THE CRUSADE FOR FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

"England and America want France to assist them in the work of the world's conversion—yes, and God will give them France!" So prayed Edward Norris Kirk in May, 1840, at the Foreign Evangelical Society, commenting on the condition of contemporary French Protestantism. On this occasion Kirk's prayer for French participation in the Atlantic religious world was not at all remarkable; it was rather a long established commonplace in Anglo-American culture. By 1840 both British Nonconformists and American evangelicals were eagerly attentive to French Protestantism and ready to mobilize its evangelical party for a supporting role in the affairs of the Atlantic fellowship. To be sure, French Protestants would always remain a minor force in comparison with British and American churchmen, but in the following decades they would nonetheless be summoned to play a limited part in the organization of the Evangelical Alliance, the great revivals of the 1850s, and the controversies raised by the American Civil War. Consequently, it is now appropriate before treating those developments of the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s to sketch the history of that fascination with France which held so large a place in the outlook of Dissenters and American Protestants.

Anglo-American interest in French Protestantism had been unusually keen since the beginning of the nineteenth century. For the evangelical mind France assumed a special and symbolic importance in the grand design of providence for the ultimate conversion of Europe. Traditional Protestant historiography perceived France not only as the bastion of Catholic power, but as the homeland of Waldensian antiquity, Calvinist Reformation, and more latterly, modern infidelity. Moreover, millennial speculation attached cosmic importance to the shock administered to "popery" by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic upheaval. Consequently, the affairs of French Protestantism captured the religious imagination of British and American observers in a way that far exceeded their interest in other areas of Christendom.

A deep concern for the "conversion of France was evident as early as 1802–1803
when a truce in the Napoleonic Wars briefly provided an opportunity for missionary endeavor. The London Missionary Society quickly voted £848 for French Bibles and developed a plan to receive six French youths for theological training in Britain. The L.M.S. also dispatched a team of four well-known Congregationalists to scout the French mission field. David Bogue of the Gosport "seminary" was the best known minister. His clerical colleagues were Alexander Waugh and Mark Wilks, and the only layman was the noted Joseph Hardcastle, prominent in the support of numerous evangelical causes. Their visit was primarily to Normandy and Pais, but they preached, conferred with French Calvinists, and published an Address. Their object was to "promote the revival of pure religion by fraternal aid," namely, to win government permission to introduce British ministers into France and to circulate a French edition of the Bible. Resumption of hostilities in 1803 destroyed such hopes, but the contact confirmed the Anglo-American evangelical assessment that drastic measures were needed in France. "Evangelical ministers are much wanted," Hardcastle wrote to John Mitchell Mason in New York, "the peculiar and prominent doctrines of revelation being, I fear, generally abandoned, even by Protestants." The New York Missionary Society was asked to supply "any French Protestant ministers in America disposed to return to their native country," but the war made further evangelization impossible.

Nonetheless, close attention to France continued. Such journals as the Evangelical Magazine regularly reported on the many Protestants in the newly swollen French Empire, Wesleyans preached to French captives on the prison ships, and in America Timothy Dwight insisted to the ABCFM in 1813 that American churches must rescue French religion. Consequently, after Waterloo the British and American crusade for French Protestantism began in earnest. The work enlisted all British evangelicals, but Dissenters, English and Scottish, were most prominently engaged. The Church of England—a foreign state church with episcopal polity and catholic liturgy and peculiarly English—was disadvantaged in Continental missions, while Methodists were also often
distrusted by French Calvinists. Of the Americans, the Reformed bodies, especially the Presbyterian and Congregational churches, appeared to be most suited to approach French Protestants. That crusade took several forms.

First, the most direct result was the establishment of a modest but enthusiastic Anglo-American evangelical nexus at Paris immediately after the close of the wars. It provided spiritual comfort and sustenance to English-speaking residents and several of their French acquaintances, but it does not seem to have significantly penetrated either the French Reformed or Catholic communities. Secondly, almost concurrently a far more important basis for action was revealed in the revel, the genuine French awakening developing at the end of the Napoleonic era, a reaction against the prevailing rationalism in the official institutions of the Reformed religion in both Switzerland and France. Dissenters and Americans were hugely excited by this revival and sought to encourage and influence it as much as possible. Finally, unusually strong links were forged between Dissenters and American Protestants on the one hand, and on the other hand the revitalized evangelical elite of the French churches—an elite whose religion indeed tended to become somewhat anglicized. These ties provided the impulse for integrating some French Reformed leaders in the Atlantic fellowship. Accordingly, by the 1840s transatlantic religious issues which commanded British and American attention were likely to include some reference to French Protestants as well. These several developments require examination.

British and American post-war visitors to France were dismayed at the religious situation and determined to set up a French mission. "Paris is a hopeless scene . . . .", wrote Thomas Raffles, the Liverpool Congregationalist, in 1817, "a spiritual desert, a moral waste." Calvinist ministers, he complained, traveled and played cards on the Sabbath, while Protestants generally were "sunk in the coldest indifference, and awfully fallen from the doctrines and the spirit of the reformers." A year earlier John Pye Smith
had noted the same "decay of holiness and zeal," ascribing it to the connection between religion and the state. "That the same cause has not produced similar effects in England," he added, "we owe . . . to the labours . . . and invincible constancy of the Puritans and Nonconformists." Geneva fell under similar condemnation. Most of the pastors were Arians and Socinians, though Raffles noted that "there is a remnant of holy and devoted men" and hoped that "the pure principles of the reformation may yet prevail again in Geneva." American reaction was the same. Matthias Bruen, Mason's former student from Newark, knew Paris and Geneva and found there mostly "mere frozen pretenders to Christianity."

As these judgments indicate, the faults of the Reformed church were viewed from the perspective of evangelical Dissenters and Americans: a dead formal religion had to be replaced by genuine conviction and the stultifying control of the state had to be repelled. The methods of revival were also to be Anglo-American—fervent preaching, the distribution of the (French) Bible, the creation of a new literature of piety, the organization of benevolent reform
societies, the development of an evangelical culture among "respectable" citizens, and an outreach to simple folk through subsidized preachers and colporteurs distributing tracts, primarily of British or American origin. Between 1815 and 1830 pursuit of these goals resulted in the development of a small but ambitious Anglo-American evangelical center at Paris which it was hoped would revitalize French Protestantism and also begin the conversion of Catholics.

Both British and American help were mobilized. The British Bible Society, the new Continental Society, and the LMS were all active. Mark Wilks returned to a permanent preaching post in Paris, though his little congregation at the Oratoire did not number more than two hundred and most of these auditors were English or American. In 1818 and 1819 the American Matthias Bruen also preached regularly in the Oratoire chapel. Aid came also from two New England expatriates. Augustus Hillhouse of New Haven, was instrumental in securing Bruen for the newly formed "American church" at Paris, and he ardently promoted the dissemination of religious tracts. More important was S. V. S. Wilder, a convert of Jedidiah Morse and later president of the American Tract Society, who represented a Boston firm in Paris from 1816 to 1823. For seven years Wilder served as the chief channel of communication between London, Paris, and the American religious societies. His acquaintance and correspondence were enormous. In Britain he knew or exchanged letters with George Burder, Joseph Hardcastle, Baptist Noel, Lewis Way, John Summerfield, the Haldane brothers, Rowland Hill, Henry Drummond, and Thomas Erskine among others; in America his correspondence was huge and included Gardiner Spring, Sidney Morse, James Milnor, Jeremiah Evarts, Moses Stuart, and Samuel Miller. His French circle was equally wide and numbered among others such leaders of the reveal as César Malan, Merle d'Aubigné, Adolphe and Frederic Monod, and Felix Neff, (as well as such very different notables as Talleyrand and Lafayette).

Apart from making these contacts, the principal activity of these expatriate evangelicals fixed on founding benevolent societies and distributing tracts. In Paris Wilder built up a miniature reform apparatus
modelled on those of London or New York. He himself attended the London anniversaries, served as vice-president of the British Continental Society, and inaugurated the French monthly concert for prayer. When the Paris Bible Society was founded in 1819 Wilder funneled donations from the British and American societies to their "younger sister." Three years later he offered a prize for the best essay in favor of Bible Societies. In 1822 the American Jonas King, then studying in Paris, received an invitation to a Palestine mission. His recourse was to Wilder who organized the French Missionary Society to support him (with British and American aid) for three years. But Anglo-American evangelicals promoted a truly comprehensive "benevolent empire" in Paris. "The friends of Zion," Wilder wrote to Jeremiah Evarts in 1822, "have certainly much reason to bless God and rejoice, when they consider that though, in 1818, not a single society existed in this modern Babylon for the . . . glorious cause of our divine Redeemer, there now exists here . . . a 'Bible Society,' a 'Missionary Society,' a 'Religious Tract Society,' a 'Moral Christian,' or in other words, a 'Peace Society,' an 'African Society,' and a 'Prison Society,' all in active operation." Significantly this Paris "empire" also included an anti-slavery society which urged Wilder to promote abolition. Later, in New York Wilder would help form the French Association which engaged Robert Baird's services for the Paris ministry.

This reform activity was accompanied by energetic distribution of tracts. Wilder, attending a meeting in a Dissenting chapel in London in 1816, was converted to the need for a program of French tracts. In consequence, the Paris Tract Society was set up in 1818, and tracts were ordered in quantity from the London Religious Tract Society. Translated English tracts such as "The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain" or "The Dairyman's Daughter" were not very effective with French readers, requiring a new approach. Wilder himself wrote Le Village dans les montagnes, one of the more successful tracts, but he eventually persuaded Hillhouse to "Gallicize" a large collection of tracts. Accordingly, Hillhouse translated Hannah More's works for a new "French Repository," placed the tales
in France, and also modified them in order that "to minds . . . incredulous and uninformed about revealed religion, the truth and sobriety of the Gospel" might not "be made to wear the appearance of absurdity and fanaticism." English
Congregationalists were equally zealous in this activity. In 1832 David Natsmith found that Mark Wilks "employs nine colporteurs in Paris, and parts adjoining; they come every morning, receive their instructions, and report their proceedings in writing." 14

Yet despite these efforts, these Paris endeavors do not seem to have been very effective in influencing French Protestantism. Their appeal was primarily to the small Anglo-American community. Only few of the French Reformed leaders were friendly, the main role here being played by Baron Auguste de Staël. Staël, son of the famous Mme. de Staël and Anglicized by an Oxford education, emerged in the 1820's as a sort of French Wilberforce, a patron of numerous benevolent societies, a devotee of Greek independence, and an early convert to the antislavery cause. After his death in 1827 his sister, the Duchess de Broglie, assumed a diminished but somewhat similar role. But the Bourbon government and the French Protestant Establishment were hostile, and most of the French remained indifferent. Even Jean Monod, the orthodox preacher at the Oratoire, did not satisfy visiting British and American auditors. "In the little that I caught," observed Raffles in 1817, "there was no allusion to the grand and fundamental doctrines of the gospel, repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and those of our party who were nearer to the preacher, and who heard distinctly, informed me that in these respects it was lamentably deficient." 16 Two years later Bruen quit Paris in despair. "If our instruction here in any way took root among the French . . . it would be vastly important," he wrote. "But it does no more touch them than if it were in California." 17 Nonetheless, the Paris center continued throughout the nineteenth century, ministering chiefly to British and American expatriates. 17

Of far greater importance were the encouragements given to British and American evangelicals by the genuine French revival, notably at Geneva, Lausanne,
Montauban, and Lyons. A reaction against the prevailing rationalism entrenched in the Reformed church was already developing at the end of the Napoleonic wars. After his visit in 1817 Raffles had noted that "there is a remnant of holy and devoted men still in Geneva, who retain the most ardent attachment to the doctrines of their forefathers." These men," he added, "have recently been encouraged by the countenance and zeal of a few British Christians." Similar discoveries were made at Lyons and Montauban, though the Protestant seminary at Strassburg remained less affected by the religious renewal. Since this awakened evangelical fervor was everywhere opposed by officials of church and state, the revel was inevitably to seek expression through controversy, conventicles, some secessions, and ultimately the formation of free churches. Accordingly, the French revival was to generate several Protestant communities which, though small and of limited influence in relation to their national societies, still approached the norms of the free churches of Britain and America.

By the 1830s an elite of French and French-Swiss evangelicals had emerged whose repute had become familiar to readers of the Nonconformist and American religious press. Geneva, the home of Calvin and the scene of struggle against the hostile "rationalistic" Establishment and government, captured close attention. Here the two outstanding evangelicals were Cesar Malan (1787-1864) and Jean Henri Merle d'Aubigne (1794-1872). Malan was one of the earliest converts in the Genevan revel. Born before the French Revolution, he was almost thirty years old and an established teacher and minister when he experienced his religious awakening about 1816. Yet even in his earlier theological studies he had been troubled that the Bible was neglected, and throughout his career he displayed a rigid, dogmatic, and logical Calvinist orthodoxy reminiscent of an older Genevan heritage. In the ten years following his conversion Malan was in frequent conflict with the government as he defied bans on his preaching. He established
conventicles, beginning in 1819, and by 1820 he had built a free chapel, largely with the help of funds from France, Britain, and America. Eventually he lost his teaching position at the Latin school, and in 1828 he was dismissed from the roster of the national ministry.

The other great Genevan admired by Nonconformists and American churchmen was Merle d'Aubigné. Seven years younger than Malan, Merle was a university student when the controversy over Christ's divinity erupted in 1816. He was touched by the preaching of Robert Haldane in the following year, but not so deeply as to refuse the subscription required by the cantonal church in order to receive his ordination. After 1817 he left Geneva for further study in Germany and preaching assignments in Hamburg and Brussels. But in the 1830s he was back in Geneva teaching in the theological school of the Evangelical Society, editing the Gazette Evangélique, and preaching at the Oratoire, a pulpit outside the national church. Already he was known to British and American evangelicals, though much of his later fame derived from his work as an historian. In 1835 the first volume of his highly apologetic History of the Reformation appeared and was soon translated into English.

In France much of the early leadership of the Reformed revival derived from Geneva and the Canton de Vaud. Special attention was captured by the Monod family. The family founder was Jean Monod (1765-1836), a distinguished Swiss pastor who nonetheless spent his career, first in Denmark, and then after 1808 in France as preacher at the Paris Oratoire until his death in 1836. Four of his sons entered the Reformed ministry, but the most famous was Adolphe (1802-1856). Born in Copenhagen, Adolphe received his early education in Paris and then at age eighteen began his theological studies at Geneva. At first unsure of his vocation and troubled by religious uncertainties, he at last found assurance and direction through the friendship and influence of the Scottish Thomas Erskine
of Linlathen. His initial ministry was to a struggling Protestant community at Naples, but he first gained fame as pastor of a Lyons Reformed congregation after 1827. His manner was engaging and enterprising. In 1829 he attempted to convert Lafayette; the approach was declined but with the general's gratitude for "good wishes, which agree with those which I have several times received in the course of my journey in America from worthy persons who were of your religious views." His Lyons ministry was dynamic but also controversial. It lasted five years and ended with his deposition by both the consistory and the government because he insisted on withholding communion from those deemed unworthy. Monod's response was to organize an independent free church which immediately drew close attention from Dissenter and American religious periodicals. Throughout the 1830s Monod's fame continued to grow. His sermons and tracts were translated into English and his evangelical journal, *Le Semeur*, found subscribers in Britain and America. From 1836 to 1847 he was a professor at the Protestant seminary at Montauban and from 1847 until his death in 1856 he completed his career as preacher at the Paris Oratoire. No Reformed pastor commanded a wider following in the English-speaking world. 21

Frédéric Monod (1794–1863), Adolphe's elder brother, was almost as prominent. Born in Lausanne, Frederic was at his studies in Geneva when Robert Haldane visited the university and ministered to his conversion. Ordained in 1818, he soon moved to Paris to act as his father's assistant and—after 1806—his successor. For forty-three years after 1824 he edited the evangelical Archives du christianisme au dix-neuvième siècle, a journal that Nonconformists and Americans increasingly consulted as their interest in the progress and prospects of French Protestantism intensified. Frédéric was impatient with the tepid religiosity of the national church and resented government controls. When he failed to win acceptance of a binding creed in 1848, he resigned his pastorate at the Paris Oratoire and founded a new free church connexion, the *Eglise libre* 27.
Other French evangelicals also became familiar names to British and American readers. Jean-Henri Grandpierre (1799–1874) served as head of a modest Protestant evangelical seminary at Paris and preached to a small French congregation.
He was a favorite with the capital's Anglo-American community. His collected sermons were published in English, and his news articles on French religious conditions were eagerly read abroad. Guillaume de Felice (1803-1871), originally Swiss, served as a pastor near Le Havre, but after 1836 he was Adolphe Monod's colleague as a professor at Montauban. He also became widely known through his writings, not only in Le Semeur, but in British and American publications as well. After 1831 his articles appeared frequently in the New York Observer and his History of the Protestants of France (English translation 1851) became the chief exposition of the Huguenot heritage. Felice's reputation was that of a liberal reformer. He denounced Catholicism as the enemy of freedom, advocated the complete equality of denominations, and supported an immediate end to American slavery. His Emancipation immediate et complete des esclaves; appel aux abolitionistes appeared in 1846.

These French evangelicals and their Swiss brethren were well known abroad by the 1830s. Several other French Protestants became prominent in the following decade. Nonconformist and American interest in the struggling free church at Lyons brought Monod's successor after 1836, Charles Cordès (d. 1846), to overseas attention. His desperate appeals for financial rescue appeared frequently in British and American periodicals. Even more prominent was Cordès' own successor, Georges Fisch (1814-1881). Fisch served Lyons from 1836 until 1855 when he accepted a call to the Paris free church. Fisch was unusually well attuned to Nonconformist and American interests since he was an enthusiastic voluntarist and strong supporter of the Evangelical Alliance after 1846. Finally, a young politically-connected layman, Count Agenor de Gasparin (1810-1871), received increasing attention in the 1840s. Son of a reforming statesman and himself a liberal and antislavery publicist, De Gasparin won Robert Baird's admiration on first encounter in 1840. The Frenchman, Baird
told his American readers, invited comparison with such great Huguenots of history as Du Plessis-Mornay and Admiral Coligny.

There was yet a third development in this crusade. From the British and American perspective another and highly important aspect of French revival history was the substantial integration of French evangelicalism into the Atlantic fellowship of Dissenters and Americans. Some connection had been present from the beginning, especially in the work of Robert Haldane. After 1820 and especially during the July Monarchy (1830–1848) Americans and Nonconformists became far more aggressive in seeking links with French evangelicals. Their outreach was evident in detailed news of France filling the religious newspapers and journals, in the founding of enthusiastic support societies, and in the constant appeal for funds for the conversion of France. In response to this activism, by the 1840s several leaders of the French revel had developed a marked affinity with "the foreign Puritans" (as Reformed conservatives called them), evident in their adoption of the system of voluntary societies, their use of English-language tracts and religious literature, their huge dependence on overseas financial support, their genuine (though cautious) interest in voluntarism, and preeminently in their abundant and close personal ties to leading Nonconformists and Americans.

Through the missionary visits of Robert Haldane, British stimulus had played an important part in first launching the Reformed revival. Haldane and his brother, James Alexander Haldane, were wealthy Scottish lairds who, after careers at sea, devoted their lives and fortunes to evangelical religion. Both brothers had finished their education with David Bogue at Gosport, and in 1799 both became pioneers of Scottish Congregationalism, James becoming pastor of an Independent congregation in Edinburgh. Nine years later both men, persuaded that scripture prescribed adult baptism, turned to the Baptists. During the French wars Robert Haldane had conceived the plan of promoting the gospel in France. When peace returned he moved to the Continent in
1816, intending to stay only six weeks, though he did not return to Scotland until 1818. In Paris Augustus Hillhouse gave him his primary instruction concerning conditions in the Reformed church and directed him to the small group of Genevan evangelicals. At Geneva Haldane found that his work had already been begun by the labors of Richard Wilcox, a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist "mechanick," who had established a mission in a ruined convent at Rive. Haldane's chief interest was in the "worldly" theological students who, according to Frédéric Monod, ignored the Bible and usually favored Unitarianism. In his own apartments Haldane began a class of evening Bible study which attracted nearly thirty students and resulted in the conversion of several who were to be major leaders of the French and Swiss revival.

The ferment also precipitated controversy. Conservative professors condemned the "fanaticism," government threatened banishment, and the church drew up Reglemens (May 3, 1817) which banned pulpit argument on such themes as predestination, original sin, the operations of grace, or the union of Christ's two natures. Candidates for ordination were required to subscribe the Reglements. The controversy was introduced into the Anglo-American world by Professor Jean-Jacques
Chenevière's critical "Summary of the theological controversies which have of late years agitated Geneva" which appeared in the British Unitarian Monthly Repository. Haldane replied in *A Letter from Robert Haldane* (in French and English, 1824) as did John Pye Smith in *A Vindication of those citizens of Geneva, and other persons, who have been instrumental in the revival of scriptural religion in that city* (1825). As Haldane was leaving Geneva in 1817 the later Irvingite, Henry Drummond, arrived to continue British encouragement. American encouragement was similarly provided by a brief visit of John Mitchell Mason and Matthias Bruen. By the 1820s the canton harbored an evangelical movement, partly inspired by British and American endeavor and entirely familiar to readers of English-language religious periodicals, destined ultimately to culminate in a Genevan Free Church.

In 1817 Haldane moved on to the Reformed seminary in the south of France at Montauban. Here he found a friendlier reception since several faculty were already "convinced." Haldane's work on Romans and his *Evidences of Christianity* were translated into French and given to every student. Haldane also persuaded several professors to petition all the consistories of France for contributions to fund publication of a French Bible. Despite slight encouragement, the work was done, largely with British money. Six thousand copies at first, and later ten thousand more, were distributed. Still later in 1824 Haldane inaugurated the new seminary in Paris, led by men banished from the Canton de Vaud. However, Haldane's contribution to the *revel* was not without controversy. Opinionated and inflexible, he quarreled with the British Bible Society, demanded that French Bibles drop the Apocrypha, and later urged his followers to adopt his own decision in favor of adult baptism.

The tie thus inaugurated between the *revel* and sympathetic Dissenters and Americans grew stronger through the 1820s and 1830s. Bruen who had despaired...
of Paris in 1819 was encouraged by the Genevan ferment in the early 1820s. Swiss struggles against both "infidelity" and their state churches were bound to engage British and American consciences. Not only were the "persecutions" fully reported in the press, but in London in 1825 a formal protest was drawn up (in French and English) by the Three Denominations and Pye Smith contrived to persuade the foreign minister, George Canning, to raise the matter with the British Resident at Lausanne. By the end of the 1820s optimistic speculation on the bright prospects of France was beginning to be expressed. In 1828 the Spirit of the Pilgrims could write of the increase in French piety and conversions from Catholicism, and in the following year John Angell James informed William Patton in New York that the rise of the French church was nothing less than "thrilling."  

Most significantly, in May, 1828 the Presbyterian General Assembly decided to open a correspondence with French Protestants. Pointing out that many American Presbyterians descended from Huguenots, the Assembly offered encouragement to French brethren and went on to express the conviction that any state connection was an "obstacle to the progress of pure and undefiled religion." Dissenting Christians throughout the world must combine to advance the sacred cause of religious liberty. Lacking a National Synod, the Reformed church could reply only through unofficial letters and the press, but the Archives du christianisme promised to print transactions of the American church, expressed delight with American revivals, and drew attention to an alleged French revival in the Department of the Isère. This new opening went beyond only the American churches. The English Congregational Magazine thought the correspondence of great importance, and published a full account of the exchange.  

The following decade saw further consolidation with Anglo-American brethren. Politically, the 1830 revolution eased the position of Protestants since it destroyed the Bourbon reaction, weakened Catholic political influence, and assured enhanced financial support for Reformed churches. A new optimism and initiative surged through the French
evangelical community. In 1831 Adolphe Monod launched Le Semeur, and in 1833 the Société Evangelique was formed in Paris. Seeking to end tight government surveillance of the church, petitions pressed the new Orleans monarchy to abandon the restraints of the Napoleonic Law of 18 Germinal (1802). The effort failed, but some free chapels were founded, most notably the famous Lyons congregation of Adolphe Monod in 1832.

These improving prospects aroused intense interest in Nonconformist and American churches. Reprinting a letter from Adolphe Monod to the Archives, the Princeton Review in 1831 surveyed the "Religious Prospects of France": a true spiritual revolution was in progress, the Reformed church would recover its ancient vigor, France would be the first theater of triumph, and soon the papacy itself would vanish. These changes were to be accomplished "through human instrumentality," and in this work the efforts of the new Evangelical Societies of Geneva and France were of great significance. The French society, the Congregational Magazine assured its readers, supported thirteen ministers, three evangelists, three teachers, eight colporteurs, and three students, and circulated over one thousand Bibles and over six thousand New Testaments and tracts, although it was also in dire need of British financial assistance. Some enthusiasts even recommended immediate personal intervention by English-speakers. "E.C.T.," writing to the Evangelical Magazine of his own recent experiences in France, pointed out that private persons, even though ignorant of the French language, could still knock on doors and distribute tracts. "Here is a country as destitute of vital religion as India itself."

The assumption implicit in all this excitement was that the Protestantism of France would eventually mirror that of Britain and America. "If all the Protestant churches were as distinguished as those of England and America," Baird declared in Paris in 1836, "for purity of doctrine, zeal, and activity, it would be like an anticipated millennium; . . . therefore, it was an important duty to attempt the renovation of these fallen ones, and the revival, generally, of religion all over the Continent, that they might take their share in seeking the conversion of the world."
Dissenters and Americans both found the greatest hindrance to pure religion to lie in the state connection, and consequently they gave special attention to Adolphe Monod's voluntary church at Lyons. Despite opposition from free thinkers and Saint-Simonians, the church was reported to be prospering, attracting many Catholics to its "religious inquiry meetings." Appeals were constantly made in religious journals for funds. Pye Smith, Baptist Noel, and Andrew Reed acted as collectors in England and various Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore performed the same office. Robert J. Breckinridge visited the Lyons church in 1836, and in following years he and his Baltimore congregation sent frequent contributions abroad, engaged in mutually encouraging exchanges, and published news and letters from Lyons in the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine. James H. Thornwell sent money from South Carolina to Lyons. Robert Baird told American readers that "there is more good doing in Lyons than in any other city in this kingdom." British and American interest in Lyons persisted until after the American Civil War through the pastorates of Monod's successors, Charles Cordes and Georges Fisch.

Although their financial contributions to the evangelical organs of the French revue were constant, both Dissenters and Americans attempted to organize support societies of their own. The British Continental Society was the earliest effort, founded in 1819 to fund native Swiss and French ministers. It was based on broad support and included Anglican participation, but in the 1820s it declined in the Apocrypha controversy, and denominational co-operation foundered. In the 1830s the chief Dissenter connexions attempted organized contacts. In 1836 Joseph Turnbull toured France for the Congregational Union. After visiting Paris, Lyons, and Geneva, he recommended that the Union should send delegates to the Paris anniversaries, give special attention to the Société Evangelique
de France as a "Home Missionary Society," and maintain a continuing correspondence with Frédéric Monod. Five years earlier British Baptists had sent F. A. Cox to France to test the situation, resulting in the founding of the Baptist Continental Society with Cox as secretary. For several years the Baptist Magazine was filled with excited letters on numerous Baptist conversions across the Channel, though after 1837 money dried up, interest waned, and the mission died. Acting on an enthusiastic report of the 1830 Paris revolution, the Wesleyan Conference also authorized missions, principally in Paris and Normandy. In 1832 Nasmith visited Paris to organize a Paris City Mission on the model of Glasgow.

American enterprise was also evident. Howard Malcom, returning from France in 1831, pressed Baptists to fund a mission, and Casimir Rostan, formerly of Marseilles, was dispatched to Paris. The mission lasted until about 1837. Both Wilbur Fisk of Wesleyan University in 1836 and John Durbin of Dickinson College in 1846 applauded the French work of British Wesleyans but also argued for the establishment of an American Methodist mission. But generally, the French Reformed were not comfortable with these Baptist and Methodist initiatives, and the most successful approach took place under primarily Presbyterian auspices. Partly through the urging of S.V.S. Wilder, a group of New York evangelicals organized to help the cause in France in the early 1830s. The French Evangelical Association was fully launched by 1834, and in 1835 Robert Baird was designated its first Paris representative. Baird, particularly after his marriage to a descendant of Huguenots, had become deeply interested in the prospects of France and as early as 1831 had formed a plan for working in that field. He arrived in Paris in 1835, remained until mid-1838, and returned repeatedly for long stays throughout his career. No evidence suggests that Baird had any marked success in appealing to the French public or even to most Reformed laity. Indeed, in his early years much of his energy seems to have been absorbed by the small Anglo-American circle in Paris and its French acquaintances. Yet he was important in at least three respects.
First, Baird was unique as a careerist, as virtually a life-long professional envoy to Reformed evangelicals. Unlike other representatives of Anglo-American religion, he viewed his dominant mission in life to be that of seeking out and strengthening effective links with Continental Protestantism. In doing so he also established strong personal ties with almost every significant leader of the French and French-Swiss \textit{réveil}. Second, Baird was an effective expositor of what he perceived to be the virtues of American Protestantism. Shortly after his first arrival in Paris he published two brief histories. The first, promoting the temperance crusade, had little appeal for the French but constituted a reasoned apologetic for the culture of the voluntary benevolent societies which undergirded the evangelical thrust in both Britain and America. The second narrated New England’s Puritan history, ascribing its "declension" into Unitarianism to the fatal error of joining church and state, a narrative that had obvious implications for the contemporary Reformed situation in both France and the Swiss cantons. This task of explaining New World religion Baird continued in many later speeches and papers, culminating in the almost instant translation and publication of his famous classic as \textit{De la religion aux États-Unis} (Paris, 1844). Although Baird was concerned specifically with recommending American religion, he was incidentally supporting the differentiating features of Nonconformist religious culture in Britain as well—commitment to the voluntary church, to extensive moral reforms through benevolent societies, and to institutionalized evangelical piety and discreet revivals. In effect, Baird was the most systematic apologist for the religious system of the "transatlantic fellowship" to the French Reformed community.

And third, more than any other figure, Baird was the exponent of a united Protestantism, and especially of a united Protestantism of the Reformed tradition. Just as he explained American religion to Continental Protestants, he also tried to raise the consciousness of British and American evangelicals to recognition of the broader European field—a program which eventually helped launch the Evangelical Alliance. Few
did more to foster the integration of a vital segment of French Reformed society into the Atlantic religious community.

By the 1840s the reviel had indeed adopted much of the system of Nonconformist and American evangelicals. French and French-Swiss leaders of the revival not only founded their benevolent societies in imitation of those of London and New York, but those societies were often supported and instructed by the far stronger organizations of England or America. The French and Foreign Bible Society, for instance, was modelled after and funded by the British and Foreign in 1833, after French evangelicals became dissatisfied with the liberal-dominated Protestant Bible Society of Paris. The Paris Tract Society; was established with American leadership and British money. The first Sabbath School was set up in 1815 in Bordeaux with a £10 grant from the London Sunday-School Union and by 1828 had expanded into a system of eighty schools under the leadership of Frederic Monod and Auguste de Staël. The Society for Evangelical Missions, another Wilder creation in 1822, supported workers in British Africa and was closely tied to the LMS; its seminary in Paris was headed by Grandpierre. Even anti-slavery was derivative. When the Société pour l'abolition de l'esclavage (founded 1834) was thought to be too tepid, it was superseded in the 1840s by a new organization modelled after the British and Foreign and promoted by Guillaume de Felice. Most important of all were the two Evangelical Societies of France and Geneva. Only the French Temperance Society failed, despite Baird's efforts, to seriously interest the Reformed. Whenever possible, British and American delegates appeared at the Paris anniversaries, and French delegates occasionally attended meetings in London and even in New York. In any case the Paris anniversaries were faithfully reported in the British and American religious press.

A similar dependence was evident in the distribution of tracts. In 1818 the London Tract Society, inspired originally by George Burder and remaining under predominant Congregational influence, made its first grant for France, followed in 1828
and 1831 by grants to Lausanne and Geneva. America also contributed. In 1826 Henri Lutteroth, secretary of the Paris Society, wrote to the Boston organization, requesting tracts, promising to translate them, and stressing the great need for money. By 1834 Paris was distributing ninety-six tracts, most of them translations, and including such favorites as The Dairyman's Daughter, The African Servant, The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, and the more substantial Pilgrim's Progress and Baxter's Saint's Rest. Malan asked the London Society for "hundreds and thousands of tracts, for the valleys and the hills on the boundaries of France. Help and come!" adding pointedly that "a tract revival without tract-money is a deep well without a bucket." The Reformed evangelicals, especially Malan, wrote tracts of their own, but a large part of their "repository" came from abroad.

A similar indebtedness was the case with more substantial religious literature. In 1831 the London Society, fearing the rise of infidelity and believing that Napoleon had pondered Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament at St. Helena, granted £400 for its French publication, together with several other works, including Doddridge's Evidences of Christianity, and Wardlaw's Lectures on Socinianism. However, three years later Lutteroth informed the American Tract Society that such serious theology was probably beyond the French public. "The busy, pleasure loving multitude will not fix their attention long enough to understand them; and infidels, who have been amused with the sprightly epigram of Voltaire, adapted to the depraved heart, will reject these grave and austere writings." All the same, in 1839 Baird, noting that the Paris Tract Society had done nothing in this area, deplored the lack of a French Christian literature: "If we deduct the sermons and pamphlets, it would not be possible to find 50 works of this kind, indeed perhaps not 30."

His remedy was twofold. He strongly endorsed a new Toulouse Society committed to circulating religious books, recommending that the American Tract Society provide it with an annual grant of at least $600. His further suggestion, inspired by an appeal
from Felice and Adolphe Monod, was for a massive infusion of American theology in the Reformed seminaries. Writing in the New York Observer and New York Evangelist, he urged American scholars to send copies of their works to both Montauban and Geneva. He specifically appealed to such celebrated Presbyterian and Congregational divines as Samuel Miller, Charles Hodge, Albert Barnes, Moses Stuart, Joseph A. and James W. Alexander, Nathaniel William Taylor, Leonard Woods, Gardiner Spring, William Buell Sprague, and others. The practice, he noted, should be continued with each new American publication. On a lesser scale the London committee also endorsed the idea. When Horace Monod translated Hodge's Commentary on Romans, it sent copies (together with Baxter's Reformed Pastor) to seminaries at Montauban, Geneva, Lausanne, and Strasbourg.

Finally, the French reveal also was profoundly dependent on British and American financial support. Its followers were few, the Reformed clergy and the most substantial laity were often hostile, and the general public was indifferent. Governments withheld all financial encouragement, and to the people the idea of voluntary funding was novel and unfamiliar. Inevitably then, appeals for aid flooded Dissenter magazines and American religious periodicals. Support for ministers and churches, societies, and publications accounted for most grants. During its first half-century, for instance, the London Tract Society provided £9282 for France (exclusive of French Switzerland). The amount came to about six per cent of the total expenditures and constituted a larger overseas commitment than any other charge on the budget except for the Asian continent. During the mid-1830s the American Tract Society repeatedly marked up annual French grants of $1,000 or $1,500. Because it rejected the National Establishment and had Adolphe Monod for its pastor, the struggling and impoverished Lyons Free Church was a favored beneficiary with both Dissenters and Americans. Similarly, when Frederic Monod organized a free church denomination, the Union des Eglises Libres, after 1848, more than half of its financial support came from Britain.
Despite this close association, the French and French-Swiss Reformed evangelicals continued to maintain some differences from their British and American brethren. The veil remained more severely orthodox and historically doctrinal. Malan especially remained inflexibly tied to sixteenth-century standards. Although Adolphe Monod became far more liberal and irenic in his later years, the French awakening did not produce a pattern comparable to the "modern Calvinism" of British Nonconformity or the New Haven departures in America. The French movement also lacked the emphasis on revivals that dominated America and intrigued English Dissenters. Warnings against "American camp meetings" were prominently raised by critical Reformed opponents as early as the 1830s, and leaders of the veil were themselves cautious. Moreover, all French governments, traditionally wary of any public commotions, kept tight rein on every tendency toward any encouragement of emotional upheavals. In the culture of reforms, neither temperance nor antislavery showed any capacity to generate the emotional commitment (and even fanaticism) displayed in Britain in America. For their part, French evangelicals could occasionally be critical. On visiting America Grandpierre permitted himself some queries about the "Judaic observance" of the Sabbath and about a burgeoning denominational diversity which could not strengthen Christian charity. In final analysis, the French awakening also remained far smaller and weaker than its sister movements in Britain and America. It was less productive in theological literature, moral reforms, and missionary energy. Its impact on the French Protestant community was far less than the effect of evangelicalism across the Channel or in the United States.
Most importantly, its commitment to the voluntary church was less assured. To be sure, Malan, Merle, the two Monods—all experimented with free churches. It is also true that in the score of years following 1820 conventicles outside the state churches became more common. Then in the 1840s Lausanne, Geneva, and France all saw the rise of conscientious secessions from national churches and the creation of voluntaryist denominations. Nonetheless, the views of leaders of the French and Swiss awakening tended to be ambivalent about the church-state connection. Although he built his free chapel, Malan retained his ministry in the cantonal church until he was forced out. Merle was shocked at the radical antipathy toward the Establishment which he discovered in Scottish voluntaries. Adolphe Monod resigned his pastorate at the Lyons Free Church which he had founded in 1832 in order to accept a professorship at the government supported Protestant seminary at Montauban. An energetic campaign for greater religious freedom was launched in 1842 by the Société des intérêts généraux du protestantisme français, led by Agenor de Gasparin, but its program—largely unsuccessful—sought to focus parliamentary pressure on the ministry and did not seek separation from the National Church. In 1844 Baird's book, De la religion aux États-Unis, attracted attention, some discussion of the voluntary principle, and controversy, but fear that French Protestantism could not survive without state support was widespread.

The critical test of Reformed opinion came just after the 1848 revolution
when the collapse of government controls briefly made possible a national synod at Paris. The majority, theologically liberal and led by the capable Coquerel, defended the state connection. Evangelicals were less agreed. Some, closely associated with *Le Semeur* and led by Edmond de Pressense and Henri Lutteroth, organized the Société pour l'application du christianisme aux questions sociales to seek separation from the state. Frederick Monod inclined toward this view, but at first professed neutrality, arguing that the question was political rather than religious. However, he was adamant that the church must adopt an official confession of faith, and when he failed in this effort, he advocated withdrawal from the National Church. Supported by De Gasparin, he issued an Adresse aux membres des églises reformées and launched a dissenting free church, the Union des églises évangeliques de France. But there was also a more moderate evangelical center which wanted a confession but also believed that disunity would be disastrous for the Reformed church. Fed by Adolphe Monod and Jean-Henri Grandpierre, they expressed disappointment in the synod, but counselled patience and declined to abandon the church. The resulting controversy, marked by attacks on Monod and Grandpierre, was fully reported in the American press. Grandpierre, despite his friendship with Baird, was reported as dismissing American voluntarism as unconvincing. "There is certainly need in Paris of a new edition of Dr. Baird's *Religion in America,*" was the dry comment of the Independent. (Grandpierre visited America in 1853 but did not change his views of the unsuitability of separation for French Protestantism.)
In short, most leaders of the réveil were more akin to Chalmers and the founders of the Scottish Free church; they accepted the need to secede if their liberty was too flagrantly trespassed upon, but they were not committed to the principle of separation. Even Frédéric Monod, in bidding farewell to his Paris flock in 1849 in order to launch the église libre, declared that his secession was not a witness to the need to disentangle the church from the state but rather to the urgent requirement of a confession. And his son, Theodore, despite his theological education and pastoral experience in America, later rejoined the Reformed Establishment after a confession had been officially accepted.

Yet none of these qualifications seriously impeded the forging of a final link in the assimilation of these French Reformed into the Atlantic partnership: the evolution of strong personal relations between French evangelicals and their British and American brethren in the 1830s and 1840s.

Indeed, these personal connections of some of these Reformed celebrities with "foreign Puritans" even became somewhat notorious. César Malan, for instance, was not only encouraged in his early defiance of the Genevan church and state by Haldane, Mason, and Bruen, but in his subsequent career he increasingly leaned on Anglo-American resources. He made repeated visits to Britain; after 1822 he preached in English. He maintained myriad close ties with such notables as Rowland Hill, David Bogue, and Robert Baird. He systematically studied the seventeenth-century English divines. He confessed that from English practice he had absorbed his own sabbatarianism, willingness to experiment with conventicles, and reliance on proselytism through tracts. Indeed, in imitation of the English and American "repositories," he wrote and distributed scores of his own French tracts. Scotland did him honors. In 1825 he was formally enrolled in the Scottish Secession church, and in 1826 he received a D.D. from the University of Glasgow. His name was as familiar to Dissenting and American churchmen as one of their own celebrities, and every traveler to the Continent made strenuous efforts to meet him.
Similar ties were evident in the lives of other leaders of the French and Swiss
tie. Like Malan, Merle d'Aubigné moved easily and frequently in the Anglo-American
evolutionary world. His History of the Reformation became the canonical interpretation of
early Protestantism for both British and American Protestants and was commonly used in
the preparation of theological students. Like Malan, he was a frequent guest in Britain.
In 1843 he was present at the Scottish Disruption and afterwards addressed the first Free
Church General Assembly. He corresponded with Robert Baird, William Buell Sprague,
and a host of other Americans, and his views on current issues were often spread in the
New York Observer and other religious journals.

Adolphe Monod's connections to the English religious world were no less firm. In
his youth Thomas Erskine had been a powerful influence in his conversion—a role to
which he again testified on his deathbed. After his first attendance on the May
anniversaries in London in 1825 Monod was a frequent visitor to England (where his sister
lived). In 1829 he married a Scottish woman, Hannah Honyman. When he faced crisis
in his Lyons ministry in 1831, his resolve was strengthened by his reading Bunyan's
Pilgrim's Progress. His correspondence with British and American religious leaders was
ever more than a friendship. His hugey
successful tract, Lucile, ou la lecture de la Bible (1841) was quickly translated and
many times republished in both London and New York by the Tract Societies. He played
a large part in the coming of the Evangelical Alliance, though—stating his reservations
with a quotation from Philip Henry—he regretted any tests whatsoever of any
exclusionary kind on the membership.

America was not neglected. French Reformed interest in the United States
steadily increased after the 1830s. Frédéric Monod, Grandpierre, and Felice wrote often
for the American religious press, and Monod even engaged in controversy with no less a
figure than Harriet Beecher Stowe. Though a voyage to America was considered to be a difficult and expensive undertaking, Grandpierre toured the United States in 1854 as did Frederic Monod in 1858 and Georges Fisch in 1861. Both Grandpierre and Fisch wrote laudatory accounts of their impressions for the French (and American) publics. Frederic Monod's son, Theodore, studied at the Western Theological Seminary in Alleghany, Pennsylvania, was converted and ordained in New York, and preached in Illinois in the 1860s before he returned to France. On the very eve of the Civil War (March, 1861) the liberal Protestant layman, Agenor de Gasparin, wrote a long celebration of America and American Protestantism, The Uprising of a Great People, and subsequently he authored additional enthusiastic works on America.

As these relationships attest, French evangelicals often found themselves much more attuned to brethren abroad than to the mainstream of their own Reformed Church. That church, both in Switzerland and France, was still controlled by theological liberals, while the most influential Protestant theologian of the era was their brilliant and creative Athanase Coquerel. Yet by the 1840s an evangelical minority had accomplished a significant Calvinist renewal, emphasizing the preeminence of the Bible, orthodox doctrine, and the experience of conversion. Isolated in a Catholic and "infidel" population, opposed by a government fearful of public disorders, and condemned as "methodists" by the Reformed majority, these evangelicals were dependent on spiritual fellowship with sympathetic brethren abroad, particularly in Britain and America. In coming years this connection would play a minor but noteworthy role in the forming of the Evangelical Alliance, the antislavery and revival issues of the 1850s, and the controversies connected with the place of international Protestantism in the American Civil War. Even after that war, French Reformed evangelicals were of some importance in mobilizing assistance for the new black freedmen of the South.
1. NYE, May 16, 1840. Kirk's theme was that America held the key to Europe's salvation. Though men might think it strange that the United States, only recently in existence, should pity Europe, the continent was a spiritual graveyard. The "Papal Church of Europe is a grand charnel house of souls" and "Paris is the gilded gateway to hell." See also NYE Jan. 4, 1840.

2. Clark Garrett, Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England (Baltimore, 1995) is primarily concerned with extremist, eccentric, sectarian expression, but the focus on France was traditional in highly respectable academic analysis. LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers (4 vols.; Washington, 1946-1954) provides examples throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An especially prolific student was the Baptist James Bicheno who elaborated on the theme throughout his life. See his initial publication, Signs of the Times, or the Overthrow of Papal Tyranny in France, the Prelude to the Destruction of Popery and Despotism (London, 1792-1794).


   English Methodists had attempted a mission even earlier. During the Revolution in 1791 an appeal from English schoolmasters in Paris to Lady Huntingdon was answered by Thomas Coke. He proceeded to Paris, hired a room, and preached in French to six auditors. The mission was soon abandoned: "Finding that the French were too much enamoured with their Revolution, and too much enlightened by their new philosophy, to regard either the truths of Christianity, or the salvation of their souls, Dr. Coke and Mr. Gibson returned to England." Samuel


Dwight


8. For Wilks, see Cochrane, Friendly Adventurers, pp.

8a. Memoir of Brune, pp. 94 ff.


10. Sampson Vryling Stoddard Wilder, Records from the Life of S.V.S. Wilder (New York, 1865), pp. 72-180, Wilder made sixteen voyages to Europe between 1803 and 1823.


12. Wilder to Evarts, Dec. 31, 1822 in Records, pp. 124-125. Auguste de Stael wrote to Wilder shortly after his return to the United States (1823), "In this country religious interest at this moment concentrates itself upon the abolition of slavery. Can you not take advantage of your stay in the United States to
promote this good work? Not a day passes but that my very heart groans to think of the stain still attached to your admirable country." Records, p. 136. For Baird's analysis of the Paris societies in 1837, see NYO, March 11, 1837.

13. Records, pp. 75-114. The Village in the Mountains (New York, 1827) became a staple of the American Tract Society. Hillhouse to Hannah More, June 12, 1819 in Bacon, Hillhouse, pp. 564-566. Hillhouse added, "The greatest difficulty in conveying religious instruction to the French is to induce them to remain long enough in the presence of truth to receive its impressions."


17. Bruen had at first been enthusiastic about the opportunity to promote "real religion" in France. Memoir of Bruen, Sept. 27, 1818 and March 26, 1819, pp. 69-71, 112-113. For Bruen's analysis of the problems of French Protestantism, see Bruen, Essays, pp.217-241.

17a. After Wilder's departure in 1823, his leadership role was assumed by Thomas Waddington, an English Congregational industrialist. In the 1830s Robert Baird and E. N. Kirk served
the Paris ministry at the Taitbout Chapel. Baron Stow described the circle of Anglo-American evangelicals at Paris in 1840; John Q. Stockbridge, A Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of Rev. Baron Stow, D.D. Late Pastor of the Rowe Street Baptist Church, Boston (Boston, 1871), pp. 142.


19. On Geneva, see Hermann Goltz, Genève religieuse au dix-neuvième siècle (Geneva, 1862). James Good, History of the Swiss Reformed Church (Philadelphia, 1913). Highly influential in the Swiss movements was Alexandre Vinet, minister and philosopher of Lausanne, who seceded from the cantonal church in 1840 in protest against Erastianism. English and American evangelicals honored him but did not consider him one of their own. Vinet, for his part, found the evangelicals' perspective too restricted, though he sympathized with their stand for spiritual independence. Eugene Rambert, Alexandre Vinet: Histoire de sa vie et de ses ouvrages (Lausanne, 1912). Also influential was Francois Gaussen (1790-1863) at Geneva. He separated from the Venerable Company in 1831, helped found the Société Evangelique in 1831, and the Evangelical Theological Seminary in 1832. His Theophany or the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures went through four editions in America, but he was suspicious of the Anglo-American evangelicals, and did not figure prominently in their fellowship.

19a. [Solomon Caesar Malan], The Life, Labours, and Writings of Caesar Malan (London, 1869). His early prominence among English-speakers is indicated by his Sermons Translated from the French


21. [Sarah Monod], Life; Osen, Prophet and Peacemaker; Adolphe Monod, Souvenirs de sa vie, extraits de sa correspondance (2 vols.; Paris, 1885).

22. Schaff-Herzog
Codman, Narrative, pp. 66-72 found "Mr. Monod Jr. decidedly evangelical while his father and the other two pastors, are supposed to be inclining to Arianism if not Socinianism."

23. Jean-Henri Grand Pierre [sic], A Parisian Pastor's Glance at America (Boston, 1854), Editor's Introduction. Codman, Narrative, pp. 66-72. Grandpierre's Sermons were published in English in 1833. Also note his Sermon on the obstacles to Christianity in France in Bapt. Mag (1838), 323-329.

24. Felice, History of Protestants, I, xi states his liberal principles—for liberty of thought, faith, and worship and complete equality of confessions. See Felice's sermon in Eclectic R., 1834, 119-123. Haldane was annoyed that Felice did


Summary of Theological Controversies which ... have agitated...

... Geneva, Monthly Repository, 1824

31. Van Vechten, Mason
   DAB
   Memoir of Bruen, pp. 23-25.


33. Memoir of Bruen


39. See, for instance, Evan. Mag., Nov., 1833, 493-496; Oct., 1837, 490-492; Baird to Editor, Sept 22, 1837 in NYO, Nov. 11,
1837. Bruen believed that voluntarism was the solution for the French church if "vital piety" was to be restored; Bruen, Essays, pp. 228-239.


42. French Evangelical Assn.

Christian Union, I, 114-115.

Direct American intervention in the form of a permanent European committee rather than grants was not welcomed by French and Genevan evangelicals in 1839 and caused some friction which Baird attempted to allay.


47. Paris antiversaries were regularly reported in the religious press. See, e.g., NYO, July 26, Aug. 2, 1845; Cong. Mag., Sept. 1837, 601-602, 673-675; Christendom, I, (1847). Note Baird to John Proudfit and the Foreign Evangelical Society, Dec. 17, 1836 in NYO, March 11, 1937: The Evangelical Society of France is the most important of the societies and desperately in need of American support. More chapels must be built. Le Semeur should be available in every salon de lecture in France.


49. Ibid., p. 292.


53. Ibid., p. [647].

55. Merle & Scots vol.

56. Baird to NYO, March 19, 1842: many in Geneva want separation and believe the connection with the state is disastrous to vital piety. Nonetheless, separation will probably not occur. See also NYO, August 6, 1842. Felice published an article on the voluntary issue, including Baird's book, in NYO, March 29, 1845.


58. The consistory of the Reformed church, headed by Coquerel, condemned separation of church and state, citing the United States as the dreadful example of its consequences. Coquerel argued that America had an "infinity of little rival sects," with only one-sixth of the population as communicants. He opposed separation partly because "government, which is remote, imposes less restraint upon the independence of a minister of the Gospel, than the congregation, which is much nearer to him." He thought "the Dissenters in England, the Independents in America have mere colleges; they have no faculties of theology properly so called." Independent, Jan. 18, 1849. On Coquerel, see Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise, Vol. IX (Paris, 1961), s.v. "Coquerel, Athanase-Laurent-Charles."

59. Grand Pierre, Parisian Pastor's Glance, thought special social conditions in America made separation possible, pp. 61-63: "There are between France and the United States notable differences, which must be taken into account, and which no theories, however well arrayed, can do away with." "In France
there is neither the zeal nor the devotedness, nor perhaps, the
wealth requisite to produce the state of things which exists in
America," See also J.-H. Grandpierre, Quelques mois de séjour
aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique (Paris, 1854), pp 71-73.

60. Frederic Monod, Mes adieux à mon troupeau, discours prononcé
à Paris, dans le temple de l'Oratoire, le 22 avril 1849 (Paris,
1849), 5, 16-17, 22.


63. [Sarah Monod], Life, pp. 152-157.

64. Lucile: or the Reading of the Bible

65. Mrs. H.B. Stowe on Dr. Monod and the American Tract Society considered in relation to American slavery (Edinbrugh, 1858). Independent,

Grandpierre 1854


66. Theodore Monod

De Gasparin

67. On the parties in French church, see Osen, Chruch History, 1968. Felice's analysis appeared as a lead article in NYO, May 9, 1846.