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# DAVID PAPILLON: ARCHITECT, MILITARY ENGINEER, DEVELOPER, AUTHOR AND JEWELLER

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Despite entries in both Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, David Papillon barely receives even a footnote in the literature of English architecture of the early modern period<sup>1</sup>. On the face of it, this is hardly surprising. None of the buildings that he designed survive to enable an informed judgement to be made of his architectural achievements. However, there is sufficient documentary and graphic evidence to recognise him as a substantial figure in the building world in the first half of the seventeenth century and we even have two portraits commissioned towards the end of his life to know what he looked like.<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1) A thoroughly researched family history was published in 1887 which provides a reliable account of his career and draws on a number of records that are no longer available.<sup>3</sup> There is also an incomplete typescript of an unpublished biography in the Leicestershire County Record Office written around 1903. The author is not named but it was presumably a descendant with access to family documents which contained much additional information on his life.<sup>4</sup>

His early life was quite dramatic. He was born in France on 14 April 1581, the younger son of the Captain of the Guard to the future King Henri IV. In the face of Protestant persecution, his mother fled the country in 1588 but her boat was sunk off the coast of Kent. She drowned but the seven-year-old David and his two sisters were rescued and they were brought up in the French community in



Fig. 1. David Papillon aged 73.  
(Leicestershire County Museums Services)

London. In 1597 he was apprenticed to a master jeweller and on the completion of his apprenticeship in 1604 he left England in the company of Philip Burlamachi, a merchant and dealer in precious stones, on a European tour to study contemporary fortifications which was to have a major influence on his later career. After a brief period of service as a mercenary with the Imperial army he returned to

London in 1609 and went into lodgings at St Giles where he set up in business trading in jewels.<sup>5</sup> A book of letters and accounts for the period from 1609 to 1612 shows that most of his dealings were with his brother-in-law, David Chambralan, who was based in Rouen but he was also in touch with the Calandrini family of jewellers who had similarly fled to London from religious persecution in Italy.<sup>6</sup> Papillon became a deacon of the French church in London and in 1611 he married Marie Castel, the daughter of the Pastor. She died in childbirth in 1614 and shortly afterwards he married Anna-Maria Calandrini who was the sister-in-law of Burlamachi. He continued to deal in precious stones and in 1629 he was sent on an expedition with Burlamachi to sell the King's jewels in Holland. In the letter from Lord Dorchester which commissioned the venture he was described as 'M.Papillon, jeweller, in London'.<sup>7</sup>

But it was in the London world of building that Papillon really made his name. No doubt funded by the profits to be made from the jewellery trade, he was involved with a number of housing developments in the City and the suburbs including

projects in St Giles, Islington and Finsbury. In 1615, after his second marriage, he moved south of the river from Islington to Roehampton House at Putney where the Burlamachis were living.<sup>8</sup> In 1620 he built himself a large brick house with projecting wings at Elm Grove, Roehampton, which was rated at twenty hearths in the 1660s and was later extended by James Gibbs. Papillon only lived in it for two years before selling it to George Heriot, the Scottish goldsmith and founder of Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh who had moved to London as Jeweller to King James I. Papillon then immediately built another house in Roehampton called the Great House where one of his sons was born in 1623. He sold that in 1625 to Sir Richard Weston, first earl of Portland and Lord High Treasurer to King Charles I, who employed Balthazar Gerbier to carry out some interior alterations and to create a garden.<sup>9</sup> By 1674 it was the highest rated house in Surrey with 56 hearths. At the same time Papillon built another house close by which was demolished ninety years later to be replaced by Thomas Archer's Roehampton House. This frantic spell of building three large houses in a

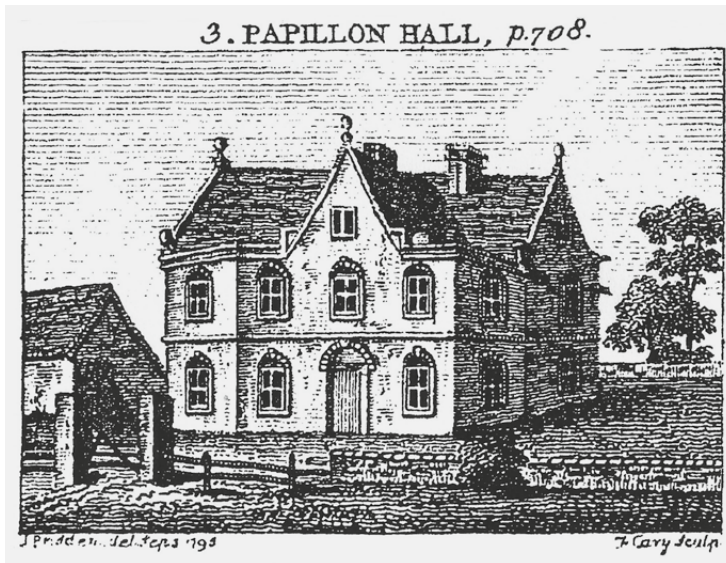


Fig. 2. Papillon Hall in 1798. Engraving from Nichols' *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*.

single parish over a period of only five years marked Papillon out as a property speculator on a grand scale and established Roehampton as a favoured country retreat for wealthy courtiers and jewellers. It is a great pity that no images of any of them survive. He almost certainly designed all three of them himself and all of them were built by Bartholomew Bennett, a local bricklayer.<sup>10</sup>

The profits from their sale enabled Papillon to purchase a country estate in 1627 for £2010 at Lubbenham in Leicestershire, though he seems to have continued his London developments with properties in Moorfields and Islington.<sup>11</sup> The house that he built at Lubbenham, and which he proudly named Papillon Hall, seems to have been more in the contemporary idiom of a lodge than the gentleman's villas that he was building in Roehampton. It cost him in excess of £800 to build together with its garden, orchard and walks.<sup>12</sup> It was octagonal in plan and surrounded by a moat with a central gatehouse. Its singular appearance is illustrated by an engraving published by John Nichols in 1798 in the second volume of his *History and Antiquities of the County*

*of Leicester*<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 2) and a mid-eighteenth century drawing formerly at Acrise Place in Kent where Papillon's family moved in the late seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 3) The rather stark drawing shows the canal-like moat planted with a double row of trees on its outer bank and the gatehouse in the form of two small pavilions flanking shaped iron gates. In the Nichols engraving each of the four gables of the cruciform roof culminated in ball finials with additional balls at either end of the two roof platforms on the entrance front facing south. There were two further platforms on the north front and these were presumably decorated with balls as well. Nichols described the house as having

‘...formerly only one entrance, with very strong work in the windows. The rooms within were so curiously planned, that each had a communication with the next, so that a person could go through them all without returning through the same door. The slated part of the roof is in the form of a cross, with large leaded spaces in the intervals; whence there is a pleasant view of the neighbourhood, as the house stands on high ground.’<sup>15</sup>

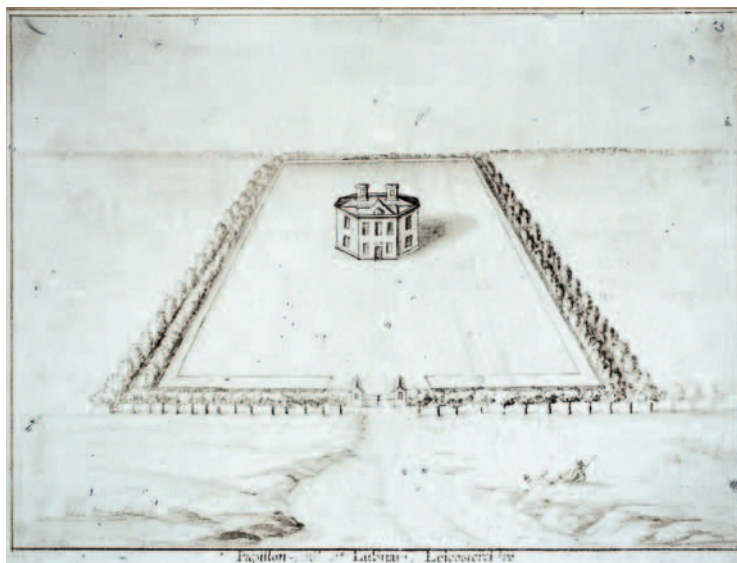


Fig. 3. Drawing of Papillon Hall before the alterations made c.1780. (*Leicestershire County Record Office, DE2221/59*)

It seems that access to the views from the roof was deliberately intended to be a surprise for his guests, for we are told that

‘The roof is approached by steps from a room below; the aperture and steps being concealed in the wainscot. This room is unapproachable except by a flight of narrow steps shut in at the foot by a door which opens on to a landing upon the top story.’<sup>16</sup>

The lead flats were ‘marked with numerous outlines of hands and feet, with initials of various members of the Papillion family and dates’.<sup>17</sup> These were clearly personal mementos but they also might have had an apotropaic function to ward off evil spirits. A later owner of the house noted that

‘...it is reported in Lubenham that [Papillon] was skilled in the Black Art & was gifted with second sight. This might be accounted for by the fact that he was evidently much in advance of his age & one can understand the impression which a foreigner suddenly appearing in a quiet country place & building such an extraordinary house as Papillon Hall must then have been, would be likely to make upon his simple neighbours.’<sup>18</sup>

The house was sold out of the Papillon family in 1764, and some time after 1780 George Bosworth ‘added some rooms at the north-west corner of the house, entirely altered the ground floor, took away the stone mullions from all the windows, excepting the one in the east attic, and put in sash windows’.<sup>19</sup>

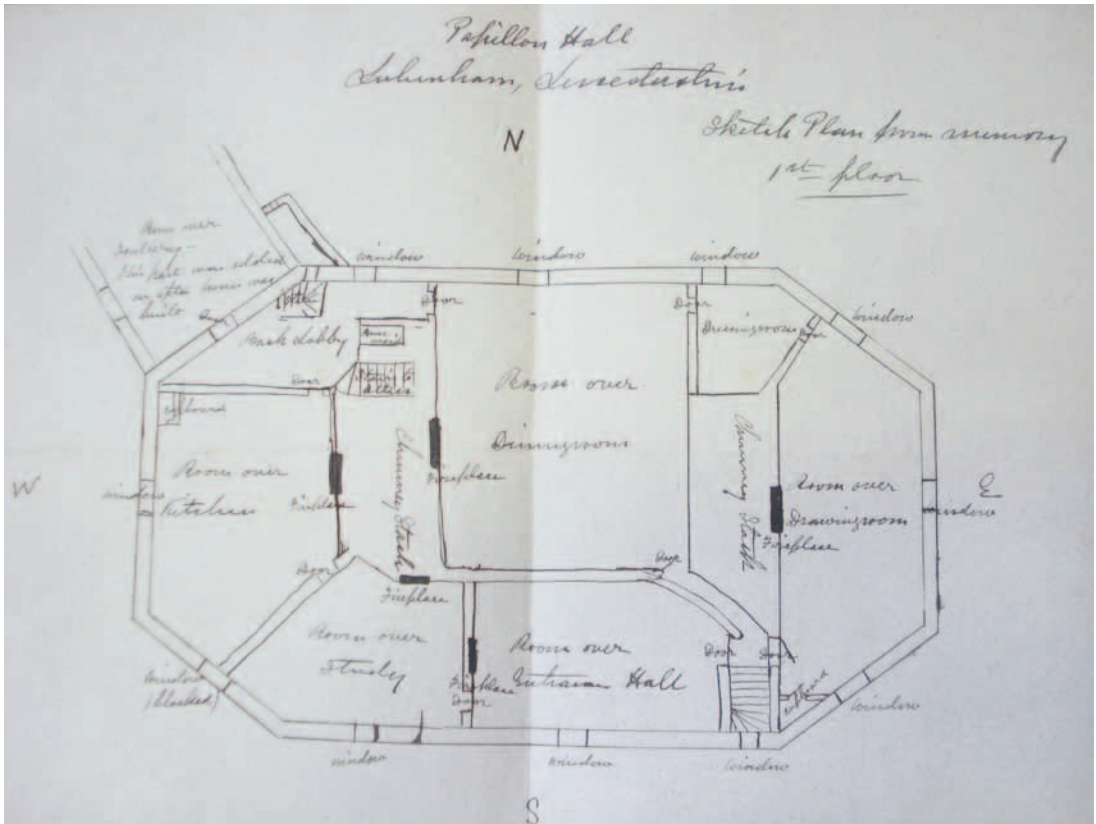


Fig. 4. Papillon Hall first floor plan. (Leicestershire County Record Office, DE2221/23)



He must also have re-landscaped the immediate setting to create the more rustic view shown in the Nichols engraving. Despite these alterations a flavour of the original arrangements can be gained from a sketch of the first floor plan drawn ‘from memory’ in 1903 by Charles Walker who had owned the house in the later nineteenth century and which shows the circulation from room to room noted by Nichols.<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 4) Walker made his sketch shortly after the house had been bought by Frank Belville, who commissioned Lutyens to enlarge it by the addition of four angled wings which gave it an appropriate butterfly plan. Sadly, it was demolished in 1950.<sup>21</sup>

On his new country estate, Papillon pursued his cultivated interests in theology and politics and established himself in county society with the office of Treasurer of Leicestershire. He was particularly taken by the sermons of the Puritan Robert Bolton, Rector of St Andrew, Broughton, in the neighbouring county of Northamptonshire. Bolton died in 1633, and in Papillon’s first will drawn up on 7 July 1635 he left a bequest for the printing of four books by Bolton which he had translated into French.<sup>22</sup> A tantalising glimpse of his architectural renown at this period is offered by a letter of 7 July 1636 from his brother-in-law Pompee Calandrini which reported that Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, thanked Papillon for his ‘sage advis & conseil touchant le bastiment’ and wished to consult him further on improvements to his house at Milcote, Warwickshire, to which he had recently moved for reasons of economy from his principal seat at Copthall in Essex.<sup>23</sup> It is not clear what Papillon’s advice involved but in 1638 Nicholas Stone provided Cranfield with a ‘plot’ for Milcote and it can be assumed that he was envisaging major works for which he was soliciting ideas from within his select cultural circle.<sup>24</sup> During this period, Papillon designed and built at least two other houses in the Midlands for his own use, in 1635 at Northampton where he sometimes resided,<sup>25</sup> and in 1642 on land near the south gate of Leicester where

he ‘built a “bricke house” and two cottages to serve as his headquarters when his presence might be required for business purposes in the county, after he had left his house’.<sup>26</sup>

During the Civil War Papillon took the parliamentary side and, using the experience that he had gained on his European tour many years previously, he published in 1645 *A Practical Abstract of the Arts of Fortification and Assailling* ... with a dedication to Sir Thomas Fairfax. This established his reputation as a military engineer, and in the following year he fortified Gloucester and Leicester and offered advice for the defence of Northampton. Something of his personality and his business acumen comes across in the surviving correspondence in connection with the commission for improving the defences of Gloucester.<sup>27</sup> He arrived in the city on 4 April 1646 and prepared a detailed specification of the extent of the necessary works and how they were to be carried out. It provides a vivid picture of how an experienced building developer went about his work. He set out the exact size of the labour force – 140 men to include six carpenters, twelve masons and four overseers. He recommended that they should be drawn from the countryside rather than using ‘unreasonable’ city workers, presumably in an attempt to evade the controls of the guild system. He specified appropriate wage rates and the provision that should be made for lodging the workmen. He identified sources for the supply of materials and the arrangements that should be made for supervision. He even proposed a method of funding the project through the raising of a local rate. It is clear that he had a very high opinion of his own abilities and he treated the City Council with a degree of arrogance. Not surprisingly they responded with prevarication. They failed to pay him his fee and as the estimated costs rose from £500 to £4000 over the course of three months, events elsewhere ensured that the project ground to a halt with bitterness on both sides and the work only partially completed.

With Oxford falling to Parliament in June 1646 and the capture of the King, Papillon's military expertise was no longer required, and he busied himself over the next two years preparing a manuscript for publication on *Several Political and Military Observations* which was essentially a discussion on government and which advocated moderation rather than radical change. This was followed in 1651 by another book on *The Vanity of the Lives and Passions of Men* which was described by his later biographer as 'rather abstruse' in style but evincing 'considerable knowledge of history – scriptural, ancient and modern'.<sup>28</sup>

In that same year his near neighbour Sir Justinian Isham inherited Lamport Hall, just over the county border in Northamptonshire. Isham had scholarly interests in mathematics, science and the classics and was one of the earliest Fellows of the Royal Society. Although he had taken the King's side during the Civil War he enjoyed a close intellectual relationship with Papillon which extended to lengthy discussions on the books that they lent each other. The house that Isham had inherited had been built around 1570 and remodelled in 1610. On taking up residence he immediately began to contemplate extending it by the addition of a new wing to provide more bedrooms and rooms for entertainment. Not unnaturally he turned to his neighbour for advice, and in May 1652 Papillon sent him a long letter about the project and accompanied it with three plans. The letter was in French but the plans were annotated in English.<sup>29</sup> Two of them were designs to extend the existing house in accordance with Isham's fairly modest intentions. The first was a perfunctory and rather incoherent scheme which would have given him a hall on the garden side plus two additional parlours or bedchambers, one with a corner fireplace and the other facing the orchard in a narrower bay to one side of a grand staircase.<sup>30</sup> The second was a much more worked-up scheme which he annotated as a 'corp de logis'. It offered similar accommodation on the ground floor with a

hall, two bedchambers and a staircase. (Fig. 5) The most striking feature of this plan is the three great semi-circular projections, each containing three separate windows to light either end of the hall and the principal bed chamber. There was also an arched door leading from the hall into the staircase compartment.<sup>31</sup> Quite how this plan related to the existing house is not clear, and one suspects that Papillon had not given this crucial element much consideration. What he really wanted was something far more ambitious – nothing less than a completely fresh start. In his letter he urged Isham to pull the old house down, claiming that it was badly sited, had only one room fit to receive 'des personnes d'honneur', and, most damning of all, was a 'structure si fort repugnant aux reigles de l'art'.<sup>32</sup>

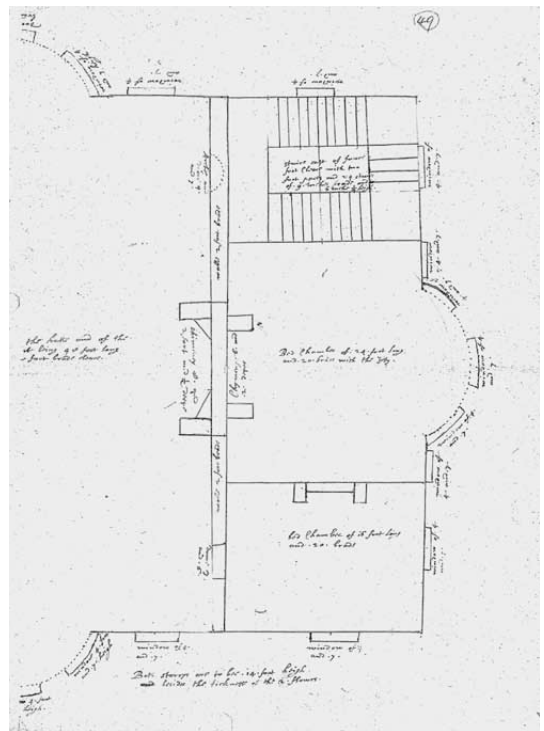


Fig. 5. Lamport Hall. Papillon's plan for an extension to the existing house. (Northamptonshire County Record Office, IL30799 A49)

To remedy these perceived defects he proposed that Isham should start again on a new site and presented him with a detailed ground plan of a brand new house.<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 6) Unfortunately there was no plan of the upper storey nor were there any elevations. However, Papillon's lengthy annotations make it possible to attempt a plausible reconstruction of the basic elements of the design.

The plan was 60 feet square with a 1:3:1 rhythm of fenestration on its two principal elevations. The entrance front was orientated to the south specifically to enjoy the distant views of the village of Brixworth with its Anglo-Saxon church. There is no service accommodation shown on the ground plan, so it must have been raised above a semi-basement. The side elevations were articulated by central shallow

curved bays which Papillon described as 'compass windows' and which lit the two principal reception rooms in the centre of the house. Unlike the bows on the two previous plans which were punctuated by individual windows set in solid walls, these were fully glazed across their twenty-foot width. Presumably this feature was repeated on the upper storey to light the major chambers above. Both principal storeys were fourteen feet high and four banks of chimneystacks rose symmetrically above the roof.

The ground floor plan was an advanced triple pile with a central glide running through the middle of the house and two opposing staircases placed to one side of the main and garden entrances. The hall was 38 feet long and twenty feet wide and was entered through a panelled screen with a central

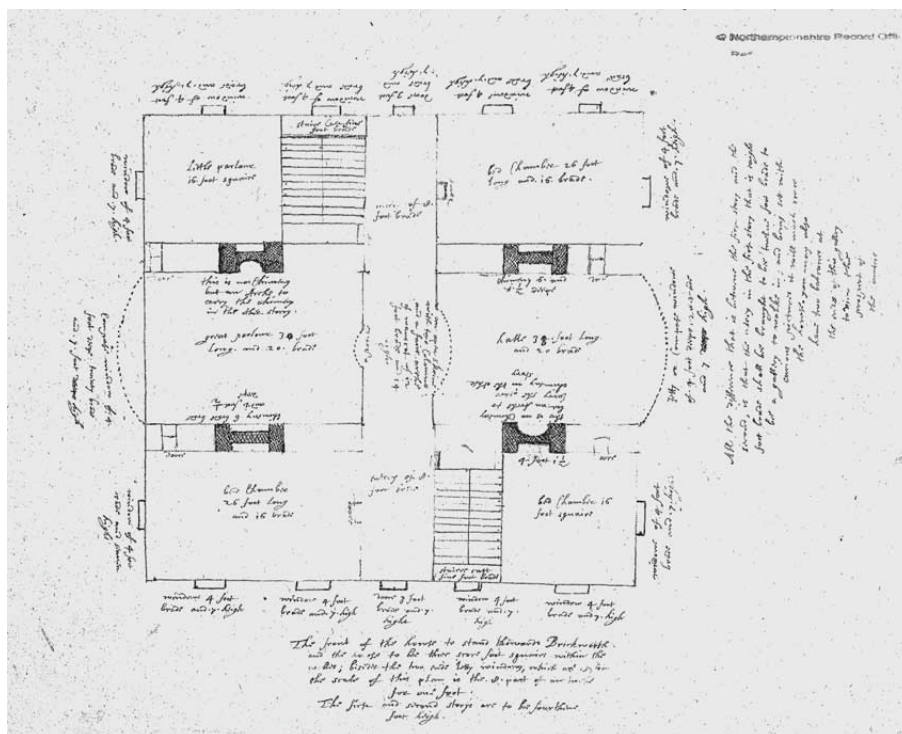


Fig. 6. Lampport Hall. Papillon's plan for a new house (Northamptonshire County Record Office, IL30799 A47).



arch framed by columns. Papillon described it as an ‘open skrine’ and it is likely that it was in the form of a *serliana*. It was heated by a fireplace on the north wall with an arched recess facing it on the opposite wall. On the other side of the central corridor was the Great Parlour entered through an arched door described as a ‘porche’ which complemented the hall screen and it also had a matching decorative niche on the opposite wall to the fireplace. Another, more intimate, parlour sixteen-foot square was placed in the north-west corner of the house with a bedchamber of similar proportions in the south-east corner. Two larger bedchambers were situated in the opposing corners to the north-east and the south-west. Apart from the central corridor there was a secondary circulation route through all the rooms on the perimeter of the house, echoing the arrangement noted by Nichols at Papillon Hall.

There is no indication on Papillon’s plan as to which of the two staircases was the principal means of access to the first floor. They were of similar proportions and landed at opposite ends of the central gallery which ran for the full extent of the house from front to rear. In his specification, Papillon described it as ‘... a gallery to walke in; and being sett with curious pictures it will much grace the house. You may also have two balconis at the side of this gallery to view the prospect of the Countrie.’ Thus it had a triple purpose; for exercise, for the enjoyment of the views and – in celebration of Isham’s fame as a collector – a picture gallery. Given its location in the centre of the house, it must have had some form of natural lighting at its mid-point, possibly in the form of a lantern or cupola such as characterised a number of other contemporary houses. There is no information in Papillon’s notes for the form of the roof. Given the square plan it might have been hipped with a central flat to provide a viewing platform, though access from the gallery below would have been difficult to contrive and such a roof form would present problems in addressing the upper parts of the curved bays on the east and west elevations.

The evidence from another drawing by Papillon, to be discussed below, suggests that he might have intended a gabled roof. In that case the compass windows could have terminated in a balustrade with a lead flat in front of a recessed gable which would have offered the opportunity for roof top viewing platforms to east and west to complement the views to the north and south enjoyed by the gallery balconies. Such an arrangement was drawn by John Thorpe for Sir John Danvers’s house in Chelsea and would conform with Papillon’s own house at Lubbenham as described by Nichols.<sup>34</sup>

The nearest parallel to the plan for Lamport is the near-contemporary Thorpe Hall, near Peterborough, built in 1653–6 by Peter Mills for Cromwell’s Chief Justice, Oliver St John. Although considerably larger than Papillon’s design, it has a similar triple-pile plan with a central glide and a perimeter circulation route. However, the principal reception rooms are at the corners and the grand staircase rises from the centre. Papillon almost certainly knew Mills from their common interests in the London building world, but whether they exchanged architectural ideas is not known. The most remarkable element of the Lamport plan is the two great compass windows on the east and west elevations. It is difficult to think of mid-seventeenth-century parallels for these distinctive features. Projecting canted and semi-circular windows had been popular decorative motifs of Elizabethan and Jacobean country houses of the previous generation, and there were a number of examples in the neighbourhood for Papillon to draw on such as Rushton Hall, Kirby Hall, Lilford Hall in Northamptonshire and Hinchinbrooke House in Huntingdonshire. But none of them had the restrained gentle curve that was proposed for Lamport. The two great three-storeyed bow windows which flank the entrance front of Burton Agnes Hall in Yorkshire are perhaps the closest exemplars. This house which was built between 1601 and 1610 was almost certainly designed by Robert

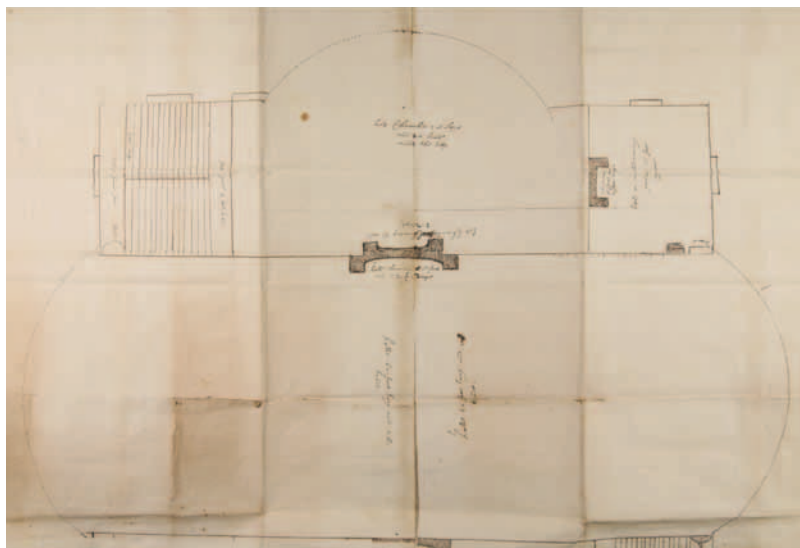


Fig. 7. Partial ground floor plan for Lamport Hall. (*Kent History and Library Centre, U1015 E3*)

Smythson, and when Celia Fiennes visited it in 1697 she described these prominent features as ‘Compass windows’ using exactly the same term as Papillon for his Lamport plan.<sup>35</sup>

The three plans that Papillon sent to Isham were the final outcome of a lengthy process of experimentation which was recorded in a batch of six further drawings that he kept amongst his own papers and that are now deposited in the Kent Record Office.<sup>36</sup> They have been catalogued as rough plans for Papillon Hall, but as none of them exhibit the distinctive octagonal form that he adopted for his own house this is unlikely and it is probable that they are all preliminary stages in the evolution of the Lamport proposals. Most of them show him exploring the conceit of bow windows in various ways. One is an outline plan of the hall and dining room with bows at either end punctuated by five windows four feet wide and seven feet tall with the option of the central opening functioning as a door. Two of them relate directly to the ‘corps de logis’ plan that he sent to Isham with the staircase

and the fireplaces in identical locations and an arched door leading from the hall into the staircase. (Fig. 7) The hall has similar bows at either end as does the central bedchamber on the ground floor and the great parlour above. Two further plans illustrate the ground and first floor of a triple-pile rectangular house with subsidiary flanking wings which can be read as a preliminary design for the new house that he proposed at Lamport. On the ground floor plan the major differences are the placing of the hall to one side of the entrance front and the great parlour in one of the wings and the location of the two staircases in the corners of the garden front. There is no outer circulation route through the rooms and all the chimneys are placed on a central spine. Most strikingly, the two great bows are omitted. (Fig. 8) However, on the first floor plan the entrance elevation is dominated by a central bow which embraced the full width of the dining room extending from front to rear in place of the gallery on the plan submitted to Isham. (Fig. 9)

Included in this collection of drawings is an

Fig. 8. Ground floor plan for house with flanking wings. Possibly a preliminary proposal for Lampport Hall. (*Kent History and Library Centre, U1015 E3*)

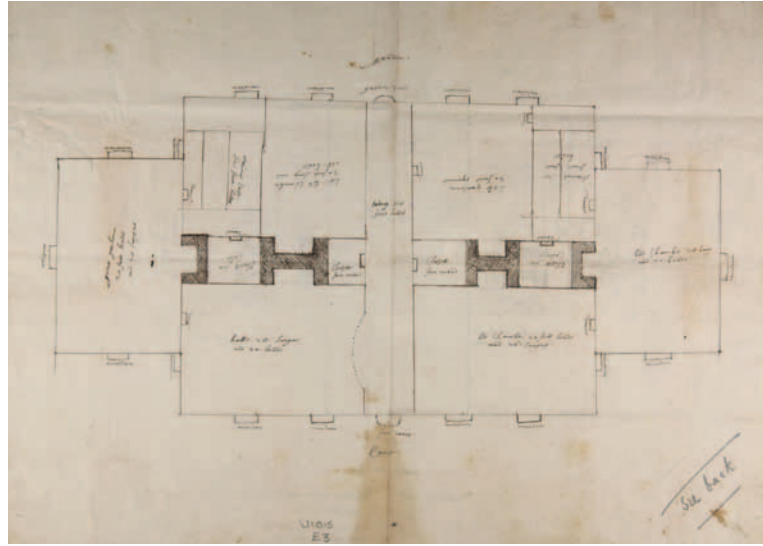
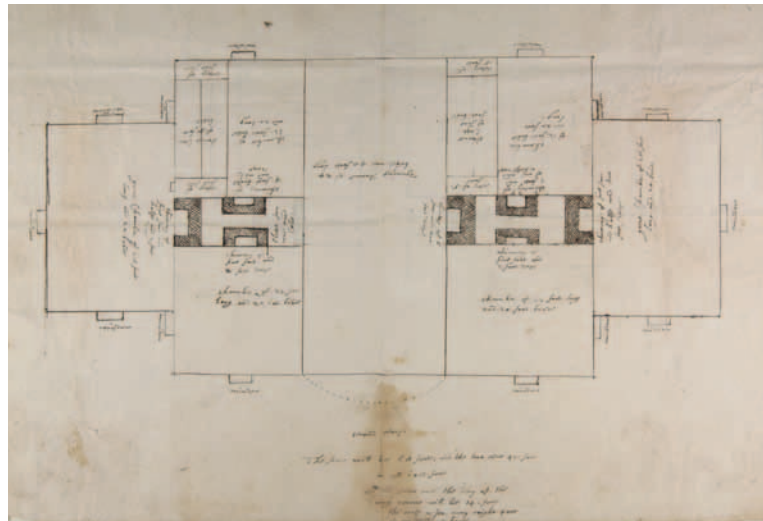


Fig. 9. First floor plan for house with flanking wings. Possibly a preliminary proposal for Lampport Hall. (*Kent History and Library Centre, U1015 E3*)



elevation for a five bay house with triple gables which seems to be related to the rectangular plan minus the flanking wings. If this is the case it probably shows a modified proposal for the garden front rather than the entrance elevation as the central door case is without emphasis and there is no central bow.<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 10) It is quite feasible that this is a preliminary elevation to accompany the plan that he sent to Isham. Despite the comparatively advanced

form of either of the triple-pile plans, the elevation is somewhat old-fashioned in appearance with its gabled roofline capped by the ball finials which were a feature of Papillon Hall. The moulded 'corniche and frieze' which articulated the storeys would have given it a more fashionable air which would have been re-inforced on the entrance front by a suitably decorated door case and the first floor balcony to the gallery specified on the Lampport plan. There are two



Fig. 10. Elevation of 5 bay house. Possibly related to preliminary proposals for Lamport Hall. (*Kent History and Library Centre, U1015 E3*)

further part elevations in the Kent collection which show Papillon experimenting with shaped gables capped by pediments as an alternative treatment for the roofline.

Taken together as they surely must be, the two collections of drawings provide a rare glimpse of the way that the design of a single house evolved in the creative mind of a highly cultured architect in the mid-seventeenth century. They show him toying with various internal arrangements and external features before finally settling on what he considered was a suitable plan to meet the requirements of his friend and neighbour. His evident obsession with projecting bows was finally resolved on the two side elevations and the satisfaction that he felt with the finished design clearly shines through in the letter that he wrote to Isham. The whole process was fully in accord with the advice to potential builders that Sir Roger Pratt recorded in his notebook on 4 July 1660:

‘First resolve with yourself what house will be answerable to your purse and estate, and after you

have pitched upon the number of the rooms and the dimensions of each, and desire in some measure to make use of whatsoever you have either observed, or heard to be excellent elsewhere, then if you be not able to handsomely contrive it yourself, get some ingenious gentleman who has seen much of that kind abroad and been somewhat versed in the best authors of Architecture: viz. Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio etc. to do it for you, and to give you a design of it in paper, though but roughly drawn, (which will generally fall out better than one which shall be given you by a home-bred Architect for want of his better experience, as is daily seen)...’<sup>38</sup>

From his correspondence with Isham and his literary output, we can be certain that Papillon had an extensive library, but it is unknown whether it contained any of the architectural texts referred to by Pratt. The plan for Lamport suggests a familiarity with Palladio and, perhaps, Serlio. His obsession with compass windows together with his strong French connections make it plausible that he also owned the works of du Cerceau. The geometrical



Fig. 11. Lampport Hall, west front. John Webb's extension of 1654-7 flanked by additions of 1732 and 1741 by Francis and William Smith (*Malcolm Airs*).

form of Papillon Hall indicates a sympathy with the culture of conceits and devices that delighted the minds of his English contemporaries, and his experiments with triangular and shaped gables demonstrate an awareness of some of the London suburban villas that were being built at the same time as his Roehampton developments. In the absence of any surviving evidence for the appearance of those three villas, it is not possible to speculate any further on his contribution to the development of English architecture in the first half of the seventeenth century. All we know is that his advice was solicited by prospective builders such as Cranfield and Isham.

The documents are silent on the reasons why Isham rejected Papillon's proposal. Possibly it was too ambitious for a patron who had recently been fined £1000 for his delinquency and who needed to provide dowries for the four daughters of his first marriage. It might have been a matter of political

etiquette whilst memories of the Civil War were still fresh. Perhaps Isham resented the critical tone of Papillon's letter even though the two men remained on friendly terms in their later correspondence.<sup>39</sup> Or was it simply a matter of architectural taste, for Isham subsequently turned to John Webb who provided him with an extension to the old house with a pronounced Italianate flavour reminiscent of Inigo Jones's Banqueting House but, alas, with none of its panache and flair? The upper windows sit uncomfortably on the tops of the windows below and the central pediment was a curiously reticent feature looking like the afterthought that it was. Its later replacement, first by Francis Smith in the 1730s and then by Henry Hakewill in the 1820s shows just how unsatisfactory later Ishams felt it to be.<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 11)

As far as can be ascertained, the proposal for Lampport was Papillon's last architectural project. By the summer of 1658 he was suffering from ill



health and had drawn up a new will.<sup>41</sup> He died in the following March after a remarkable life which embraced so many other disciplines in addition to his architectural prowess as ‘an ingenious gentleman’. The exceptionally fine oil portrait illustrates his rise in social status from orphaned émigré to a respected member of county society. His business acumen as a jeweller and property speculator provided the foundation for his later career as an architect and engineer. His intellectual curiosity and something of his personality can be glimpsed in his publications and his correspondence. None of his buildings survive but his plans for Lamport demonstrate an architectural talent that deserves recognition alongside his better-known contemporaries. (Fig. 12)



Fig. 12. David Papillon aged 65. Engraving from Nichols’ *History...*

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the late Howard Colvin who first introduced me to Papillon when he asked me to revise his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and which subsequently sent me on a magical journey of discovery which has lasted

for well over a decade since publication. An earlier version of this paper was given to the fifth ‘New Insights into 16th and 17th Century British Architecture’ conference in January 2015, and I am immensely grateful to Claire Gapper and Paula Henderson for establishing this annual forum for the dissemination of new research and to all those in the audience who made helpful suggestions on fresh lines of enquiry. My son, Thom, led me reluctantly to the internet where late in my academic life I discovered its extraordinary power as a research tool, and Mike Thrift shared his practical architectural expertise with me over many hours spent in analysing the various plans for Lamport Hall. Alexandra Davy of the Leicestershire County Museums Services provided me with helpful information on the provenance of the portrait of Papillon and I am grateful for the assistance of the staff at the county record offices in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire and Kent. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Nicholas Papillon who kindly gave me permission to publish the drawings in the Kent History and Library Centre.

#### ENDNOTES

- 1 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, 4th edition (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 774–5; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 42 (Oxford, 2004), p. 595.
- 2 An engraving (aet. 65) reproduced on the title page of his book *A Practical Abstract of the Arts of Fortification* published in 1645 and an oil painting (aet. 73) which in 1911 was hanging in the dining room of Crowhurst Place, Sussex, together with a companion piece of his wife, Anna-Maria. Both portraits were reproduced in A.F.W. Papillon, *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon of London, Merchant* (Reading, 1887). The contents of Crowhurst Place were sold on 5 March 1942, but David’s portrait remained in the family until 1981, when it was bequeathed to Leicestershire

- County Council from the estate of David Pelham Papillon, a Colchester solicitor and distant relative who had died in 1977 (County Museums Service collection, Accession number L.F182.1981.0.0). Another version of the same portrait was sold by Phillips of London on 20 June 1995 but its present whereabouts is unknown.
- 3 A.F.W. Papillon, *op. cit.*, from which much of the following information is drawn.
  - 4 Leicestershire County Record Office (Leics. CRO), DE1963. Page 223 refers to Frank Belville as the current owner of Papillon Hall which he purchased in 1903.
  - 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 157v-60.
  - 6 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
  - 7 Kent History and Library Centre, Papillon Manuscripts, U1015, O.Q.2, 01/1.
  - 8 Leics.CRO, DE1963, p. 174b.
  - 9 Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
  - 10 Dorian Gerhold, *Villas and Mansions of Roehampton and Putney Heath* (Wandsworth Historical Society, Wandsworth Paper 9, 1997), pp. 11–12 for Elm Grove, pp. 14–15 for the Great House, pp. 26–7 for Roehampton House.
  - 11 Leics.CRO, DE1963, p. 219.
  - 12 Kent History and Library Centre, U1015, C10/2. Letter from Papillon to his son Thomas, 4 March 1648.
  - 13 Vol.II, part II, plate cxviii, facing p. 701.
  - 14 Reproduced as figure 13 in A. Oswald, 'Acrise Place, Kent, part II', *Country Life*, 15 August 1957, pp. 300–3. The present whereabouts of the drawing is not known, but there is a photograph of it in the Leicestershire County Record Office annotated by the same hand that wrote the typescript biography of Papillon (DE2221/59).
  - 15 *Ibid.*
  - 16 *Idem.*
  - 17 Northamptonshire Record Office, Papillon (Lubenhams) papers P (L), memoranda from notes by the late Mrs P.O. Papillon.
  - 18 Kent History and Library Centre, U1015, C130/4. Letter of 14 July 1885 from Charles Walker to A.W. Papillon.
  - 19 Leics.CRO, DE2221/37.
  - 20 *Idem.*, DE2221/23.
  - 21 Gavin Stamp, *Edwin Lutyens Country Houses from the Archives of Country Life* (London, 2001), 122–7. A plan of the remodelled house clearly showing the outline of the original house is reproduced in A.S.G. Butler, *The Domestic Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (Antique Collectors Club edn., Woodbridge, 1989), plate VII.
  - 22 Kent History and Library Centre, U1015, T43.
  - 23 *Ibid.*, C7/3.
  - 24 Geoffrey Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses* (Chichester, 1994), p.255. Colvin. *op. cit.*, 991.
  - 25 Leics.CRO, DE1963, p. 230.
  - 26 *Ibid.*, p. 232v.
  - 27 Kent History and Library Centre, U1015, 02/5–9; Malcolm Atkin, 'David Papillon and the Civil War Defences of Gloucester', *Trans.Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, 111 (1993), pp. 147–64. A plan of the fortifications is in the Northants. Record Office, P(L) 2.
  - 28 A.F.W. Papillon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
  - 29 Sir Gyles Isham, 'The Architectural History of Lamport', *Reports and Papers of the Northamptonshire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 57, (1953), pp. 13–28. The letter is in the Northants. Record Office, IC312.
  - 30 Northants.Record Office, IL 30799 C3.
  - 31 *Ibid.* A49.
  - 32 *Idem.*, IC312.
  - 33 *Idem.*, IL30799 A47.
  - 34 Soane Museum, Thorpe Collection, T22. I am grateful to Gordon Higgott for this suggestion.
  - 35 Christopher Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712*, (London, 1982), p. 100.
  - 36 Kent History and Library Centre, U1015 E3.
  - 37 Against this supposition, at first floor level the elevation shows five windows whereas the plan only indicates two flanking windows. But this cannot be a fully developed arrangement as the dining room must have had some sort of fenestration at this end.
  - 38 R.T. Gunther (ed.), *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt* (Oxford, 1928), p. 60.
  - 39 Northants. Record Office, IC4453. Letter of 21 October 1655 from Papillon to 'my Honored friend Sr Justinian Isham'.
  - 40 John Heward and Robert Taylor, *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire*, (Swindon, 1996), pp. 256–62.
  - 41 Kent History and Library Centre, U1015, C10/3.