

The Nineteenth-Century Genevan *Réveil* and Religious Awakening in France

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Since the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, French Protestantism's fortunes had always been connected with Geneva and with the French political order, or disorder. France witnessed the initial inroads of Protestantism during the reign of Francis I (1494-1547). The first synod of the Reformed Church took place in 1559 with a confession of faith written by Calvin who lived in exile in Geneva until his death in 1564. The conversion of the Huguenot Henry IV to Catholicism ended the Wars of Religion (1562-1598) and resulted in the 1598 Edict of Nantes with protections for Protestants. After Henry's assassination in 1610, his son Louis XIII (1601-1643) began to unravel the Edict of Nantes. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes under Henry's grandson Louis XIV (1638-1715) in 1685 outlawed the Protestant religion, and led to the devastating War of the Camisards (1702-1704) in the Cévennes region.¹ Finally, the Edict of Toleration under

Louis XVI in 1787 granted individual religious and civil rights to Protestants but was “written in a way to prevent Protestants from seeking a return to their situation before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.”²

The 1789 French Revolution ended the monopoly of the Catholic Church and was in principle embraced by most Protestants. After Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in 1799, French Protestantism enjoyed greater freedom than at any time of its precarious existence. Yet many people freed from obligatory religious duties and rituals fell away from organized religion that no longer wielded political power. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, a religious awakening took place in the Reformed churches of Geneva and France, whose history and destinies had been bound together for centuries, with a renewed emphasis on the teaching of the Reformers. The name given to this period from 1810-1850 is the *Réveil*, described as “a fundamental step in the life of French Protestantism during the first half of the nineteenth century.”³

The *Réveil* has been called “one of the glories of modern Geneva,” a reaction against the rationalism that had invaded Reformed churches in the eighteenth century.⁴ In fact, “it would be as impossible to speak of the *Réveil* in France without first retracing the *Réveil* in Geneva as to speak of the French Reformation without speaking of John Calvin.” The Reformed churches in Geneva “recalled what they had received during the Reformation and considered it a duty of honor and gratitude to take the Good News to France, long closed to the gospel, and now with doors reopened.”⁵ The *Réveil* restored and preached again the Reformed doctrines of grace that had fallen into discredit. In addition, new forms of worship and new ecclesiastical ideas appeared during the *Réveil* and under its influences.⁶

LITERATURE ON THE *RÉVEIL*

There are several important French-language histories of the *Réveil*. Some writers were eyewitnesses and participated in those glorious years. They provide a vast amount of information and details that cannot be reproduced here. J. Pédérzet, professor of the Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Montauban, wrote in 1896 of the *Réveil* as “the most beautiful memory of the century for us [Reformed believers]” and describes the pastors and evangelists God used during this time— Jean Monod, Frédéric Monod,

Athanase Coquerel,⁷ François Delessert, Victor de Pressensé, Alexandre Vinet,⁸ and many others.⁹ Women also contributed to and participated in the *Réveil* and deserve more recognition and study—among them Madame Jules Mallet, Mademoiselle de Chabaud-La-Tour, the Countess Pelet de la Lozère, Baroness Bartholdi, and the Duchesse de Broglie.¹⁰ Léon Maury's *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France* remains one of the classic texts on the *Réveil*. Émile Guers (1794-1882) was an eyewitness to the birth of the *Réveil* in Geneva. In his writings, he opined that many had written on the *Réveil* but found most of these works “too personal, too incomplete, too inexact, giving an idea more or less deficient, especially of its first phase.”¹¹ Guillaume de Félice's extensive multivolume *Histoire des Protestants de France* has been reissued several times and translated into English. These works and others have been consulted for this article.¹²

DEFINITIONS, DESCRIPTIONS, AND DATES

A major “difficulty to overcome in speaking of the *Réveil* is vocabulary.”¹³ Sébastien Fath wrote in 2002 that “the definition of ‘*Réveil*’ in reality is not simple. Even more, it has hardly been treated in depth by French historians ... the *Réveil* and revivalism constitute a historical field relatively new.”¹⁴ Further, he questioned the use of the word exclusively for Protestantism and asked if one could speak of a Catholic *Réveil*. Magraw agrees and asserts that for the Catholic Church “the years from 1810 to the 1870s were a period of religious reconstruction—even revival.”¹⁵

The *Réveil* was described in the early twentieth century as “a great Christian movement that arose against the indifference and religious formalism generally found in Europe [of which] the original character was instantaneous conversion.”¹⁶ More recently, André Encrevé described the *Réveil* in Reformed churches as “primarily a spirituality influenced by Romanticism ... a reaction against the rationalism of the Enlightenment, but also with roots in Pietism.”¹⁷ Mark Noll recognizes “the revivalists’ championing of *personal* repentance, *personal* commitment, *personal* Bible study, and *personal* evangelism [that] occurred during a period when influences from both the Enlightenment and Romantic movements greatly increased focus on the *individual*.”¹⁸

Jean Decorvet notes the change in the definition of the word *revival* in the first half of the nineteenth century from “intense periods of religious fervor” and “divine providence [using] preachers appointed by the Holy Spirit for the advancement of the gospel” to the second half of the century and “the newer form emphasizing the attempt to perpetuate, by human activity, the spontaneous development of revival.”¹⁹ All the revivalists sought to return churches to the “fundamental doctrinal affirmations of the Reformers,” a resurgence of what had existed in the churches since the sixteenth century. Yet in contrast with the Reformation, the *Réveil* was characterized by a “strong individualistic tendency and the sentimentality of Romanticism.”²⁰ It should be noted that there are critics of the revivalists’ elevation of “evangelical conversion” and of the intellectual deficiency of a movement that “put the heart before reason.”²¹ Claude Baty admits that the criticisms are not completely without foundation yet they fail to appreciate that the revivalists were opposed to “rationalism but they were not anti-intellectual.”²²

There were different phases of the *Réveil*. The first phase was a pietist *Réveil*, represented by Robert Haldane (1764-1842), Henri-Louis Empeytaz (1796-1853), and Ami Bost (1790-1874). The orthodox phase of the *Réveil* was represented by César Malan (1787-1864), Félix Neff (1798-1829), Adolphe Monod (1802-1856), and Louis Gaussen (1790-1863).²³ Haldane’s visit to Geneva in 1817 is often credited with the commencement of the first phase of the *Réveil*, marked by “the conversion of the soul and the proclamation of biblical truth.”²⁴ Goltz described Haldane as “the man whom God chose as an instrument of his power to bring a new seed of life.”²⁵

Encrevé dates the beginning of the *Réveil* to after 1815 following Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo which opened the door for British and Swiss missionaries to enter France and ignite the *Réveil*.²⁶ Others date the beginning of the *Réveil* to 1810 and contest the claims that the arrival of Haldane and foreign influences were responsible for the initial sparks. Maury insists that if the departure from the Reformed faith began in Geneva so did the revival of faith and life. He argues that during the first years of the *Réveil*, from 1810 to 1816, “no foreign influence had acted on this movement” and that “it is an error to argue, as has often been done, that the *Réveil* was due to Scottish or English influences. One must seek its true source among the Moravians, the *Société des Amis*, faithful preaching, and brotherly gatherings ... that little by little brought the students from darkness to light. When foreign Christians

arrived in Geneva, not only had the ground been seeded, but the harvest had begun to sprout.”²⁷ In the first years of the *Réveil*, different theological tendencies collaborated in the formation of the *Société Biblique Protestante* in 1818. A new society was later created in 1833 due to disagreements over the distribution of Bibles to Catholics which those of a liberal tendency opposed.²⁸

REJECTION OF REFORMATION TEACHING

In the 1700s a slow departure from Reformation teaching eventually led to the abandonment of the Confession of Faith and Catechism of Calvin in Geneva. Much of this began under the influence of Jean-Alphonse Turretini (1671-1737). During his studies in Geneva, Turretini’s thinking was shaped by Cartesian ideas and Arminian teaching through his voyages to England, Holland, and France. Initially, without wanting to abandon evangelical truth, he concentrated his efforts on shaking off the yoke of Calvinism and scholastic orthodoxy. He was preoccupied only with dogma which had a direct connection with ethics and a desire to unite all the confessions issued from the Reformation. Turretini sought to move away from “the Reformed scholasticism of his father and toward a rationalistic or an enlightened form of orthodoxy.”²⁹

The effect of this new theological orientation became evident in churches. While the number of pastors grew, the number and length of sermons diminished, service times were limited to half an hour, a new Bible translation was undertaken, and hymns were added to the Psalter. The importance of the *Consistoire* was reduced and the influence of the *Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs* grew, leading to aristocratic tendencies and nepotism.³⁰ Pastors were assigned to ministry positions in consideration of the merit of their fathers or grandfathers. As the manners of high society were adopted by pastors, the common people’s antipathy grew toward pastors and the gospel. Young people from well-connected families did not concern themselves with work, assured of civil or ecclesiastic positions. Other young people neglected their studies “knowing that all the wisdom of Solomon would not benefit them in obtaining a position reserved for the privileged.”³¹

Voltaire entered the picture in 1755 when he resided at Ferney near Geneva intending to “destroy piety and morality.” High society visited

Ferney and was seduced by their charming and brilliant host. They imbibed deeply of superficiality and proverbial frivolity. In response, pastors tried to defend the truth of the Christian faith with an apologetic concentrated on demonstrating the beauty and the necessity of the gospel or the utility of religion for social well-being and a sense of duty. To make Christianity more acceptable, the dogmas which frightened people were considered nonessentials. "These concessions were useless; the faithful remained callous; the enemies armed for battle."³² Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783) visited Ferney in 1756 to prepare his article on Geneva in the *Encyclopedia*. He spoke highly of the tolerance, purity of morals, and simplicity of forms of worship. Yet he claimed that many ministers no longer believed in the divinity of Christ and did not hold any teaching from Scripture that might wound humanity and reason. They rejected all revealed mysteries and affirmed that the main principle of true religion was to never propose anything that offends intelligence. Pastors protested this accusation and sent an official manifesto throughout Europe and churches abroad affirming their faith in the authority of Scriptures and the divinity of Christ. There is little reason to believe that the pastors lacked sincerity in their reaction to d'Alembert's charges. The truth, however, is that the doctrinal foundation of Christianity was seldom mentioned and allusions to it had become rare toward the end of the eighteenth century.

For example, in *Instruction chrétienne*, a work by Jacques Vernet, pastor and professor in Geneva from 1734 to 1790, the divinity of Christ was described as God intimately in union with the man Jesus. There was no mention of original sin and the goal of the gospel was to render man happy and virtuous.³³ The effects of this teaching are evident in a sermon outline from that period on preparation for death. One must 1) have the right ideas about death and its consequences, 2) detach oneself to a certain extent from life itself, 3) put one's conscience in order, 4) live well each day, 5) keep one's affairs in order and make a will while in good health, 6) and avoid sluggishness. Although these are worthy principles, the preaching was far from "the folly of the cross" and the grace of salvation in Christ alone. This reasonable Christianity soon was known as rationalism in the evolution of religious ideas. The religion of Calvin had progressed from the austerity, moral vigilance, and dogmatism of the first Calvinists to a "natural religion, a religion of common sense," a religion deeply in need of a spiritual awakening.³⁴

FRENCH RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

The eighteenth century in France “witnessed the triumph of absolutism in the political domain and the triumph of natural theology, or rationalism, in the religious domain.”³⁵ Rationalism initially affirmed the supernatural but “soon rejected what was unrealizable for man, what was not the object of his desires and actions.”³⁶ The 1789 French Revolution was not completely beneficial for Protestantism although the established principle of the freedom of religion would permit future progress.³⁷ The chaotic Revolution introduced a constitutional monarchy, the disestablishment of the Catholic Church, a brief Reign of Terror (*La Terreur*) in 1793 and 1794, intense efforts of dechristianization, and the executions of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

The inauguration of a new political order included religious liberty and the previously unimaginable election of a Huguenot, Rabaut Saint-Étienne, for a short term as president of the *Assemblée Nationale* before his execution in 1792.³⁸ During the Revolution, many Protestant pastors and believers, seduced by patriotism or natural religion, readily accepted the worship of the Supreme Being and saw in it the cessation of confessional rivalries.³⁹ Temples of Reason dotted the French landscape.⁴⁰ Synods that functioned since the Reformed Church’s reorganization in 1715 under Antoine Court (1695-1760) ceased. Forty-six percent of Protestant ministers resigned their positions during *La Terreur* and only 68 percent of them returned to ministry in 1794.⁴¹ Protestant churches struggled to rebuild spiritually, and many were characterized by spiritual lukewarmness. Some of the pastors had been trained at the seminary in Lausanne and had come under the influence of Enlightenment philosophy and the rationalism of the day.⁴² As Pédérzet describes the times, “Geneva sent us its rationalism after having abandoned its ancient faith. Rousseau took the place of Calvin. Jesus Christ was not God manifested in the flesh, nor the Savior of men ... If this was still religion, it was no longer Christianity.”⁴³

In the early 1800s French Reformed churches still formally upheld the *Confession de La Rochelle*. The preaching in the churches, however, had long undergone a change in the direction of rationalism. There was an emphasis on “morality, appeals to the conscience, and religious aphorisms. One strived for orations on the beauty of virtue and the ugliness of vice and constructed

moral theories, as did Socrates under the Portico of Zeus.”⁴⁴ The words of Jesus were rarely quoted to avoid “difficult questions concerning his nature, the role of the crucifixion, or the profound meaning of the resurrection.”⁴⁵ Some philosophers of the eighteenth century, including Voltaire, had been allies of Protestants in their struggle against religious fanaticism, and many churches and pastors succumbed to the siren call of morality and virtue separated from dogma. Duty and virtue figured prominently in sermons with references to the Supreme Being and the Architect of the Universe.⁴⁶ Church members were scandalized when faithful pastors, influenced by the Moravians, preached on man’s state of sin, the condemnation under which all people stand by nature, and the necessity of salvation in Christ alone.⁴⁷ Pastor Étienne Gibert of Bordeaux appeared seven times before the *Consistoire* for his refusal to abstain from discussing these subjects and was assigned to another church. Rather than provoke a schism he left for England.⁴⁸

Napoleon Bonaparte came to power in 1799 to reverse many of the gains of the French Revolution. Ten years earlier the Catholic Church had been forced to relinquish its possessions and land holdings. The Church had been nationalized and its ministers were elected by church members without any consultation with or approval of Rome. Napoleon sought to bring the Catholic Church under his control for political purposes. An alliance with the Church became a political necessity since many French were still attached to the Church. Pope Pius VII (1742–1823) was elected in 1800 and desired to restore the unity of the Church in a nation that was the most powerful Catholic nation at the time. The Concordat was signed in 1801 between Napoleon and Pius VII to restore the prestige of the Catholic Church. Catholicism, however, was no longer recognized as the religion of the State but as “the religion of the great majority of French citizens.”⁴⁹ Although the Concordat offered a level of religious pluralism, Napoleon’s objective was the control of religion for societal submission. Religions were considered a public service and on equal footing. The head of State appointed bishops while those bishops previously loyal to Rome were forced to resign. The State retained possession of Catholic property seized after the Revolution and assured the upkeep of certain properties.⁵⁰

The *Articles Organiques* (Organic Articles) were administrative regulations unilaterally imposed and promulgated in 1802. They provided state

recognition of the Reformed and Lutheran confessions alongside the Catholic Church. Napoleon intended to prevent a return to past religious conflict and reorganize the Protestant religion. The legal protection and subsidies came at a price and placed Protestant churches and pastors under the surveillance of the State. Protestants were given access to most public positions and pastors became paid employees of the State with an oath of loyalty to the State. Churches were reorganized into consistories and appointments to pastoral positions required government confirmation.⁵¹ Evangelical expansion in the country was hindered by Article one which prohibited ministry in France to all foreigners. Article three required pastors to pray publicly for “the prosperity of the French Republic and for the Consuls.” Napoleon created a Protestant Faculty of Theology at Montauban in 1808 and seminary professors were appointed by the First Consul. Protestants were divided in their views of the Concordat and *Articles Organiques* which brought churches into the service of the State. The Napoleonic penal code harshly sanctioned all possibility of gatherings apart from official religious confessions.⁵² Over time, however, some Reformed church leaders came to believe that defending the concordataire arrangement was not possible. They called Reformed believers back to their Reformation roots and Reformed doctrine.⁵³

After over one hundred years of struggle and persecution since the Revocation of Nantes in 1685, it was not surprising that many Protestants welcomed the Concordat imposed by Napoleon. The number of Reformed believers reached its numerical peak in 1560 and steadily declined in the following decades and centuries because of war, plague, exile, and emigration.⁵⁴ Protestantism had lost half its population, and its spiritual forces appeared to be spent. Believers seemed to have conserved little of the Reformers’ teaching and were marked by the rationalism of the eighteenth century. The law of 18 Germinal X (April 18, 1802), dispensed churches of any responsibility for the support of their pastors or the maintenance of their buildings and reinforced this indifference.⁵⁵ Religion was external to the lives of most people. French Protestants were finally at rest, “a rest resembling indifference ... Pastors preached, the people listened, the consistories met, and public worship conserved its forms.”⁵⁶

PRECURSORS TO *RÉVEIL*

As there were reformers before the Reformation there were also awakenings before the *Réveil*. During the seventeenth century, Pietism made its appearance in Geneva with Jean de Labadie (1610–1674) who was exiled from France and found refuge in Geneva. Although called to a ministry in London, he made such an impression on the *Consistoire* and flock in Geneva that he remained as pastor for six years. He preached repentance, self-denial, and the necessity of a new life in Christ. But his activity also ruffled some ecclesiastical feathers which led to his departure in 1666. His co-laborers testified of his sound doctrine and holy living as a true disciple of Jesus Christ.⁵⁷

Early in the eighteenth century, the prophetic phenomena manifested in the Cévennes region of France occurred in Geneva with the arrival of French refugees.⁵⁸ Although banned by the *Consistoire*, their simple assemblies continued until the mid-century with an emphasis on genuine conversion and individual piety. Little by little this movement merged with a Moravian community founded by Count Zinzendorf (1700-1760) in Geneva. There were also evangelical representatives in the official church such as François Turretin (1623-1687), Bénédict Pictet (1655-1724), and Antoine Maurice (1716-1795). These men were forerunners of the *Réveil* in Geneva. “As spiritual darkness thickened, they remained faithful and passed the torch of truth to those who followed.”⁵⁹

The *Réveil*'s origins are inseparable from the work begun by Zinzendorf and the Moravians in 1741. Fifty believers accompanied the count on his voyage to Geneva.⁶⁰ The brothers and sisters immediately organized reunions in different districts of the city. Each day began with a daily religious service at Zinzendorf's residence for exhortations, and in the evening they gathered again to sing. The night hours were divided so that there was always someone praying. During his visit, Zinzendorf established relations with church officials, and when he left he sent a report about the community he had founded and its goals. He also dedicated a collection of Scripture texts to the church at Geneva and its pastors highlighting the divinity of Christ and his position as Savior. After Zinzendorf's departure, the community he established grew to over six hundred members with a small nucleus that continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁶¹

GENEVAN DECLINE

The church in Geneva had been regarded as possessing the purest doctrine, the best example of Christian order and discipline, and exemplary practice of gospel precepts. Endowed with the Confession of Faith and Catechism of Calvin, the city was the epicenter for Reformed churches. The influence of Geneva's theologians spread to France, England, Scotland, Holland, and even Hungary. English exiles in 1555 effusively described what they saw in Geneva as "the very model of a Christian commonwealth: a society in which freedom and discipline were so perfectly in balance that none of them would ever forget the experience."⁶² Two and a half centuries later, however, Goltz speaks of the disappointment of travelers to Geneva who sought "the city of Calvin, *la Rome protestante*."⁶³

Beginning in 1802 the *Confession de La Rochelle* was no longer at the end of the Bible or used in the liturgy and "few Genevans believed that they should still follow all the confessions and practices of Calvin."⁶⁴ A new translation by the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* in 1805 modified passages concerning the divinity of Christ. The theology of the *Académie* in Geneva and the *Compagnie* was no longer the theology of Calvin.⁶⁵ At this time, Christian doctrine remained intact and on the surface seemed more firmly held than ever. There was, however, a loosening of moral standards, loose in a relative sense in permitting amusements and clothing that had been forbidden in earlier times. In particular, young people amused themselves with card games and the reading of questionable books. There were distinctions made between the aristocracy and lower classes of people with the practice of partiality in dress and amusements. An orthodox formalism and "growing indifference of the masses cried out for a new religious reformation."⁶⁶ These changes were connected to political changes following the French Revolution and the occupation of the city by the French. Protestant Geneva was annexed to France in 1798 and was attached to the department of Léman with a Catholic majority. The city lost "its political independence, and consequently, its liberty, but Geneva also witnessed the slow invasion of a population, both foreign in its mentality and foreign in its faith."⁶⁷ Geneva became a Swiss canton and the church of Geneva was no longer the church of all the people. The canton became bi-confessional and the *Consistoire* no longer functioned as a tribunal to enforce church law nor had the prerogative

to excommunicate wayward church members. Political and ecclesiastical authorities “lost their spiritual monopoly” on Genevans. The progressive separation of Church and State permitted people “to exist without recourse to the official Church.”⁶⁸

Many French pastors had studied at Geneva’s *Académie*, created in 1559, and the events and religious struggles of the city reverberated in France. The prompting of Antoine Court had created the *Seminaire Français de Lausanne*.⁶⁹ Over four hundred pastors, many martyred for the faith, had been trained there for ministry in the “Church of the Desert” and Reformed churches in France.⁷⁰ In 1812 Napoleon decreed that pastors should be trained in France at the newly-created *Faculté de théologie de Montauban* or in Geneva.⁷¹ The seminary in Lausanne closed its doors and its students went to the *Académie* in Geneva where the *Réveil*’s early manifestation was among theology students, including Ami Bost. Theological teaching was in a deplorable state, the Bible was virtually unknown except to study Hebrew, and the New Testament was ignored. Bost came under the influence of godly pastors who gathered students to study Scripture to fill the void in their classes. The *Consistoire* “forbade students to preach on Christology, original sin, grace and predestination.”⁷² The early piety of Geneva no longer existed and the Moravian awakening had run its course. Bost and his father, along with several elderly persons, were all that was left of the Moravian community founded by Count Zinzendorf in 1741.⁷³

GENEVAN AWAKENED

The *Réveil* in French-language countries was born in Geneva.⁷⁴ The city was “visited by a beneficial and sustainable religious *Réveil* ... superior to the formalism of a Church that had allowed its doctrine and practice to fall into deep decadence and which, after prolonged resistance, felt at this time the influence of a movement it had opposed.”⁷⁵ Ami Bost asserted in his *Mémoires* that at this moment in history when French-language churches were at their lowest point since the Reformation, an upward movement began and the *Réveil* was “divinely prepared before the instruments God used had awareness of it.”⁷⁶ He observed that although the *Réveil* broke out in Geneva in 1816 and 1817, beginning in 1802 God had begun preparing the soil in the hearts of his people. He connected the religious awakening

of Geneva with small gatherings at his father's home.⁷⁷ Although the "storm of a violent revolution had uprooted the Church of Calvin, on its ruins emerged new trees, less important by their grandeur, but full of youth and sap."⁷⁸ Geneva became the center of evangelistic work carried out in France. From Geneva, the first wave was diffused in Swiss Romandie and the Protestant Midi on soil prepared by the Quakers and the Moravians.⁷⁹ Despite differences among proponents of the *Réveil*, "ranging from a very individual Pietism to doctrinal orthodoxy (Reformed), there was common agreement on the necessity of reforming the church as an institution and on an individual conversion experience."⁸⁰

In 1810, the *Société des Amis* community was founded, and Bost and Henri-Louis Empaytaz (1790–1853) were among the most fervent members.⁸¹ They were both theology students at this time and were soon joined by others—Gonthier, Henri Pyt, and Emile Guers. At this time the gospel of salvation in Christ alone and the assurance of eternal life became clearer to them. The profound piety of the Moravians, their brotherly fellowship, their living faith, and their intimate assemblies all had an impression on the students completely different from what they experienced in the cold worship services and moralistic preaching in the national church. Bost recounts Good Friday services and the reading of Jesus's last words: "And he bowed his head, and gave up his spirit" (John 19:30). The reading stopped and the whole church fell to its knees and wept. Bost also described his attraction and aversion toward the Catholic Church, attracted by the exterior elements of worship, and horrified by its idolatry and the blood of Protestant martyrs. It was among the *Société des Amis* that he found the encouragement and fellowship his soul craved.⁸²

The opposition to the *Société des Amis* came quickly from the *Compagnie des Pasteurs*. They were unhappy about gatherings in private homes and initially refused to visit them to see for themselves. Eventually, a few pastors visited these assemblies and were so shocked by the emphasis on sin, the divinity of Christ, sovereign grace, and justification by faith, that they refused to return. Several students were threatened that they would not be accepted into ministry if they continued their attendance at Moravian gatherings. Around this time Baroness Krüdener began to influence the gatherings and later claimed to have visions.⁸³ She made a great impression on Empaytaz who began to preside over gatherings, bringing him into conflict with

church leaders. Although she remained only two months in Geneva, she strengthened the desire for piety among the believers. Outsiders considered her crazy and her presence among the Moravians reinforced the prejudices against them.⁸⁴

FRENCH AWAKENING

Henri Dubief connects the beginning of the *Réveil* in France with the end of Napoleon's *Grand Empire* in 1815. Protestants were associated with the *Consulat* (1799-1804) and the *Empire* (1804-1814/15) through their participation in political assemblies. They did not "consider the regime of Napoleon I as contrary to their religious principles."⁸⁵ Some pastors heaped inordinate praise on Napoleon, for having "the wisdom of Socrates, the courage of Alexander, the genius of Caesar, the mercy of Augustus, the zeal of Constantine, the goodness of Henri IV."⁸⁶ With his abdication in April 1814, the monarchy was reestablished with Louis XVIII during the Restoration (1814-1830). The Restoration was briefly interrupted by the famous "One Hundred Days" following Napoleon's escape from the island of Elba to retake the throne.⁸⁷ After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the *Réveil* "accompanied the reestablishment of peace in all of Europe."⁸⁸

Through the *Réveil* many Reformed believers in France, held in thrall to the liberalism of natural religion, were brought back to orthodoxy.⁸⁹ Public preaching underwent a massive change from moralism to evangelism that shook people from their slumber and made them tremble before a holy God over their sinful condition. Before the *Réveil*, sermons were characterized by "an almost superstitious concern for style and a monotonous elegance."⁹⁰ Preaching now emphasized "Jesus, his cross, his expiatory blood, his sacrifice for sin, the corruption of every child of Adam, their condemnation as children of wrath, conversion, an appeal to the crucified one, and the necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit for the heart's renewal."⁹¹

The *Réveil* clashed with laws of the Restoration that attempted to restrict the development of Protestantism. The practice of evangelization proved difficult for Protestants accused of proselytism. Their temples were closed and reopened again only after appeals to the government to observe the equality of religions under the law.⁹² The White Terror of 1815-1816 was the last great fiery ordeal suffered by French Protestantism when royalists

“encouraged Catholic gangs to murder or forcibly ‘reconvert’ hundreds of Protestants and purchasers of church lands.”⁹³ There were forced conversions to Catholicism, houses were burned, and women were beaten before the authorities finally intervened.⁹⁴ Yet during this period, there was also an expansion of Protestant associations and from 1820 to 1848 “religious activity increased ten-fold under the inspiration of the *Réveil*.”⁹⁵

Ami Bost left Geneva and spent two years from 1820 to 1822 in Colmar where he met resistance. The local priest warned him that he would be watching him and that his flock were good Catholics ready to fight for their religion. Of three pastors Bost met, only one had evangelical convictions and the president of the *Consistoire* was an “ardent enemy of the gospel.”⁹⁶ There was little apparent fruit but his evangelistic activity led to the formation of an independent church that thirty years later numbered one hundred members.⁹⁷ His mission expanded throughout Alsace where he distributed Bibles and pamphlets “in abundance.”⁹⁸

In April 1822, an American businessman, S. V. S. Wilder gathered with Protestants in Paris to form a society to advance the gospel. The result was the *Société des missions évangéliques de Paris*.⁹⁹ According to Encrevé, “This society, with a modest beginning, played an important role in the development of missions in the French language.”¹⁰⁰ He adds that the word *évangélique* was not understood in the sense of “orthodox” until the late 1840s, and the *Société* worked with all denominations issued from the Reformation. Yet, “the *Société des Missions*, like most of the religious missions founded at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Protestant world, were created by followers of the theology of the *Réveil*.”¹⁰¹

Charles X (1757-1836) ascended to the French throne in 1824. The freedoms guaranteed by the Charter of 1814 were overturned with oppressive laws against individual freedoms and the press. He took measures to increase the power of the Catholic Church seen as necessary for national stability. When Charles modified the electoral system to favor keeping nobles in positions of power, the opposition took to the streets and erected barricades. The Revolution broke out in July 1830 after Charles signed laws abolishing the freedom of the press and dissolving the recently elected Chamber. Paris rose up, overthrew the Bourbons leading to the July Monarchy, and Charles X fled the country. Protestants did not directly participate in the revolution

but perhaps viewed with some satisfaction the irony that his path of exile led to a Protestant country, England. The Chamber of Deputies, sensing the urgent need to fill the royal void, called Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orléans as king (1773–1850).¹⁰²

Many saw an end to theocracy when the Bourbon dynasty was overthrown. Protestants were amazed at the new freedoms and envisioned a new advance of the Gospel that would “renew the soul of the nation.”¹⁰³ Protestants continued to advocate for the right to evangelize but the Catholic Church acted to prevent them from evangelizing in any commune that did not already have a Protestant community. Acts of intolerance against Protestants took place frequently, including kidnappings, desecration of tombs, and attacks on those distributing religious tracts. Most of these actions were the work of fanatics which the majority of Catholics condemned and the court system often came to the defense of the rights of Protestants.¹⁰⁴

EXPANSION OF THE *RÉVEIL*

For Protestants, the 1830 Revolution “was a cry of deliverance.”¹⁰⁵ The 1830s became a period especially prosperous as churches multiplied. Independent churches of professing believers were founded and existed alongside Lutheran and Reformed churches which were divided into orthodox and liberal. Their beginnings were humble as scattered groups met with little contact among them. As the gatherings grew and the numbers increased, an organization of unofficial churches began to emerge.¹⁰⁶ The disciples of the *Réveil* had been welcomed by the national Reformed Church which saw numerous conversions. Yet many of the new arrivals were out of place in these churches and felt crushed by the formalism. Those born into Reformed churches held tenaciously to their traditions. The collision of different values and experiences led to division.

On the first Sunday of October in 1830, a gathering took place in Paris, rue Taitbout. The congregation grew and began meeting in a concert hall. A chapel was built and a school opened with six hundred children. A profession of faith and church constitution were adopted in 1839 that emphasized the individual character of faith and the independence of the church from the State. The movement spread into the provinces. One of the early leaders was Edmond de Pressensé, a descendant of a family of *gentilshommes* that had

adopted the Reformed religion in the sixteenth century. After completing his studies at the seminary in Lausanne he became pastor of an independent church in Paris where the doctrines of the *Réveil* were preached. De Pressensé emphasized “the regeneration of society through the regeneration of people.”¹⁰⁷

END OF THE *RÉVEIL*

The February Revolution of 1848 overthrew the July Monarchy and ended the constitutional monarchy. After the abdication of Louis-Philippe, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873), was elected as France’s first president of the short-lived Second Republic. The new government sought to distinguish itself from the First Republic (1792–1804) in abolishing the death penalty for political reasons and affirming its respect for religious freedom. All citizens imprisoned for religious reasons, mostly Protestants, were freed.¹⁰⁸ The Second Republic ended on December 2, 1851, with a self-staged coup d’état by Louis-Napoleon to dissolve the *Assemblée Nationale*. He declared himself Emperor Napoleon III with the support of both the papacy and the majority of French Catholics. During the Second Empire (1852–1870), relations with the Catholic Church became more cordial, with a corresponding loss of religious liberty and the repression of non-concordataire churches.¹⁰⁹

The late 1840s and early 1850s marked the intensification of efforts among Reformed churches for the separation of church and state and the necessity of a confession of faith, two simmering issues that would eventually divide Reformed churches.¹¹⁰ Conferences were held among the different factions of the *Réveil*. Since 1802 Reformed churches had been recognized by the State during the reign of Napoleon. The absence of a national synod and doctrinal authority since the *Articles Organiques* of 1802 led to doctrinal dissension between orthodox evangelicals influenced by the *Réveil* and liberals who departed from confessional orthodoxy. Since the law of Germinal X did not mention the 1571 *Confession de La Rochelle* there was no consensus on its normativity. Even the partisans of a confessional standard recognized that the *Confession* was no longer adapted for the nineteenth century. Several leaders, among them Frédéric Monod and Agénor de Gasparin, maintained the necessity of a confession of faith.¹¹¹ A

general assembly refused to adopt a confession of faith leading to a schism and the formation of an independent church.¹¹² After failing in their attempts to persuade others of their conviction, Monod and de Gasparin resigned from their positions and called on others to follow them in organizing an evangelical Reformed church.¹¹³ Few followed them in their resolve which led to their association with independent evangelical churches and the founding in 1849 of the *Union des Églises évangéliques de France* for which a confession of faith was adopted. The two articles were clear in their affirmation that their churches would be composed of members who made an explicit and personal profession of faith.¹¹⁴

During the Third Republic (1870-1940), the Reformed Church held its first general synod in 1872 since the introduction of the Concordat and *Articles Organiques* in 1801 and 1802. Evangelicals wanted to reassert the grand doctrines of the Reformation, establish a confession of faith, and advance the discussion on the separation of church and state. Liberals opposed the calling of a synod, contested its legitimacy, and called on the government to withhold official ratification of the synod's decisions. The liberal wing found itself in the minority among Reformed churches and protested against what they considered a restoration of the sixteenth-century Reformed Church. The Council of State declared the legality of the general synod and the authority and competence of this assembly were established. Soon after, the government authorized the promulgation of the synod's decisions which included the necessity of a confession of faith. The Reformed Church entered legally and definitively into possession of its ancient synodal institutions. The issue of the necessity of a confession of faith continued to divide Reformed churches throughout the 1800s and eventually would lead to new associations of churches and a schism in the Reformed Church in 1879.¹¹⁵

CONCLUSION

The arrival of the Law of Separation of Church and State in 1905 ended the Napoleonic Concordat and decades of conflict between political and religious powers. This law did not affect independent churches that "lived according to this principle for the past fifty years."¹¹⁶ Neither did the law lead to the reunification of the Reformed Church as many had hoped. After 1905

several distinct groups represented Reformed churches—the orthodox *Union des Églises réformées évangéliques*, the liberal *Union nationale des Églises réformées unies*, and the *Union nationale des Églises réformées* positioned theologically between the two others.¹¹⁷ Efforts intensified after World War I to unite separate confessions leading in 1938 to the creation of the *Église réformée de France* (ERF) which included several evangelical and Methodist churches. Fifty churches refused to join the ERF and continued as the *Union des Églises réformées évangéliques*.¹¹⁸ The *Faculté Libre de Théologie Réformée*¹¹⁹ was founded in 1974 in Aix-en-Provence to counter the inroads of liberal theology.¹²⁰ In 2012 the ERF united with the *Église évangélique luthérienne de France* to form the *Église protestante unie de France* (EPUDF) with acceptance of diverse viewpoints.¹²¹ The influence of historic Reformed churches has diminished and the growth of Protestantism has taken place mostly among evangelical churches that can only slowly “modify the face of French Protestantism.”¹²²

The principle of secularism (*laïcité*) of the French Republic was enshrined in its 1958 constitution.¹²³ The decline of organized religion is undeniable, but there are unmistakable signs of religious inquiry in the wake of wars, terrorism, economic uncertainty, and failed governmental systems. French historian and philosopher Marcel Gauchet wrote of the failure of religious substitutes which filled the vacuum created by the decline of Christianity. For him, the great spiritual event at the end of the twentieth century was “the death of revolutionary faith in earthly salvation.”¹²⁴ Catholic history professor Jacques Prévotat wrote that religious decline in France “did not signify the end of Christianity, but rather inaugurated a new mode of existence or a period of retreat momentarily necessary for the recovery of missionary momentum.”¹²⁵

Two hundred years after the nineteenth-century *Réveil* might there be another *Réveil* in the twenty-first century? Despite the growth of evangelical churches, the nation still bears the strong imprint of Catholicism, and Islam has become the second-largest religion. There may be no *Réveil* on the horizon and, as we have seen, the nineteenth-century *Réveil* ran its course. But the Lord of the Harvest works in his way and in his time to accomplish his purposes through the established ordinary means of grace, through his word, his Spirit, and the faithful witness of his people, in days of awakening and days of spiritual lethargy.

- 1 See Stephen M. Davis, *The French Huguenots and Wars of Religion: Three Centuries of Resistance for Freedom of Conscience* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2021); *The War of the Camisards (1702-1704): Huguenot Insurrection during the Reign of Louis XIV* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2024).
- 2 André Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française: De la Révolution à nos jours* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2020), 17.
- 3 André Encrevé, "Le Réveil en France (1815-1850)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 155 (April-June 2009): 529. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24309165>.
- 4 Baron H. de Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle* (Geneva: Henri Georg, 1862), vi.
- 5 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 408.
- 6 Léon Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France: Étude Historique et Dogmatique* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1892), vi-vii.
- 7 Coquerel was a gifted theologian and preacher but hostile to all attempts to impose a confession of faith. Although "he remained committed to supernaturalism all his life, he was an enemy of the *Réveil* that he accused of doctrinal narrowness and lacking a true understanding of Christian liberty." See André Encrevé, "Dogme et morale dans la prédication selon le pasteur Athanase Coquerel," *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* (Oct.-Dec. 2016): 579-80. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44850987>. Beginning in 1820 evangelical partisans of the *Réveil* criticized the liberalism with which Coquerel identified.
- 8 According to Encrevé, Vinet was "the most prominent French religious thinker in the first half of the nineteenth century." See "Dogme et morale dans la prédication selon le pasteur Athanase Coquerel," 577n.
- 9 J. Pédérzet, *Cinquante ans de souvenirs religieux et ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1896), 2.
- 10 Clarisse Coignet, *L'évolution du protestantisme français au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1908), 53.
- 11 Émile Guers, *Le premier Réveil et la première église indépendante à Genève* (Geneva: Librairie Beroud, 1871), v.
- 12 All translations are my own.
- 13 Claude Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France: Leur histoire à travers la genèse et l'évolution de leurs principes jusqu'en 1951." *Maîtrise en théologie, Faculté Libre de Théologie Évangélique de Vaux-sur-Seine*, 1981, 6.
- 14 Sébastien Fath, "Réveil et Petites Églises," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 148 (Oct.-Dec. 2002): 1102-03. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43691778>.
- 15 Roger Magraw, *France 1800–1914: A Social History* (Abington, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2002), 162.
- 16 Coignet, *L'évolution du protestantisme français au XIXe siècle*, 46-47.
- 17 André Encrevé, foreword to *The Genevan Réveil in International Perspective*, ed. Jean D. Decorvet, Tim Grass, and Kenneth J. Stewart (Eugene, OR: Pickwick), xi. As the title suggests, this excellent, recent work treats the extensive impact of the *Réveil* and some of its major actors.
- 18 Mark Noll, foreword to *The Genevan Réveil in International Perspective*, xiv.
- 19 Jean D. Decorvet, "Its Origins, Characteristics and Legacy," in *The Genevan Réveil in International Perspective*, 6.
- 20 Jean-Marc Daumas, "Les origines du réveil au XIXe siècle," *La Revue réformée* 194 (June 1997): para. 2. <https://larevuerreformee.net/articlerr/n194/les-origines-du-reveil-au-xixe-siecle>.
- 21 Alice Wemyss, *Histoire du Réveil, 1790-1849* (Paris: Les Bergers et Les Mages, 1977), 11-12. Quoted in Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 8.
- 22 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 8.
- 23 See Daniel Robert, *Les églises réformées en France, 1800-1830* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961) for a later "liberal" or "intellectual" *Réveil* championed by Samuel Vincent (1787-1837) opposed to the pietistic/orthodox tendencies of the *Réveil* under consideration in this article.
- 24 Decorvet, "Its Origins, Characteristics and Legacy," 17.
- 25 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 137.
- 26 André Encrevé, "Le Réveil en France (1815-1850)," 530-31.
- 27 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 39-40.
- 28 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 10.
- 29 Martin I. Klauber, "The Drive toward Protestant Union in Early Eighteenth-Century Geneva: Jean-Alphonse Turretini on the 'Fundamental Articles' of the Faith," *Church History* 61.2 (September 1992), 334.
- 30 The *Consistoire* (Consistory) was established by Calvin in 1541 to regulate the morality of Genevans. See William Monter, *Women in Calvinist Geneva (1550–1800)*, *Signs* 6 (1980), 190. The *Consistoire* was akin to a tribunal to judge infractions to church law; the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* (Company of Pastors) applied

- church law and surveilled how the regulations were followed. See Albert Olivet, "La Compagnie des Pasteurs de l'Église Protestante de Genève de 1543 à 1800," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 3 (April-June 1915): 130. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44349206>.
- 31 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 5–7.
- 32 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 8.
- 33 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 9–10.
- 34 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 11–12.
- 35 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 20.
- 36 Karl Barth, *La théologie protestante au dix-neuvième siècle* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1969), 45.
- 37 Janine Garisson, ed., *Histoire des protestants en France: De la Réforme à la Révolution* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 2001), 235–37.
- 38 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 31.
- 39 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 47.
- 40 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 223.
- 41 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 49.
- 42 Protestant "rationalists" at the end of the eighteenth century were initially above all "non-Catholic," that is, they refused "the demand to sacrifice human reason" to accept Catholic dogmas (i.e., transubstantiation, veneration of saints and relics). The seeds of rationalism eventually influenced doctrine as well. See Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 50.
- 43 Pédérzet, *Cinquante ans de souvenirs religieux et ecclésiastiques*, 44.
- 44 Alfred Vincent, *Histoire de la prédication protestante de langue française au dix-neuvième siècle, 1800–1866* (Paris: Librairie de la Suisse Romande, 1871), 3–4.
- 45 Encrevé, "Le Réveil en France (1815–1850)," 533.
- 46 Maury asserts that the indifference and unbelief of French Protestantism at the beginning of the nineteenth century has been voluntarily exaggerated by those who wanted to "justify sending foreign missionaries and attribute to them all the work of the *Réveil*." (*Réveil religieux*, 225).
- 47 The Moravians were also connected with the English Revival in the 1700s. See Colin Podmore, "The Moravians and the Evangelical Revival in England: 1738–1748," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 31 (2000): 28–45.
- 48 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France*, 229–36.
- 49 "Le Gouvernement de la République française reconnaît que la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine est la religion de la grande majorité des citoyens français." <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/spip.php?article527&lang=fr>. Some of the Articles of the original text were later modified or annulled. The Concordat ended in 1905 with the Law of Separation of Churches and State. The Concordat survives today in the region of Alsace-Moselle. These departments were annexed to Germany following France's defeat in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. They were returned to France in 1918 following Germany's defeat in World War I. The continuance of the Concordat was a condition of their reintegration into France.
- 50 See Paul Pisani, "La négociation du concordat de 1801," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 7, no. 34 (1921): 17–29. https://www.persee.fr/doc/rhef_0300-9505_1921_num_7_34_2168; William Roberts, "Napoleon, the Concordat of 1801, and Its Consequences," in *Controversial Concordats: The Vatican's Relations with Napoleon, Mussolini, and Hitler*, ed. Frank J. Coppa (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 34–80.
- 51 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 1951, 1–2.
- 52 Jean-Yves Carlier, "Liberté de dire, liberté de croire: Deux siècles de défi évangélique, 1815–2015, in *Libre de le dire: Fondements et enjeux de la liberté de conscience et d'expression en France* (Marpent, FR: BLF Éditions, 2015), 42–43.
- 53 Guillaume de Félice, *Histoire des Protestants de France: 1521–1787*. Vol. 1–4 (1880; repr., Marseille: Éditions Théotex, 2020), 29.
- 54 For a detailed demographic analysis of Reformed believers see Philip Benedict, "The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority," *American Philosophical Society* 81 (1991). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1006507>.
- 55 The first year of the revolutionary calendar (*calendrier révolutionnaire*) corresponds to 1792 (*l'an I*). During the Revolution, there was a national organization of religion from 1790 to 1796 (*1790–l'an IV*) and a separation of Church and State from 1796 to 1801 (*l'an IV–l'an X*). See Anatole Bire, *La séparation des Églises et de l'État: Commentaire de la Loi du 9 Décembre, 1905* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1905), 27.
- 56 Samuel Vincent, *Du protestantisme en France* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1860), 456–57.

- 57 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 13–15.
- 58 See Jean-Paul Chabrol, "Le prophétisme cévenol de 1685 à 1702," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 148 (Jan.-Mar. 2002): 211–16. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43691639>.
- 59 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 15–17.
- 60 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 117–18.
- 61 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 18–19.
- 62 Tom Holland, *Dominion: How the Christian Revolution Remade the World* (New York: Hachette, 2019), 9–30.
- 63 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 1.
- 64 John B. Roney, "Notre Bienheureuse Réformation: The Meaning of the Reformation in Nineteenth-Century Geneva," in *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth, 1564–1864*, ed. John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber (Westport, CT: Greenway Press, 1998), 175.
- 65 Daumas, "Les origines du réveil au XIXe siècle," para. 13.
- 66 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 2–5.
- 67 Gabriel Mützenberg, "Loss of Genevan Identity and Counter-Reformation in the Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth, 1564–1864*, 185.
- 68 Sarah Scholl, "Sortir du calvinisme d'État au XIXe siècle: les clivages genevois," *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* 2/3 (2023): 336–37. https://www.droz.org/RHP_8.2-3_335-353.
- 69 See Claude Lasserre, *Le séminaire de Lausanne (1726–1812): Instrument de la restauration du protestantisme français* (Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1997).
- 70 The "Church of the Desert" refers to the period following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 when Protestantism was outlawed and believers assembled illegally in secluded places. This period recalled the wilderness wanderings of the children of Israel with echoes of the Exodus and the liberation of the people of God from the hand of Pharaoh.
- 71 Hélène Kern, "Le Séminaire de Lausanne et le Comité Genevois," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 108 (Oct.-Dec. 1962): 218. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24292696>.
- 72 William Edgar, "Education and Modernity in Restoration Geneva," in *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth, 1564–1864*, 203.
- 73 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 20–21.
- 74 See Scholl, "Sortir du calvinisme d'État au XIXe siècle," 335 for an analysis of three periods, 1810, 1830–1840, and 1860–1880, corresponding to three major issues in Genevan churches in the nineteenth century: theological, ecclesiological, and pastoral.
- 75 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 4.
- 76 Ami Bost, *Mémoires pouvant servir à l'histoire du réveil religieux des Églises protestantes de la Suisse et de la France* (Paris: Grassart and Cherbuliez, 1854), 18–19.
- 77 Bost, *Mémoires pouvant servir à l'histoire du réveil religieux*, vii.
- 78 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 8.
- 79 Henri Dubief, "Réflexions sur quelques aspects du premier Réveil et sur le milieu où il se forma," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 114 (July-Sept. 1968): 373–74. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24294597>.
- 80 Roney, "Notre Bienheureuse Réformation," 170.
- 81 In 1816, Empaytaz published a pamphlet on the divinity of Christ directly attacking Genevan pastors and professors (Scholl, "Sortir du calvinisme d'État au XIXe siècle," 338). His good friend Bost, who affirmed the divinity of Christ, criticized "the choice of subject" as the wrong emphasis "to begin a réveil" (Bost, *Mémoires pouvant servir à l'histoire du réveil religieux*, 70).
- 82 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 29–32.
- 83 See Francis Ley, *Madame de Krüdener et son temps, 1764–1824* (Paris: Pion, 1962; Clarence Ford, *The Life and Letters of Madame de Krüdener* (London: Adam and Charles Black), 1893).
- 84 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 34.
- 85 André Encrevé, "Protestantisme et bonapartisme," *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 28 (2004): para. 5. <https://journals.openedition.org/rh19/622>.
- 86 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 239.
- 87 Dominique de Villepin, *Les Cent-Jours ou l'esprit du sacrifice* (Paris: Éditions France Loisirs, 2001), 11.
- 88 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 117.
- 89 Dubief, "Réflexions sur quelques aspects du premier Réveil et sur le milieu où il se forma," 375–76.

- 90 Vincent, *Histoire de la prédication protestante*, 13.
- 91 Vincent, *Histoire de la prédication protestante*, 22.
- 92 William Edgar, *La carte protestante: Les réformés francophones et l'essor de la modernité, 1815-1848* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1997), 82.
- 93 Magraw, *France 1800–1914: A Social History*, 162.
- 94 Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Reformée à Genève et en France*, 224-25.
- 95 Coignet, *L'évolution du protestantisme*, 52.
- 96 Bost, *Mémoires pouvant servir à l'histoire du réveil religieux*, 243-44.
- 97 Scholl, "Sortir du calvinisme d'État au XIXe siècle," 339.
- 98 Bost, *Mémoires pouvant servir à l'histoire du réveil religieux*, 251.
- 99 See David Bundy, "Pietist and Methodist Roots of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris," *The Asbury Journal* 70 (2015): 28-54 for his analysis of the influence of Pietism and Methodism in the formation of this mission. See also, Jérôme Grosclaude, "'The Protestants here are very particular: they used to be Methodists': A Historical Reflection on French Methodism," *Methodist History* 62 (2024): 62-76; Th. Roux, *Le méthodisme en France - Pour servir à l'Histoire religieuse d'hier et d'avant-hier* (Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1941).
- 100 André Encrevé, "Sur la Société de missions évangéliques de Paris au XIXe Siècle," in *Les Réveils missionnaires en France du moyen-âge à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984), 249.
- 101 Encrevé, "Sur la Société de missions évangéliques de Paris," 254.
- 102 Edgar, *La carte protestante*, 51-52.
- 103 Coignet, *L'évolution du protestantisme*, 55.
- 104 Félice, *Histoire des Protestants de France*, 62-66.
- 105 Coignet, *L'évolution du protestantisme*, 59.
- 106 Goltz, *Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle*, 236.
- 107 Coignet, *L'évolution du protestantisme*, 62.
- 108 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 99.
- 109 Pédérzet, *Cinquante ans de souvenirs religieux et ecclésiastiques*, 132. . Religious confessions were *concordataire*, officially recognized by the government, or *non-concordataire*, without legal protection or state subsidies.
- 110 Until 1875 there were few governmental initiatives for the separation of church and state. See Bire, *La séparation des Églises et de l'État*, 27.
- 111 Frédéric's younger brother Adolphe was another great figure of the *Réveil*. He chose to remain in the national church during the controversy over a confession of faith in which church he preached faithfully until his death in 1856. He asserted that the *Confession de La Rochelle* "had not been abrogated." See Adolphe Monod, *Pourquoi je demeure dans l'église établie* (Paris: Librairie protestante, 1849), 45; *Les Adieux d'Adolphe Monod à ses amis et à l'église* (Paris: Librairie de Ch. Meyrueis, 1856).
- 112 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 114.
- 113 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 53-67.
- 114 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 294; Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 117.
- 115 Félice, *Histoire des Protestants de France*, 189.
- 116 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 179.
- 117 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 314.
- 118 Baty, "Les Églises évangéliques libres de France," 243n.
- 119 *La Faculté Jean Calvin* since 2011. <https://facultejeancalvin.com/>.
- 120 Berthoud, "La faculté libre de théologie réformée—Rétrospective et prospective," *La Revue réformée* 208 (June 2000). <https://larevurereformee.net/articlerr/n208/la-faculte-libre-de-theologie-reformee-retrospective-et-prospective>.
- 121 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 570.
- 122 Encrevé, *Les protestants et la vie politique française*, 550.
- 123 The first article of the 1958 Constitution of the Fifth Republic states: "La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale" (France is an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic). For the development of *laïcité* in France see the author's *Rise of French Laïcité: French Secularism from the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2020) and "France's Long March from State Religion to Secular State," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Religion and State Volume II: Global Perspectives*, ed. Shannon Holzer (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2023).

- ¹²⁴ Marcel Gauchet, *La religion dans la démocratie: Parcours de la laïcité* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1998), 23.
- ¹²⁵ Jacques Prévotat, *Être chrétien en France au XXe siècle: De 1914 à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998), 261.