



Article scientifique

Article

2016

Published version

Open Access

This is the published version of the publication, made available in accordance with the publisher's policy.

The Image of Great Britain as presented in the correspondence of
Genevan theologian Jean-Alphonse Turretini

Pitassi, Maria-Cristina

How to cite

PITASSI, Maria-Cristina. The Image of Great Britain as presented in the correspondence of Genevan theologian Jean-Alphonse Turretini. In: Intellectual history review, 2016, vol. 26, n° 3, p. 323–338. doi: 10.1080/17496977.2015.1112133

This publication URL: <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:84865>

Publication DOI: [10.1080/17496977.2015.1112133](https://doi.org/10.1080/17496977.2015.1112133)



The image of Great Britain as presented in the correspondence of the Genevan theologian Jean-Alphonse Turretini

Maria-Cristina Pitassi

To cite this article: Maria-Cristina Pitassi (2016) The image of Great Britain as presented in the correspondence of the Genevan theologian Jean-Alphonse Turretini, *Intellectual History Review*, 26:3, 323-338, DOI: [10.1080/17496977.2015.1112133](https://doi.org/10.1080/17496977.2015.1112133)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17496977.2015.1112133>



Published online: 27 Jun 2016.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

The image of Great Britain as presented in the correspondence of the Genevan theologian Jean-Alphonse Turretini

Maria-Cristina Pitassi*

Institut d'histoire de la Réformation, Université de Genève, Geneva, Switzerland

The correspondence of the pastor and theologian Jean-Alphonse Turretini¹ amounts to some 5000 letters and is one of the most important collections – perhaps the most important collection – for the study of reformed Protestantism during the period of transition from the later seventeenth to the early eighteenth century. These were the years in which reformed Protestantism hastened the decline of orthodoxy and promoted the need to rethink a Calvinist heritage which had found itself faced with changing intellectual and anthropological sensibilities. The letters span from 1681 to 1737, beginning when Turretini was only 10 years old and ending in the year of his death. During this time, he became one of the best-known and most admired theologians of his era. The letters do not merely delineate the phases of a brilliant career in the service of religion; they also mirror the personal life of a man, his close relationships, his illnesses, his financial interests, as well as his disappointments and enmities. The correspondence also sheds light upon the era in which he lived (the *Frihauflklärung*), as well as a defined geographical and spiritual space – Protestant Europe. These thousands of letters, for the most part handwritten, expose questions, demands, needs and struggles that originate with various personalities and social groups whose destinies weave in and out of each other. At the centre of this network, made, deconstructed and remade over the years through vicissitudes both personal and collective, was Turretini himself.²

Born into a family originally from Lucca, which had emigrated from Italy (driven by religious persecution) and settled in Geneva in the final decades of the sixteenth century, Jean-Alphonse was son of the celebrated François Turretini, Professor of Theology and intransigent guardian of reformed orthodoxy during a period in which Geneva was riven by repeated theological conflict. In his education and career Jean-Alphonse followed in the footsteps of his family. He studied philosophy and theology at the Genevan Academy from 1686 to 1691 and spent three years making a Grand Tour of France, Holland and Britain. He then underwent pastoral consecration in 1694, became a minister in the Italian Church in Geneva and started an academic career beginning with the foundation of a new chair for the History of the Church in 1697 to which he added the chair of Theology in 1705. In sum, a faultless record, crowned by international recognition testifying to the esteem in which he was held. But his pastoral activity also involved the provision of concrete aid to those in need: Huguenots exiled following the revocation of the edict of Nantes, persecuted Piedmont Waldensians subjected to material conditions of great poverty, or the struggling reformed churches of Central Europe. The correspondence provides insights that neither studies nor institutional texts achieve. The reader is informed about the process by which

*Email: maria-cristina.pitassi@unige.ch

positions were adopted and official decisions taken, or more generally, how particular ideas were elaborated. One is also exposed to letters which detail formative readings, lifetime friendships, ideal models, strategic alliances, approaches that were envisaged or plans to effect this or that reform, intellectual or religious affinities – in sum, everything that broadly contributes to our understanding of how Turretini became, during a score of years and despite real opposition, a landmark of the Genevan Church and a respected interlocutor as much for the Republic of Letters as for Protestant Europe.

The correspondence provides in fragmentary fashion a sense of a European space of culture, religion and sanctuary, registering chance meetings, more or less mutual wishes, or contingent needs. The task for the historian is to reconstitute them in order to sketch out some outlines which in turn might allow us to create a common framework of projects, ideas and activities. This essay pursues this very task by tracing the impressions of Great Britain as refracted in the correspondence,³ a country for which the Genevan had some admiration and in which he twice thought he might settle.⁴ This love affair with England began during his Grand Tour – the young Jean-Alphonse arriving in London in June 1692, having stayed for several months in Holland and having defended a thesis at Leiden on Roman Pyrrhonism;⁵ torn between the wish of his family that he return quickly to Geneva and a “thousand reasons”⁶ that prompted him to extend his stay in England, he ended up spending nine months in England⁷ in the course of which he learned English, discovered Oxford and Cambridge, preached with success in London’s French churches, was received by King William and Queen Mary, fell ill several times, formed valuable relationships but, above all, he became very much attached to the country,⁸ avowing an admiration which would with time only become greater. Of course, the protection extended to him by Gilbert Burnet was of great help to him, Burnet being an Anglican prelate who became Bishop of Salisbury in 1609 and whose connection with the Turretini family went back to his time in Geneva (between 1685 and 1686).⁹ Rather inclined, according to contemporary evidence, to forget old friendships, especially after he became Bishop,¹⁰ Burnet did, it seems, make an exception for the young Genevan. Indeed, at the very beginning of their relationship he extended a welcome to the traveller that exceeded all expectation.¹¹ As a result of Burnet’s patronage and the financial influence of his family, Turretini found many doors open to him and was able to make many useful contacts. At Cambridge he was taken in by the Dean of Winchester, John Wikart, who had completed part of his theological studies in Geneva, and who was the brother-in-law of a Turretini family member.¹² Before Turretini went to Cambridge to receive a doctorate, Wikart suggested that he accompany Jean-Alphonse, subsequently introducing him to most of the professors as well as the librarian John Laughton, who was especially disposed to the reception of visitors.¹³ Whether it was thanks to Wikart or to Nicolas Fatio de Duillier, a Swiss scholar living in Britain¹⁴ (for whom Turretini had great admiration and with whom he frequently visited during his stay), the young man was able to enjoy an after-dinner conversation with Isaac Newton,¹⁵ who did not fail to send his best wishes when Turretini finally left England.¹⁶

The letters dating from this period do not allow us to form a very clear picture of the fascination that England had for the young man. We know that he admired its culture and its scholars, notably those learned men in Cambridge who were distinguished by their manners and their superiority to their Oxford colleagues.¹⁷ We also know that he was very well received, considering the honours bestowed on him (which had been denied to his father).¹⁸ In sum, as his cousin would say to him, the country was very well matched to his temperament and he learned a great deal there.¹⁹ But nothing sheds light on his attachment as much as the arguments made in favour of a speedy return to the Continent.²⁰ All that can be said of the 12 months that Turretini spent in England, or at least, what he sought to convey to his family,²¹ is that he was most often among Anglicans, and it was with clerics belonging to the Church of England that he made the contacts

with whom he would continue to correspond on his return to Geneva, and which enriched his relationship with the island. From this point of view, his stay on the island was of prime importance since if we follow the course of his correspondence it becomes plain that most of his important relationships were formed during the period of his Grand Tour. It is not therefore so surprising that almost all his future British correspondents were English, overwhelmingly connected with the Church of England, living in London or neighbouring regions where the young traveller had stayed. Moreover, in the 159 letters that he either wrote or received during his English stay there is no mention of a Presbyterian connection, which explains at least in part the almost total absence of Scottish correspondents; by contrast and as would be expected, Turretini made contact with many members of French churches who, as already mentioned, invited him to preach at least twice.

It is these two social groups – Anglican dignitaries and Huguenots (who were either refugees, or people in search of a welcoming church) – who would be Turretini's principal British interlocutors once he had returned home.²² These were relationships which would, as we shall see, develop in parallel, but not symmetrically, following the lines of historical vicissitude and the personal involvements of Turretini himself. To these two groups one should also add a third, that of Continental travellers passing through England who were an important source of recent news but who also brought an outsider's insight to matters in a manner sometimes concealed in official correspondence. By following the path of these three groups it will be possible to better understand the relationships Turretini had with the country which had fascinated him during his Tour, and which never ceased to be a point of both intellectual and religious reference for him.

Nonetheless, the years immediately following his return to Geneva, and right up to the end of the century, do not betray any great activity as a correspondent. Turretini was preoccupied as a young man by his education and in making an academic and pastoral career; he had not yet acquired the European dimension that would bring him distinction in his later years. To begin with, none of the correspondence with his British contacts reflected the promise inspired by his stay between 1692 and 1693, even though he had at the time made a very positive impression and was far from forgotten;²³ correspondence were scarce and exchanges sparse and, sometimes, purely a matter of courtesy: letters of recommendation requested by newly landed refugees,²⁴ references requested by Jean-Alphonse himself,²⁵ assistance given to proselytes seeking admission to the Anglican church,²⁶ the exchange of literary news.²⁷ The exception is found in the correspondence of Patrick Sinclair, who sent Turretini eight letters from 1694 to 1698: Scottish by origin, the son of a Presbyterian minister and close to the Turretini family, Sinclair²⁸ was a reliable connection during these four years. An attentive observer of English cultural life and an erudite bibliophile, he informed Jean-Alphonse about the Deist conflict which created uproar at the end of the century,²⁹ or on the theological works of John Locke and his controversies with Edwards and Stillingfleet. He also obtained a considerable number of books which he bought either following an explicit request or on his own initiative, and which helped add to the wealth of what would become one of the most noted libraries of the period. Besides a few works that were, even in Sinclair's view, suited only to the use of the English clergy but which he had bought all the same (knowing how much Turretini loved everything English,³⁰ such as the *Discourse concerning bonds of resignation* by the Bishop of Worcester),³¹ most of the books sent were philosophical,³² religious,³³ and to some degree historical.³⁴ These were mostly recent publications, and sometimes works which found themselves at the centre of controversies which sustained cultural debate. This interest in the intellectual life of the Isles would endure; his correspondents, whether or not they were resident, were eager to convey to Turretini literary news and local publications, to the extent that this circulation of knowledge can be considered to be one of the aspects of a British presence in the correspondence, and by no means the least. Turretini himself would

declare to Jean Le Clerc in 1711 that, following intervening political changes and the fear that they would only foster a spirit of intolerance, the situation in England was deteriorating:

What misfortune, that the only country in the world of which one could say good taste and true learning ruled, allowed itself to get carried away by principles so extravagant and of such little reasonableness. As regards political matters, I well believe that the change of ministry will do no great harm; but it will be the same for religion and the sciences, *nisi Deus opem tulerit*.³⁵

Twelve years previously another correspondent, the erudite Frenchman Louis Dufour de Longuerue, who had taught the young Jean-Alphonse Arabic during his stay in Paris in 1693, punctuated his letters with negative comments regarding the state of affairs in Great Britain: the decadence of oriental studies,³⁶ ignorance of and contempt for antiquity,³⁷ and an exclusive interest in mathematics and Malebranchian philosophy³⁸ – the tone was far from positive. Similarly, an old student of Turretini's, Jacques Serces, a pastor settled in London and author of a well-received work on miracles, would deplore the teaching of theology practised in Cambridge as being too scholastic, together with the excessive respect of the professors for the Fathers of the Church. However, he acknowledged that the study of metaphysics, mathematics and classical antiquity was much more profound than in Geneva.³⁹ These contrasting views reflect the intellectual sensibilities and interests of the correspondents, and it would be out of place to be too hasty in drawing conclusions, regarding for instance the peevishness of the abbé de Longuerue, whose open hostility with respect to metaphysics in general, and that of Malebranche in particular, is well known. Apart from that, we should not lose sight of the fact that, independent of individual judgement, the interest in British culture did not fade with time, as is evident from the fact that books from the British Isles would continue to enrich the shelves of Turretini's library until the end of his life.⁴⁰

If this is examined more closely, one is compelled to moderate some statements, and question the real contours of this interest. For example, if we take philosophy we note that certain presences and absences are equally surprising. Of course, as is to be expected, John Locke takes pride of place: his works were anticipated, announced, read even in numerous translations and new printings from the end of the seventeenth century and during the first third of the eighteenth. The thinking of Turretini and Locke can even be placed in parallel, particularly at the level of religion, becoming the object of diverging opinion among correspondents: and so the *Dissertatio de Christo audiendo*⁴¹ published by Turretini in 1712 reminded Barbeyrac of the plan of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*,⁴² although for the Neuchâtel pastor Jean-Frédéric Ostervald it was a welcome corrective to Locke.⁴³ Apart from *The Reasonableness*, the most frequently cited works are the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* of 1690 as well as various editions of the French translation by Pierre Coste, the polemics with Stillingfleet, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education in the original English as much as in the French version*, the *Epistola de tolerantia* (which was translated into French and circulated in Neuchâtel in 1711 as a way of countering likely plans for the expulsion of the Pietists),⁴⁴ the Pauline commentaries, as well as other diverse collections. It is therefore Locke the epistemologist, the theorist of education, theologian and biblical exegeticist above all that drew the attention of Turretini and his correspondents, more than as a political philosopher of whom there is little trace, apart from the essay on toleration.

For the rest, Francis Bacon, Ralph Cudworth, Samuel Clarke, John Toland, Anthony Collins, Shaftesbury, Thomas Wollaston and Matthew Tindal are cited, but some only in passing, like Bacon,⁴⁵ while others are entirely absent, and not because of their unimportance. There is no mention of Thomas Hobbes, Bernard de Mandeville, Joseph Butler, Georges Berkeley, Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, Francis Hutcheson and Henry Bolingbroke, some of whose works fall

into the timeframe of the correspondence. It is as if the debates raging in Europe never came to the attention of Turretini and the other letter writers. This lends itself to two considerations. The first is methodological, that we should guard against hasty conclusions; that a particular author is not mentioned in the correspondence does not necessarily mean that that he was not known to Turretini, or that he was not known in Geneva. There is the example of Hobbes, whose name crops up only twice in the letters⁴⁶ without, however, any mention of one or other of his works. Nonetheless, Turretini polemicises against *De Cive* and *Leviathan* in a 1736 dissertation on natural law,⁴⁷ mitigating the silence in the letters in this respect. It has to be remembered that letters do not have the same status as a written work, they are subject to the vagaries of preservation⁴⁸ and the passing interests of their writers; they are certainly a very important source, precious even in some cases, but they remain a source that calls for methodological caution. Having said that, and turning to the second consideration which is more general: it must never be forgotten that Turretini's interests were theological: above all questions of a religious nature were central to the networks he built. Of course, as a young man Turretini was interested in philosophy, Cartesian philosophy in particular,⁴⁹ and the theologian that he would become, persuaded of the complementary nature and harmony of reason and revelation, considered "good" philosophy to be a useful instrument, even a necessary one, for the proper execution of the apologetic project which he pursued from the beginning of his theological education in 1705.⁵⁰ This lends a better understanding of the rhapsodic appreciation of works of a philosophical character, which one should probably read more as the manifestation of an interest which, over the years, became relatively marginal, than as the expression of a deliberate intellectual choice.

If it is therefore hard to infer any real interaction with British philosophical culture on the basis of the correspondence, it was quite a different matter with the religious literature: this was strongly represented in the form of sermons,⁵¹ theological and apologetical works,⁵² commentaries and more generally erudite works connected with the Bible,⁵³ patristic literature,⁵⁴ and works of ecclesiastical history:⁵⁵ new publications in these subjects regularly arrived in Geneva, whether Turretini had requested their purchase or whether they were complimentary copies sent by authors who were friends, as for example were Gilbert Burnet and William Wake. Normally, news and material exchanges prompted little by way of comment, while the expression of gratitude for gifts was of course sincere, although predictable; nonetheless, the regular recurrence as well as the sheer quantity tells us a great deal about the importance that Turretini and his correspondents attached to the culture of the British Isles. The great majority of works that circulated in the correspondence, whether concretely or by allusion, originated in Anglican circles, or if not, expressed a critical attitude with respect to the traditions to which they belonged.⁵⁶ As regards religious sensibility close to Latitudinarianism, considered by him to be a synonym for moderation and which he thought very well represented by the Church of England,⁵⁷ Turretini admired an "English spirit" which he identified with "these grand and noble ideas of Christianity which stand in regard to the theology of other countries in much the same relation as do the concerns of a wise man to the banter of small children."⁵⁸ It might be thought that Turretini, by writing so enthusiastically in a letter of recommendation for a relative (a brilliant young man who was preparing himself for a stay in England)⁵⁹ sought to flatter his correspondent so that he might be more favourably disposed to the young traveller. But even if he was somewhat over-enthusiastic in the matter, his appreciation of Anglican religion was sincere and coincided with his deepest sentiments. In the latitudinarian Anglicanism of the Low Church Turretini found in particular a theology strongly oriented to moral engagement, sparing in its use of dogmatic elaboration, moderately tolerant and persuaded of the rational character of Christianity, a theology which had much in common with his own.⁶⁰ And it is this proximity of theological sensibility which is at the heart of his attachment to the country that had fascinated him during his youthful travels, and which explains the overwhelming presence of references to British religious literature

in the correspondence. It also explains a certain distrust of non-conformists, who were represented by some Continental correspondents as obstinate fanatics;⁶¹ even if Turretini does not seem to have shared such a severe judgement and openly expressed himself to be in favour of toleration in this regard, he remained closer to Anglicanism than, for instance, to Presbyterianism, going as far as to declare that if he were in England he would not hesitate to associate himself with the official Church.⁶²

The most visible sign of this proximity is the flow of letters between Turretini and a considerable number of Anglican prelates: the Archbishop of York John Sharp; the two Archbishops of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison and William Wake; as well as several bishops most of whom were close to the Low Church.⁶³ The relative quantitative density of this network indicates that Turretini's correspondents were widely distributed in England and that they belonged to the Anglican milieu; and as regards the nature of the relations involved, there was some variation from correspondent to correspondent but it can be said that, with the exception of two prelates to whom I shall return, the contacts were sporadic, arising from requests for letters of recommendation from travellers or teachers, entreaties in aid of Protestants (primarily Vaudois) in distress and much more rarely involved the exchange of news. These are relations that could be described as secondary, but which all the same allowed Turretini to support his protégés as well as to defend his reputation when there was a risk that it might become tarnished. This latter was for instance the case in 1712, when an old French monk with a pastoral ministry in London, Jean Delpéch, began to spread deleterious rumours about matters in the Academy of Geneva, accusing the professors of heterodox ideas in respect of the Trinity, Original Sin and Grace.⁶⁴ Even if Turretini was not openly criticised, Delpéch's allegations were made in such a way that suspicion naturally fell on Turretini himself. In spite of his Calvinist sympathies (which would have made him sensitive to any accusation of heterodoxy) it was Compton, the Bishop of London whom Jean-Alphonse had met during his time in England⁶⁵ and with whom he had corresponded since 1697, who defended him unhesitatingly and who certainly made sure that the affair quickly subsided.

If this episode demonstrates the importance to Turretini of having reliable English connections, it is important not to over interpret it and forget that for the most part his contacts with senior Anglican prelates never went beyond expressions of courtesy and civility. The exceptions were Gilbert Burnet and William Wake, who maintained good relations with Turretini, the former being one of open friendship and the latter of close collaboration. As we have seen, Burnet had already shown a great deal of goodwill to Jean-Alphonse when he had stayed in England during his Grand Tour; during the following years they became better acquainted and their mutual appreciation grew. This was because, underlying the friendship which the letters reveal,⁶⁶ their opinions on theological matters were aligned: hostility to Papism, a distrust of enthusiasm, Latitudinarianism (defined by one of the Bishop's sons and the future path for Christianity)⁶⁷ the ascendancy of practice over speculation. Burnet and Turretini seem to have shared, besides any of their concrete projects, a religious ideal which diminished dogmatic elements and which hence brought into alignment their confessional frontiers.

The 130 letters exchanged between Wake and Turretini from 1716 to 1733 are more formal, although not without some mutual concern. Wake became Archbishop of Canterbury⁶⁸ in 1716, and both died in 1737, so that the correspondence ceased shortly before their deaths. These letters testify to an active relationship, involving shared causes (assistance to minority Churches, support of the Vaudois) and are motivated by a common engagement in favour of Protestant reunification. Although this is not the place to deal in any detail with a project which combined theological concern and diplomatic negotiations and which also involved Protestant Germany⁶⁹ as well as Geneva and England, it should be emphasised that Turretini and Wake shared the central idea, the conviction even, that *Irenism* was above all a matter for rulers and that union could only come about as a political act that ignored doctrinal controversy, the zeal of fanatical theologians

and even the resistance of the faithful. The correspondence fulfilled the dual function of both instrument and sounding-board for a hope which the protagonists, Turretini especially, sought to give form and which they tried to make credible even when its failure had become obvious. Nonetheless, the two men were not always of one mind; this was not only because Turretini requested that the Archbishop intervene on matters which may have occasionally been beyond his authority (for example, to mediate with the British monarch on behalf of a needy or suffering⁷⁰ European Protestantism) but also because their theological sensibilities did not always coincide. Close to Arminianism on questions of Grace and predestination, Wake, whose tolerance was according to some correspondents no more than a façade,⁷¹ was also much more rigid in regard to ecclesiology, as reflected in his position during the Bangor controversy in which he positioned himself as a resolute adversary of Benjamin Hoadly.⁷² If Turretini did not join in this debate directly, which ultimately remained a strictly insular matter, he did find himself unwillingly entangled in a controversy over confessions of faith that blew up on the margins of the main controversy in the London French Churches.⁷³ Invoked by those who promoted the abolition of normative texts apart from Scripture, Turretini came under pressure from Wake to make a public disavowal of those who claimed his authority.⁷⁴ His silence, and also his explicit refusal to intervene in the polemics did not go unnoticed⁷⁵ and certainly damaged a reputation already tarnished among the refugee Churches who looked askance over the past decade at the theological evolution of Geneva. Of course, this incident did not end the relationship with the Archbishop who continued to deal quite cordially with Turretini, supporting his irenic project and continuing to express a high regard for him; but it revealed disagreements which, even if they were ultimately without consequence, were no less real for all that. Hence, 'if Geneva had to some extent caught up theologically with what the most open-minded reformed Churchmen thought to be a satisfactory theology, in other words, a moderate and tolerant theology,⁷⁶ it risked going beyond the expectations of the highest Anglican orthodoxy, especially by taking a far more benevolent view of heterodoxy.

England for its part, the country which had incarnated the theological ideal dear to the heart of Turretini, seemed with the passing years to become increasingly populated with libertines and unbelievers who threatened Christianity in itself. Travellers and residents increasingly conveyed a sombre image of a Christianity under siege, prey to rampant unbelief,⁷⁷ contrasting with the bright picture that had prevailed in the correspondence during the first decades of the century. In 40 years a great many things had changed; Turretini publicly wept over the loss represented by the death of William III of Orange, "religion lost its protector and liberty its guarantee."⁷⁸ William's successors Anne, George I and George II aroused in his correspondents alternately anxiety and hope. The irenic project, which had played such an important role in the interchanges between Geneva and Canterbury, was extinguished without there ever being an official pronouncement regarding its termination; Calvinist orthodoxy, which up until the 1720s remained a polemical reference point, lost much of its influence, Deism and anticlerical literature gaining by contrast in vigour. In spite of the waning of particular hopes and the rise of new anxieties, relations with England would retain their importance and cordiality. One cannot say the same about Scotland, a country that the correspondents appeared to ignore. It is true that the letters did echo some major events such as the Act of Union between Scotland and England of 1707,⁷⁹ and the Jacobite Rising of 1715,⁸⁰ but these were rare and almost inaudible echoes, marginal allusions which were not in themselves the real subject of discussion. As for the correspondents themselves, some of them were Scottish,⁸¹ but notably expatriate Scots whose probable connections with their country of origin left no tangible traces in the correspondence. One sole exception, a certain Stewart, a Scottish Jacobite whose identity has not been clearly determined,⁸² stopped in Geneva in 1719 with John Erskine of Mar on account of his involvement in the Scottish rebellion of 1715 and who appealed to Turretini's good services for his return to his native Scotland and his

family there. Turretini, who seemed to know the prisoner from the study visit he made to Geneva in the early years of century, emphasised Stewart's repentance, who professed loyalty and did not request restitution of his lands, and alerted his English network so that Stewart might be reintegrated. Letter by letter and year by year up to 1724 relative optimism gave way to some scepticism that the old Jacobite would be granted a right of return, up to the time when all trace of the affair disappears from the correspondence.

The reasons for the more than discrete presence of the Scotsman are certainly many, but two seem to me worth noting. There is first of all the fact, banal in itself, that Turretini had never lived in the country and so had never had the opportunity of establishing contact with the Scots, while it was exactly the relations forged during his stay in England which created the basis for the later epistolary network. Likewise, Continental travellers with whom he was in contact do not seem to have ventured beyond England's borders; the relations they formed, the towns and cities in which they stayed, the universities that they visited were all in an area well to the south of Scotland, a country which does not seem to have aroused very much interest. And finally it must be remembered that, as I have already said, his theological sympathies were directed more to Anglican Latitudinarianism than to Presbyterianism, and that the Church of England was an essential part of the irenic project upon which he worked throughout his life. It is therefore entirely natural that he was oriented towards the English, and more especially towards particular Anglican dignitaries who made up, or were supposed to make up, useful interlocutors in approaching the reunification of Protestants and in assisting Churches that were in difficulty. The time when Geneva would take a serious interest in Scottish culture had clearly not yet come.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

1. Turretini's correspondence is 80% unpublished; only 813 letters have been published either in whole or in part. In 2009 I published a critical inventory which ordered the letters chronologically and by correspondent, giving for each entry bibliographic details, a summary, and an index entry according to persons, works and content; see Pitassi et al., *Inventaire critique de la correspondance de Jean-Alphonse Turretini* (referred to below as *Inventaire*). For a general presentation of this corpus and an assessment of its importance, see the introduction and introductory matter of this work (Vol. I, pp. XI–XLIX) as well as Pitassi and Bergon, "Jean-Alphonse Turretini," 157–71; Pitassi, "Du fils de François au réformateur de Genève," 103–113. As regards the unpublished letters referred to in this article, the first reference concerns the manuscripts and the second the inventory (volume number, inventory number and page).
2. For an initial perspective on Turretini, see Heyd, "Un rôle nouveau pour la science," 25–42; Pitassi, "L'apologétique raisonnable de Jean-Alphonse Turretini," 99–118; Klauber, *Between Reformed Scholasticism and Pan-Protestantism*; and Pitassi, "De la controverse anti-romaine à la théologie naturelle," 431–47.
3. This essay confines itself to the correspondence, not seeking to deal with the influence of English culture on Turretini, nor study relationships between Geneva and Great Britain. As regards the latter, see Cossy, Kapossy, and Whatmore, *Genève lieu d'Angleterre 1725–1814*.
4. We find in 1696 the first allusion to a "penchant" of Turretini to leave Geneva to go and live in England, a project concerning which his correspondent and friend Jean-Antoine Dautun did not hesitate to express his concern: an unfavourable climate, the distance from his family and friends, the unreliability of the English, probable jealousies etc. (cf. Dautun to Turretini, Frankfurt, 29.10/8.11.1696, ms in the keeping of the Fondation Turretini à Genève, cote Tur, 1/Gd.D.3, *Inventaire* I.1021.695; the manuscripts held in Tur are not paginated). That this penchant was underwritten by some initial preparations at least is apparent from another letter written at almost the same time by Patrick Sinclair, a Scottish correspondent at the time living in London and from whom the Genavan

had asked for details regarding the prospects for an academic career on the western side of the Channel: “Je puis vous assurer à cette heure, qu’il n’y a nul moyen pour un estrange d’avoir un fellowship dans les Colleges des Universités, ni par argent, ni par les lettres recomandatoires d’un Roy, ce qu’a esté déclaré contrair aux statutes (?) et privilages des Universités par un acte du Parlement. Mais un homme qui a de quoy, peut vivre en fellow comer comme on appelle et avoir une chambre, et la liberté d’entrer dans la bibliotheque quand il veut, et etre eleu professeur avec le temps, ce qui est assez pour vous, qui n’a pas besoin d’argent” (Sinclair to Turretini, London, 11/21.11.1696, Tur, 1/Gd.S.2, *Inventaire* I.1026.699–700). Fifteen years later, when Turretini was no longer a young pastor but a professor and scholar of some reputation, it was Charles Talbot of Shrewsbury, later Lord Chamberlain and noting the admiration expressed in England for his correspondent, who was inclined to support a move to Britain (Talbot of Shrewsbury to Turretini, London, 28.4/9.5.1710, ms held in the Bibliothèque de Genève (BGE), Ms fr 492, f. 239, *Inventaire* II.2087.552). However, this time there is an impression that Turretini’s words were probably over-interpreted, and that the idea of settling in England was more rhetorical homage than a real project; referring to his frail health, his work and engagements, and his family, Turretini was able to convey to his correspondent his real intentions (cf. Turretini to Talbot of Shrewsbury, [Genève], n.d. (ca. 9.5.1710–29.8.1710), BGE, Ms fr 481, f. 266, *Inventaire* II.2088.552–553).

5. *Pyrrhonismus pontificus, sive theses theologico-historicae de variationibus pontificiorum circa Ecclesiae infallibilitatem*, Lugduni Batavorum, A. Elzevier, 1692.
6. Barthélemy Micheli du Crest to Turretini, [Geneva], n.d. (15.7.1692), BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 117r°, *Inventaire* I.478.334.
7. He arrived in London on 27 June 1692, and left the country on 9 April 1693 (cf. Bénédict Turretini to Turretini, Geneva, 5/15.7.1692, BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 116r°, *Inventaire* I.476.333; Turretini to B. Turretini, Rotterdam, 3/13.4.1693, Tur, 1/Ea.5.7, *Inventaire* I.624.434).
8. Never when leaving Holland, where he stayed during 1691 and 1692, nor when he left France where, on his return trip, he stayed from May to mid-December 1693, did Turretini display the same regret that he showed when he left England. It can be seen from his correspondence with those closest to him that he would have been happy to extend his stay and that he was regretfully complying with his family’s demands “Je ne vous diray rien sur le petit chagrin que vous temoigniez avant de quitter l’Angleterre. [...] je ne le trouve pas estrange puis que vous avez tant de suiet d’estre satisfait de la manière obligeante que vous avez esté receu de tous les grands seigneurs [...] vous nous voulez faire sentir que vous nous faite un grand sacrifice de quitter tout cella” (Marie Turretini to Turretini, [Geneva], n.d. (but 28.3/7.4.1693), BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 195r°, *Inventaire* I.623.433). See also B. Turretini to Turretini, Geneva, 28.3/7.4.1693, Ms fr. 483, f. 195v°, *Inventaire* I.622.433. The family never stopped warning him of an excessive attachment to the country; cf. B. Micheli du Crest to Turretini, Genève, 19/29.7.1692, BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 118r°, *Inventaire* I.482.337.
9. Cf. Burnet, *Some Letters*.
10. “Le prelat de nos amis [sc. Burnet] n’en a pas trop bien usé à son egard [with respect to the Swiss mathematician Nicolas Fatio de Duiller]. Vous savez quel cas il en avoit fait à Geneve, et de quelle manière il le preconise dans ses Voyages. Cependant depuis qu’il est Prélat, il n’a presque pas daigné le reconetre. Il a fait la meme chose à bien des gens, qui se plaignent extremement de lui” (Turretini to B. Turretini, Cambridge, 6/16.1.1693, Tur 1/Ea.5.7, *Inventaire* I.569.396).
11. B. Micheli du Crest to Turretini, [Geneva], n.d. (but 19.8.1692), BGE, M fr 483, f. 125v°, *Inventaire* I.492.342. Among these signs of goodwill was Turretini’s invitation to Windsor, a journey which he made with the prelate on account of Burnet’s unusual presence at one of Turretini’s sermons, a rare event since the bishops did not often honour the French churches with their presence (Turretini to B. Turretini, London, 14/24.2.1693, Tur 1/Ea.5.7, *Inventaire* I.591.412). In Turretini’s own opinion, Burnet had subsequently praised the sermon so highly that the Queen had expressed the wish to see the young man, which led to Turretini being received at Court twice, the first time being received by William and the second by Mary (cf. *ibidem*; Turretini to B. Turretini, London, 21.2/3.3.1693, Tur 1/Ea.5.7, *Inventaire* I.596.415).
12. Born in London, Wikart began his theological studies in Geneva during 1674; chancellor at Windsor in 1684, he became Dean of Winchester in 1692. Through his wife Susanne Colladon, daughter of the King of England’s physician, he was brother-in-law to Isaac de Cambiague, a Genevan who was on good terms with the Turretini family, and who had provided Jean-Alphonse with several letters of recommendation both for his visit to France to and England.
13. See Turretini to B. Turretini, Cambridge, 6/16.1.1693, cit.

14. Born in Basel in 1664, a citizen of Geneva in 1678, the mathematician Fatio de Duillier was at this time living in England, having taken a position as a tutor there in 1687. From 1688 he was a member of the Royal Society, he was at this time dissatisfied with his situation in England, a country “in which his merit was recognised but not recompensed,” which led to his hope that Turretini would return to Geneva (cf. Turretini to B. Turretini, Cambridge, 6/16.1.1693, cit.; see also B. Micheli du Crest, Geneva, 31.1/10.2.1693, BGE, Ms fr 488, f. 260r^o-v^o, *Inventaire* I.585.408). We lack evidence to suggest that the Illuminist ideas that Fatio was to adopt some years later, as well as his frequenting prophetic circles (earning his condemnation to the pillory in London in 1707), changed in any way the opinion of him that the young Jean-Alphonse formed during his Grand Tour.
15. Turretini to B. Turretini, Cambridge, 14/24.1.1693, Tur, 1/Ea.5.7, *Inventaire* I.574.399.
16. It was via Laughton that several of those that Turretini met in Cambridge would convey their best wishes to him as he prepared to leave England: apart from Newton, the librarian mentioned his namesake Richard Laughton, chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich a future tutor of Clare College, the theologian John Montagu as well as John Covel who had been chaplain to the British ambassadors at Constantinople from 1670 to 1676; see John Laughton to Turretini, 14/24.3.1692/93, BGE, Ms fr 487, f. 277, *Inventaire* I.610.426. On the friendship between Turretini and Laughton see P. Sinclair to Turretini, London, 11/21.8.1696, Tur, 1/Gd.S.2, *Inventaire* I.1013.690.
17. “For the last two or three days I have been at the famous University of Cambridge ... It is not true, as many imagine, that it is much inferior to Oxford. All things considered, these sister institutions are as fine as each other, as regards the beauty of the colleges or their wealth. The sole advantage of Oxford lies in its public library, which is immeasurably larger and more handsome than the one here. But on the other hand, it does seem that there are more cultured people here than in Oxford. I have not stayed there long enough to be able to judge” (Turretini to B. Turretini, Cambridge, 6/16.1.1693, Tur, 1/Ea 5.7, *Inventaire* I.569.395–396). This first impression would be confirmed some weeks later: “I find it exceedingly agreeable, the people here being the greater part, very clever, and very civil. They are only too civil, for I am overwhelmed by their integrity, whether at dinner, or in other things. ... Each day this impression is confirmed, that for genuine knowledge this academy far surpasses Oxford. Besides that, nearly all the bishops appointed by the present king, without doubt the cleverest men, and the best men in England. ... As for the students, they love nothing so much as studying.” (Turretini to B. Turretini, Cambridge, 14/24.1.1693, cit.). See also M. Turretini to Turretini, [Geneva], n.d. (but 29.7.1692), BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 119v^o, *Inventaire* I.484.338.
18. Cf. B. Micheli du Crest to Turretini, Genève, 7/17.3.1693, BGE, Ms fr 488, f. 211r^o, *Inventaire* I.605.422.
19. B. Micheli du Crest to Turretini, [Geneva], n.d. (but 16/26.8.1692), BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 129v^o, *Inventaire* I.500.346.
20. These arguments chiefly involved the health of the young man, who suffered from asthma and therefore had trouble with the English climate, especially that in London. The correspondence shows that he sought to play down his repeated ailments, seeking to avoid causing anxiety to his family since his health was a major cause for concern. In September 1692 Jean-Alphonse appeared to have abandoned the idea of spending the winter in England on account of his condition and the urgings of his family (cf. Turretini to Thomas Smith, Salisbury, 14/24.9.1692, letter in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms Smith 46. p. 628, *Inventaire* I.513.354). But he would go back on his decision, whether because his condition improved or because he had found a way of alleviating, at least in part, his problems by alternating periods in the capital with time in the countryside.
21. It should be noted that some of the letters sent by Turretini during his stay have not survived; the first letter he sent from England dates from 7.9.1692, which is about three months after his arrival.
22. I take no account here of trustees of Turretini’s in London who managed the assets that he had in Britain. Their letters, while of some interest, do not I think contribute to the themes addressed in this article.
23. See the following passage by Burnet: “I have nothing more to adde to you from here but that you are often asked for by a great many here with whom you have left a very deep impression of your worth. The Archbishop remembers you frequently besides a great many more” (G. Burnet to Turretini, Westminster, 27.3/6.4.1694, BGE, Ms fr 485, f. 203v^o-204r^o, *Inventaire* I.809.597–598).
24. See Antoine Coignand to Turretini, Oxford, 16/26.2.1696, Tur 1/Gd.C.26, *Inventaire* I.978.669–670 ; Turretini to Henry Compton (?), [Geneva], n.d. (but perhaps after March 1697), BGE, Ms fr 481, f. 256r^o, *Inventaire* I.1056.713.

25. "If I were to follow my inclination and the elevated estimate that you have left here of your merit, I would send you more a panegyric than testimony" (Jacques Abbadie to Turretini, Oxford, 11/22.4.1694, BGE, Ms fr 484, f. 1, *Inventaire* I.817.573).
26. This is the case of the old priest Nicolas Bosnaud who had not abjured Catholicism while in Geneva because of the presence of an emissary of the French king, and who was sent by Turretini first to Holland for the sake of his training and then to England where he converted to Protestantism in 1698. Turretini recommended him to Burnet.
27. See Turretini to William Lloyd, [Geneva], n.d. (but probably 1684), BGE, Ms fr 481, f. 202, *Inventaire* I.877.609.
28. On Sinclair, see *Inventaire* V.222–223.
29. "Tous les escrits roulent à cette heure sur ce [*sic*] controverse avec les Deistes, qui sont les seuls enemies, qui font du bruit" (P. Sinclair to Turretini, London, 26.3/5.4.1697, Tur 1/Gd. S.2, *Inventaire* I.1058.713–714).
30. See P. Sinclair to Turretini, London, 18/28.11.1695, Tur, 1/Gd.10.I, *Inventaire* I. 961.661.
31. Stillingfleet, *Discours concerning bonds of resignation of benefices*.
32. See P. Sinclair to Turretini, London, 27.8/6.9.1697, Tur, 1/Gd.10.I, *Inventaire* I.1090.731 which provides a detailed account of the controversy between Locke on the one hand and Stillingfleet and Edwards on the other. Recognising that Locke had only defended himself against an attack by the theologians, he added: "But in my opinion the public gains nothing from their disputes, for just as the arguments of Mr. Locke proving the existence of God displease the Bishop, those of the Bishop displease Mr. Locke, between them the cause suffers and the atheists laugh at them."
33. Among the works of a religious character cited in the same letter and sent to Turretini can be mentioned those of Comber, *Roman Forgeries*; Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture*; Geddes, *The Council of Trent*. In the letter of 26.3/5.4.1697, cit., he mentions having purchased for his correspondent Stillingfleet, *Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*; and Barrow, *Brief Exposition on the Creed*.
34. See P. Sinclair to Turretini, London, 26.3/5.4.1697, cit. (Tyrrell, *The General History of England*); 27.8/6.9.1697, cit. (Cave, *Apostolici*).
35. Lettre de Turretini to J. Le Clerc, Geneva, 3.3.1711 in J. Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, Maria Grazia and Mario Sina (ed.), Firenze, Olschki, 1994, vol. III, n. 536, p. 330.
36. See L. Dufour de Longuerue to Turretini, Paris, 20.9.1700, BGE, Ms fr 488, f. 65, *Inventaire* II.1304.54.
37. See L. Dufour de Longuerue to Turretini, Paris, 11.11.1700, f. 67v°, BGE, Ms fr 488, 11.11.1700, *Inventaire* II.1318.64.
38. See L. Dufour de Longuerue to Turretini, Paris, 26.8.1701, BGE, Ms fr 488, f. 69v°, *Inventaire* II.1351.87
39. C. J. Serces to Turretini, London, 6/17.3.1729, Tur, 1/Gd.S.14, *Inventaire* IV.4045.210–211.
40. According to the correspondence, the last book that Turretini received from London was in 1735, Hoadley, *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrements of the Lord's-Supper*; see François Pictet to Turretini, London, 19/30.1.1735/6, Tur, 1/Gd.P.21, *Inventaire* IV.4843.740–741. Jean Barbeyrac drew the book to Turretini's attention, writing that it was a very controversial book "in which there are thoughts far removed from common sentiment, and singular elucidation of some Passages." (J. Barbeyrac to Turretini, Groningen, 10.10.1735, BGE, Ms fr 484, f. 288v°, *Inventaire* IV.4806.717).
41. Turretini, *Dissertatio theologica de Christo audiendo*.
42. "A propos de la dispute de *Christo audiendo*, cela me fait souvenir du Livre de Mr Locke, *Que la Religion Chrestienne est très-raisonnable*, dont le dessein est à peu près le meme" (J. Barbeyrac to Turretini, Lausanne, 21.1.1712, BGE, Ms fr 484, f. 124r°-v°, *Inventaire* II.2253.665).
43. "I hope that this Dissertation will be read by theologians and that they will profit from it; there is nothing more clear nor more solid than that which you there state, and even the most rigid will not know how to find fault with it. Thesis XLI I find agreeable, and it is necessary; many people being of the same sentiment as the Author of a Reasoned Religion which relegates the Epistles to a level below the Gospel" (J.-F. Ostervald to Turretini, [Neuchâtel], 2.4.1712, BGE, Ms fr 489, f. 368r°, *Inventaire* II.2266.675).
44. See J.-F. Ostervald to Turretini, Neuchâtel, 27.5.1711, BGE, Ms fr 489, f. 340v°, *Inventaire* II.2184.609.
45. The sole allusion to Bacon is to be found in a letter from Jean Barbeyrac which drew Turretini's attention to the review that he had written of *Opera omnia* in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* (Amsterdam,

- July–August–September 1733, 110–74); Barberyrac to Turretini, Groningen, 29.4.1730, BGE, Ms fr 484, f. 266v°, *Inventaire* IV.4143.265–266.
46. Samuel Werenfels to Turretini, Basel, 25.7.1710, Tur, 1/Gd.W.3-II, *Inventaire* II.2108.564; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to Turretini, Hanover, 17.9.1710, BGE, Ms fr 487, f. 350–351, *Inventaire* II.2118.569.
 47. *De legibus naturalibus. Pars secunda*, Genevae, typis Barrillot et filii, 1736, pp. 7 and 9 (against *De cive*) and 13 (against *Leviathan*).
 48. It must not be forgotten that of the two sides of an exchange of letters, it is the letters received rather than those sent which tend to be preserved, so that there is a considerable number of letters sent by Turretini that have not survived. Besides that, we also know that many letters sent to Turretini have not survived. In these circumstances, it is only prudent to hesitate before coming to any general conclusion.
 49. See Pitassi, “Les amours de jeunesse: échos cartésiens dans la correspondance du théologien Jean-Alphonse Turretini (1671–1737),” 191–207.
 50. On Turretini’s apologetics and his use of philosophy see Pitassi, “L’apologétique raisonnable de Jean-Alphonse Turretini,” 99–118.
 51. The sermons of Francis Atterbury, William Beveridge, Offspring Blackall, Gilbert Burnet, Samuel Clarke, John Moore, Edward Stillingfleet, John Sharp and John Tillotson were cited in particular.
 52. See in particular the works of George Bull, Isaac Barrow, Thomas Bennet, Richard Bentley, Gilbert Burnet, William Chillingworth, William Clagett, John and Samuel Clarke, William Derham, Humphrey Ditton, John Edwards, T. Emlyn, Richard Fiddes, James Foster, Francis Gastrell, Edmund Gibson, Robert Jenkin, Benjamin Hoadly, Charles Leslie, William Lloyd, William Payne, William Popple, Thomas Sherlock, Richard Smalbroke, Arthur Ashley Sykes, Edward Syngé, James Ussher, William Wake, Richard Warren, Waterland, Daniel Whitby, and William Wollaston.
 53. References can be found to the writings of Edmund Castell, Samuel Chandler, Milton, Simon Patrick, Matthew Poole, Humphrey Prideaux, John Spencer, Nicolas Trott, William Whiston, Daniel Whitby, and Samuel White.
 54. The editions of Bede, Joseph, the Apostolic Fathers, Justin and Tatian.
 55. The works of Joseph Bingham, Arthur Blackmore, Joseph Boyse, Thomas Bray, Gilbert Burnet, William Cave, Edmund Chishull, Henry Dodwell, Peter King, and William Whiston.
 56. This is, for example, the case with a book published in 1724 by Samuel Haliday (1685–1739), an Irish Presbyterian pastor who had chosen to have himself ordained in Geneva in 1708 and who, despite his admission into the Irish Presbyterian Church, refused in 1720 to subscribe to the Confession of Westminster, unleashing a controversy which raged in Ireland for five years: see Halliday, *Reasons Against the Imposition of Subscription*. On Haliday, see the entry by Steers, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 46–7; *Inventaire*, vol. V, 107. According to Hans Heinrich Ott of Zürich, who thanks to the recommendation of Turretini had entered service with the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, Haliday “treats the matter very solidly, and with much spirit” (S. Haliday to Turretini, Lambeth, 8/19.1.1724/25, Tur, 1/Gd.O.5, *Inventaire* III.3454.692).
 57. Turretini wrote to Wake in this spirit in a letter published in 1727: “It is certain that the Moderation of your excellent Church on matters such as that of Predestination and of Grace, is the wisest and most reasoned position one can take. In themselves the matters are neither sufficiently clear nor revealed sufficiently exactly, to make a decision, and above to condemn either one party or another in relation to this matter” (“Reponse de M. Jean Alphonse Turretin Professeur en Theologie et en Histoire Ecclesiastique à Geneve, à la Lettre que Mylord Archevêque de Cantorbery lui avoit écrite, et qui a été publiée dans les Acta Eruditorum de Leipsic, Suppl. T. VII Sect.III,” *Bibliothèque germanique*, t. XIII, 1727, p. 93; thanks to the correspondence we know that Wake’s letter was dated 1.12.1718).
 58. Turretini to an unknown recipient, [Geneva], n.d.(but before 18.12.1711), BGE, Ms fr 481, f. 275r°, *Inventaire* II.2242.654–655 (this is a draft without the addressee being named; Turretini addressed his correspondent as “Mylord”; it could have been written either to Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, or to Henry Compton, Bishop of London).
 59. This was Samuel Turretini (1688–1727) who started his Grand Tour in April 1711 and who became a student in Oxford in October of the same year. The eight letters that he sent from England between August 1711 and March 1713 are of great interest, as much as for what they say about English intellectual, religious and political life as for the image the convey of Genevan Calvinism in England. The great theological proximity between Jean-Alphonse and Samuel, the favourite pupil of his elder and who had been designated his spiritual heir, makes his opinions and thoughts all the more precious.

60. This closeness was also sensed by his English correspondents, who did not miss an opportunity to weave eulogies to Turretini's theology – see the following passage by Burnet: "I know you go on in studyng to bring those about you to a better temper and to larger thoughts not to consider our Holy Faith so much a sisteme of expression and forms as a divine life that both raises and animates men with great thoughts and Noble Principles with generous designs and a diffusive Charity" (G. Burnet to Turretini, Salisbury, 20/31.5.1706, BGE, Ms fr 485, f. 209, *Inventaire* II.1708.305).
61. "The clergy of England is disposed for reasons of charity and moderation to engage with Nonconformists; but these people are stubborn, if not worse. For myself, I regard them as Schismatics" (J.-F. Ostervald to Turretini, [Neuchâtel], 19.3.1701, BGE, Ms fr 489, f. 19r°, *Inventaire*, II.1330.74). For his part Jean Le Clerc, the Genevan Arminian theologian living in Amsterdam who had become close to Turretini, admitted in 1719 that an encounter with a moderate Presbyterian had given him "une beaucoup meilleure idée des *Dissenters*" than he had previously had, from which we might conclude that his opinion was far from favourable (J. Le Clerc to Turretini, Amsterdam, 20.7.1719 in *Epistolario di Jean Le Clerc*, ed. M. G. and M. Sina, Florence, Olschki, 1997, vol. IV, n. 658, p. 23).
62. Turretini responded to a French correspondent settled in England who had written to complain of his excessively tolerant ideas concerning Arians and Socinians by confirming his closeness to the Anglican Church and his refusal to exclude non-conformists from Communion: "What little reading and experience I have in this matters leads me to think that often, those who do not think entirely like us are painted blacker than they are. Originally this dispute treated the laws against non-conformists, and have been revoked by the present government. For myself, I ardently hope that they will voluntarily join the Anglican Church; and if I were in England, I would attach myself to the Anglican Church. However, I assure you that I cannot criticise the leniency that is shown them. And it seems to me that beyond the principles of Christianity, one must have a high regard for a rich and powerful party which is very well-intentioned towards religion, and the Protestant line, ad very true to government" (Turretini to Jean Robethon, [Geneva], n.d. (but after 13.7.1720, BGE, Ms fr 481, f. 186v°, *Inventaire* III.3061.423). Robethon had written to Turretini regarding one of his irenic works, the *Brevis et pacifica disquisitio* of 1719, letting him know that the work had been well received in Britain but that it would have been of advantage if the Genevan theologian had added the Incarnation and the Trinity to the fundamental articles of Christianity (see J. Robethon to Turretini, Putney, 3/13.7.1720, Tur, 1/Gd.22, *Inventaire* III.3060.422).
63. These were Gilbert Burnet (Salisbury), Henry Compton (London), Edmund Gibson (London), Richard Kidder (Bath and Wells), William Lloyd (St Asaph, Worcester), John Robinson (London), Charles Trimmell (Norwich, Winchester); the places in brackets indicate the bishoprics from which they conducted their correspondence with Turretini.
64. See Pitassi, "Quand le calvinisme genevois parlait anglican: les relations théologiques et ecclésiastiques entre Genève et l'Angleterre dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle," 231–44.
65. See B. Micheli du Crest to Turretini, Geneva, 19/29.7.1692, BGE, Ms fr 483, f. 118r°, *Inventaire* I.482.337.
66. See the following passage from a letter of condolence that Turretini sent to the sons of Burnet at the death of his father: "I have experienced the same loss as you; for I dare to say that while this excellent man honoured me with a special friendship, I also treated him with all respect and imaginable veneration. Only a few weeks ago he paid me the honour of writing to me in the most tender terms and most obligingly, as he always did" (Turretini to Gilbert II, William and Thomas Burnet, [Geneva], 11.5.1715, BGE, Ms fr 481, f. 76r°, *Inventaire* III.2585.95).
67. This is how Burnet's second son expressed himself in talking of his dead father's book *The History of my Time*, writing to Turretini that: "There is no part that pleases me more, than the amiable character that he gives of those Great Divines here who were called in that time Latitudinarians. I hope it will excite the next generation to imitate their Learning, their Probity, their Courage, and largeness of thought. Indeed till this happens, especially to Divines, I cannot hope to see any great good arise from Christianity. And I am persuaded if it did, Christianity would appear a much more excellent scheme, than it is generally taken to be. And I may say, without flattering you, that you the Leader, and those who have followed you at Geneva have begun the work, and have set an example which I wish me may have the grace to follow." (G. II Burnet to Turretini, 18/29.11.1723, BGE, Ms fr 485, f. 250v°-251r°, *Inventaire* III.3335.610).
68. A letter from January 1716 confirms that Turretini had known Wake during his time in England, and had been well received. It is possible that Turretini, taking advantage of the journey of a young compatriot to recommend him to Wake, resumed contact with him at the time of the new appointment, on

- which he congratulated him (see Turretini to W. Wake, Geneva, 24.1.1716 in *William Wake's Gallican Correspondence and Related Documents*, L. Adams (ed.), New York and Bern, Peter Lang, 1988, vol. I, 41–3).
69. See on this irenic project Odlozilik, “Protestant Reunion in the 18th Century (Archbishop Wake and D. E. Jablonski),” 119–26; Sykes, *William Wake Archbishop of Canterbury 1657–1737*, vol. II, 1–88; Pitassi, “‘Nonobstant ces petites différences’: enjeux et présupposés d’un projet d’union intra-protestante au début du XVIII^e siècle,” 419–26.
 70. Turretini vigorously supported the cause of Protestants scattered throughout Europe, who sometimes existed in greatly deprived condition, as was the case with the Vaudois in Piedmont. He asked Wake several times to intercede with rulers on their behalf, and if Wake always did his duty, the results were not always entirely satisfactory.
 71. According to Ami Lullin, an old student of Turretini who had visited Wake during his visit to England, the Archbishop was certainly Arminian on some questions of dogma “but this does not go very far. The Pelagiens, les Curcelleens, Socinians, and all the rest are *Canaille* he told me one day, not at all to his taste and this became plain in a sermon that he preached himself in his Chapel in which he expanded at length on such sentiments; so he is not as tolerant as one thinks” (A. Lullin to Turretini, London, 19/30.1.1718/19, Tur, 1/Gd.L.29, *Inventaire* III.2908.312). See also for the same view Jean Barbeyrac to Turretini, Groningen, 5.8.1719, BGE, Ms fr 484, f. 218^o, *Inventaire* III.2953.352.
 72. The conflict broke out in 1717 following a sermon given by Hoadly, at the time Bishop of Bangor, who denied any Biblical authority for the Church visible and based the nature of the Church invisible upon the sincerity of individual faith, not on the adherence to dogma or ecclesiastical institutions. Continuing until 1721, the controversy would introduce deep divisions into the Anglican clergy; for an overview, see Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy 1716–1721* which also has an extensive bibliography. The correspondence repeatedly underlines Wake’s hostile attitude to Hoadly; see A. Lullin to Turretini, Londres, 19/30.1.1718/19, cit.; Turretini to Jean-Pierre de Crousaz, [Geneva], 10.3.1722, Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale universitaire, cote IS 2024 XII, f. 121, *Inventaire* III.3174.502.
 73. On this minor aspect of the Bangor controversy, see Marshall, “Huguenot Thought after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: Tolerance, ‘Socinianism’, Integration and Locke,” 383–96, 384–6; A. Starkie, *The Church of England*, cit., 95–7; Pitassi, “A l’ombre de Benjamin Hoadly: confessions de foi, liberté d’examiner et tolérance dans une controverse protestante du début du XVIII^e siècle,” vol. II, 939–57.
 74. See A. Lullin to Turretini, London, 19/30.1.1718/19, cit.; J. Serces to Turretini, Saint Albans, 15/26.7.1720 in *Correspondance de Jacques Serces*, Frome, Butler, and Tanner, 1952, vol. I, 1–4.
 75. See, for example, Robethon to Turretini, Putney, 3/13.7.1720, cit.; J. Serces to Turretini, Saint Albans, 15/26.7.1720, cit.
 76. “A long time ago I was certain that England was the place most fitting for those devoted to theology and that it was there that argument on Religion was the most superior; but you will, however, allow me to say that we could nevertheless place Geneva in parallel with England in respect of Theology, and I will recognise that it is uniquely to you that we have the obligation, since it can be said with reason that you are the source of all common sense prevailing in the Academy, I wish to say, of those who study there. You have stripped Monsieur Theology of all the snags of the surrounding School, and you have taught Religion just as J.C. preached to his Apostles” (Jean III Sarasin to Turretini, [London], n.d. (but 29.11.1716), Tur 1/Gd.S.6, *Inventaire* III.2641.137–138).
 77. See, for example, this passage taken from a letter written by Wake: “And tho’ the Adversary makes a great noise, and uses his utmost diligence to destroy not only all Faith, but all practical Religion and Pietie among form us.” (W. Wake to Turretini, s.l., 7/18.4.1729, BGE, Ms fr 493, f. 165^v, *Inventaire* IV.4057.218).
 78. “Amisit Magna Britannia Regem, Belgium Foederatum Gubernatorem, Religio patronum, Libertas Vindicem, omnes quotquot hic sumus, Parentem. Eheu!quis a lacrymis temperet?” (*Oratio panegyrica, in obitum optimi, sapientissimi, ac fortissimi principis, Gulielmi III. Magnae Britanniae Regis in Johannis Alphonsi Turretini Opera omnia theologica, philosophica et philologica*, Leovardiae et Franequerae, H. A. de Chalmot et D. Romar, 1776, vol. III, p. 386; the discourse was read in 1702 in his function as Rector of the Academy during the graduation ceremony which every May closed the academic year.
 79. Several letters mention the Union of 1707 but only one of them comments upon it, questioning the likely ecclesiastical consequences of political union, but concluding that there would be none since

- “the Episcopalians were not so averse to other Presbyterian Churches as to those of Scotland” (J.-F. Ostervald to Turretini, [Neuchâtel], 14.7.1706, BGE, Ms fr 489, f. 135v°, *Inventaire* II.1718.312).
80. See Pierre Got to Turretini, Amsterdam, 12.3.1716, Tur, 1/Gd.G.13, *Inventaire* III.2649.145.
81. I have identified only four as born in Scotland: Gilbert Burnet, who left his native country in 1684 at the age of 31 and whose career for the greater part was in England; John Gregory, a Scotsman who passed through Geneva in 1703 and who later sent a letter of thanks to Turretini; Patrick Sinclair who is dealt with above; and the person called Stewart discussed in the following footnote.
82. He could be John Stewart of Innernyde who was an active participant in the 1715 Rising; for discussion of this idea and some biographical details on the correspondent see *Inventaire* V.227–228.

Bibliography

- Barrow, Isaac. *A Brief Exposition on the Creed*. London: Aylmer, 1697.
- Burnet, G. *Some Letters. Containing an Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy etc.* Rotterdam: A. Acher, 1686.
- Cave, William. *Apostolici*. London: Chiswell, 1677.
- Comber, Thomas. *Roman Forgeries*. London: Roycroft for Clavell, 1698.
- Cossy, Valérie, Béla Kapossy, and Richard Whatmore. *Genève lieu d'Angleterre 1725–1814* [Geneva, an English Enclave 1725–1814]. Genève: Slatkine, 2009.
- Geddes, Michael. *The Council of Trent no Free Assembly*. London: Aylmer, 1697.
- Halliday, Samuel. *Reasons Against the Imposition of Subscription to the Westminster Confessions of Faith, or Any Such Human Test of Orthodoxy*. Belfast: James Blow.
- Heyd, Michael. “Un rôle nouveau pour la science: Jean-Alphonse Turretini et les débuts de la théologie naturelle à Genève.” *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 112 (1980/1): 25–42.
- Hoadley, Benjamin. *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacraments of the Lord's-Supper*. London: J. and P. Knapton, 1735.
- Klauber, Martin I. *Between Reformed Scholasticism and Pan-Protestantism. Jean-Alphonse Turretini (1671–1737) and Enlightened Orthodoxy at the Academy of Geneva*. Selvingrove, London: Susquehanna University Press and Associated University Press, 1994.
- Marshall, John. “Huguenot Thought after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: Tolerance, ‘Socinianism’, Integration and Locke.” In *From Strangers to Citizen: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, edited by Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, 383–396. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001.
- Odložilik, Otakar. “Protestant Reunion in the 18th Century (Archbishop Wake and D. E. Jablonski).” *The Slavonic (and East European) Review* XIII (1934/37): 119–126.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “A l’ombre de Benjamin Hoadly: confessions de foi, liberté d’examiner et tolérance dans une controverse protestante du début du XVIII^e siècle.” In *La centralità del dubbio. Un progetto di Antonio Rotondò*, edited by Camilla Hermanin and Luisa Simonutti, Vol. II, 939–957. Firenze: Olschki, 2011.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “De la controverse anti-romaine à la théologie naturelle: parcours anti-sceptiques de Jean-Alphonse Turretini.” In *The Return of Scepticism from Hobbes and Descartes to Bayle*, edited by G. Paganini, 431–447. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2003.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “Du fils de François au réformateur de Genève. Genève et développement de la correspondance de Jean-Alphonse Turretini (1671–1737).” *Lias* 26 (1999/1): 103–113.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “L’apologétique raisonnable de Jean-Alphonse Turretini.” In *Apologétique 1680–1740: sauvetage ou naufrage de la théologie?* edited by M.-C. Pitassi, 99–118. Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “Les amours de jeunesse: échos cartésiens dans la correspondance du théologien Jean-Alphonse Turretini (1671–1737).” *Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica* XCIII (2001/2): 191–207.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “‘Nonobstant ces petites différences’: enjeux et présupposés d’un projet d’union intra-protestante au début du XVIII^e siècle.” In *La Tolérance. Colloque international de Nantes, mai 1998. Quatrième centenaire de l’Edit de Nantes*, edited by G. Saupin, R. Fabre, and M. Launay, 419–426. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes et Centre de recherche sur l’histoire du monde atlantique, 1999.
- Pitassi, M.-C. “Quand le calvinisme genevois parlait anglican: les relations théologiques et ecclésiastiques entre Genève et l’Angleterre dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle.” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme français* 153 (2007/2): 231–244.
- Pitassi, M.-C., Laurence Vial-Bergon, Pierre-Olivier Léchet, and Eric-Olivier Lochar. *Inventaire critique de la correspondance de Jean-Alphonse Turretini*. 6 vols. Paris: Champion, 2009.

- Pitassi, M.-C., and Laurence Vial-Bergon. "Jean-Alphonse Turretini, correspondant de l'Europe savante et ecclésiastique au début des Lumières." In *La Vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants*, edited by Jens Häselser and Antony Mckenna, 157–171. Paris: Champion, 1999.
- Prideaux, Humphrey. *The True Nature of Imposture in the Life of Mahomet*. London: Rogers, 1697.
- Starkie, Andrew. *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy 1716–1721*. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2007.
- Steers, A. D. G. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 24. Edited by H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Stillingfleet, Edward. *A Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. London: Mortlock, 1697.
- Sykes, Norman. *William Wake Archbishop of Canterbury 1657–1737*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957.
- Turretini, J.-A. *Dissertatio theologica de Christo audiendo*. Genevae: Fabri et Barrillot, 1712.
- Tyrrell, James. *The General History of England*. London: Rogers, 1697–1704.