities, both good and bad, which gave them authority and influence with the inferior ranks of people, and which had perhaps been the original causes of the success and establishment of their religion.” These clergy were “perfectly defenceless” against the preaching of the new and more vigorous religious dissenters who learned to move aggressively to gain followers. “Such a clergy, upon such an emergency, have commonly no other resource than to call upon the civil magistrate to persecute, destroy, or drive out their adversaries, as disturbers of the public peace,” wrote Smith. “It was thus that the Roman catholic clergy called upon the civil magistrate to persecute the protestants; and the church of England, to persecute the dissenters; and that in general every religious sect, when it has once enjoyed for a century or two the security of a legal establishment, has found itself incapable of making any vigorous defence against any new sect which chose to attack its doctrine or discipline.” Had government and religion not united in the European countries, there was “no doubt” that there would be “a great multitude of religious sects,” Smith argued. Each sect would compete for adherents instead of holding a monopoly in which the state compelled its citizens to fill the pews on Sundays.

Once ingrained in the culture, vigorous competition among reli-
gious denominations seemed itself the best possible guarantee that the state would continue to respect the free marketplace of religion. With so many sects in competition, surely they would not allow the government to favor any one of them. James Madison believed that the wealth of religious denominations in America was the greatest guarantee of religious liberty. In Federalist Paper No. 51, published on February 6, 1788, Madison set out his ideas on how the new nation could avoid a tyranny of the majority and an abuse of rights. One answer lay in institutional design—in the checks and balances of the three branches of government and in the division of power between the states and the national government.

Madison believed that the structure of American society provided another potent safeguard. A variety of interests would check each other’s power. He wrote, “Whilst all authority in it will be derived from, and dependent on the society, the society itself will be broken into so many parts, interests and classes of citizens, that the rights of individuals or of the minority, will be in little danger from interested combinations of the majority.” Madison continued:

In a free government, the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights. It consists in the one case in the multiplicity of interests, and in the other, in the multiplicity of sects. The degree of security in both cases will depend on the number of interests and sects; and this may be presumed to depend on the extent of country and number of people comprehended under the same government.23

The number of sects continued to increase. As the Second Great Awakening began in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the evangelical sects that had fought for a place at the table next to the established Anglican Church and Congregationalist Church knew best how to convert the unaffiliated masses. The old established churches, long supported by state governments before the Revolution, proved little competition for the evangelicals. In Adam Smith’s terms, the Anglican Church and the Congregationalist Church were state monopolies that knew little about how to compete against the
upstart evangelical sects once deregulation came to the vast market of souls waiting to be saved.

The Second Great Awakening brought another wave of revivalism to America. To teach creed to the masses would have required too much patience at a time when the greatest priority was winning the largest number of people to God. So revivalists chose not to teach the complexities of doctrine to the common folk without faith. They depended instead on emotional appeals that painted a stark choice between heaven and hell.24

The Baptists and the Methodists led the expansion of Protestantism in America, especially throughout the South and the frontiers to the West. People converted in large numbers and then built churches for themselves. In 1780, there were only about thirty Methodist churches in America; the number of Methodist churches reached 2,700 by 1820 and 19,883 by 1861.25 With religious freedom providing a strong tailwind, Protestant denominations spawned entirely new sects in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among these new sects were the Adventist Church (now the Seventh-day Adventists), the Disciples of Christ, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the Universalists.26

At the same time, immigration continued to add to the religious diversity of the young nation. Unlike many of the first colonists, most of the immigrants in the nineteenth century and beyond were not so much seeking religious freedom as they were economic opportunity. The new nation offered immigrants, especially the poor of Europe, the chance to reinvent themselves, either in the growing cities or on the vast tracts of land as yet untouched by a plow. While the opportunity for religious freedom may not have been the primary motivation sending most immigrants to America, it’s still true that their faiths flourished in the new land and that their presence there enlarged the scope of American religious diversity.

Immigration was relatively modest for the first thirty years after ratification of the First Amendment. About half a million people arrived in the United States from 1790 through 1820.27 Shortly after that, though, the emigration from Ireland started, quickly bring a
massive infusion of Catholicism to what had been primarily a Protestant population. Only 54,338 Irish came to America in the decade of 1820 to 1830, and 207,381 arrived in the following decade. Then came the potato blight. Although it had struck Ireland many times before, it returned in full fury in 1845 and for a few years thereafter. In the famine that followed, more than a million people perished. Many others emigrated—780,719 to the United States from 1841 to 1850, comprising 45.6 percent of the total immigration to the United States during that time; 914,119 people in the following decade, comprising 35.2 percent of the total of new arrivals. They kept coming in subsequent years, 4.5 million Irish in all from 1820 to 1930.28

Nothing challenged the ascendancy of Protestantism in America more than the rush of Irish Catholics. Once religiously homogeneous in Calvinist beliefs, New England—and Boston in particular—absorbed large numbers of Irish Catholics. By 1850, more than a third of Boston’s population of 136,881 had been born abroad, and three-quarters of those people had come from Ireland. One-third of the city’s working population in 1850 was Irish. A tiny sect of twenty-five thousand people in 1790, Roman Catholics grew into the largest denomination in the United States seventy years later, with about 3.5 million adherents.29 The large number of Catholics who settled in New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati would, by midcentury and beyond, fight hard against Protestant influence in the public schools. Their pressure on the system would eventually force political compromises or, failing that, court cases that would in many instances remove religious ceremony from the schools. Catholic strength only increased with the start of a major emigration of Catholics from Italy. More than four million Italian immigrants arrived between 1880 and 1920.30

Another enormous tide of immigrants came from the areas that would become unified as Germany in 1871. Nearly six million people came from Germany to the United States between 1820 and 1924, with about two-thirds of them arriving in the four decades between 1851 and 1890. Although there were many Catholics among them, the predominant group was Lutheran. Many of these Lutherans,
though, found the existing Lutheran churches not to their liking—English had replaced German in much or all of the service, and doctrine had been liberalized. So many of the new arrivals who preferred a more conservative style dissented from the American Lutheranism then in existence and formed the Missouri Synod.\textsuperscript{31}

The great German emigration also included many people of the Jewish faith. By late in the century, the origin of Jewish emigration shifted largely from Germany to eastern European states, such as Poland and Russia, as Jews scrambled to the United States to escape persecution and poverty. From a quarter of a million Jews living in the United States in 1880, the total swelled to about four million in the 1920s, about three-fourths of them of eastern European origin.\textsuperscript{32} Few Jews were farmers, so most settled in the nation’s largest cities, adding diversity to the burgeoning public school population and eventually putting Jews, along with Catholics, directly in conflict with the Protestant orientation in the schools.

Religious diversity came from all directions. The Shakers moved to America two years before the outbreak of the Revolution, with a message that the Kingdom of God was at hand.\textsuperscript{33} The Scandinavian countries contributed more Lutherans to the United States. Armenian immigrants set up their first Armenian Apostolic parish in 1891 in Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{34} Greek immigrants came in large numbers in the first two decades of the twentieth century—more than 350,000 in all—and established their Orthodox churches.\textsuperscript{35} From the East came the first immigrants from China and Japan, bringing with them the Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist traditions, harbingers of a vast new broadening of American cultural and religious diversity that would flower much later.

If America was indeed becoming a religious melting pot, the ingredients of this stew were becoming more complex by the year. The old order was losing its primacy in American religious life. Once dominant in colonial America, the Anglican and Congregationalist denominations had slid well down the list, replaced by Catholics and evangelicals. Even some of the new Protestant faiths that had grown spontaneously in the new nation—for example, the Disciples and the
Mormons—had pushed into the top ten denominations in terms of membership. By 1850, the most dominant sect in terms of number of adherents was the Catholic Church, followed by the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Disciples, Episcopalians, and Mormons.36

Fifty years later, at the turn of the century, the Episcopalian and Congregationalist churches had slid to seventh and eighth. Their memberships measured just a fraction of the size of some of the other sects that had aggressively grown through immigration or evangelicalism. At about 600,000 members each, they were far behind the Roman Catholics at 8 million, the Methodists at 5.5 million, the Baptists at 4 million, and the Presbyterians and Lutherans at 1.5 million each.37

A nation that had bet everything on religious freedom was already reaping the rewards. America had proved that a religious environment free of government sponsorship or support could be the most vigorous in the world. If, at most, 17 percent of the population belonged to a church in the days of the colonial establishments, that percentage had grown to more than a third of the population by 1900—about twenty-six million out of seventy-six million people. As the twentieth century got under way, yet another explosion of religious denominations and church membership was about to take place.38