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Religion Affiliations in Early Nineteenth Century Geneva

The Emergence of Catholics in the “Calvinist Rome”¹

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Introduction

Existence and coexistence have been a major challenge for the Geneva citizens all along the 19th century. Political changes within the territory of the Canton and Republic, and the association between a protestant city, originally free of Catholics, and the surrounding Catholic villages, opened a new period of coexistence. New and progressively more intense immigration flows also contributed substantially to the rise of Catholic populations in the “Calvinist Rome”. Such changes into the religious composition of Geneva inhabitants were immediately observed by the Protestant elite². Their reactions stayed however hesitant, if not tolerant. Tensions rapidly rose around the question of the civil marriage, then the attempts of an influent and quiet aggressive Catholic priest to win back Geneva. Nevertheless, such tensions never became an open conflict.

This paper is the first one of a research project which is still in its infancy, since we present only first analyses of data that have just been collected, treated and coded. We have started to reconstruct life courses and family dynamics in nineteenth century Geneva, using a strategy base on an alphabetical sample - people with a name beginning by the letter B - in order to collect data about the same individuals in various sources. Some 5,000 marriages have been collected for the period 1800-1880³; as a first continuation of the massive effort that Perrenoud devoted to the 16th-18th centuries, for the first half of the century 1,000 families have been reconstructed using the Louis Henry method⁴; and finally five censuses have been

¹ We are grateful to the *Swiss Science Foundation* which funded this research. We also express our gratitude to Cécile Cosman and Grazyna Ryczkowska for the data collection, and to Sébastien Feliciangeli, Alexandre Nicoulin, Mario Togni and Philippe Solms, whose the researches done during the seminar of “Pratique de la recherche en histoire des populations” have been very useful.

² See PERROUX, Olivier, *Tradition, vocation et progrès. Les élites bourgeoises de Genève (1814-1914)*, PhD Thesis, University of Geneva, 2003.

³ RYCKOWSKA, Grazyna, *Accès au mariage et structures de l’alliance à Genève, 1800-1880*, mémoire de D.E.A. en Histoire économique et sociale, université de Genève, 2003.

⁴ SCHUMACHER, Reto, *De l’analyse classique à l’analyse différentielle. Nuptialité, fécondité et mortalité à Genève pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, mémoire de D.E.A. en Histoire économique et sociale, université de Genève, 2002.

explored: 1816 (city census), 1822, 1828, 1831 and 1837 (all the four being cantonal censuses). Here, we will use the three first ones.

In a first time, we will present tensions and polemics around Catholic presence, and especially how the question of mix unions or families constituted a point of focalisation. In a second time, we will try to go beyond. We will evaluate critically how the religious affiliations were recorded in the censuses, which were the mixed situations, and finally how a new population of immigrants progressively formed a community.

Although a simple step far from our original ambitions, such exploration is important in our project at this early stage. The pioneering study of Louis Henry showed that after a decline in infant and child mortality, the Geneva bourgeoisie started to control its reproduction since the second half of the 17th century. The final descent of women married at the age of 20 went down from 9.42 to 6.54 between the first and the second half of the century⁵. The Coale and Trussel *m* index already reached a value of 0.759 among the cohort 1650-1699⁶. Alfred Perrenoud showed that such fertility control did not stay a peculiarity of the elite. Along the 18th century, birth control practices were also more and more used by middle and low classes⁷. Among the whole population of Geneva, the theoretical final descent went from 6.07 children for the marriage cohort 1700-1704 to 2.9 children for the unions contracted during the first decade of the 19th century⁸. Multivariate analyses of fertility behaviours among Geneva families in the first half of the 19th century confirmed and extended those results. The event-history models revealed both stopping and spacing practices⁹. Reto Schumacher even noted that the disappearance of socio-professional differentials in fertility behaviours during the first half of the 19th century could be interpreted as a sign of transition completion.

The Princeton Project on the fertility decline in Europe clearly demonstrated that after a ten percent drop, fertility never came back to its previous levels. The rule of fertility transition irreversibility faces only one exception, as far as we know, and this exception is precisely Geneva. Both birth rates and legitimate fertility rose significantly during the second third of the 19th century. For the Geneva professor of hygiene Pierre-Louis Dunant, the explanation of this phenomena was the intense natality of immigrants, especially foreigners, whose birth rates were clearly higher than the ones of Geneva natives¹⁰. We suspect that the development of a Catholic population changed the cultural composition of the Geneva population and could explain the reversal in the fertility transition process, before the decisive decline that started in the 1880s, in Geneva as well as in most of Europe. But we also suspect that the religious differential is a too simple explanation, that interactions and reciprocal influences existed between the communities and families, and that especially the mixed couples could have had

⁵ HENRY, Louis, *Anciennes familles genevoises, étude démographique : XVIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, PUF-INED, 1956.

⁶ LIVI-BACCI, Massimo, «Social-group forerunners of fertility control in Europe», in A.J. Coale and S.C. Watkins (eds.), *The decline of fertility in Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986, p. 186.

⁷ PERRENOUD, Alfred, « La transition démographique dans la ville et la campagne genevoises du 17^e au 19^e siècles », in *Mélanges d'histoire économique offerts au professeur Anne-Marie Piuze*, Genève, Université de Genève, 1989, 241.

⁸ PERRENOUD, Alfred, « Espacement et arrêt dans le contrôle des naissances », in *Annales de Démographie historique 1988*, 1989, pp. 61 and 63.

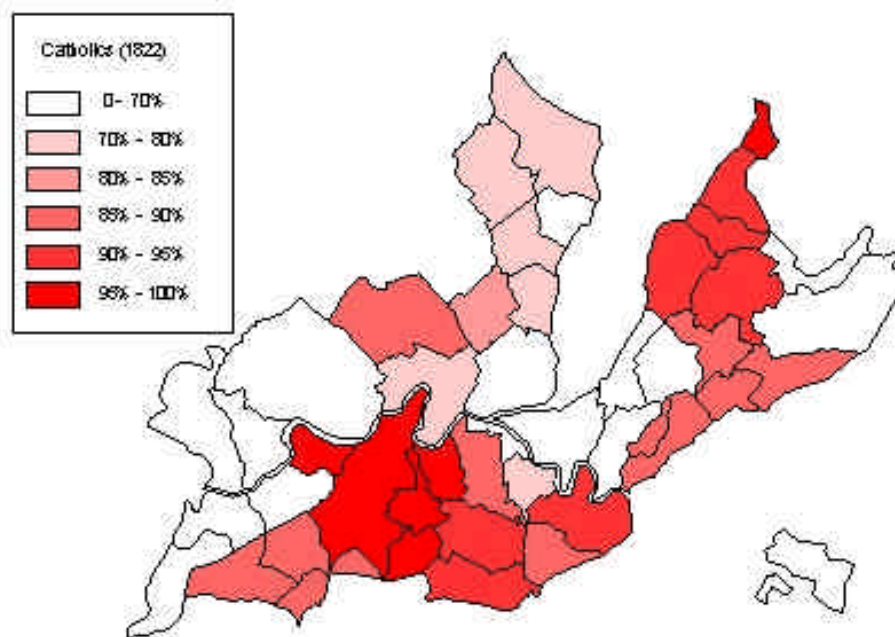
⁹ SCHUMACHER, Reto, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁰ DUNANT, Pierre-Louis, « Recherche sur le mouvement de la population de la ville de Genève de 1845 à 1872 », in *Journal de Statistique suisse*, 1876, (2-3), p. 133. From the same author, see also « Note sur la population de la ville de Genève : étude comparative des mouvements de la population parmi les anciens et les nouveaux habitants », in *Annales de Démographie internationale*.

a very original demography. There are all questions that we will address later; in this paper, we just start to explore the religious affiliations.

A political demography: an old town in a new state

Since the Calvinist reformation Geneva area is a place of political and religious tensions. At the end of the 18th century, in this small region, four independent states and two religions coexisted: the Catholic France and Savoie, near the protestant Swiss Confederation and the Republic of Geneva (an independent city-state until 1816). The religious and political borders were intricate, as a result of a long time of fights between protestants and catholics, between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation (decided after the first Concil of Trente)¹¹. Each village was coveted by a religion and often changed hands along the centuries. Four rural areas, without territorial continuity, belonged to the Geneva Republic. The city of Geneva itself developed an impressive system of fortifications that closed the population and increased the feeling to be a refuge, constantly endangered by the Catholic enemy. Even when the enlightenments completed in a local revolution, the new Geneva constitution written in 1792 and 1794, affirmed all citizens to be equal, to the condition however, to be protestant¹².



Proportion of Catholics in the canton of Geneva in 1822

From : CARDINAUX, Michèle, *Démographie genevoise au XIXe siècle. Des sources aux chiffres: synthèse rétrospective*, mém. de lic. Histec, Univ. De Genève, Genève, 1997, p. 33-34.

The first respite time followed the invasion by the French armies, when Geneva and all its region were integrate in the French republic, then empire (1798-1814). Actually, this short period is the real beginning of a cohabitation in the city between the old protestant power and

¹¹ SHAG, *Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798*, Genève, 1951.

¹² AEG, *Constitution genevoise sanctionnée par le souverain le 5 février 1794*, l'an 3 de l'Egalité, [sans numérotation de page], article 1.

new catholic immigrants, i.e. the French civil servants and all those that came with them¹³. After this period, in 1814-1815, during the negotiations of the Vienna treaty, it appeared clearly that the allied victorious empires were not inclined to accept Geneva claims for a restoration of its complete independence as a little, both archaic and modern, religious republic in the middle of Europe¹⁴. The Geneva delegates obtained the authorisation to add a new canton to the Swiss Confederation, a solution that preserved if not independence, at least a large autonomy. However, the Swiss Confederation imposed a condition: the new canton had to be a unified territory. The allied accepted the transfer from Catholic villages, as well as the city of Carouge, that belonged previously to France or to the kingdom of Savoia-Sardagna¹⁵. It was an excellent solution from an economic point of view, and a great political success, but suddenly, from 1816 the republic of Geneva stopped to be the Calvinist Rome, and became a mixed canton where secular enemies had to live together [MAP]. Such challenge was even more real in a period of urbanisation and growing mobility from the countryside to town. Although Geneva state could restrain the installation of foreigners and even of Swiss citizens coming from other cantons (until the 1871 constitution), people could freely change residence within the canton territory.

In 1798, with 21,327 inhabitants within the city walls, 24,331 in the agglomeration, Geneva is already a big city in the regional context. The town is twice time more populated than Bern (12,000 inhabitants) or Zurich (10,500), and clearly above Bâle (14,700). As shows Figure 1, the French occupation is a period of stagnation, but from 1814 the demographic growth is continuous. In 1850, the inner city had 31,200 inhabitants and the whole agglomeration 37,724.

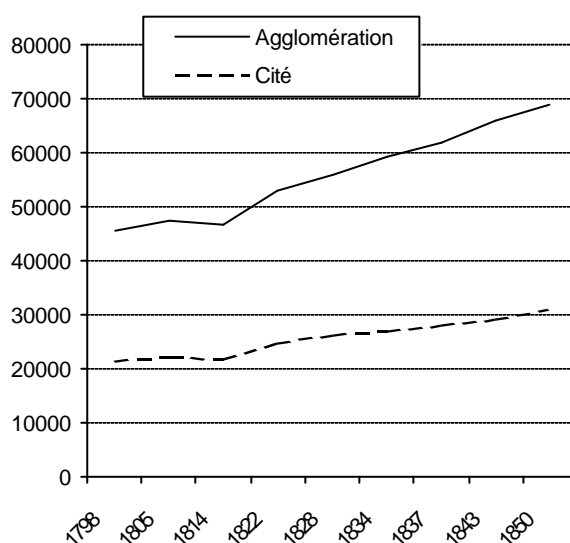


Figure 1. Population growth in Geneva, 1798-1843

SCHUMACHER, Reto, *De l'analyse classique à l'analyse différentielle. Nuptialité, fécondité et mortalité à Genève pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle*, mémoire de D.E.A. en Histoire économique et sociale, université de Genève, 2002.

¹³ MALLET, Edouard, *Du recrutement de la population dans les petits états démocratiques*, Genève, 1851, p. 61.

¹⁴ STEPCZYNSKI, Marian (dir.), *Genève et la Suisse : Un mariage d'amour et de raison*, Genève, 1992.

¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 72.

This expansion was supported by a frail economy. Both a narrow territory and the religious isolation of Geneva determined its economy from the Reformation until the mid of the 19th century¹⁶. Without secured hinterland and natural resources, the city must had a strategy of niches and focused on the production and trade of luxury goods. Looking at the state of Geneva economy in the beginning of the 19th century, the liberal economist Jean-Charles de Sismondi noted that: “Sans territoire, ils ne pouvoient être agriculteurs, il falloit donc qu’ils fussent marchands; cependant, si éloignés des mers, privés de toute navigation intérieure, [...] gênés à chaque instant par les loix financières de leurs voisins [...], il ne leur étoit pas facile d’avoir un commerce à eux et ils devoient particulièrement renoncer à celui qui auroit eu des marchandises volumineuses pour objet. Ils portèrent en conséquence toute leur industrie sur des matières très précieuses, afin qu’un très petit volume renfermât beaucoup de valeur et beaucoup de travail”¹⁷. Since the end of the 17th century, indeed, can be observed the development of a proto-industrial economy base on two main sectors, textile and watchmaking.

With the jewellers, goldsmiths and many others, the Geneva watchmakers formed a large craft network which is known as the “Fabrique”. The workshops, where worked usually 3 to 8 persons, were located essentially in the Saint-Gervais neighbourhood. According to Dufour estimations, at the end of the 18th century approximately 40 percents of the male working population was employed by the Fabrique¹⁸. This sector was also important for the female labour force since in 1798, 15 percent of those working in the jewellery and 28 percent of those active in the watchmaking were women¹⁹. According to the census of 1828, one hundred manufacturers and merchants employed 5,000 persons²⁰. They organised a complex process of production, based on an excessive division which created a strong interdependency between the many components of the Fabrique. Practically all the production (100,000 watches in the middle of the 19th century) was disposed on international markets, what made this activity – and the whole city – very sensitive to international conflicts and conjuncture. Such sensitivity rose when the textile sector, already frail in 1800, temporarily reinforced by the continental market, disappeared by 1830.

Population and economic growth had a direct impact on the density within the city walls. Pioneer of the demographic science, Edouard Mallet calculated several indices and concluded that the accumulation in the city was properly extraordinary²¹. The height of the houses, with many which have no less than 6 floors, is a consequence²². Mallet again, indicated for the year 1835 an average of 21.7 inhabitants per house.

Such accumulation certainly largely explains a very original demographic regime. The access to marriage remained very difficult with an average age at first marriage above 28 for women,

¹⁶ DUFOUR, Alfred, *Histoire de Genève*, Paris, 1997, p. 82.

¹⁷ DE SISMONDI, Jean Charles Léonard, *Statistique du département du Léman*, published by Helmuth Otto PAPPE, Genève, 1971 [1802], p. 100.

¹⁸ DUFOUR, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁹ PERRENOUD, Alfred, *La population de Genève du XVIe au début du XIXe siècle. Etude démographique*, Genève, SHAG, 1979, p. 162.

²⁰ DUFOUR, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

²¹ MALLET, Edouard, *Recherches historiques et statistiques sur la population de Genève, son mouvement annuel et sa longévité, depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu’à nos jours (1549-1833)*, Paris, 1837, p. 15.

²² EGGIMANN, Gilbert, *L’évolution de l’espace urbain à Genève au 19^e siècle : population, habitat, travail, consommation*, PhD Thesis, University of Geneva, 1989, p. 61.

30 for men, and high levels of celibacy. But in the same time, as we noted above, fertility was seriously controlled by the couples. Modern and archaic brakes acted together to refrain an excessive demographic growth. Indeed, infant mortality, which was still above 200 per thousand in the second half of the 18th century, fell to 100/130 in the first half of the 19th century, very probably because of the Jennerian vaccination²³. A Calvinist scientist, typical member of the old elite, Edouard Mallet, observed very clearly the original demography of his city and, with some originality, expressed a pride where we can find nothing less than the premises of the demographic transition theory: “La proportion des naissances diminue, mais celle des décès diminue aussi, et la population augmente, et l’état social se perfectionne, et la civilisation grandit. Preuve incontestable que les progrès numériques et sociaux d’une population ne sont pas intimement liés au nombre d’enfants qu’elle produit, mais plus encore à celui des enfants qu’elle conserve, et qu’elle amène à l’âge utilisable”²⁴.

However, the strangely low mortality in this dense city was not the only explanation of its growth. With a very limited excess of births to death, immigration was the main cause of population expansion in Geneva. Immigration always played an essential role in Geneva history, starting from the massive protestant refugee flows during the Reformation in the second half of the 16th century, then after the revocation of the “Edit de Nantes” in 1685. Alfred Perrenoud has shown that along the 18th century, the immigration waves tended to become more “normal”, inversely correlated with the wheat prices and although the migratory fields still largely reflect a religious geography, was tolerated a Catholic humble presence, made of a temporary and complementary labour force²⁵. In the first half of the 19th century, the immigration flows that made Geneva growth, became independent from the urban economic conjuncture, since they resulted more from a “rural push” than from an “urban pull”²⁶.

In the 1850s, after the radical revolution against the conservative protestant elite, the new authorities took the decisive and symbolic decision to destroy the fortifications and open the city. Simultaneously, the international conjuncture and the development of an industrial and modern production of watches in the Neuchatel region challenged the traditionalism of the main Geneva economic sector, constraining it to changes. It is only in the second half of the 19th century that Geneva definitively left the “Ancien Régime” and became a modern city, based on both modern industries and an active tertiary sector²⁷. Geneva benefited during this period from an even more impressive demographic growth, and immigration definitively made from the “Calvinist Rome” a Catholic city...

²³ SCHUMACHER, Reto, *op.cit.*, p. 98.

²⁴ MALLET, Edouard, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

²⁵ PERRENOUD, Alfred, *op.cit.*, 1979, p. 293.

²⁶ SCHUMACHER, Reto, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

²⁷ RAFFESTIN, Claude, *Genève, essai de géographie industrielle*, Genève, 1968, p. 67.

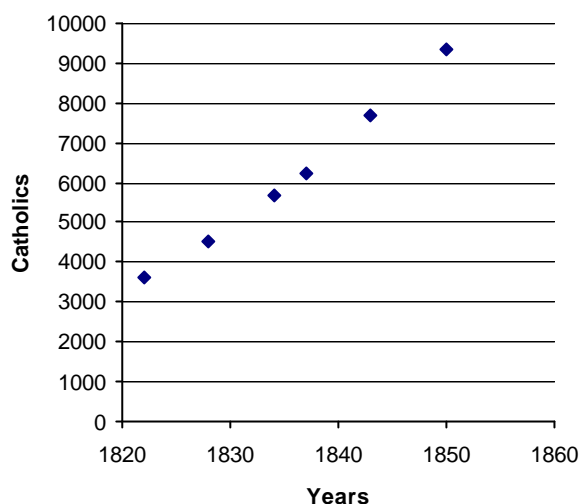


Figure 2. Catholic presence in Geneva

PERROUX, Olivier, *Tradition, vocation et progrès. Les élites bourgeoises de Genève (1814-1914)*, PhD Thesis, University of Geneva, 2003, p. 39.

Coexistence and mixed: tensions around marriage and the Catholic presence in town

From 1816, and for the first time since Reformation, Catholics and Calvinists have officially the same rights, are submitted to the same duties²⁸. Practically speaking, the old Calvinist conservative elite recovered the power and tried to preserve their political and religious dominant position in the new canton. Although the memory of the French occupation was pretty bad, the authorities were the only ones in Switzerland that choose to keep the Napoleon Civil Code. Indeed, the main dispositions of the Code did not contradict the old rules edicted under the influence of Calvin, especially the rule of equal share among the children, or the civil marriage, since Calvin did not consider marriage as a sacrament but as a simple contract²⁹. The institution of a civil ceremony seemed also a simple solution in a recently mixed canton to strictly separate state and church and to treat equally each citizen, independently of his/her religion.

However, the treaty of Turin of March 16th, 1816, complementary to the Vienna treaty, specified that had to be strictly maintained the laws and customs relative to the Catholic religion in the Sardinian municipalities that were given to the Swiss canton of Geneva. Only the Vatican could accept changes. The Geneva law of May 20th, 1816, was presented by the Calvinist elite as a compromise. The civil ceremony remained an obligation, but the marriage was announced at the parish church and became valid only after a “nuptial benediction”, a benediction that took the form of a real sacramental ceremony for the Catholics. However, the government could dispense from both the announcement and the benediction. Such dispense in fact concerned the mixed unions between a Catholic and a Calvinist.

²⁸ AEG, *Constitution de 1814*, Genève, 1828. This constitution is adopted by votation on july 1814.

²⁹ Calvin pose cette affirmation dans les ordonnances de 1561. BIELER, André, *L'homme et la femme dans la morale calviniste : la doctrine réformée sur l'amour, le mariage, le célibat, le divorce, l'adultère et la prostitution, considérée dans son cadre historique*, Genève, 1963, p. 134.

A new law, the 26 of December 1821, was the result of an intense lobbying of layers who obtained a return to a strict application of the Civil Code, with an obligation of civil ceremony and a total freedom as far as the religious followings were concerned³⁰. Of course, the motivations were noble, but the law can also be seen as a Protestant reaction against a Catholic vigorous offensive. This last one was largely organised by a priest, Jean-François Vuarin. He arrived in Geneva at the end of the 18th century to escape from French revolution, and stayed in the city after the arrival of the French army and the 1801 Concordat that re-established the Catholic religion in France and the occupied regions³¹. He obtained the attribution of a church in the old town in October 1803, designed himself as a missionary and wanted explicitly to defeat the Calvinism and re-conquer Geneva³². With the law of 1821, he found a new opportunity to express his aggressiveness, multiplying the pamphlets³³.

Finally, the Vatican, the court of Turin and the Swiss Confederation all asked for a strict respect of the international treaties. The Geneva parliament was obliged to adapt the law and clearly expressed that he acted under constraints and threatens. The law of 24 January 1824 maintained the law of 1821, but the Catholic marriages in the 20 municipalities that Sardinia gave up had to be celebrated by Catholic priests according to Catholic rules, with the civil ceremony reduced to an administrative formality. From 1824, two matrimonial regimes coexisted on the territory of the Geneva canton. For example, divorce was permitted in the first one and totally forbidden in the second one³⁴. Such a legislation that clearly established an inequality among the citizens remained active until the law of 12 October 1861 and the Constitutional law of 27 September 1868.

At these dates, religious tensions declined while Catholic presence rose. In fact, it seems that the first moments of coexistence, just after centuries of conflicts, have been the most difficult. Globally, even during these moments of tensions, tolerant voices dominated. Vuarin used provocation until his tomb. The inauguration of Jean-Jacques Rousseau statue in 1835 was a moment of tension, but just a moment³⁵. When Vuarin died, he asked in his testament to the Catholic community to organise a great demonstration in all the city with the Catholics of all the region. But Vuarin depended of the bishop of Lausanne. In an unpublished document, the Calvinist representative Noble d'Ivernois, who played an important role in the elaboration of the January 1824 law, was really laudatory for him. In the 1820, after a round of negotiations after two members of the Geneva government, he accepted to restrain several Catholic public manifestations, like processions and public feasts. A conciliating man, he made his best to reduce the tensions³⁶.

Noble d'Ivernois considered that the Calvinists had a moral engagement with the bishop of Lausanne. Other tolerant protestant voices were less laudatory. They identified Vuarin as an

³⁰ See ZOGMAL, Alain, *Pierre-François Bellot (1776-1836) et le code civil. Conservatisme et innovation dans la législation genevoise de la restauration*, Genève, 1998, p. 221.

³¹ SANTSCHI, Catherine, et al., *Encyclopédie de Genève : les religions*, vol. 5, Fribourg, 1986.

³² See GANTER, Edmond, *L'église catholique de Genève : seize siècles d'histoire*, Genève, 1986.

³³ VUARIN, Jean-François, *Discours prononcé le 31 décembre 1820, jour de la fête de la Restauration*, Genève, 1820; [Par un Vicaire-général], *De la juridiction de l'église sur le contrat du mariage considéré comme matière du sacrement*, Lyon, Russand, 1823. See GANTER, Edmond, *op.cit.*, p. 395ss.

³⁴ See AEG, *Registre du Conseil Représentatif*, séance du 9 janvier 1824.

³⁵ VUARIN, Jean-François, et al., *Mémoire présenté à monseigneur l'Evêque de Lausanne et Genève par le clergé catholique du canton de Genève sur les pièges tendus par l'hérésie à la foi de la population catholique*, Genève, 1835.

³⁶ AEG, MiA 1147 Seq 6, [NOBLE D'IVERNOIS, Rapport diplomatique sur la loi du mariage, Les cinq engagements, Annexes du Conseil représentatif, 1823.

excessive and aggressive leader, and considered that the Calvinists, products of a religion of exigency, rationality and self-control, must consider such despicable agitation with a cold mind. For Edouard Mallet, in his book about “Du recrutement de la population dans les petits états démocratiques”, it is globally important to integrate the immigrants and make them part of the nation, to preserve a Geneva identity and patriotism. Consequently, conflicts must be avoided and, in the case of the polemic raised by the abbey Vuarin, it is better to stay without reaction. Nobody taking care of their claims and answering, the polemic will naturally die...³⁷

Protestant reactions really appeared only within the movement called “Le Réveil” or “Awakening”. For several students of the Academy, the traditional Calvinisme was precisely a too rational, too cold religion, excessively influenced by the enlightenment. They were themselves influenced by the Roman Catholicism surrounding them and pleaded for a more intense faith, amore direct contact with God and a more intense study of the Holy Bibles. This religious movement had a quiet extremist discourse about the Catholicism and rose the tensions between the confessions³⁸. Lately, in 1844, was founded a “Protestant Union”, as an ultimate and violent reaction against the Catholic presence in Geneva. It was an “occult association” that wanted to defend the Protestant values with a simple, if not simplistic strategy. “Ecarter les domestiques catholiques, ne pas acheter chez les marchands catholiques, s’introduire dans les mariages mixtes et amener les enfants au protestantisme”,³⁹ there were the four proposals of the Union. Interesting enough, this association was at the origin of a large polemic where the most influential personalities of the city condemned the Union⁴⁰.

Indeed, these tendencies were always contained by the Protestant church and the government.. Besides the noise around the Reveil and the Union protestante, it seems clear that a majority of the Geneva population did not follow the extremists and showed some tolerance for the other, belonging to the other Christian faith. Looking at the characteristics of Catholics living in Geneva in 1816-1828, we will now try to verify if they, indeed, were different but not discriminated.

The birth of a Catholic community in Calvinist Geneva

From immigrants to minority

Those who wanted to stay Catholic left Geneva in the 16th century. From this time, the possibility of a catholic invasion was the Geneva greatest fear. As late as in the 18th century, the foundation of two catholic cities near Geneva, Carouge (by the Savoie) and Versoix (by the France), maintained constant this fear. As noted above, the arrival of the French armies, the subsequent territorial and political unification broke secular borders. The French occupants, especially under the Napoleon empire, actively promoted an equal treatment for each citizen, and the installation of Catholics in Geneva. In only 16 years of this occupation and encouraged by the French authority, Catholics created a small community that lived in all districts. From this period on, the rise is steady [see Table 1] and global. Even if there was three very different districts in the city, the progress was equal on almost every street between

³⁷ MALLET, Edouard, *Du recrutement de la population dans les petits états démocratiques, avec esquisse statistique sur l’admission d’étrangers et la naturalisation dans la République de Genève*, Genève, 1851.

³⁸ BEDOUELLE, G. and F. WATTER, *Histoire religieuse de la Suisse*, Fribourg, Editions universitaires de Fribourg, 2000.

³⁹ *Manifeste secret du comité occulte de l’Union Protestante publié par des amis de la publicité*, Genève, 1844, p. 3-4.

⁴⁰ Dont le colonel Rilliet-Constant, un libéral très influent, qui se voit obliger de se justifier par rapport à l’Union. Voir RILLIET -CONSTANT, *De l’Union Protestante*, Genève, 1844.

1816 and 1828. The Catholics never formed a ghetto, even not a concentration. Moreover, this immigration concerned both sex, what was essential to realise the transformation of a immigrant group in a stable community [see Table 2].

Religion (%)	1816		1822		1828	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Catholic	607	10.7	774	13.9	1049	18.2
Jews	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.1
Lutherian	48	0.8	38	0.7	40	0.7
Protestant	4987	88.3	4587	82.4	4650	80.8

Table 1. Religious affiliations in Geneva censuses, 1816-1828

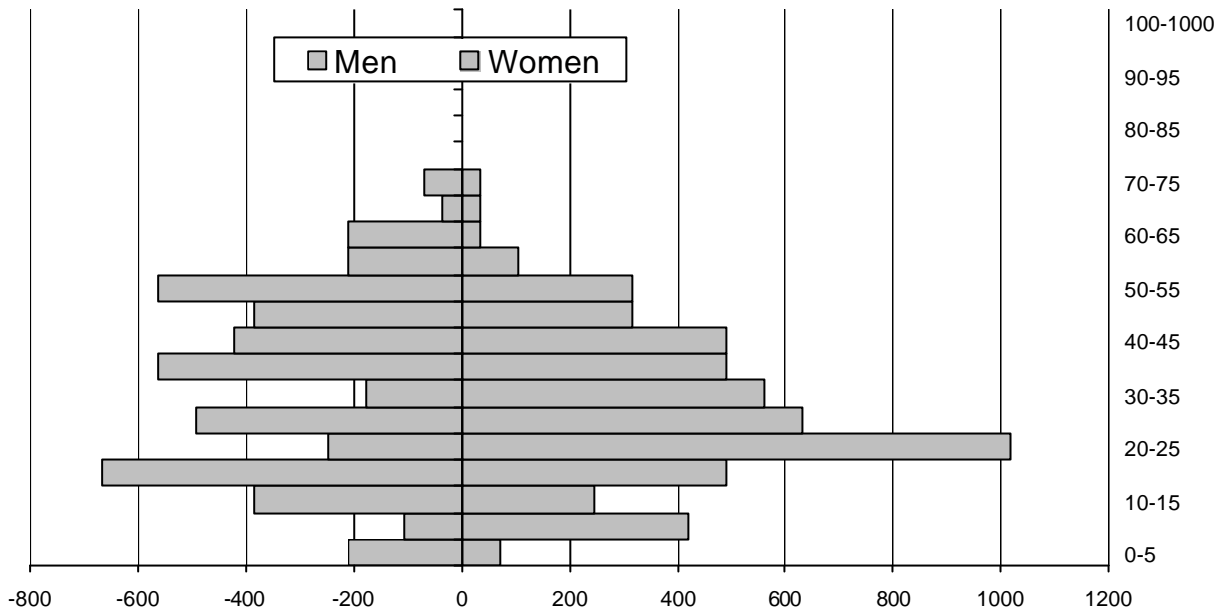
From our nominal samples of the censuses

In 1816, the catholic community is indeed like a immigrant one: few children, few old people and a lot of young women (between 20 and 25 years old) working in domesticity. Only 24 percent of Catholics were unemployed (against 45 percent in the Protestant population). The number of single people was apparently similar in the two religions, but if we drop those aged less than 20, we have:

	Sexe	Célibataire				Marié/e				Divorcé/e				Veuf/Veuve				Séparé/e			
		Cath.		Prot.		Cath.		Prot.		Cath.		Prot.		Cath.		Prot.		Cath.		Prot.	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1816	Femme	55	50.0	340	34.8	41	37.3	441	45.1	0	0	3	0.3	14	12.7	187	19.1	0	0.0	4	0.4
	Homme	26	26.8	198	29.2	65	67.0	423	62.5	0	0	2	0.3	5	5.2	54	8.0	1	1.0		0.0
	TOTAL	81	39.1	538	32.5	106	51.2	864	52.2	0	0	5	0.3	19	9.2	241	14.6	1	0.5	4	0.2
1822	Femme	65	51.2	337	40.6	52	40.9	359	43.2	0	0.0	0	0	10	7.9	129	15.5	0	0	5	0.6
	Homme	40	32.0	182	29.6	82	65.6	391	63.6	1	0.8	0	0	2	1.6	42	6.8	0	0		0.0
	TOTAL	105	41.7	519	35.9	134	53.2	750	51.9	1	0.4	0	0	12	4.8	171	11.8	0	0	5	0.3
1828	Femme	98	43.6	420	40.5	106	47.1	440	42.5	0	0	2	0.2	21	9.3	171	16.5	0	0	2	0.2
	Homme	75	40.3	214	30.7	100	53.8	426	61.2	0	0	3	0.4	10	5.4	51	7.3	0	0		0.0
	TOTAL	173	42.1	634	36.6	206	50.1	866	50.0	0	0	5	0.3	31	7.5	222	12.8	0	0	2	0.1

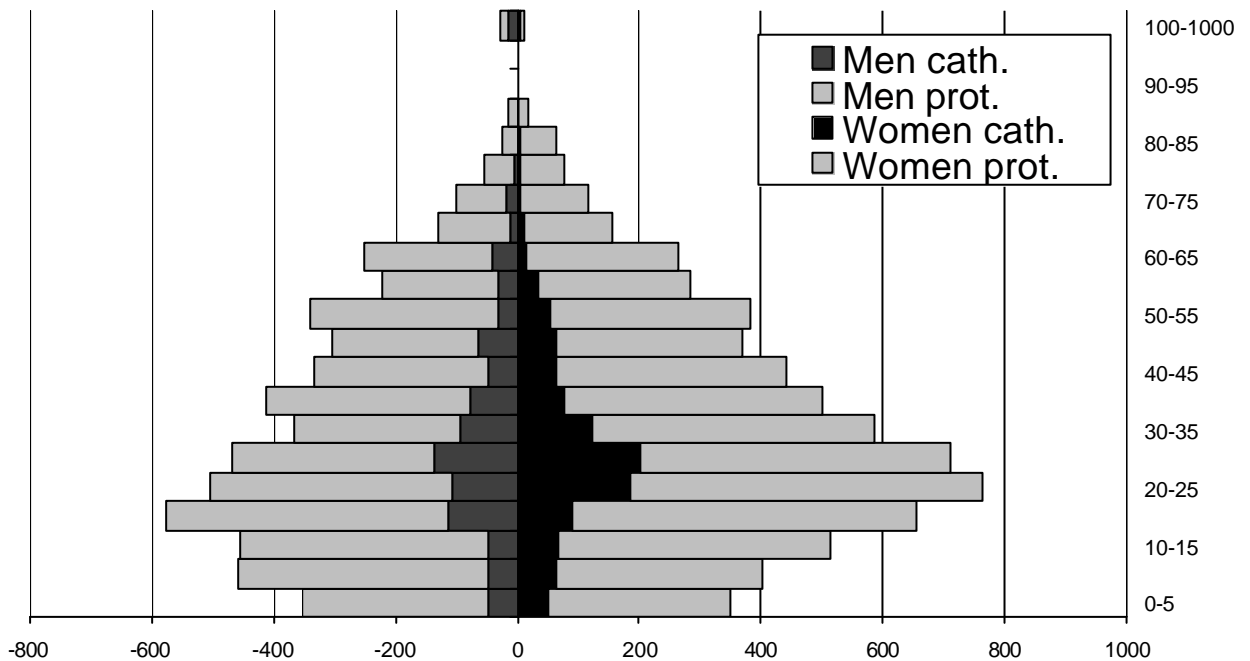
Table 2. The Catholic and Protestant populations in Geneva, 1816-1828

From our nominal samples of the censuses



Age and sex structures of Catholics in Geneva (1816)

While Geneva grew within a new mixed canton, characteristics of the Catholic population of Geneva changed. They turned to a regular minority. In 1828, there were more children and old persons. 34 percent of Catholics were unemployed (against 40 percent of the Protestants). If Catholics were still only 18 percent of the population, they almost doubled their presence in 12 years and can be seen as definitively installed already in 1828.



Age and sex structures in Geneva by religious affiliations (1816)

Origins and activities of Geneva Catholics

At least until 1835, the abbey Vuarin continuously affirmed that Catholics were discriminated in Geneva⁴¹. Using our samples from the censuses of 1816, 1822 and 1828, we have established the professional distribution by religious affiliation [Table 3]. A marginal group was formed by the Lutherians, who arrived from the Bade-Wurtemberg during the Napoleon period to work in the textile. Well defined in 1816, they tend to disappear within the “protestants” in the next censuses.

Sectors	Total			other			catholics			protestants		
	1816	1822	1828	1816	1822	1828	1816	1822	1828	1816	1822	1828
No activity	1330	1253	1331	5	9	8	70	131	199	1255	1113	1124
Unknown	93	192	109		125		11	16	16	81	51	92
Agriculture	17	16	20				1	5	6	16	11	13
Craft	37	55	51				8	14	10	29	41	40
Fabrique	383	359	385				22	25	52	359	333	333
Textile, clothes	212	241	303		11		26	52	55	169	178	236
Housing	64	53	92				17	16	42	46	37	49
Food	53	49	55				10	11	11	43	37	41
Transport	23	32	43				4	5	14	18	26	28
Domesticity	249	293	375				70	72	117	178	220	256
Personal care	166	116	155				12	16	20	153	100	135
Shops	166	149	187	2			20	18	30	144	131	154
Finance	11	12	17				1			10	12	17
Public service	34	31	25				6	2	3	28	29	22
Liberal activities	18	15	14				2	2	5	15	13	9
Religion-teaching-culture	43	40	44		2		8	13	10	35	25	33
TOTAL	2899	2906	3206	32	151	34	288	398	590	2579	2357	2582

No activity	45.9	43.1	41.5	39.3	17.7	116.0	24.3	32.9	33.7	48.7	47.2	43.5
Unknown	3.2	6.6	3.4	25.0	98.1	4.5	3.8	4.0	2.7	3.1	2.2	3.6
Agriculture	0.6	0.6	0.6	0		14.3	0.3	1.3	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.5
Craft	1.3	1.9	1.6	0.0	0.0	4.5	2.8	3.5	1.7	1.1	1.7	1.5
Fabrique	13.2	12.4	12.0	7.1	6.3	0.0	7.6	6.3	8.8	13.9	14.1	12.9
Textile, clothes	7.3	8.3	9.5	60.7	63.2	54.5	9.0	13.1	9.3	6.6	7.6	9.1
Housing	2.2	1.8	2.9	3.6	0.0	4.5	5.9	4.0	7.1	1.8	1.6	1.9
Food	1.8	1.7	1.7	0.0	6.3	13.6	3.5	2.8	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.6
Transport	0.8	1.1	1.3	3.6	0.7	4.5	1.4	1.3	2.4	0.7	1.1	1.1
Domesticity	8.6	10.1	11.7	3.6	0.7	9.1	24.3	18.1	19.8	6.9	9.3	9.9
Personal care	5.7	4.0	4.8	3.6	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.0	3.4	5.9	4.2	5.2
Shops	5.7	5.1	5.8	28.6	0.0	60.0	6.9	4.5	5.1	5.6	5.6	6.0
Finance	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3			0.4	0.5	0.7
Public service	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.5	0.5	1.1	1.2	0.9
Liberal activities	0.6	0.5	0.4	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.3
Religion-teaching-culture	1.5	1.4	1.4	0.0	7.0	14.3	2.8	3.3	1.7	1.4	1.1	1.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Professionnal distribution by religious affiliation in Geneva, 1816-1828

From our nominal samples of the censuses

⁴¹ FATIO, Olivier, *Genève protestante en 1831*, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1983.

In 1816, the Catholics qualified as unemployed in the census were very few: 24.3 percent against 48.7 percent among the Protestants, but they were respectively 33.7 and 43.5 percent in 1828. In 1816, no one catholic worked in the primary sector, and that's changed too, in 1828. Catholics came in large numbers in Geneva to work in the domesticity (24.3 percent) but this activity, although staying the first sector of employment for Catholics, declined in 1822/1828 to 18/19 percent.

In our study, one professional category is delicate: the art, culture and education. Actually, the education system of the city was founded by Calvin himself⁴². It was the heart of the protestant tradition, leaded by the Protestant church since 1834⁴³. No Catholic teacher could be engaged in the Geneva school system. Simultaneously, Protestants condemned every kind of luxury, and rejected arts like music, dance, vocal and paint. The Geneva's legislation, with the tradition of somptuary rules, regularly condemned those activities since the end of the 18th century.⁴⁴ Only the graphic arts were accommodated in Geneva through the watchmaking⁴⁵, a protestant sector. In the 19th century, all the music activities were in the hands of Catholics coming from Piemont. The government made special rules to control the number of dance teachers in activity⁴⁶ ...

The two leading sectors of the city, watchmaking and finance, were in 1816 clearly protestants. The part of Catholics fluctuated in the watchmaking sector (7.6 percent in 1816, 6.3 percent in 1822 and 8.8 percent in 1828). In finance, the Catholics were simply on-existent. This is logical. The watchmaking sector was proto-industrial. The production was scattered in a lot of place and activities. It was easy for a Catholic worker to be employed in one workshop. On the other hand, the finance sector was more protected. The activity of private banking could not be assumed by a new actor, without an international family network.

Globally, from table 3 we can calculate an measure of the discrimination comparing Catholic professional distribution with the protestant one. Results are very explicit: in 1816, 32.7 percent of the Catholics had to change professional activity to obtain a structure similar to the protestant one. But this disparity declined impressively to 24.4 percent in 1822 and 18.1 percent in 1828.

In his research, Alfred Perrenoud has presented the modification of the migratory fields⁴⁷. He explained that the old bounds between Geneva and the Savoie were replaced by a new bound between Geneva an the Swiss region of Vaud. Nevertheless, he stopped his observations in

⁴² BORGEAUD, Charles, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève, l'Académie de Calvin*, Genève, 1900; BORGEAUD, Charles, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève, l'Académie et l'Université au XIXe siècle*, 1814-1900, Genève, 1934.

⁴³ MUTZENBERG, Gabriel, *Genève 1830, restauration de l'école*, Thèse de la Faculté de Science économique et sociale, Université de Genève, Lausanne, 1978, p. 263-268.

⁴⁴ AEG, *Ordonnances et règlement nouveau de la République de Genève concernant les habits, noces, banquets etc...*, *Fait et passé en petit et grand conseil le 27 octobre 1626. Revu accru au sujet des nouveaux abus et publié le 5 septembre 1631*, Genève, 1631. Des adaptations de cette loi seront promulguées en 1739, 1772 et 1785.

⁴⁵ RAMBAL, Laurent (éditeur), *Genève-Suisse: Le livre du Centenaire : 1814-1914*, Genève, 1914, PAGE XX-XX.

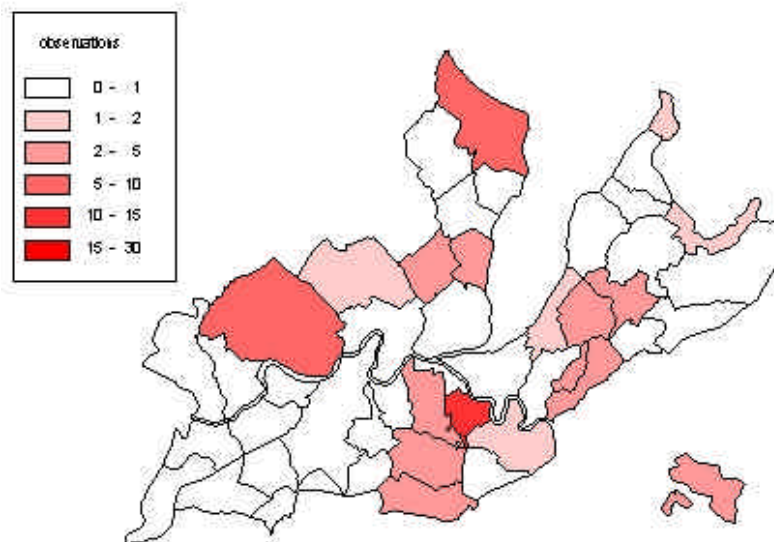
⁴⁶ AEG, *Règlement sur les maîtres de musique et de danse, approuvé au magnifique petit conseil le 19 mars 1788*, Genève, 1788. Ce règlement ne sera apparemment jamais modifié. Arrivé intact à la Restauration, on le trouve dans des archives de juristes.

⁴⁷ PERRENOUD, Alfred, *La population de Genève du XVIe au début du XIXe siècle, étude démographique*, thèse d'Histoire Economique et Sociale, n°257, Univ. De Genève, 1979, p. 278-282.

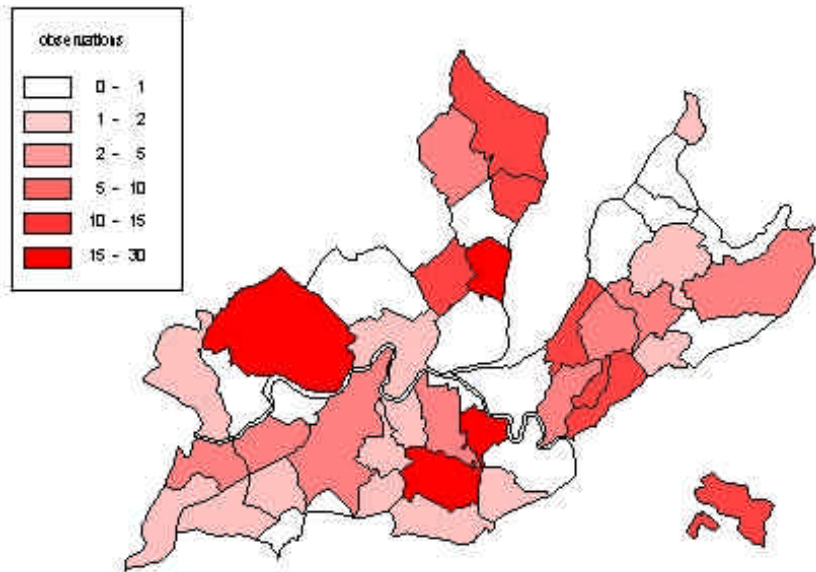
1810 and did not argue about the religion difference. In 1816, it was clear that the recruitment area of Geneva did not respect a classical concentric distribution around the city. Foreigners living in town did not come from the adjacent rural municipalities, but from the protestant canton of Vaud, located at the north-east from Geneva.

Along the century, this distortion of the migratory field will progressively decline. However, some roads and traditions were resistant, like the custom to recruit domestic in the protestant regions of Vaud. From one census to the next, the inhabitants born in the Geneva countryside – mainly catholic – were more and more numerous, and the Vaudois contribution diminished, except in the domesticity.

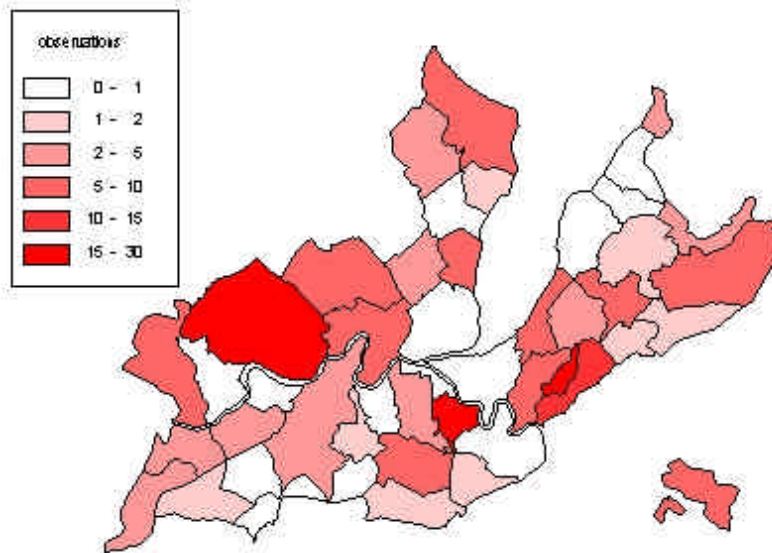
The study of domesticity is a striking example of how the confessional link could durably distort the geography of migrations. If after 1816 Geneva natives could no more impeach the rural inhabitants from the canton to come in town, they kept the freedom to choose their employees. During all the observed period, Geneva families preferred the Vaudois domestics, although they were more distant than the French or Sardes. But they belonged to the same confession. 41 percent of the domestics in 1816, 44 percent en 1828, were born in the canton of Vaud. In the same time, the number of protestant domestics rose from 29 percent in 1816 to 34 percent in 1828.



Places of birth of Geneva residents in 1816

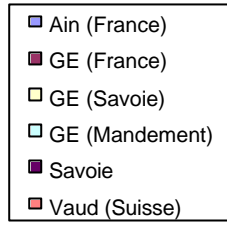
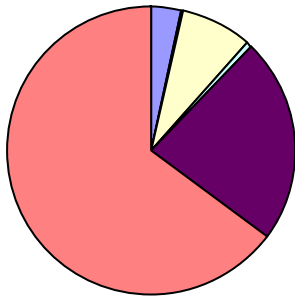


Places of birth of Geneva residents in 1822

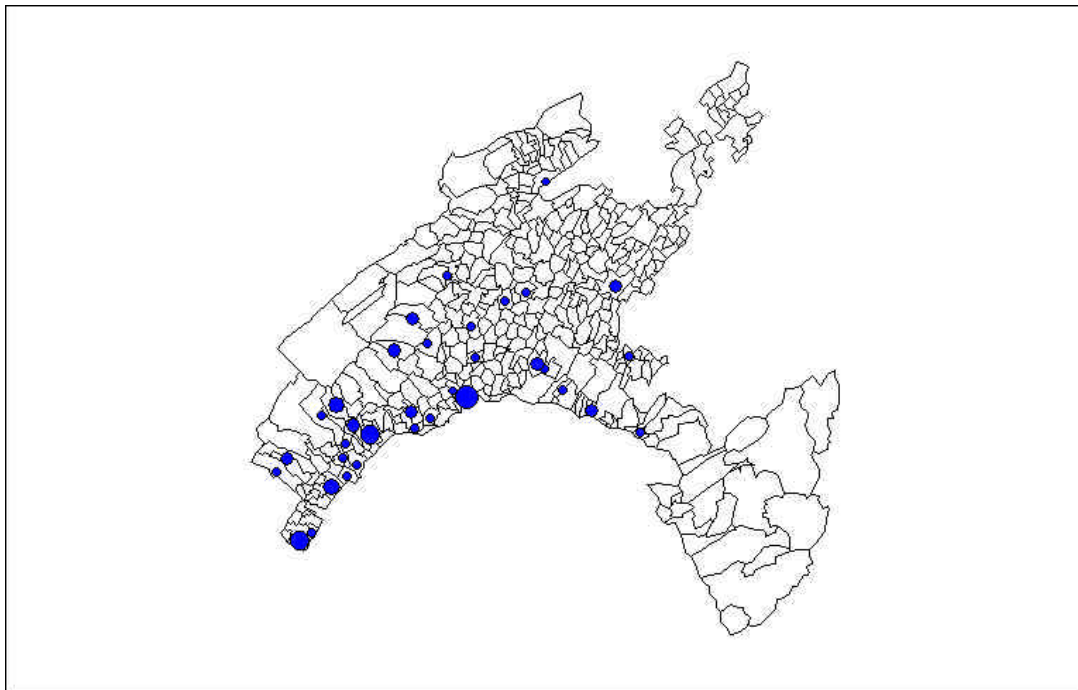
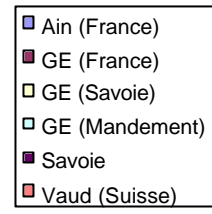
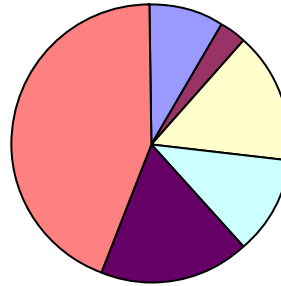


Places of birth of Geneva residents in 1828

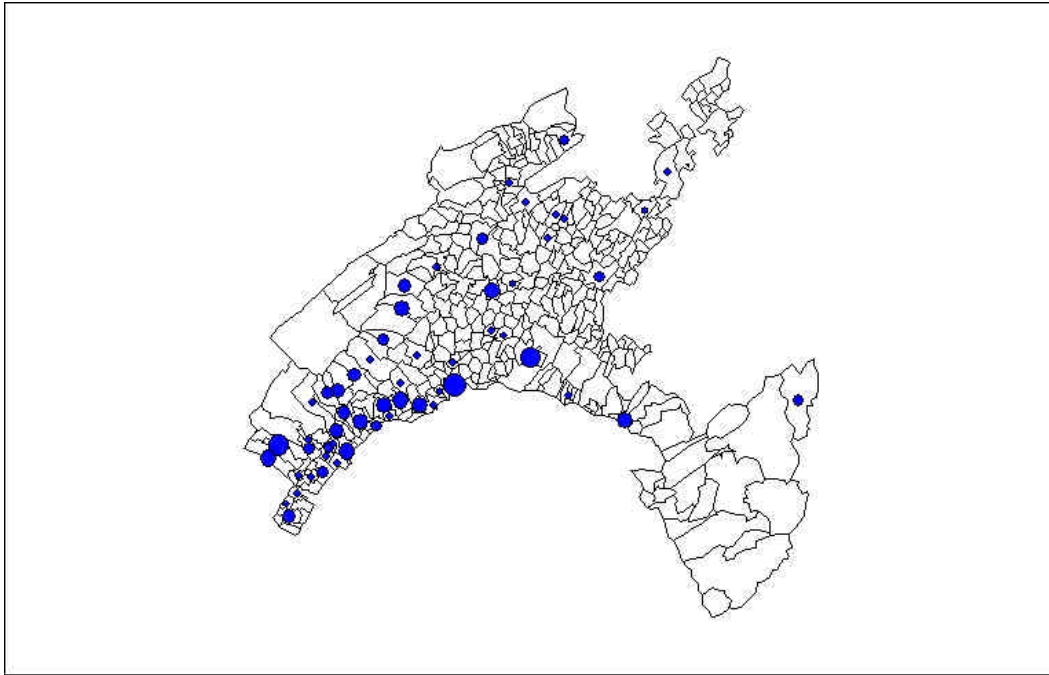
1822



1828



Place of origin of Vaudois domestics working in Geneva in 1816



Place of origin of Vaudois domestics working in Geneva in 1828

Religious affiliation and mixed situations in the Geneva censuses

There is no doubt that the Catholic community started to grow since the creation of the canton in 1816. However its importance in the early 19th century is a matter of debates. According to the French prefecture⁴⁸, they were 4'000 Catholics in 1804, or 18,6 percent of the population⁴⁹. In 1816, they remained only 10,7 percent, or 2490 persons⁵⁰, what implies a serious fall. If the estimations from the prefecture were probably too high, it is also not impossible that Protestants initially tried to under-estimate the Catholic presence.

During the polemic around the civil and religious marriage, the question of mixed couples is always central. They are used by the Protestants to justify exceptions to the law of 1816, or to justify the law of December 1821. On the Catholic side, Vuarin perceived the mixed unions as a cause of moral and social troubles, because they are supposed to threaten the feeling of belonging to the Catholic community, the religious education of the children, the domestic life and the stability of conjugal love. Vuarin also affirmed that mixed couples could marry only with the help of the state, and to obtain that help, they were obliged to promise that they will educate their children as protestant⁵¹. It seems just a polemic accusation but, when we worked on the censuses, we empirically observed that some children of the mixed couples were inscribed as protestants even when their mother was catholic. However, there are too few cases to conclude. Moreover, the linkage between the censuses have us a chance to verify if some individuals changed affiliations between 1816 and 1828, and again, there were very few cases.

⁴⁸ Cité par Ganter, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

⁴⁹ La population totale en 1802 était de 21'600 personnes. CARDINAUX, Michèle, *Démographie genevoise op.cit.*, p. 1.

⁵⁰ La population totale en 1802 était de 23'260 personnes. *Idem*.

⁵¹ VUARIN, Jean-François, et al., *Mémoire présenté... op.cit.*

Tables 4 and 5 are more eloquent if we want to approach religiously mixed situations in early 19th century and see if all the agitation around mixity was justified. No less than 85 percent of the households were religiously homogeneous in 1816, and still 82 in 1828. Catholic homogeneous households were only 9 percent of the domestic units in 1816 and 1822, and progressed only in 1828 (16 percents). The mixed households were more important than the catholic ones, and slightly progressed from 15 to 18 percent. The coexistence with a catholic worker or domestic was a limited factor of mixity. Kin relations, especially the unions between a man and a woman from different religious affiliation, were much more important.

Censuses	1816		1822		1828	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Homogeneous households	1366	85	1360	83	1424	82
Homogeneous households prot.	1217	76	1080	66	1148	66
Homogeneous households cath.	140	9	149	9	269	16
Mixed household	235	15	281	17	308	18
...protestant-catholic	203	13	250	15	292	17
Household head protestant	113	7	136	8	177	10
...with catholic workers	3	0	10	1		0
...with catholic domestics	63	4	56	3	82	5
Household head catholic	87	5	89	5	70	4
...with catholic workers	2	0	2	0		0
...with catholic domestics	14	1	7	0	8	0

Table 4. Religious composition of households in Geneva, 1816-1828

Censuses	1816		1822		1828	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Couples (total)	924	100	915	100	916	100
Homogeneous protestant couples	762	82	706	77	695	76
Homogeneous catholic couples	56	6	87	10	108	12
Mixed couples	101	11	104	11	112	12

Table 5. Homogeneous and mixed couples in Geneva censuses, 1816-1828

Table 5 shows that the homogeneous protestant unions, clearly dominant in 1816, declined slowly by 1828, because of the progression of homogeneous catholic couples from 6 to 12 percent during the same period. Mixed couples were originally more important than the catholic ones (11 percent), but stayed stables. Mix marriages were consequently a great concern and indeed concerned one couple about ten, but their proportion absolutely did not increase. If it was a threaten, it was clearly an excessive one.