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A Calvinist republican at the court of His Catholic Majesty: Jacques-François Deluc, the *Fabrique de Genève* and Genevan-Spanish relations during the eighteenth century

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[William Eisler, «A Calvinist republican at the court of His Catholic Majesty: Jacques-François Deluc, the *Fabrique de Genève* and Genevan-Spanish relations during the eighteenth century», *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève*, 44, 2014-2015, pp. 20-30]

Part I: Spain at the gates of Geneva 1742-1749

This study examines the impact of the luxury goods industry known as the *Fabrique* of Geneva upon relations between the Calvinist Republic and Spain, from the Spanish invasion of Savoy in 1742-3 until the reign of Charles III (1759-88). It focuses upon the role of an important figure in Genevan history, the watchmaker, merchant and politician Jacques-François Deluc, in the unfolding of events. Part I deals with the employment of the *Fabrique*'s goods by the patrician Seigneurie in its negotiations with Spanish authorities immediately following the seizure of Savoy. Part II discusses subsequent bourgeois interventions in this process, initiated by the medal of King Ferdinand VI by Jean Dassier (1746) and continued by the voyage of the latter's friend and colleague Deluc to Madrid (1750-2). We will demonstrate how the actions by members of the citizenry interacted with reform strategies of Enlightenment Spain directed by its prime minister, the Marquess de la Ensenada.

Introduction: the Delucs and their place in Genevan history

Jacques-François Deluc (1698-1780; fig. 1) is well known to Genevan historians for the political role he played over several turbulent decades. In particular he has drawn attention for his friendship with Jean-Jacques Rousseau commencing with the latter's return to Geneva in 1754 and lasting until the late 1760s¹. A major figure among the *représentants* struggling for bourgeois rights, Deluc championed Rousseau's efforts at reinsertion into the community, encouraging him to write his *Lettres érites de la montagne* and providing him with much of the book's documentation. While acknowledging his historical importance, scholars have always belittled him as a lesser light outshone by Rousseau's brilliance, taking their cue from the latter's characterization of his friend: «C'est le plus honnête et le plus ennuyeux des hommes»². Richard Whatmore in his insightful book on Geneva's role in European politics during the eighteenth century draws our attention to the marked ideological differences between the two men³. While Deluc argued that

¹ On this theme the principal study is Douglas G. CREIGHTON, *Jacques-François De Luc of Geneva and his friendship with Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (University of Mississippi Romance Monographs, 1982).



Fig.1 Robert Gardelle, *Jacques-François Deluc* (1698-1780), 1762, oil on cardboard, 23.5 x 18 cm (Bibliothèque de Genève-Centre d'Iconographie genevoise, inv. no. 0185).

the citizenry in its Conseil général together with the Calvinist pastors in the Consistoire constituted the Republic's foundation, Rousseau believed that a separation of church and state was essential to Geneva's welfare. He disagreed with Deluc's notion of combining Calvinist piety with what he deemed a dangerous reliance on pure democracy, advocating the maintenance of the traditional governmental structure incorporating the magistrates. He continued to believe that the Petit Conseil was not fundamentally tyrannical, even if its members often acted in an arbitrary manner. In the end Deluc was disillusioned by Rousseau's apparent lack of enthusiasm for the *représentant* cause, as well his persistent religious heterodoxy. Despite his entreaties his friend refused to abandon the ideas expressed in *La Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard* which had dismayed the church and led to the public burning of *Emile*.

Whereas references to Jacques-François Deluc in the literature are not lacking, they are confined entirely to his activities as a *représentant* and especially

to his relationship with Rousseau, which purportedly began in 1754 when he was fifty-six years old. His professional activity as a watchmaker and merchant have remained unstudied. The most important event in his career prior to his encounter with Rousseau was a voyage to Spain and Portugal in 1750-52, undertaken in the company of his younger son Guillaume-Antoine (1729-1812) on the invitation of Antonio de Ulloa (1716-95), a leading figure of the Spanish Enlightenment. This episode, which has escaped attention save for a few scattered references, is documented in detail in a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque de Genève (Ms. fr. 2482): *Copie des lettres que nous avons écrites pendant notre séjour en Espagne et principalement à Madrid commencé le 7.e juin 1750 en implorant la bénédiction de Dieu | Jacques François De Luc - Père et Guillaume Antoine De Luc son fils cadet*⁴. The correspondence treats every aspect of the voyage and, more broadly, contacts between the Delucs and Spain covering the period 1750-60. Among numerous letters providing valuable insights into the Deluc family, watchmaking, politics, commerce and Spanish history, only one has been considered worthy of note. The text in question constitutes the first letter known to have been written by Jacques-François Deluc to Rousseau⁵. It was published for the first time by Douglas G. Creighton in 1978⁶ and once again in 2001 by André Gür⁷. Dated

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Paul Moulou, 21 October 1762 (R. A. LEIGH [éd.], *Correspondance complète de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, t. 13, Genève, 1971, p. 233).

³ Richard WHATMORE, *Against war and empire: Geneva, Britain and France in the eighteenth century*, New Haven, London, 2012, pp. 48-53.

⁴ A useful summary of the events of the sojourn is provided by a manuscript account kept by GUILLAUME-ANTOINE: «Journal de mes voyages. Guillaume Antoine De Luc Citoyen de la République de Genève né le 8.e décembre 1729» (Bibliothèque de Genève [hereafter: BGE], Ms. fr. 1655).

⁵ BGE, Ms. fr. 2482, pp. 322-3.

⁶ Douglas G. CREIGHTON, «Rousseau and the De Lucs in 1754: a propos of a hitherto unpublished letter to Rousseau», dans *Diderot Studies*, 19 (1978), pp. 55-66.

⁷ André GÜR, «Une lettre inédite à Jean-Jacques Rousseau», dans *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 43 (2001), pp. 347-53.

28 October 1754, it constitutes a reply to Rousseau's letter written subsequent to his sojourn in Geneva, much of which was spent in the company of Deluc and his two sons, Guillaume-Antoine and Jean-André (1727-1817). The most important episode of this encounter was a famous voyage on Lake Geneva, during which the philosophé joined the Deluc brothers in their scientific investigations. According to Gür, the letter's principal interest lies in the conclusive evidence it provides that Rousseau, before leaving Geneva, had communicated to Deluc the text of the *Dédicace à la République de Genève*, to be inserted as the preface to the *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755)⁸. Deluc's enthusiastic response to the *Dédicace* underscores its role as a means of shoring up the resolve of the bourgeois citizens such as himself. But the letter is also suggestive of another, lesser-known aspect of his personality - his artistic sensibility. Asked to serve as intermediary between Rousseau's publisher Marc-Michel Rey and the artist Pierre Soubeyran for the design of the frontispiece of the *Dédicace*, he offered his own project for the work. It consisted of a pyramid symbolizing in all likelihood the structure of the Genevan government, the base of which was the Conseil général, surmounted by a bonnet: no doubt the Phrygian cap emblematic of liberty. Although the project was not retained, it is revelatory of its inventor's breadth of interest in the arts, manifested during the course of his Iberian journey.

Beyond his influence on Rousseau, Jacques-François's other claim to fame is as the father of Jean-André Deluc (1727-1817), noted geologist, meteorologist and brilliant inventor of scientific instruments. A number of his researches were undertaken in the company of his younger brother Guillaume-Antoine (1729-1812). Jean-André's contributions to science have been treated in numerous studies, most recently in the acts of a colloquium in Geneva⁹. His undeniable genius was tempered by the religious orthodoxy he shared with his father. Jean-André spent his life trying to reconcile his discoveries of the earth's strata with the account of Creation in Genesis, and his political views became extremely

reactionary towards the end of his life. In a recent monograph Marita Hübner echoes the relatively negative image of Jacques-François, citing a letter written by the scientist on 5 October 1782 to his son Jean from Windsor Castle, where he served as reader to Queen Charlotte¹⁰. In his remarks he holds his father responsible for professional and economic difficulties encountered during his youth. He bemoans his role in the period of unrest in Geneva during the 1730s, during which he was linked to the supporters of Jacques-Barthélemy Micheli du Crest (1690-1766), condemned for treason for having criticized the government:

Mais ayant pris chaudement le parti de la bourgeoisie dans les dissensions qui se terminent par la Médiation de 1738, il devint l'objet de la haine de ceux qui auparavant pouvoient le plus contribuer à son avancement: en même tems que son tems fut donné tout entier aux affaires publiques; & qu'ainsi il dépensa tout ce qu'il avoit pu économiser.

In the same letter he states:

J'éprouvoi bientôt moi-même l'influence de ce parti qu'avoit embrassé ton grand père. Je faisoit mes études, & le nom que je portais me mit fort au dessous du niveau pour tous ce qui peut donner de courage à un jeune homme; tellement que malgré le penchant que je me sentois pour cette carrière, je reconnus enfin qu'il suffisoit que je me nomme DeLuc, pour que tout y fût contre moi dans ma patrie & que je n'eusse jamais que des obstacles à attendre.

Over and beyond the problems caused by his political stance, Jacques-François's excessive

8 A. GÜR, «Une lettre inédite à Jean-Jacques Rousseau», p.348.

9 J. L. HEILBRON and René SIGRIST (éd.), *Jean-André Deluc: historian of Earth and man*, Genève, 2011. On Jean-André and his correspondence, see Emmanuelle CHAZE, «Un réseau familial international au XVIII^e siècle: pistes de recherche sur la correspondance privée de Jean-André De Luc», *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève*, 42 (2012), pp. 47-57.

10 BGE, Ms. fr. 2489, published in Marita HÜBNER, *Jean André Deluc (1727-1817). Protestantische Kultur und moderne Naturforschung*, Göttingen, 2010, pp.36-8.

perfectionism and lack of business acumen are said to have led to his downfall:

Il vouloit faire établir des ouvrages plus parfaits que les autres; il se ruinoit à payer les ouvriers plus même souvent qu'ils ne demandoient ... Pour les moindres deffautes il faisoit refaire les pièces; les ouvrages lui revenoient à des prix exorbitants, & au bout ils étoient moins vendables que ceux qu'on établissait à l'ordinaire, parce qu'il le faisoit des idées de goût & de perfection, que n'étoit point du goût commun. Je voyois tout cela, & je me taisois, souffrant alors sans rien dire la décadence visible de sa fortune.

Even the golden opportunity provided by Antonio de Ulloa's invitation did not bring the desired results:

... ce gentilhomme [Ulloa] l'engagea à aller en Espagne pour y porter des ouvrages; ce qui, pour tout autre que ton grand père, eût été en effet un moyen de fortune; mais il s'y prit tout à travers: je le voyois. Je le lui représentois, mais il m'imposoit silence, & me taisois. Il fit entr'autres une chose qui me donna beaucoup de chagrin; ce fut de vouloir emmener ton oncle [Guillaume-Antoine] avec lui.

No doubt there is a good deal of truth in the complaints of a son against a father with undeniable faults. It is not our intent to write a revisionist account transforming Jacques-François Deluc into a successful artist or a seminal figure in Genevan history. However it must be said that Ms. fr. 2482 reveals a personage far more intriguing than has hitherto been portrayed, one with a definite plan to promote Genevan commerce and improve its exterior relations. It is clear also that Deluc sought to use his considerable talents as a watchmaker to achieve these ends. At the same time the project initiated in December 1749 is important for Spanish history, as it coincided with the plan of his interlocutors to improve their own national manufacturing. We must however be aware that the employment of horology by this bourgeois craftsman to promote dialogue did not occur in a vacuum. It followed on the heels of parallel actions undertaken by the Republic's patricians to placate His Catholic Majesty during the early 1740s.

Deluc's voyage to Madrid took place only one year after the departure of Spain from Savoy which it had occupied for six years. After the invasion of the province in 1742-43, the menacing presence of Spanish troops led by the infante Prince Philip had reached the gates of Geneva, frightening the Seigneurie into inviting regiments from Bern and Zurich to come its aid and sending delegates to the Savoyard capital of Chambéry. It supplied its emissaries to the infante's secretary of state the Marquess de la Ensenada with luxury products of the Genevan *Fabrique* to be offered to Spanish officials as a means of procuring their assistance in guaranteeing the Republic's rights and privileges. Recalled to Madrid in April 1743 by King Philip V's government, Ensenada would have remembered these experiences when he was selected three years later as prime minister by the newly-crowned Ferdinand VI (1713-59), initiating a wide range of reforms. He would have been reminded of the quality of Genevan craftsmanship by the medal celebrating the coronation of the new monarch by Jean Dassier (1676-1763), a *représentant* and one of the Republic's greatest international artists. We should not be surprised therefore that Geneva was included in the itinerary of Antonio de Ulloa as part of a three-year European tour to gather information vital to the growth of Spanish manufacturing. Ulloa arrived in the city by the Rhône in December 1749. On the advice of Geneva's savants, he invited Deluc to come to Madrid in the hope that he would help improve native watchmaking. The latter's voyage constituted the sequel to the magistrates' «watch diplomacy», undertaken in this instance by a leader of the bourgeoisie. Together with his own works Deluc brought with him a set of expensive jewels created by his compatriot Jean-Jacques Pallard (1701-76), one of Europe's most celebrated masters, in the hopes of cementing commercial ties with the crown. He likewise promoted the products of his friends and colleagues the Dassiers, in particular Jean's son Jacques-Antoine (1715-59), whose reputation was on a par with that of his father. Despite a series of setbacks, Deluc succeeded in creating a

Spanish clientele including the king and Ulloa's colleagues and friends. Perhaps the most important of these clients was Gerónimo Ortiz of Alicante, engaged by Ensenada to entice highly-skilled artists and artisans from Lyon to abandon their homeland and join the silk ateliers of Valencia. Deluc himself would simultaneously serve both Ensenada and his own *Fabrique de Genève* by training young men on behalf of His Catholic Majesty in the art of watchmaking. The death of one of his two apprentices and problems posed by the extraordinary presence of Catholic Spaniards in the heart of the Calvinist Rome did not prevent the project from producing a lasting effect. Profiting from his Genevan experience, Deluc's surviving student Manuel Zerella (1737-99) became a seminal figure in the history of eighteenth-century Spanish technology and industry.

At first glance our protagonist's politics would appear to have made him an unlikely candidate to undertake such a difficult and complex venture in a place where the Republic had few connections of any sort, however examination of the documentary evidence suggests a different conclusion. Although clearly attached to the bourgeois citizenry, he did not lack contacts within the upper strata. Jacques-François Deluc was born in Geneva on 14 May 1698, the son of the innkeeper Jean Deluc and Marthe Requillon, and was baptized six days later at the church of the Madeleine¹¹. The godfather of the purported chief of the radical faction was Jacques-François Fatio, seigneur of Bonvillar (1656-1729), who would serve as premier syndic in 1728. A leading banker, Fatio possessed one of the greatest fortunes in Geneva¹². According to his own account, Deluc began his career as a watchmaker in 1721, submitting as his chef d'œuvre a repeating watch executed entirely by his hand¹³. His marriage four years later may be viewed as a step up on the social ladder. Deluc's bride Françoise was the daughter of the recently-deceased Jean-Pierre Huaud (1655-1723), a leading painter on enamel who had served together with his brother Ami (1657-1724) as court artist to Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg¹⁴. One of the witnesses to the marriage contract signed on 26 October

1725 was the bride's cousin Jean-Louis Burlamaqui (1661-1728), *conseiller d'état* and father to the celebrated jurist and political thinker Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui (1694-1748)¹⁵. It would seem therefore that Deluc was well regarded by a number of the patricians governing the Republic. Further evidence of this association with his supposed betters emerges from his later correspondence, notably in letters sent from Spain to Isaac Thellusson (1690-1755), an unrelenting foe of the *représentants*, whom he addresses as his very dear and honored friend¹⁶.

Although Deluc was clearly a principal figure within the bourgeois faction, he was not the uncompromising radical described by his patrician enemies. During the *troubles de Genève* of 1734-7 he stood firm as a defender of the citizens' rights in regard to the introduction of taxes to finance new fortifications. However, contrary to the image evoked by his enemies, he was not a blind follower of Jacques-Barthélemy Micheli

- 11 Archives d'Etat de Genève (hereafter: AEG), EC, Madeleine B. M. 9. Baptêmes-Mariages 1687-1703. The reference to Deluc's father's profession appears in his death notice of 12 March 1780 (AEG, EC, Chapitre du livre des morts no 66, 1780-6, p.226).
- 12 On Jacques-François Fatio, see Olivier and Nicole FATIO, *Pierre Fatio et la crise de 1707*, [Genève], 2007.
- 13 Jacques-François Deluc, Geneva, to Juan Francisco de Gaona y Portocarrero, count of Valdeparaíso, Madrid, 22 September 1758 (BGE, Ms. fr. 2482, p.353). A repeating watch of the sort produced by Deluc has been defined as «a watch designed to indicate the hours and the quarters or even the hours, quarters and minutes by striking a bell or gong (s) or by tapping a block inside the watch case when the pendant is pushed in to activate the mechanism» (David THOMPSON, *The British Museum watches*, London, 2008, p.169).
- 14 On the Huauds, see Henri CLOUZOT, «Artistes huguenots, les frères Huaud, peintres en émail», dans *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 55 (1906), pp.481-506; Henri CLOUZOT, «Les frères Huaud, miniaturists et peintres sur émail, nouveaux documents», dans *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 22 (1907), pp.293-306.
- 15 AEG, Notaires, George Grosjean 4 (1724-6) p.245. On the Burlamaquis, see Bernard GAGNEBIN, *Burlamaqui et le droit naturel*, Genève, 1944.
- 16 Jacques-François Deluc, Madrid, to Isaac Thellusson, Geneva, 15 May 1752 (BGE, Ms. fr. 2482, pp.136-7). On Thellusson's political views, see Helen ROSENBLATT, *Rousseau and Geneva: from the First Discourse to the Social Contract*, Cambridge, pp.50, 64, 134.

du Crest (1690-1766), the vilified critic of the regime living in exile¹⁷. Chief among his opponents was the syndic Jean-Louis Dupan (1698-1775) who in a letter of February 1736 to his friend Abraham Freudenreich in Bern characterized him as «*le fanatique et furieux Deluc chef et conducteur du parti Micheli*»¹⁸. Whereas he maintained a long-term friendship with Toussaint-Pierre Lenieps (1697-1774), banished in 1731 from Geneva together with Micheli, Deluc was not one of the latter's acolytes. He attacked him for his refutation of the Mediation of 1738 engineered by France which brought about an end to the crisis¹⁹. Deluc offered unstinting praise for the French mediator, the count of Lautrec, in an address delivered to the latter on 1 January of that year. Douglas Creighton notes that

His language becomes intolerably overblown when he expresses their [the bourgeois deputies'] gratitude to the king for having made shine among them in the person of the count one of the rays emanating from his throne of justice! Strange language indeed from a sober *républicain*, more in keeping with the art of flattery practiced in contemporary monarchies²⁰.

Deluc maintained a friendship with Lautrec long after the resolution of the conflict, as can be seen from copies of letters addressed to the diplomat preserved in Ms. fr. 2482²¹. As Creighton observes «Of course Deluc's vanity was no doubt gratified at the thought of having a correspondent of such elevated rank»²². The watchmaker would also play a role in the course of the crisis of 1743 provoked by the presence of Spanish troops on the Republic's borders. Deluc as the leader of the bourgeois faction objected to the proposed request for military aid from Bern and Zurich, fearing that the troops would be employed to suppress civil unrest as had been the case in 1707, the last time that the Swiss allies had entered the city. On 20 January he led a protest against the intervention, although in the end he was compelled to comply with the government's decision²³. We may ask whether his opposition to the measures taken by the regime against the feared Spanish might have

influenced their decision to invite him to Madrid six years later.

Jacques-François Deluc master watchmaker

Apart from the negative comments of his son Jean-André, nothing has emerged concerning Deluc's professional activities. Although to our knowledge no surviving work of horology has been linked to his name, he seemed to have been a respected figure in the field. Ulloa, well informed in such matters, saw a number of pieces by his hand in Geneva. In a letter to Ensenada he characterizes Deluc as the most famous watchmaker in that city, admired by the professors of mathematics²⁴. He notes further that he had worked in London and Paris with the finest masters in his field, adding that he had painstakingly corrected a small defect in a watch by George Graham (1673-1751), perhaps the greatest British practitioner of the time²⁵. Further proof of Deluc's reputation is provided by an entry in the inventory after death

¹⁷ On Micheli du Crest, see Barbara ROTH-LOCHNER and Livio FORNARA (éd.), *Jacques-Barthélemy Micheli: du Crest, 1690-1766: homme des Lumières*, Genève, 1995.

¹⁸ Jean-Louis Dupan, Geneva, to Abraham Freudenreich, Bern, February 1736 (BGE, Ms. Suppl. 1536, f. 18, cited in G. CREIGHTON, *Jacques-François De Luc of Geneva*, *op.cit.*, p.12).

¹⁹ *Réfutation des erreurs de M. Micheli du Crest sur le règlement de l'illustre Médiation*, Cologne, 1747.

²⁰ G. CREIGHTON, *Jacques-François De Luc of Geneva*, *op.cit.*, p.12.

²¹ For example one dated 10 January 1753 (BGE, Ms. fr. 2482, pp.97-101).

²² G. CREIGHTON, *Jacques-François De Luc of Geneva*, *op.cit.*, p.16.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp.15-16.

²⁴ Antonio de Ulloa, Paris, to the Marquess de la Ensenada, Madrid, 14 January 1750 (Archivo General de Simancas [hereafter: AGS], Marina, leg. 712, ff. 244-6, cited in Juan Helguera QUIJADA, «Antonio de Ulloa en la época del Marqués de la Ensenada: del espionaje industrial al canal de Castilla (1749-1754)», dans Manuel LOSADA VILLASANTE and Consuelo VARELA (éd.), *Actas del II Centenario de Don Antonio de Ulloa*, Seville, 1995, p.205).

²⁵ On Graham, see Jeremy Lancelotte EVANS, «George Graham (c. 1673-1751)», dans *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., May 2005.

of a leading Genevan personality, Ami Lullin (1695-1756), professor of theology and rector of the Geneva Academy, which cites a «*repetition à la françoise boete et chaine d'or du nom DeLuc*» valued at 708.9 florins or 202.5 livres²⁶. The presence of this expensive watch in the Lullin cabinet is indicative of the esteem in which its creator was held among certain members of the elite.

Attempting to profit from his contacts among Genevan savants stemming from the same social level as Lullin, Deluc sought to gain entry into the Parisian market. At the beginning of the year 1748 the physicist Jean Jallabert (1712-68) sent his *mémoire* regarding a set of new watches to Gabriel Cramer (1704-52), a Genevan mathematician residing in Paris²⁷. Cramer transmitted Deluc's paper to his noteworthy colleagues the mathematician Charles-Etienne Louis Camus (1699-1768), the metallurgist and meteorologist René-Antoine Ferchault de Réamur (1683-1757) and the director of the latter's laboratory, Jean-Antoine Nollet (1700-70). The very fact that such distinguished persons were consulted attests to the merit of Deluc's proposals and the technical quality of his work. Nevertheless the members of the panel concurred that the proposed prices of the watches would be deemed excessive and that moreover any attempt to obtain a royal privilege would be vigorously opposed by the Parisian horologists' corporation. Such difficulties in entering the French market may well have persuaded Deluc to embark on his Iberian adventure a year later.

Spain and Geneva: a distant threat becomes palpable

While Deluc's voyage to Madrid constituted a significant episode in Spanish-Genevan relations, it must be stated that contacts between the two states were inconsequential prior to the 1740s. For the Calvinist Republic, Catholic Spain and its Inquisition represented a remote menace during the two previous centuries of its existence. Fears aroused after the battle of Saint-Quentin in 1557 of an attack by Spanish soldiers led by Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, proved to

be unfounded. In 1586 the latter's successor Charles-Emmanuel I solicited Philip II's aid for an assault on Geneva, requesting the services of the Spanish army in Milan, however the king, embroiled in preparations for an invasion of England, would not assist his ally. Three years later the duke seized the Pays de Gex employing Spanish troops under his command, and anxiety evoked by this incident would persist in the collective consciousness of the Genevans. The Republic's worst fears may have been realized if Spanish troops had joined the campaign culminating in the attack known as the Escalade of 1602. However at the moment of greatest peril, Philip III was discouraged from intervening by Pope Clement VIII, and any thoughts that the «Spanish fury» which had been unleashed in the Protestant Netherlands could strike Geneva soon dissipated²⁸.

Geneva's dormant apprehensiveness would be awakened 140 years later when the Spanish, allied with their fellow Bourbons in France against the

26 «Inventaire des biens et effets, meubles et immeubles, titres et droits delaissés par Spectable Amy Lullin quand vivoit Pasteur et Professeur en Histe Ecclesiastique de l'Academie et Eglise de Geneve pris le 27.e 7.bre 1756» (AEG, Jur. civ. F433, item 53). On Lullin and his collections, see Corinne WALKER, «Les pratiques de la richesse: riches Genevois au XVIIIe siècle», dans Jacques BERCHTOLD and Michel PORRET (éd.), *Etre riche au siècle de Voltaire*, Genève, 1996, pp. 135-60.

27 Gabriel Cramer, Paris, to Jean Jallabert, Geneva, 8 February 1748 (BGE, SHAG ms. 242, f. 72). Marc Ratcliff argues that Jean-André Deluc was the author of the *mémoire* and the watches sent to Paris («*Gens du haut et gens du bas: Deluc and the politics of accuracy*» in J. L. HEILBRON and R. SIGRIST (éd.), *Jean-André Deluc*, op. cit., pp. 46-62; «*Patriciens et praticiens: Jean-André Deluc entre Fabrique et science*», dans Marc J. RATCLIFF et. al. (éd.), *Mémoires d'instruments: une histoire des sciences et des savants à Genève*, Genève, 2011, pp. 124-33). In reality they were most certainly the work of his father as Jean-André was not a watchmaker, and furthermore Jacques-François was on good personal terms with Jallabert, as his correspondence with Ulloa demonstrates. Nevertheless Ratcliff is surely correct in his hypothesis that the tools and techniques utilized by Jean-André in the production of his scientific instruments were linked to those employed within his father's profession.

28 Lucien CRAMER, «*La politique extérieure: la diplomatie et la guerre: 1536-1603*», dans Paul-E. MARTIN (éd.), *Histoire de Genève 1: Des origines à 1798*, Genève, 1951, pp. 283-314.

King of Sardinia Charles-Emmanuel III in the War of the Austrian Succession, attacked Savoy, entering Chambéry on 7 September 1742²⁹. Compelled initially to withdraw, the Spanish returned in force under the command of the head of the Admiralty, the infante Prince Philip, future duke of Parma (1720-65), who was the son of Philip V and his second wife Elizabeth Farnese. The infante's secretary of state was the naval administrator Zénon de Somodevilla y Bengoechea, Marquess de la Ensenada (1702-81; fig. 2)³⁰. Leading the army was Jaime Miguel de Guzmán Dávalos y Spínola, Marquess de Mina (1690-1767)³¹, a former ambassador to France, with José Avilés Iturbide (1683-1767)³² as his intendant. Philip entered Chambéry in triumph on 5 January 1743. He appointed Manuel de Sada y Antillón (1677-1764)³³, who had served as military attaché in Turin from 1735 to 1742 in a vain attempt to dissuade the Sardinian king from taking sides with the Austrians, as governor of the province.

Spanish troops quickly occupied the entirety of Savoy, reaching Carouge and the gates of Geneva. The Republic feared the confiscations of its goods on the roads of Savoy as well as the lodging of marauding Spanish soldiers in its properties in the province and in the jurisdiction of Saint-Victor et Chapitre: disputed territories which included the ancient possessions of the priory of Saint-Victor, the cathedral chapter of Saint-Pierre and those of several other Genevan religious establishments. Negotiations with their new neighbors would prove arduous, as the Republic had no diplomatic representation in Madrid and depended upon the good offices of the Dutch Embassy in that city³⁴. Their fears were augmented by unsigned missives sent by the embassy chaplain, the Genevan-born Jean-André Roch (1709-?), to his cousin Antoine Trembley. After completing his studies at the Geneva Academy in 1734, Roch had been named to his post in Madrid four years later (14 March 1738)³⁵. For decades he would serve as a discreet contact between Geneva and Spain, establishing a close friendship with the Delucs during their voyage to Madrid. Beginning in September 1742 Roch issued a series of dire warnings



Fig. 2 Jacopo Amigoni, Zénon de Somodevilla y Bengoechea, Marquess de la Ensenada (1702-81), c. 1750, oil on canvas, 124 x 104 cm (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. Po2939).

²⁹ See Alain BECCIA, *L'occupation espagnole de la Savoie 1742-1749* (L'Histoire en Savoie 13), Chambéry, 2007.

³⁰ See José Luis GÓMEZ URDÁÑEZ, «Zénon de Somodevilla y Bengoechea, Marqués de la Ensenada», dans Gonzalo ANES Y ÁLVAREZ DE CASTRILLÓN (éd.), *Diccionario biográfico español* [hereafter DBE] 47, Madrid, 2013, pp.83-9.

³¹ See Felipe José DE VICENTE ALGUERO, «Jaime Miguel de Guzmán Dávalos y Spínola, Marqués de Mina», DBE 25 (2009), pp. 473-6.

³² See Francisco ANDÚJAR CASTILLO, «José Avilés Iturbide, Marqués de Avilés», DBE 9 (2009), pp. 206-7.

³³ See Maite DÍAZ FRANCÉS, «Manuel de Sada y Antillón», DBE 44 (2013), pp.989-90.

³⁴ There are to our knowledge no modern studies on Geneva's negotiations with the Spanish in Savoy. The essential work remains Charles DU BOIS-MELLY, *La Seigneurie de Genève et ses relations extérieures 1720-1749*, Genève, Basel, 1880, pp.119-228. See also Jean E. MASSÉ, *Les Espagnols à Carouge, Genève se défend (1742-1744) ou l'Armement de la Place, épisode militaire de l'histoire de Genève*, Genève, 1992.

³⁵ Suzanne STELLING-MICHAUD (éd.), *Le livre du recteur de l'Académie de Genève (1559-1878)*, t. 5, Genève, 1976, p.362.

regarding Spanish intentions. He tells his cousin that their main objective is to procure an Italian state for the young infante, and if they are unable to advance from the southeast via Barcellonette they will not hesitate to seize Geneva, where the prince will reside until he acquires his new realm³⁶. Fearing the worst, the Petit Conseil in January 1743 sent a delegation to Chambéry to meet with the infante's court, headed by the former syndic François-Jean Turrettini (1690-1765) assisted by his young son Gédéon (1723-1782). The prince was relieved to encounter a Genevan deputy nearly his own age, and enquired as to his talents as a dancer and musician³⁷. Gédéon was only too willing to comply with his host's wishes to perform in his presence, as his father recounts in a letter to the Conseil of 24 January³⁸. Pleased with their initial reception, the Turrettinis promptly offered watches and transmitted Spanish orders for the luxury goods of the *Fabrique*.

Genevan watches as diplomatic instruments

The works for which the Republic's craftsmen were famous throughout Europe had already been employed for years in ceremonial gift exchanges with the French monarchy. In 1679, the Conseil offered watches to Michel Chabenat de Bonneuil, *interventeur des ambassadeurs* at Versailles, and his wife in exchange for a gold medal presented by Louis XIV to its deputy Pierre Fabri. In 1696 the Genevans repeated the gesture, presenting gold watches and chains to Bonneuil and his colleague Nicolas Sainctot as recompense for gold medals offered to four Genevan delegates to Versailles: Ami Lefort, Jean Denormandie, Pierre Gautier and Leonard Buisson³⁹. Only four years prior to the arrival of the Turrettinis in Savoy, a gold repeating watch had been presented to Monsieur Arnaud, secretary to Pierre de La Closure, the recently retired French *résident* and recipient of a gold medal by Jean Dassier from the Republic⁴⁰. Geneva's magistrates were not alone in their desire to placate the invaders with the products of their *Fabrique*. Immediately prior to the seizure of Chambéry in September 1742, the city's

syndics hastened to buy two gold repeating watches in Geneva with the intention of offering them to the Spanish generals, however the substantial financial reparations demanded by the occupying forces compelled the Savoyards to return their purchases for cash⁴¹. It is clear likewise that Prince Philip and his court were keenly aware of the utility of luxury watches as tools of diplomacy. François-Jean Turrettini informed the Conseil that shortly after his triumphal entry into Chambéry, the infante had presented a diamond-studded gold watch to the Bissy family on the occasion of the birth of a daughter together with a ring, with a total value of 8000 Piedmontese livres⁴².

The Turrettinis became cognizant of a strong Spanish interest in the products of the *Fabrique* almost immediately after their arrival in Savoy. On 24 January 1743, François-Jean informed the Conseil that Governor Manuel de Sada requested an enamelled gold watch with a double case from the finest master⁴³. On 2 April, the magistrates acceded to Turrettini's demand that a gold repeating watch be delivered to General Mina⁴⁴. The high value placed

³⁶ Jean-André Roch, Madrid, to Antoine Trembley, Geneva, 3 September 1742 (AEG, PH 4704).

³⁷ François-Jean Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 21 January 1743 («*Lettres du Sr Fois Jean Turrettin député à Chambéry auprès de M. de la Ensenada; par le Conseil*», AEG, Savoie 20).

³⁸ François-Jean Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 24 January 1743 (AEG, Savoie 20).

³⁹ For these gifts, see William EISLER, «L'impact de l'*Histoire métallique de Louis XIV* sur la République de Genève», dans Yvan LOSKOUTOFF (éd.), *Les médailles de Louis XIV et leur livre*, Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2016, pp.307-319.

⁴⁰ William EISLER, *The Dassiers of Geneva: eighteenth-century European medallists*, vol. II: *Dassier and sons: an artistic enterprise in Geneva, Switzerland and Europe, 1733-1759*, Lausanne, Genève, 2005, pp.78-9.

⁴¹ A. BECCHIA, *L'occupation espagnole de la Savoie*, op.cit., pp.19, 24.

⁴² François-Jean Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 21 January 1743 (AEG, Savoie 20).

⁴³ François-Jean Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 24 January 1743 (AEG, Savoie 20).

⁴⁴ The Petit Conseil, Geneva, to François-Jean Turrettini, Chambéry, 2 April 1743 (AEG, CL 77 1742-4, pp.300-1).

by the latter on his gift can be ascertained from a letter of 29 June to the Conseil by Robert Vaudenet, a Genevan serving as a secretary to the Spanish occupying forces.⁴⁵ He states that the general wished that its maker had placed his own name and that of Geneva on the object, instead of following a common practice of substituting the name London for the city on the Rhone, as colleagues at home did not believe that he wished to carry a Genevan watch and he desired to attest to their quality⁴⁶. Yet another watch was delivered at this time to the intendant Avilés⁴⁷. The following year, Gédéon Turrettini who had replaced his father as head of the deputation, took Sada's order for a snuffbox⁴⁸, and attempted to present a comparable present to Avilés, who on this occasion declined the young man's offer as excessive⁴⁹.

An interesting aspect of the process of Genevan gift-giving in Savoy is that according to the documents the suppliers were always the same: the firm of Alleon and Guainier, goldsmiths and merchants whose intertwined families played significant roles in governmental affairs. François Alleon (1697-1752) served in the Conseil des Deux-Cents from 1728 until his death. In 1727 he formed a company with his father-in-law David Guainier, who was replaced in the partnership after his death in 1733 by his son Jean Antoine⁵⁰. Alleon, who was admitted to the goldsmith's corporation in 1734⁵¹, furnished watches for a number of important clients, notably Professor Ami Lullin⁵² and Dupan's friend Abraham Freudenreich⁵³. He likewise oversaw the production of the Republic's coinage as *Garde de la monnaie* from 1734 until his death, succeeding David Guainier in this post⁵⁴. Dupan was another of Guainier's sons-in-law, and, as we have seen, a fierce opponent of Jacques-François Deluc⁵⁵. It seems unlikely therefore that Deluc would have had the opportunity to sell his wares to Spanish officials at this point in time, as that business was monopolized by persons within government circles. Hence he would have had additional motivation to engage in his own commercial and diplomatic efforts within Iberia.

Genevan diplomacy in Savoy was complemented by negotiations undertaken on its behalf by the

Dutch embassy in Madrid, which played a decisive role in the process. In this instance as well watches were employed to cement the Republic's foreign relations. Thanks in large part to Dutch intervention, accords guaranteeing Genevan rights in their territories were published on 5 April 1743 by Ensenada⁵⁶. Soon thereafter the latter departed for Madrid to take up the post as Prince Philip's lieutenant general of the admiralty, for which he obtained hearty congratulations from the Petit Conseil⁵⁷. A significant role in

⁴⁵ Robert Vaudenet, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 29 June 1743 (AEG, RC 243, p.396).

⁴⁶ In January 1744 Mina's watch was stolen in Chambéry. It was later recovered from the thief who tried to sell it in Geneva and returned to its owner by the Seigneurie. On this affair, see C. DU BOIS-MELLY, *La Seigneurie de Genève et ses relations extérieures*, *op.cit.*, p.199, note 1; Gédéon Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 12 January 1744 (RC 244, 1744, p.38). On the practice of marking «London» on Geneva-made watches of the period, see ANTONY BABEL, *Histoire corporative de l'horlogerie, de l'orfèvrerie et des industries annexes*, Genève, 1916, p.518, cited in ROGER SMITH, «The Swiss connection: international networks in some eighteenth-century luxury trades», dans *Journal of Design History*, 17 (2004), p.132 and note 30.

⁴⁷ François-Jean Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 31 March 1743 (AEG, Savoie 20).

⁴⁸ The Petit Conseil, Geneva, to Gédéon Turrettini, Chambéry, 6 March 1744, (AEG, CL 77, 1742-4, p.461).

⁴⁹ Gédéon Turrettini, Chambéry, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 7 February 1744 (AEG, RC 244, p.83).

⁵⁰ «Livre des inscriptions des négociants en exécution de l'article 3.e du règlement fait sur le commerce» (AEG, Comm D1, 27 September 1727 and 30 November 1733, pp.119, 130).

⁵¹ «Livre de la maîtrise des orfèvres» (AEG, Industrie B 13), p.38, cited in ALBERT CHOISY, «François Alleon», dans CARL BRUN (éd.), *Schweizerisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 1, Frauenfeld, 1905, p.22.

⁵² On 14 September 1748, Lullin ordered a silver watch «à la anglaise» signed Marchinville from Alleon, together with a silver chain for £ 60, to be sent as a gift to his friend Pastor Van Eys in Zutphen, Holland (BGE, Ms. Lullin 10 f. 183).

⁵³ On 29 April 1738, Alleon sent Freudenreich a gold watch valued at £174.13.6d for his inspection (BGE, Ms. suppl. 1548).

⁵⁴ AEG, RC 233, 6 January 1734, p.13.

⁵⁵ Jean-Louis Dupan (1689-1756) married Marthe Guainier, one of David's daughters.

⁵⁶ J. E. MASSÉ, *Les Espagnols à Carouge*, *op.cit.*, p.29.

⁵⁷ Reply of the Marquess de la Ensenada to the Petit Conseil's letter of congratulations, Aranjuez, 29 May 1743 (AEG, RC 243, p.376).

obtaining Dutch diplomatic assistance was played by the Genevan cleric Jean-André Roch, who pleaded the case of his fellow countrymen to the ambassador Mr. Vandermeer. Roch wrote requesting a reward be given to the secretary of the embassy Mr. Greflein, responsible for drafting the letters to the Spanish government in Madrid⁵⁸. As had been the case in Chambéry, the present would take the form of a gold watch, which was delivered in December 1743⁵⁹. In his correspondence Roch insists that the work should be well made and the case should not as thin as those often presented to foreigners, indicating that the chaplain was well aware that awarding gifts of this nature was common practice in Geneva⁶⁰.

Although Genevan diplomacy in Chambéry conjoined with the aid of their Dutch friends in Madrid undoubtedly played a role in diminishing the Spanish threat, it did not entirely resolve the crisis. The menace was considerably reduced by the displacement in September 1743 of a large contingent led by Prince Philip, who joined forces with France to attack the Sardinians. Their departure led to the withdrawal from Geneva in mid-March 1744 of the regiments from Zurich and Bern⁶¹. Nevertheless the occupation of Savoy persisted, posing a potential threat to the Republic, which would dissipate only after the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle on 18 October 1748, the assumption of the throne of the Duchy of Parma by the infante Philip, and the final withdrawal of Spanish forces in February 1749. With enemy troops still ensconced at the gates of the city, a prominent figure in the *Fabrique*, Jean Dassier, made a gesture which unquestionably improved relations between Geneva and their unwelcome neighbors to the southwest: the creation in 1746 of their king's medal. This act would pave the way for the long-term Iberian project of his friend and colleague Jacques-François Deluc.

⁵⁸ Jean-André Roch, Madrid, to the Petit Conseil, Geneva, 6 May 1743 (AEG, RC 243, p.332).

⁵⁹ Letter of Greflein in Madrid, to the Petit Conseil acknowledging its gift, 16 December 1743 (AEG, RC 243, p.628).

⁶⁰ Jean-André Roch, Madrid, to Antoine Trembley, Geneva, 10 June 1743 (AEG, RC 243, p.628).

⁶¹ J. E. MASSÉ, *Les Espagnols à Carouge*, *op. cit.*, p.31.