Two Years in the Life of Philip Papillon

by Adrian and Sarah Hall

This article describes what was found in the copy book of Philip Papillon, donated in 2017 to Battle Museum of Local History.

How the Museum came to have the book

This most unusual book is on display in Battle Museum of Local History during the 2018 season. It tells us about international trading and political events in the early eighteenth century. Here's how it got here. In October 2017 the Museum put on a photographic exhibition in Battle Library titled "Battle Remembered", depicting Battle people in the period after the Second World War. One of the photos, from a 1947 party, caused a lot of local comment:

The daughters of Mary Thompsett on the right, contacted the Museum : Pam Golding and her sisters Pauline Hillier and Trish Russell , donated to the Museum a large old book which their grandfather Harry had , many years before, rescued from a bonfire on what is now known as Crowhurst Park off the Hastings Road . The Park used to be a country estate owned by the Papillon family. Perhaps Harry noticed that the book was unusual, being filled with handwriting. This article explains what we found when we examined this book and researched the background to the events it describes.

Philip Papillon and the Papillon family

Writing about the arrival of Thomas Papillon in England around 1588, George Kiloh says :

"The Papillons did well in England. Thomas's son David became an expert on fortification and built Papillon Hall in Lubenham, Leicestershire, an unusual octagonal house constructed

according to his own theories. He married as his second wife Anne Marie Calandrini, whose family had fled Italy as Protestants. Papillon Hall remained in the family until 1764, and remains the centre of at least two stories of hauntings associated with one of the family. By marriage they inherited the substantial Rawsthorn property at Lexden outside Colchester, where today some of the streets refer to the family and the parish church has memorial windows to them.

Thomas, the eldest son of this marriage, purchased Acrise Park in Kent. Acrise is a sparsely-populated parish south-east of Elham and north of the Channel Tunnel entrance. This Thomas also had a substantial house in Fenchurch Street in the City of London, and his son Philip was baptised in the City in 1660. Philip became MP for Dover in 1701 and remained so until 1720. Like his father he was a prosperous merchant, a member of the Levant Company, and held several public offices. He married well in 1689."

It was not until the early nineteenth century that the Papillons, arising from intermarriage with the grand Sussex family the Pelhams, rationalised their properties and settled at Crowhurst Park. When Philip wrote his copy book of 1710, he and the family were based near Dover at Acrise Park, dating from the sixteenth century (pictured); he wrote entries in the copy book mainly from his London work headquarters, in Essex Street off the Strand.

"The OLD FRONT of Acrise, the Seat of Thomas Papillon Esq."

As an MP Philip was a dissenting Whig; he was active in the Levant trade; and was heavily involved in victualling for the Royal Navy. His copy book of 1710-12 reflects these activities and the turbulent national events at this time.

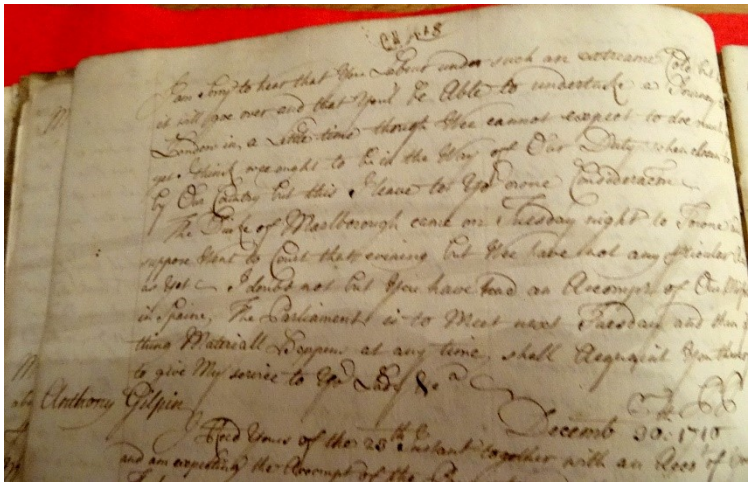
What is the copy book?

The book, pictured below and roughly bound in leather, belonged to Philip Papillon (1660-1736) and comprises his record of his work as a London merchant for the years 5 December

1710 to 26 December 1712. It provides a fascinating insight into early eighteenth century life at a local and national level. Some 300 years before photocopiers, it is a copy book: there is only one blot in some 350 pages!

The national context of Philip Papillon's copy book

Maritime competition between Britain and France – accentuated by the War of the Spanish Succession which ended in 1712- required a huge upgrade of the Royal Navy, with ongoing opportunities for merchants like Philip Papillon. So the copy book notes the comings and goings of public figures such as the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.



The naval upgrade was funded by Government debt in the form of the recently invented Bank of England; the new South Sea Company; and the Lottery- relaunched in this year successfully at the third attempt[1]. Papillon refers to these financial decisions in May 1711. The Lottery was relaunched successfully in 1711, and the following year Papillon moans that he has drawn no prize "ticquets"[2] but his daughter "*Madam*" Gunman has won three! Although naval expenditure required a wide range of goods which Papillon and his associates could supply, the shortage of money and fluctuations in interest rates (three different rates in a day reports Papillon in October 1711) created a difficult environment. There was another complication for Papillon: the sheer scale of naval expenditure brought necessary scrutiny through audit, of what was spent on ships and their victualling. Philip Papillon had been Cashier to the Victualling Commissioners 1690-98, when his father Thomas had also, for several years, been a Commissioner. They both had, at the same time, very large contracts for victualling and naval supplies and the copy book has much detail about this area. So Philip was, throughout 1710-12, under pressure from the Victualling Commissioners' investigations of the money the Papillons made in the 1690's. Matters were not made easier by the fact that people he knew were mixed up in a major fraud in providing largely fictitious amounts of beer to Royal Navy ships at Portsmouth and Chatham. An extra political dimension was that the Tory Government under Robert Harley was trying to snare leading opposition Whigs such as Lord Orford (pictured) - an associate of Papillon- in the victualling investigations.

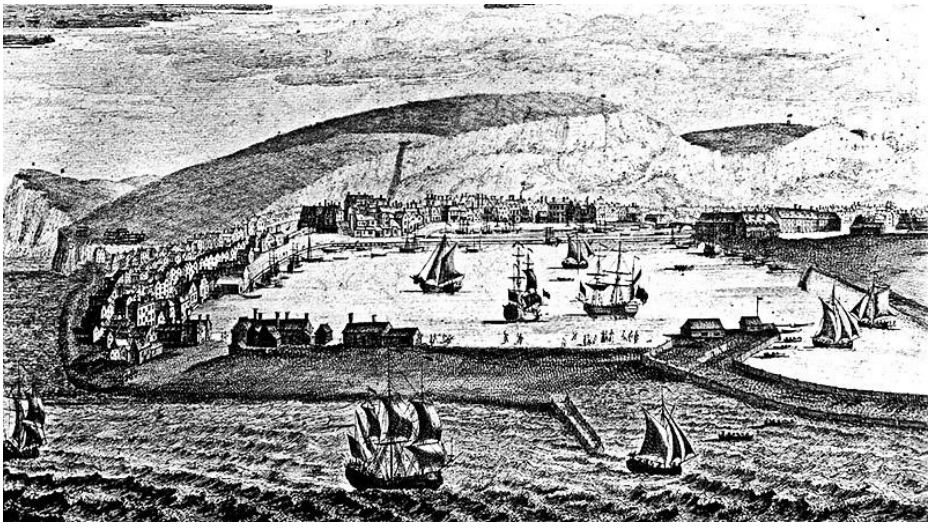
Philip Papillon the merchant and businessman

Papillon had a wide variety of business partners, many of whom were prominent businessmen in Dover. Richard Bax, John Knott, James Hollingbery, and Edward Wivell , for

[1] Introduced by John Blunt, Director of the Hollow Sword Blade Company, a private bank.
[2] The prizes were £20 each , says Papillon, about £1400 in today's money.

example, were all Mayors of Dover before, during or after 1710-12. With them he traded some goods such as hemp for sails and ropes (sending them accounts every so often), flax, ship's biscuits and lead bars. Papillon exchanged Naval and Victualling warrants with them (a practice which we examine later) ; and as an MP he gave them advice about political developments relevant to their activities , for example likely movements in interest rates and possible future investment opportunities in Government stocks. He also tried to further their and Dover's interests when opportunity arose. For example in 1710 through to 1711 Papillon tried to get a special Parliamentary dispensation to offset the impact of the Land Tax in Thanet[3]. Later in 1711 Papillon helps his business associates by lobbying the Lord Treasurer about the fact that the Government owed £2000 for provisioning of prisoners of war in Dover Castle.

In return these merchants helped Papillon with business opportunities, and about the renewal of building leases which he owned in Dover Harbour. Representing Dover as the MP, he also liaised with these individuals to assist their efforts to get Royal Navy protection for certain types of boats coming out of Dover Harbour (pictured below in 1738) which might be threatened by French attacks. But the Navy made it difficult to achieve protection, specifying that only some types of boat, for example trawlers (mainly catching mackerel and herring), qualified, and even then a boat had to have on board at least one crew member who was a Navy-trained able seaman , paid for by the boat's owner. Papillon liaised with the relevant Navy Board personnel, not always successfully, to help his colleagues satisfy these requirements.



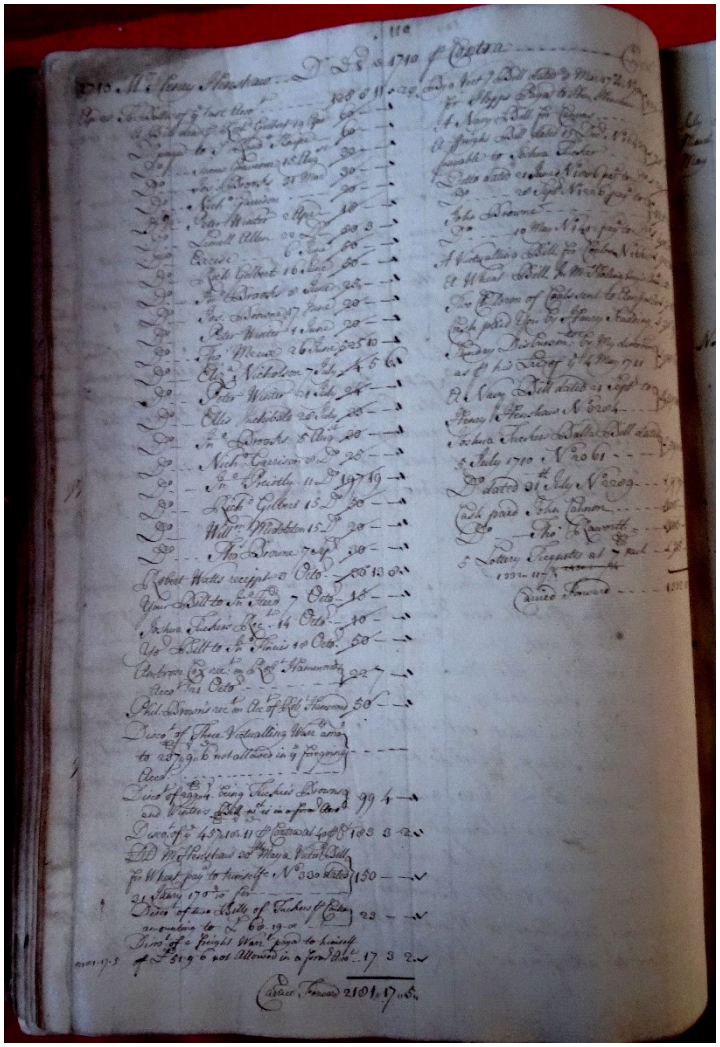
Papillon's main trade in 1710-12 appears to have been in hemp and cloth for the Navy to turn into rope, sails and sailors' clothes. Robert Bruneker and Papillon's relative Thomas Ward represented him in Archangel for the hemp trade. Even today in a probably warmer climate, Archangel is frozen for half the year and with a record low of -45C, so life there in the early eighteenth century must have been tough. Dutch merchants were significant in Archangel and so Papillon organised his affairs accordingly.

[3] In 1697 the method of calculating the land tax had been changed from an amount per acre of property , to one where each county was set a quota for the amount of land tax to be paid.

Archangel 1644

Cargoes of hemp from Archangel for Papillon were not infrequently 200 tons at a time. Foreign exchange for these deals – in Russian roubles or Spanish dollars - was arranged for him by Matthew Chitty of Amsterdam, who ran a clothing company ; he also ran a bank providing and underwriting foreign currency. Papillon's younger son Thomas had what we today would call an internship or apprenticeship with Chitty in his Amsterdam "Compting House"; the older son David had a similar arrangement in Delft. Papillon was particularly keen that his sons should learn not just the trading aspects, but also mercantile accounting. It is notable that accounting speak, and lists of "accompts" pepper the copy book. Papillon had his own intern, Daniel Egmont, whose expense account includes: powder (presumably for his wig) ; a slate and chalk (presumably for writing up frequently changing exchange rates and discount rates for warrants) ; and a large cyphering book (for encoded messages?). In the 6 months he stays with Papillon, Daniel is bled once and has singing lessons.

Papillon has clearly had some grounding in mercantile accounting because the copy book has frequent reckonings ("accompts" as he calls them) of his dealings with business colleagues- an example is below.



Papillon's "accompt" with Henry Henshaw, a nephew

Papillon spends much time with his business partners trading Navy or Victualling warrants, not always it would appear, ones that they yet owned. As we have seen, money to run the Navy was short so a warrant that the Navy would pay for goods or services was just the start of the story. Getting the money was evidently quite difficult, especially as the Navy or Victualling Board would require a warrant presented for payment to be accompanied by its component "imprests" – in modern parlance, budgetary authorisations. Even when a warrant was paid, payment was from 1711 in the form of an allocation of South Sea Company stock (a re-description of Government debt), where the capital could not be retrieved because everything was debt, but there was an annuity at a rate of around 6-8% judging from Papillon's figures, based on the Company's supposed future success, which never materialised, in supposed new South American markets. So it was easier in many ways to pay real bills with these warrants, which could be purchased from the holder at a discount of 30-38% of value depending on how old the warrant was. Papillon not only traded these warrants but advised his colleagues what the latest discount rates were, and which classes of warrant were most likely at any time to be "paid" by the Navy, with special requirements if any. In modern terms, perhaps close to insider trading. On many occasions if

time is pressing and markets are volatile, Papillon suggests they consult the “sheets” at the local coffee house. Much of Papillon’s activities was in effect trading in various forms of

Government debt – no wonder that the “South Sea bubble” (pictured above by a nineteenth century artist) burst a few years later.

There is no evidence that Papillon’s departure from the House of Commons at the end of 1720 was in any way connected with the 1721 purge of officials, Ministers and MP’s who had been involved in the early stages of the South Sea Company and had promoted its stock. Instead Papillon relinquished his seat on appointment as receiver general of stamp duties. Convenient perhaps or evidence of some kind of exoneration?

Papillon gives worldly-wise advice to many of his business colleagues about how to tackle tricky situations. In 1711 such advice is given particularly to his merchant colleague Robert Bruneker, who finds himself on the fringe of the Portsmouth brewing scandal. There seem to have been at least two cases. A brewer was contracted to provide 1400 tuns of beer to the Navy at Portsmouth but only about 200 turned up. In another case: 4482 tuns of beer were delivered but 8217 had been ordered. Bruneker was part of the supply chain and so appears to have fallen under suspicion. Papillon updates him almost daily as to whether any aspects of the investigation “may concern you”. Conveniently it might be thought, Bruneker falls ill with a fever so that his attendance for questioning by the Commissioners is delayed. Then there’s trouble because Capt Whitehall, through whom the beer orders were supposed to have been delivered, accosts Papillon in the street- Papillon immediately writes to Bruneker saying that this is the “critical minute” for him to pay Whitehall. Was this settling of a debt to keep Whitehall happy or was it perhaps payment of a bribe? We have no way of knowing.

Papillon tips another associate Edward Wivell off, that the Victualling investigators are three years behind with the relevant accounts but catching up; he suggests that Wivell may in the meantime wish to reconsider his own three year accounts: perhaps a hint to rewrite them while there was still time?

Papillon has earnest words in 1712 for his young relative Henry Henshaw, who asks Papillon to underwrite a deal he has made with a Mr Isaac Segant of Calais, with the funds drawn on a Paris bank. “Surely you forget that there is an Act of Parliament in force making it treason to hold any correspondence and trade with France, which has not yet been repealed”. Young Henry is told he must have a Dutch not French bank providing funds. Perhaps expecting that Henry will ignore this advice, Papillon goes on to justify his tough advice: “a blott is not a blott till it is hit and some people may steal a horse and others may look on.”

Sometimes Papillon had to be tough with traders who owed him money: his usual, slightly sinister phrase is that if they do not pay their debts, they will find he will use “rougher means” (unspecified). With others- usually James Walker- he advises them “do not fool yourself” that this will end well; or he may say that if a payment is not made, the result will “not be helpful to your reputation”. On other occasions Papillon intervenes to restrain merchants in dispute: a Miss Brandon has to be persuaded that pursuing a case (unspecified) which will ruin her family; and her brother is made to realise that it is futile to quarrel with William Guard about who owes money to whom for a consignment of ship’s biscuits when , to Papillon’s knowledge, they both owe each other money.

The struggle with the Victualling Commissioners

Although doubtless in part motivated by Tory/Whig politics, the 1710 investigation into Papillon by the Victualling Commissioners (their crest shown above) under the aegis of the Navy Board, had some grounds, even viewed three centuries later. They picked 1695 when Thomas Papillon had been a Victualling Commissioner; Philip had been Clerk of the Commissioners; and the Papillon victualling contract in that year amounted to £65,000- something in the order of £4.5 million in 2018 prices. The Commissioners begin by asking Papillon for a breakdown of the contract, itself surprising some 16 years later; he counters that the system of accounting changed after 1695 so it is difficult to provide information in a new format. The Commissioners hit back with 12 questions. Papillon is asked for imprests ie itemised small budget authorisations, for the whole amount; and for tallies in respect of malt, leather and coal. In an era without computer records this must have seemed an almost impossible request. Perhaps the most difficult of the 12 questions is about the commission Papillon and his father paid themselves out of the contract: £2,400 or about £170,000 at today’s prices. Possibly the most intriguing question from the Commissioners is: what is meant by “promiscuous disbursements”!

Papillon provides the Commissioners with a breakdown of his answers to 12 questions, and meanwhile writes to his associates asking them to begin searching for the imprests. He seeks an interview with Edward Harley[4], son of Robert Harley the Lord Treasurer, but there is no evidence from the copy book that this request was successful. When the copy book finishes at the end of 1712, the enquiry is still going on, the hold-up being that the Commissioners still have some queries on Lord Orford's victualling expenses in his Mediterranean campaign. For some reason Papillon is keen for his name and Lord Orford's to be in the same sign –off certificate. Papillon does not seem to have enough clout to talk with the Lord Treasurer himself but he appears to have been in the House of Commons on the day (9 March 1711) when an attempt was made by Count Antoine Guiscard, possibly a demented French/English double agent, on the life of Robert Harley. Harley survived the stabbing (shown below) because the penknife blade hit his breastbone and because he was wearing a thick coat at the time. Papillon thinks that Guiscard mistook Robert Harley for the Duke of Marlborough, also in town at the time, but we cannot find that theory corroborated in other accounts.

Stabbing of Robert Harley- British Museum

A life on the ocean wave

The risks in Navy life are brought out by some of the entries, notably the death of Richard and his brother Edward Clarke in 1711 on *HMS Leopard*, a Royal Navy warship which

[4] This is the Edward Harley who a few decades later gave his father's collection of Anglo Saxon and medieval manuscripts to the Government – the collection comprises a core asset of the British Library to this day.

specialised in attacking and if possible ransoming ships which were either French or bound for French ports. Papillon is handling investments for Richard's widow. No cause for the deaths is given- maybe it was the kind of accident inherent in the frequent attacks by *HMS Leopard* on other vessels. Or they may have died of disease- a separate part of the copy book records the progress through Parliament in January 1711 of the Quarantine Act in respect of ships.

The perils of the sea seem to have been a risk even for leading military men: Papillon records the curious death on 13 July 1711 of Prince Nassau of Friedland, "who drowned when a gust of wind blew his chariot and horse overboard going from the Army to the Hague".

On another occasion Papillon intercedes with a naval contact to save a young boy Samuel King, a carpenter's apprentice, who was captured into slavery by the French on his way to the New World, then rescued, only to be press-ganged by the Royal Navy into a vessel whose Captain Hulberton luckily Papillon knew, so was able to intercede on behalf of the boy's "heart-broken" mother[5].

Papillon's son-in-law James Gunman captained the HMS Weazel (a single deck sloop with 18 guns) and served with Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell and with Admiral John Byng senior, whose son of the same name and rank, born in 1704, was in 1757 to be executed by firing squad for failing to press home an attack on the French garrison at Minorca.

Shovell (pictured) played a prominent part in the wars against the French and worked in 1707 with the army of Prince Eugene of Savoy - Papillon sees the Prince in London and mentions him with much reverence as he had partnered Marlborough at Blenheim in 1704 and Malplaquet in 1709. It would have been recent memory in 1710 for Papillon that Shovell had drowned in the disaster off the Isles of Scilly in 1707 when his fleet hit rocks due to the limitations on navigation at the time. This eventually led to the invention, some decades later, of the ship's chronometer by John Harrison.

In 1711 Papillon's nephew Samuel Ward goes out as a merchant to St George in the East Indies (which was to become Madras under the control of the East India Company).

[5] Under the Recruiting Acts of 1703 and 1708, forcible enlistment into the armed forces of those who did not have visible means of subsistence, was permitted.

Medical matters

Papillon catches a fever twice in the two years covered by the copy book, for several weeks at a time. In addition, on 19 July 1711 he says that the "weather is extreme hot and faint yet notwithstanding I am obliged to be under a small course of physic for fear of the returne of my distemper". It is tempting to wonder whether the fevers arose in the marshy areas of the estate at Acrise but the copy book suggests Papillon was in London when the attacks happened. His colleague Bruneker also had a fever as we have seen but this might have been "political".

Papillon's younger son Thomas catches smallpox in 1711 and has to postpone his internship with Matthew Chitty in Amsterdam by several months. He recovers sufficiently in about a fortnight for a course of bleeding. There is a smallpox outbreak at Acrise in the summer of 1711 and so Papillon stays in London.

The Act against Occasional Conformity

This Act, passed in 1711, is called the " Highchurch bill" by Papillon, who is described in Parliamentary records as a "Low Church Whig". It sought to force those officials thought not to be taking communion in the Church of England regularly, to conform and take an oath. Papillon unsuccessfully moved an amendment to exempt Dutch and French churches. He is very dubious about the Act: "what will be the effect of these things God in Heaven only knows". He does not know at what level of seniority the oath will be required but reckons that officials "think they cannot do too much in that point to ingratiate themselves with those above".

Help to the unfortunate

To balance this account of Papillon as a canny merchant, it should be said that the copy book contains several instances of his charitable works in the Dover area. Papillon asks Anthony Gilpin - the unfortunate estate manager who cannot get anything right- to use his equipment and time to plough the land of one of the tenant farmers who has broken his leg. He helps find a place in Bethlehem Hospital for William Garrett, "a young lusty fellow who is fallen right down mad". He asks the Mayor of Dover to help in the case of John Williams, a boatman who has injured his hand and wishes to retrain as a Tidesman – Navy Board bureaucracy has to be negotiated. In another case, Papillon gets Richard Barber into St Thomas' Hospital for treatment of his back but has to agree to pay in advance the cost of the man being buried if he dies as a result of his treatment.

The estate at Acrise

In 1710-12 Papillon spends most of his time in Essex Street, London, to judge from the copy book. He runs the estate at Acrise Park[6] by letters of instruction to Humphrey Whitwick his Land Agent, and to Anthony Gilpin his Estate Manager. Whitwick is never being tough

[6] There is nothing in the copy book to suggest how big the estate is, but one of Papillon's accounts shows 36 quit rents for the estate.

enough with actual and prospective tenant farmers while Gilpin seems to stumble from one problem to another.

Major issues in the period seem to be how to get a tenant farmer for an area called Burmarsh. People keep disputing the amount of rent required: “I will have my rents” insists Papillon. Even when a tenant is found, there is a dispute about the length of the lease, because Whitwick has not noticed that the incoming tenant has written in three years when it is supposed to be five. Then there is a dispute about the new tenant ensuring there is an adequate supply of hay when the lease ends in autumn 1716.

Anthony Gilpin’s main problem is in arranging adequate productivity to Papillon’s satisfaction, from the “ozier ground”: an area for growing willow, to be cut annually. There also seems to be a problem with arranging a proper earth floor for the barn (first attempt not adequate); suitable lengths of wood for repair of the house (he and John Knott have got the lengths wrong); planting of fillerays and lauretinas[7] (soil preparation not suitable); and sheep to Smithfield Market (why has one died). Gilpin at least manages to arrange periodic consignments of pigeon, turkey and geese (we are not told whether dead or alive) from the estate to be taken up to London by coach, along with baskets of “codlings”, (pictured below) which are also delivered for sale to Whitstable via Canterbury. Codlings were a sweet cooking apple well liked in the eighteenth century and still available today. [8]He is also able to arrange for cereal crops to be sewn adequately (are you keeping an eye on the best wheat prices asks Papillon); and he ensures that oats from the tenant farmers are, as Papillon requires, “sweet and dry,not musty”. He manages the 120 lambs and 150 ewes on the estate and gets the mutton ready for the time when there are the best prices as Papillon wishes. He also seems to do well in balancing the stock cattle between lean and fat.

But the low point is reached in 1712 when somehow Gilpin has allowed Papillon’s favourite horse High German to go lame: “surprized” is Papillon’s word for really angry! This is not the first time he has neglected to use a “Dover waggon” for the horses in view of the terrible state of the roads- a topic which crops up frequently in the copy book. In the Acrise area they are virtually impassable from the end of September and worse than that in December 1711 there is an outbreak of highway robberies on the London roads. To add to

[7] These were evergreen flowering trees used in the eighteenth century for landscape gardens.
[8] Papillon is insistent about composting of the orchard.

the trouble with horses, an ash- coloured horse has been stolen and Papillon will look out for it in Smithfield market.

It is clear that Papillon came down to Acrise occasionally to see to oversee arrangements with the local vicar, whose living at Hougham[9] (church of St James) near Dover was determined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or "His Grace" as Papillon refers to him. In 1712 when John Taylor suddenly resigned from the living , Archbishop Thomas Tenison was in office; his main claim to fame being that earlier in his career, in 1687, he had officiated at the funeral service for Nell Gwynne. For some reason a new vicar had to be installed really quickly and this appears to have been done in three days flat, the Archbishop having acted , as Papillon says, with "every speed imaginable" to appoint a Mr Edward Hobbs and have him arrive in his parish, within that time. He served as the local vicar for the next 50 years.

Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Tenison

The puzzle of the "Poles"

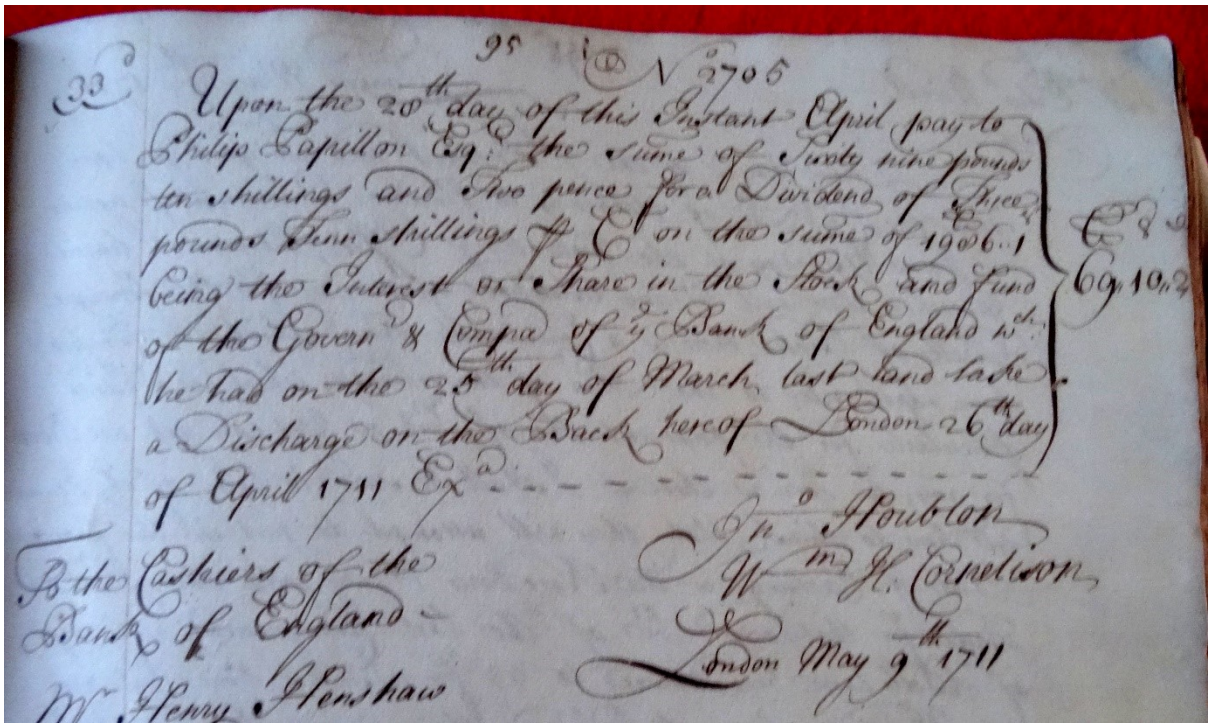
At the end of the copy book are several pages of tables entitled "Schedule of Poles in the City of London for Lord Mayors, Sheriffs and Parliament men". The voting results are listed from 1690 to 1710. It is not clear from the copy book what reason Papillon had for keeping this data: perhaps he was just interested. This same interest appears in his account of the Bank of England election results on 10 April 1711. Papillon tells Edward Wivell that Gould (Governor) and Rudge[10] (Deputy Governor) have won the election with 975 and 955 votes respectively; the other candidates –Bateman (Governor) and Dolliffe (Deputy Governor) – got 531 and 540 each. Papillon comments that 1500 voted in the election ; perhaps 2400 will now vote in the forthcoming election for 24 Directors of the Bank , but of those " it is computed maybe 400 will be sick or out of towne".

The election of Nathaniel Gould as Governor of the Bank of England was remarkable even by the standards of the time: he was a ship builder based at Shoreham, Sussex who had been

[9] Papillon writes it phonetically as Huffham

[10] Papillon clearly writes Ridge but he means Rudge, who served as Deputy Governor to Gould 1711-13 and then succeeded Gould as Governor 1713-15. Papillon was probably thinking of the Ridge who was implicated in the Portsmouth brewing scandal.

expelled from the House of Commons for blatant bribery in the Parliamentary elections, but had been re-elected nevertheless. After serving two years (1711-13) as Governor he prospered under the Hanoverians, being knighted in 1721. Below is one of the many copies of Bank of England cheques which Papillon reproduces in the copy book:


95 No 2706

33

Upon the 20th day of this Instant April pay to Philip Papillon Esq: the Sume of Sixty nine pounds ten shillings and two pence for a Dividend of Three pounds Ten shillings p Cent on the Sume of 1906.1 being the Interest on Share in the Stock and Fund of the Govern & Compa of ye Bank of England wch he has on the 25th day of March last and take a Discharge on the Back hereof London 26th day of April 1711 Exd

69.10.2

To the Cashiers of the Bank of England

Mr Henry Plenshaw

Jn° Houblon

Wm H. Cornelison

London May 9th 1711

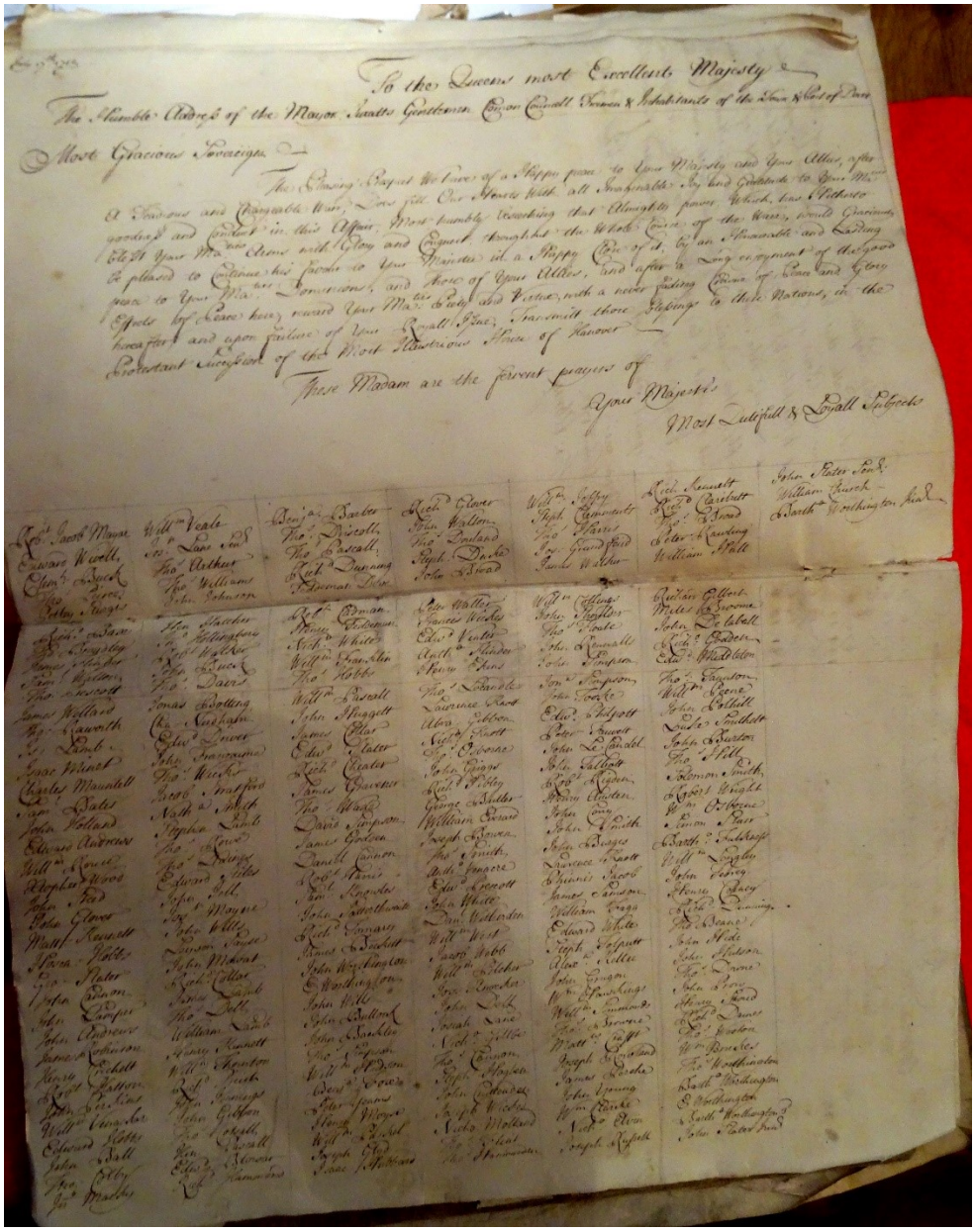
The Loyal Address

Also at the back of the copy book is a copy of a Loyal Address dated 17 July 1712, to Queen Anne from the citizens of Dover.

The background was that the House of Commons had made a similar resolution on May 31st, to which the Queen had replied: "I thank you heartily for your kind and honest resolutions that are very seasonable at this time in regard that there is a party among us who use their utmost endeavours to obstruct the making of an honourable and lasting peace and would feign force us to accept disadvantageous terms". She is referring to a group of Whigs in the House of Lords which had opposed the War of the Spanish Succession; the War had divided opinion across the party lines of Tory and Whig, such as they were at the time. It would seem that Papillon and his colleagues belonged to a group which favoured the war but wanted to be sure that a deal would not be done at the Congress of Utrecht which would be damaging to Spain's interests. It was in Dover's interests that the power of France be confined.

This is why the copy book's exchanges between Papillon and his associates suggest that they decided to delay Dover's Loyal Address until they were sure that the terms of the peace would be satisfactory for trade. The Dover Loyal Address reads as follows, with the convoluted wording of the time:

“The pleasing prospect we have of a happy peace to your Majesty and your allies after a tedious and changeable war, does fill our hearts with all imaginable joy and gratitude to your Majesty’s goodness and conduct in this affair, most humbly beseeching that Almighty power which has hitherto blest your Majesty’s arms with glory and conquest throughout the whole course of the war, would graciously be pleased to continue His favour to your Majestie in a happy close of it, by an honourable and lasting peace for your Majesty’s dominions and those of your allies , after a long enjoyment of the good effects of peace here, reward your Majesty’s piety and virtue with a never fading crowne of peace and glory hereafter and upon failure of your royal issue, transmit these blessings to the nations in the Protestant succession of the most illustrious House of Hanover. These, Madam, are the fervent prayers of your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects”



The references to the House of Hanover and failure of issue in the Loyal Address goes back to the 1701 Act of Settlement. This Act was prompted by the death in 1700 of Prince William of Gloucester, the last surviving child of the then Princess Anne (out of 17 pregnancies), who was herself the last surviving Stuart in the line of succession. The Act of Settlement removed from the succession some 50, mainly Roman Catholic, individuals whom Parliament thought would be unacceptable successors to Anne when she became Queen. This left the Electress Sofia of Hanover as the heir. She died, aged 84, just 6 weeks before Queen Anne in 1714. Sofia's son became George I.

The Dover Loyal Address has 225 names below it, including many of Papillon's associates such as Richard Bax and Edward Wivell. But Papillon's name is not among them. This seems odd as the exchanges show he organised the address. Perhaps he thought it unnecessary to reproduce his own name in his own private copy? Did he decide not to sign as he was still under a cloud from the victualling investigation?

Philip Papillon's subsequent career

Papillon must have been cleared, or at least been given the benefit of the doubt, by the Victualling Commissioners, because he remains an MP until 1720 and there is no evidence of a prosecution or a major fine. He became Receiver of the Stamp Duties 1720-23. He lost his sight around 1730 according to some accounts- perhaps too much time writing his copy books by candlelight- and died in 1736. He was succeeded at Acrise by his son David.

Adrian and Sarah Hall

25 January 2018

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History of the House of Commons ed D Hayton

Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain

Philip Papillon 1660-1736