

CIPHER, or *CYPHER* (from Arabic sifr), the symbol 0, nought, or zero; and so a name for secret writing.

## NOTES AND QUERIES:

FOURTH SERIES.—VOLUME EIGHTH. JULY-DECEMBER 1871. Page 415-6 (559)

JACOBITE CIPHERS Among a large collection of Jacobite letters preserved at a family mansion in the North of England are many which are partially written in cipher The key to this cipher is preserved. It is headed “My Oxford Cypher” Oxford being no doubt substituted for St Germain or wherever King James II was residing according to the plan given at length in the evidence on Sir John Fenwick’s trial. (See State Trials.)

This cipher is divided into two parts one which numerals represent certain persons as e.g. 19, King James; 17, King William; 10, Lord Middleton, and so forth; – the other in letters are arranged to play their bewildering part. They are arranged thus:-

DYOMETRICALB
HGH:KXPQSVWXZ

D is thus meant to have H for its substitute, Y, G, and so with the rest but the proper method of substitution is as yet undiscovered. It will be observed that the upper line of letters forms, after a fashion, the word “diametrical,” with the addition of the letter B at the end: probably this was some arrangement to assist the memory. In the upper line no letter is repeated; in the lower H occurs twice but in the second instance is followed by a colon thus H:

In a letter written by Sir Henry Slingsby, who was then with the abdicated king, is the following sentence:-

“Your two cousins are in good health. He that is marked on the face bids me tell that it would be a service to him if you would assist the Master of horse Kwglowxx Fnlpgnn Wfklhgwx as also Fcnm Wxznkwgxn, who is friend to them both in buying them horses.”

In another he writes:-

“Assist him with your recommendation as well mine to 18,” (Mr Fergus Grahme) “Mrs Turner itvowqxi Wffnqxng and Pffhen and their families.”

In a letter from Lord Middleton is this passage:-

“Mr Banks” (the king) “assures you of his ‘friendship’: he would be glad of the accounts mentioned: there will be no need of sending Ewqzhghai except they relate to the fcpuo awggi.”

These may suffice for examples of the way which the cipher is introduced I should be very grateful to any one who will help me to the decipherment of these passages. I have only to add, that it is possible that the letter which I believe to be *g* may have been meant for *q*.

FRANCIS E. PAGET

Elford Rectory, Tamworth

JACOBITE CIPHERS (4th S viii 415) – This appears to be a very simple form of cipher – the substitution of one letter for another. The word *dyometrical*, it will be observed, contains no duplicates, and embraces nearly half the alphabet; the rest of which follows (or should follow) in alphabetical order, omitting such letters as already been made use of, viz. B F (in lieu of first H) G H K N P Q S V W X Z, and being placed in equal rows would read thus: D for F, F for D, Y for G, G for Y, and so on. Substituting then *q* for *g* in some instances, as suggested, the ciphered paragraphs would run thus:-

Kwqlowxx	Marshall.
Fnlpqnn	Déstreet.
Wfk(I)hqwxx	Adm(?)yrall.
Fcmn	Duke.
Wxznkwqxn	Albemarle.
Vowqxi	Charls.
Wffnqxng	Adderley.
P(ff)hen	T(yr?)one.
Ewqzhqqhai	Narborrows. <sup>1</sup>
Fcpng	Dutch.
Awqqi	Warrs.

I am at a loss to account for the “it” before “Vowqxi” as also for the “T” in the third ciphered word, and the double *f* in the eighth; but these may possibly be errors of transcription – a question which could only be decided by inspection of the original document.

The clue I have here given may possibly be sufficient for your correspondent; but if I can privately render him any further assistance, I shall be happy to do so if he will write me on subject.

CHAS. PETTET.

13, Oxford Villas, Hammersmith.

It is not easy to decipher without a complete example before one; but I can make one suggestion to MR. PAGET which may possibly enable him to read the letters, or more probably the secret messages contained in them.

In the examples given, H followed by a colon does not occur; while F, which is found in the examples, is not found in the key. Can one of the Hs be a mistake for F? I think so; for if we change the first H into F the key will consist of the word *diametrical* spelled *dyometrical* to avoid the repetition of any letter, followed by all the remaining letters of the alphabet in order. The advantage of this is obvious, as easy to carry the key in the memory without committing it to paper.

Now to the examples:-

“Femn Wxznkwqxn” is Duke Albemarle; “vowqxi Wffnqxng” is Charls Adderley; and “fcpuo awqqi” is Dutch wars. The remainder of the examples will not translate but I fancy it was not uncommon to write a lot of nonsense with the true message as an additional safeguard against its being read. MR PAGET will easily be able to tell if this is so by taking a whole letter, and seeing if a sensible message can be extracted from it. T.W.G.

---

<sup>1</sup> An evident allusion to Sir John Narborough, at that a Commissioner of the Navy, and a Jacobite to his in 1688.

[JACOBITE CIPHERS](#) (4th S viii 415, 559) – I beg to offer my very grateful acknowledgments to MR PETTET and T.W.G. They are perfectly correct in their suggestions with respect to the letter F. In the key to the cipher (which I may as well say was among the papers of Col James Grahme, some time Privy Purse to James II), that letter was formed like an italic double *f*, after a common fashion then prevailing; of the use of which, we still retain the vestiges in such names as *ffoulkes*, *ffolliot*, *ffaryngton*, &c. Apparently for the purpose of mystifying a document, which it was unsafe to keep and unwise to destroy, Col Grahme – who wrote a coarse bad hand – transformed the *ff* into H; and followed the same course with another letter, of which he made an R: but this he has done so effectually that the original of the palimpsest (so to call it) defies me.

In the letter from “10” (that is Lord Middleton), to which I referred in my first letter to “N. & Q.,” the following passage occurs: “My service to the Grand Master of the Jerkers.” Is any reader of “N. & Q.” sufficiently versed in the perpetually changing Jacobite titles to help me to the real name of this dignitary?

FRANCIS E. PAGET.

Elford Rectory, Tamworth.

We have one very precious document: it is in James II's own handwriting giving in full his various reasons for leaving the country. Grahme has endorsed it himself "King's reasons from Rochester," and it is printed in Echard's "History of England." Three letters from James II, on the same date but not in his handwriting are worth looking at. One is addressed to Chaffinch and directs him to give Grahme his plate and "antiches" watch, three strong boxes, and the other plate belonging to the little chapel below stairs at St James'. The others are written with an eye to business. He says to Sir Benjamin Bathurst:-

"I have ordered James Grahme to consult with you about securing my shares in the East India and Guinea Companies."

Look also at this letter to Grahme from James II, in a disguised hand. It is docketed, "Mr Banks' first letter after his going to Oxford"; Mr Banks being the King and Oxford meaning France.

BOULOGNE, January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1689.

"I arrived safe here this day, and have but little to say to you at present, but that I am going on to Paris, from whence you shall heare from me when I arrive there. In the meanetyme go to my corrispondent that payd you some mony upon my account, and put him in mind of putting the rest of the mony I bad him put into your hands, that you may returne that, and what you had of myne in your hands, to me as soon as you can I having present occasion for it, and pray remember me to your friend with whom I was to have been if I had stayed. Lett me know a little newse."

A considerable number of the letters are written in cipher, but many are easy to interpret, as we possess the original key. Tattered and worn to the last degree, it is partly in Lord Middleton's handwriting and partly in Colonel Grahme's, who labels it thus, "My Oxford Cipher." I need only show you one example of these letters.

June ye 3<sup>rd</sup>.

"Mr Chapman's (i.e. Colonel Grahme's) note was shewed to Mr. Banks (King James), who assures you of his friendship. When you goe out o' town he would be glad if you could leave some directions about transmitting the accounts mentioned. There will be no need of sending EWQZHQQHAI (Sir John Narborough, Commissioner of the Navy) except they relate to y<sup>e</sup> FCPNG AWQQI (Dutch Warrs ). None can love you more than 10 (Middleton)."

Other aliases applied to King James throughout this correspondence are, "Your Lawyer," "19," and "The Knight." Colonel Grahme is alluded to as "Sir Humphrey Pallsworth," "Sir Paull," "Mr Partridge," and "Chapman"; Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, as "Sir Jasper"; David MacAdam, a notorious intriguer, as "Jo Brown"; King Louis XIV, as "13"; King William, as "17," and so on. Alas! the "Grand Master of the Jerkers," "the coffee woman," "the Thracian" (possibly Kettleby), "Lord-what-d'ee-call-him," and several others, must ever remain creatures of mystery, for the cipher key does not disclose their identity. When the key is present, cipher language is all very well, but it must be remembered that two hundred years ago slang was even more indulged in than at the present day. What then, can be made of such letters as this from Lord Gower to Grahme?

"The Cracovian peer pretends to great information, and assures us that Augustin's measures will not hinder Stanislaus from having all his friends about him. Lord Shatterino has left my Lady to treat all the tradesmen, and being a man of method has committed to writing every day's bill of fare, and the

company for it. The Butcher, the Baker and the Fruit woman dined today, and the Chandler, Shoemaker and another tomorrow.”

One, also from Lord Bolingbroke, might easily be misunderstood in parts; but when he remarks “The Queen is well, though the Whigs give out that she is a percher,” we know that no disrespect was intended, “percher” being at that time the slang for “being in a dying condition.”

Metcalfe Grahme, nephew to Colonel Grahme, served at one time as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough, and fought at Blenheim, Ramillies, and Malplaquet. Picture Colonel Grahme’s pride and satisfaction, and what exciting memories such descriptions as these must have revived of his own past exploits. Metcalfe writes from Blenheim:-

“After a hot dispute we have obtained an entire victory. We have taken twenty seven battalions of foot, and twelve squadrons of dragoons besides other prisoners. The French are weaker by this battle by 30,000 men.”

Here is his account of Ramillies:-

“Our successes are beyond imagination. A large country has fallen to us in consequence of one battle. Never was victory more easily got, or better followed. They stayed not long enough to make the slaughter great, but the closeness of the pursuit has made amends. ... The marshal retired with so much precipitation that he left all his sick and wounded, 120 cannon, 40 mortars, 4000 barrels of powder, 15,000 sacks of corn and other provisions for four months. ... My Lord is very civil, but it is hard to make one’s fortune by so cowardly an enemy, for we have no vacancies made by the battle in the English horse.”

## Colonel James Grahme of Levens

By Josceline Fitz-Roy Bagot

[Page 13](#)

Some letters are in cipher, to which the key is luckily present; the cipher consisting in the substitution of one letter for another and of numbers to represent certain names, and alterations of others.

A somewhat similar cipher was found on Ashton, who was tried with Lord Preston for treason and executed.<sup>2</sup> The following is the one used by Grahme and his correspondents.

<i>My Oxford Cypher</i>
<i>DYOMETRICAL B</i>
<i>FGHKNPQSVWXZ</i>

K[ing] Jam[es]	19
K[ing] Luies	13
K[ing] William	17
Portsmouth	25
Gibjoun	15
Deall	23
Waugh	11
L <sup>d</sup> Middelton <sup>3</sup>	10
L <sup>d</sup> Melfourd <sup>4</sup>	16
L <sup>d</sup> Brudenall	14
Mr Grahem	18
My Genny	9
Rosey	8
Bishops	7
Trotter	Melfort
Dobson	Renodau
Sydick	Coorsy. [Courcy].
Bonson	K[ing] Lew[is]
Arthur (or Artlye)	K[ing] J[ames]
Toncroft	L <sup>d</sup> Middleton
Lindsay	Robertson
Simpson Jones	Roberts
Crosby	Clinch

[Page 14](#)

Many extraordinary names of persons and things also occur, probably written not only for purposes of disguise, but being part of a sort of slang vocabulary used amongst Col. Grahme's set, some of the letters being in consequence quite unintelligible, of which some specimens are given hereafter as "curiosities of literature."<sup>5</sup> An illustration of the cipher is as follows:-

June ye 3<sup>rd</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> See "State Trials," Vol. iv, p. 444. Also Lord Preston's letters. Netherby papers, "Hist. Man. Com.")

<sup>3</sup> Lord Middleton, see Macaulay's Hist. Ch. XX.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Melfort, Macaulay's Hist. Ch. V.

<sup>5</sup> For similar letters and expressions, and the use of ciphers amongst Jacobites, see "letters of Francis Atterbury" by Glover, pub. Wright, 1847. Also "Stuart Papers at Windsor" by the same author.

“Mr Chapman’s note was shew’d to Mr. Bankes, who assures you of his friendship. When you goe out o’ town he would be glad you could leave some directions about transmitting the acct. Mentioned. Ther will be no need of sending EWQZHQQHAI except they relate to ye FCPNG AWQQI.

None can love you more than 10.”

Which is thus translated:-

“Col. Grahme’s note was shewn to the King, who assures you of his friendship. When you go out of town, he would be glad if you could leave some directions about transmitting the accounts mentioned. There will be no need of sending Narborow’s except they relate to the Dutch wars.

None can love you more than MIDDLETON.

Sir John Narborough, a strong Jacobite, was at that time a Commissioner of the Navy.

Here is another specimen:-

April ye 7<sup>th</sup>

“I may say to you that my silence has proceeded from my respect, with more truth than ever it was said to a Lady.

“19” (Lord Brudenell) desires to have ye collection of INWSHIQEWI, (sea journals) wch were left with X. FWQPKHIPO.” (Lord Dartmouth), etc., etc., ending “we are all well. Much yrs. My service to ye Grandmaster of ye Jerkers.

“10.” (MIDDLETON).

So in other letters KWQIOWXX FNIPQNN is Marshall Destree; FEMN WXZNKWQXN, Duke Albemarle, etc. King James is “Mr. Banks,” sometimes “your lawyer,” or “the Knight.” Col. Grahme is “Sir Humphry Pallsworth,” “Sir Paull,” or most frequently “Mr. James Chapman.”

Several of the most eminent of the non-juring clergy were amongst Grahme’s most intimate friends.

In the library at Levens are books inscribed as the gift of Kettlewell, while very many letters contain messages from Thomas Ken,<sup>6</sup> the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, a frequent visitor at Levens, as may be seen from the correspondence, the room he occupied there being to this day called “the Bishop’s room.”

The following extract from a letter from Lord Gower, is a specimen of the curious and quaint jargon in which much of the Levens correspondence is couched:-

“The Cracovian peer pretends to great information, and assures us that Augustin’s measures will not hinder Stanislaus, (“Stanislaus” is reported in another letter as likely to be Master of the Horse), “from having all his friends about him. Lord Shatterino has left my Lady to treat all the tradesmen, and, being a man of method, has committed to writing every day’s bill of Fare, and the company for it. The Butcher, the Baker, and the Fruit woman dined today, and the Chandler, Shoo maker, (*sic*) and another, tomorrow.

---

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Ken. See Macaulay’s History of England. Vol v., p. 79.

The same nobleman; in a letter to Colonel Grahme from Belvoir Castle, dated September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1704, outdoes all the other puzzling communications of the same kind:-

“Sir,

I received ye favour of yr letter from a servant of Lord Annandale.

The condition he found me in deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of his (L<sup>d</sup> A's) company. This is almost the first use I have made of my hands these three weeks; having been fed like a child, most part of the time, and acknowledge with shame the receipt of a former letter which followed me to Belvoir.

I intended writing to you so soon as I came to this place, to claim a certain promise you made me, but upon my first coming hither I was entertained with an Advertisement from ye Bath of ye Seven Wonders of ye World; and tho' Sir Humphrey Polesworth (Colonel Grahme) had not been named; to be in ye chaire, I could have sworn safely to his being there, and to his stile and manner, I am much at a loss for a key (so) that I shall hardly sleep till I hear from you againe. I beseeche you to explain what is meant by Harlequin and his three brothers, lately arrived from France in an Owler; what by the dances on the high rope by ye five Prophets newly come from the Cevennes, who dance without poles, or anything to Ballance them. Who is meant by the first, booted and spurred in a Jockey dress? who the second, in a Parchment suit embroidered with figures monstrous and characters dire? or the third, in a coat of patchwork, part of a sanguine hue, and part title-pages, with an inner garment of slight stuff? and who the fourth, with a Trident? or fifth, with a Bagpipe before him? Prithee, explain ye meaning of ye four names between Bambouzelbergius? late Secretarye to the Emperor of Japan, and Ruffullwrinklephiz, the magician: why the first is mounted on a white elephant, and armed in brass; and ye other on a sorrell Dromedary, only in tin? and explain to me the crooked and surprising figure of the weapons, the like whereof were never seen in England, and what metal you really believe them to be made of. Explain the piece in Perspective, the man and his wife fastened back to back; the Wonders of the Peake; the entire mummie; and ye Enchanted Island, where Duke Trinculo, and ye faire partner of his bed, Sycorax, are so well represented with their princely issue, their great traine of favourites, spies, ... and other beggars on horseback. As I look upon this to be your Masterpiece, I keep it with great care and hope you will not refuse me the key I desire. If you do I protest I will print the whole piece, with Sr. Humphrey Polesworth's name at the top, with an Epistle Dedicatory to superficiall. I should have been more particular after Albano, and his Paludigerous Squire Baldicaron, Plunderalion, and Andrew Bristo? but any enquiry after these few particulars I expect shall lead you to an explanation of the whole. Morley is here with me, and much your servant. And I hope you will believe nobody is with greater sincerity than your faithful servant,”

GOWER

To James Graham Esqr at Levens near Kendale, Westmorland.”



From "Pickle the Spy"

{174} Cypher names.

6—Goring.

69—Sir James Harrington, perhaps.

51—King of Prussia.

80—Pretender's Son.

8—Pretender.

72—Sir John Graham.

66—Scotland.

0—French Ministry.

2—Lord Marshall.

59—Count Maillebois.

71—Sir John Graham, perhaps.

#### Chapter IV

What is really known of the movements of the Prince in 1749? Curiously enough, Mr. Ewald does not seem to have consulted the 'Stuart Papers' at Windsor, while the extracts in Browne's 'History of the Highland Clans' are meagre. To these papers then we turn for information. The most useful portions are NOT Charles's letters to James. These are brief and scanty. Thus he writes from Avignon (January 15, 1749), 'We are enjoying here the finest weather ever was seen.' He always remarks that his health 'is perfect.' He orders patterns for his servants' liveries and a button, blue and yellow, still remains in a letter from Edgar! The button outlasts the dynasty. Our intelligence must be extracted from ill-spelled, closely scrawled, and much erased sheets of brown paper, on which Charles has scribbled drafts for letters to his household, to Waters, his banker in Paris, to adherents in Paris or London, and to ladies. The notes are almost, and in places are quite, illegible. The Prince practised a disguised hand, and used pseudonyms instead of names. Many letters have been written in sympathetic ink, and then exposed to fire or the action of acids. However, something can be made out, but not why he concealed his movements even from his banker, even from his household, Oxburgh, Kelly, Harrington, and Graeme. It is certain that he started, with a marriage in his eye, from Avignon on February 28, 1749, accompanied by Henry Goring, of the Austrian service. There had already been a correspondence, vaguely hinted at by James's secretary, Edgar, between Charles and the Duke and a Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt. On February 24, 1749, Charles drafted, at Avignon, a proposal for the hand of the Duke's daughter. He also drafted (undated) a request to the King of Poland for leave to bring his wife, the Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, into Polish territory. {69} We may imagine His Polish Majesty's answer. Of course, the marriage did not take place.

Charles had other secrets. On February 3, 1749, he wrote to Waters about the care to be taken with certain letters. These were a correspondence with 'Thomas Newton,' (Major Kennedy), at Mr. Alexander Macarty's, in Gray's Inn, London. Newton was in relations with Cluny Macpherson, through a friend in Northumberland. Cluny, skulking on his Highland estates, was transmitting or was desired to transmit a part of the treasure of 40,000 louis d'or, buried soon after Culloden at the head of Loch Arkaig. {70a} Of this fatal treasure we shall hear much. A percentage of the coin was found to be false money, a very characteristic circumstance. Moreover, Cluny seems to have held out hopes, always deferred, of a rising in the Highlands. Charles had to be ready in secrecy, to put himself at the head of this movement. There was also to be an English movement, which was frowned on by official Jacobitism. On February 3, 1749, Charles writes from Avignon to 'Thomas Newton' (Kennedy) about the money sent south by Cluny. He repeated his remarks on March 6, giving no place of residence. But probably he was approaching Paris, dangerous as such a visit was, for in a note of March 6 to Waters, he says that he will 'soon call for letters.' {70b} His noms de guerre at this time were 'Williams' and 'Benn'; later he chose 'John Douglas.' He was also Smith, Mildmay, Burton, and so forth.

There should have been no difficulty in discovering Charles. Modern police, in search of a person who is 'wanted,' spy on his mistress. Now the Princesse de Talmond, when out of favour at Versailles, went to certain lands in Lorraine, near her exiled king, Stanislas. In Lorraine, therefore, at Luneville, the Court of the ex-king of Poland, or at Commercy, Bar-le-Duc, or wherever the Princesse de Talmond might be, Charles was sure to be heard of by an intelligent spy, if permitted to enter the country. Consequently, we are not surprised to find Charles drafting on April 3, at Luneville (where he resided at the house of one Mittie, physician of the ex-king of Poland), a 'Project for My arrival in Paris. Mr. Benn [himself] must go straight to Dijon, and his companion, Mr. Smith [Goring], to Paris. Mr. Smith will need a chaise, which he must buy at Luneville. Next he will take up the servant of C. P. [Prince Charles] at Ligny, but on leaving that place Mr. Smith must ride on horseback, and the chaise can go there as if for his return to Paris; the person in it seeming to profit by this opportunity. Mr. Benn [the Prince] must remain for some days, as if he wanted to buy a trunk, and will give his own as if in friendship to Mr. Smith; all this seeming mere chance work. Next, Mr. Smith will go his way and his friend will go his, after waiting a few days, and on arriving at Dijon must write to nobody, except the letter to W- [Waters]. The Chevalier Graeme, whom he must see (and to whom he may mention having been at Dijon on the Prince's business, without naming his companion, but as if alone), knows nothing, and Graeme must be left in the dark as if he (Mr. Smith) [Goring] were in the same case, and were waiting new orders in total ignorance, not having seen me for a long time.' {71}

There follow a few private addresses in Paris; and the name, to be remarked, of 'Mademoiselle Ferrand.'

All this is very puzzling; we only make out that, by some confusion of the personalities of 'Benn' (the Prince) and 'Mr. Smith' (Goring), Charles hoped to enter Paris undetected. Yet he WAS seen 'entering a gate of Paris in disguise.' Doubtless he had lady allies, but a certain Mademoiselle Ferrand, to whom he wrote, he seems not to have known personally. We shall find that she was later of use to him, and indeed his most valuable friend and ally.

Next, we find this letter of April 10 to Madame Henrietta Drummond, doubtless of the family of Macgregor, called Drummond, of Balhaldie. Charles appears to have had enough of Paris, and is going to Venice. He is anxious to meet the Earl Marischal.

‘April 10, 1749.

‘I have been very impatient to be able to give you nuse of me as I am fully persuaded of yr Friendship, and concern for everything that regards me; I send you here enclosed a Letter for Ld Marishal, be pleased to enclose it, and forward it without loss of time; the Bearer (he is neither known by you or me), is charged to receive at any time what Letters you want to send me, and you may be shure of their arriving safe. Iff Lord Marishal agrees with my Desier when you give his Packet to yr Bearer, you must put over it en Dilligence, iff otherwise, direct by my Name as I sign it here. I flatter myself of the Continuation of your Friendship, as I hope you will never doubt of mine which shall be constant. I remain yr moste obedient humble Servant

‘JOHN DOUGLAS.

‘P.S.—Tell ye Bearer when to comback for the answer of ye enclosed or any other Letters you want to send me.

‘P.S. to Lord Marischal.—Whatever party you take, be pleased to keep my writing secret, and address to me at Venise to the Sig. Ignazio Testori to Mr. de Villelongue under cover to a Banquier of that town, and it will come safe to me.

‘To Md. Henrietta Drummond.’

From the Prince to Goring.

‘Ye 31st July, 1749.

‘I gave you Lately a proof of my Confidence, by our parting together from Avignion, so that you will not be surprized of a New Instance. You are to repair on Receipt of this to London, there to Let know to such friends as you can see, my situation, and Resolutions; all tending to nothing else but the good and relieve of our Poor Country which ever was, and shall be my only thoughts. Take Care of yr.Self, do not think to be on a detachment, but only a simple Minister that is to comback with a distinct account from them parts, and remain assured of my Constant friendship and esteem.

‘C. P. R. For GORING.

‘P.S.—Cypher.

‘I. S h a l. C o n q u e r.

‘3 w k y p t d b q x m f.

‘My name shall be John Douglas.

‘Jean Noe D’Orville & fils. A Frankfort sur Maine, a Banquier of that Town.’

\* \* \* \* \*

The Prince may have been at Frankfort, but, as a rule, he was hiding in Lorraine when not in Paris or near it, and, as we have seen, was under the protection of various French and fashionable Flora Macdonalds. Of these ladies, 'Madame de Beauregard' and the Princesse de Talmond are apparently the same person. With them, or her (she also appears as la tante and la vieille), Charles's relations were stormy. He wearied her, he broke with her, he scolded her, and returned to her again. Another protectress, Madame d'Aiguillon, was the mistress of the household most frequented by Montesquieu, le philosophe, as Charles calls him. Madame du Deffand has left to us portraits of both the Princesse de Talmond and Madame d'Aiguillon.

'Madame de Talmond has beauty and wit and vivacity; that turn for pleasantry which is our national inheritance seems natural to her. . . . But her wit deals only with pleasant frivolities; her ideas are the children of her memory rather than of her imagination. French in everything else, she is original in her vanity. Ours is more sociable, inspires the desire to please, and suggests the means. Hers is truly Sarmatian, artless and indolent; she cannot bring herself to flatter those whose admiration she covets. . . . She thinks herself perfect, says so, and expects to be believed. At this price alone does she yield a semblance of friendship: semblance, I say, for her affections are concentrated on herself . . . She is as jealous as she is vain, and so capricious as to make her at once the most unhappy and the most absurd of women. She never knows what she wants, what she fears, whom she loves, or whom she hates. There is no nature in her expression: with her chin in the air she poses eternally as tender or disdainful, absent or haughty; all is affectation. . . . She is feared and hated by all who live in her society. Yet she has truth, courage, and honesty, and is such a mixture of good and evil that no steadfast opinion about her can be entertained. She pleases, she provokes: we love, hate, seek, and avoid her. It is as if she communicated to others the eccentricity of her own caprice.'

#### Chapter V – In 1751 ...

The Prince now indulged in a new cypher. Walsh (his financial friend) is Legrand, Kennedy is Newton (as before), Dormer at Antwerp (his correspondent with England) is Mr. Blunt, 'Gorge in England' (Gorge!) is Mr. White, and so on. Owing to the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, there was a good deal of correspondence with 'Dixon' and 'Miss Fines'—certainly Lady Primrose—while Dixon may be James Dawkins, or Dr. King, of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. On May 16, Charles gave Goring instructions as to 'attempting the Court of Prussia, or any other except France, after their unworthy proceedings.' Goring did not set out till June 21, 1751. From Berlin the poor man was to go to Sweden. In April, Madame de Talmond was kind to Charles 'si malheureux et par votre position et par votre caractere.' Mademoiselle Luci was extremely ill in May and June, indeed till October; this led to a curious correspondence in October between her and la vieille tante. Madame de Talmond was jealous of Mademoiselle Luci, a girl whom one cannot help liking. Though out of the due chronological course, the letters of these ladies may be cited here.

## SMITH'S LETTERS IN THE STUART PAPERS



The majority of the letters are addressed to James Edgar (d.1762), Confidential Clerk to James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, who co-ordinated the gathering of intelligence from around Europe. Smith's role was initially as a go-between for the highly sensitive bulletins sent by Andrew Cockburn from London, informing the Old Pretender and his exiled supporters of current political events and public opinion in England, as well as giving military information and news of Stuart sympathisers. As can be seen also, however, even from this early stage his commitment extended to offering personal military support. The reports were sent to Smith in Boulogne who then forwarded them to George Waters (d.1752), a banker in Paris, from where they were sent on to Rome.

In a letter, dated 6 April 1731, written partly in cypher, and sent to the Old Pretender by Cockburn (using the code-name Dalivall), he initiates the recruiting of Smith as an agent:

When I was at Mr.Allund's [Boulogne] with Mr Pemey [Smith] the k.b.893.762 [13<sup>th</sup> of March] ... he added ... if at any tyme you had any 809 [message] in 570.1200 [heast] upon notice from you or Mr Ffleury [Edgar] he could 955.1292.400.889.231.346 \prepare wine a board] any 1174 [ship] there ...

He furdur said that if 1427.808 [yr. Mty.] had any occasion as in the 1434.15 [year] he could in three 1318.1114.164.989 [weeks advertisement provide] and have 1086 [ready] so many 1174 [ships] as would 1277.1213.1249.1339.1131.346.758 [transport ten thousand men] to Mr Finney [England] ... 4

RASP 144/51.

Within less than a week, 11 April, Edgar wrote to Smith:

I therefor have send you enclosed a letter address for Mr Dalival [Andrew Cockburn], which the King desires you may send with all the precautions and secrecy possible to Mr Co\_\_\_ne, and H.M. recommends to you continue the same precautions & secrecy in all letters may come to your hands relating to this correspondence ...

Be so good as to let me know you have received this, and as this letter is dangerous to be kept unless with great care, I think you should burn it after you have read it. 5

Smith wrote back to Edgar, 10 May 1731:

... I shall to the utmost of my Power endeavour to acquit my self and with all the prudence and secrecy I am capable of ...

It is a great pleasure to know all the Royall family are well May God Almighty preserve them and ... they soon be in Brittain. 6 Smith was extremely useful because of his other life as a travelling businessman. He visited Paris and London regularly, thereby being able cultivate contacts who were sympathetic to the Jacobite cause. On 6 February 1733, he wrote to Edgar:

I have some thoughts of going to London about beginning of Aprile nixt for three or four weeks tho I will be determined by your Answer if I can be of any service here to Mr Browns [The Old Pretender] Affairs will regulate my own business Accordingly.

After his trips Smith would report on the political and military climate:

I came home only last night from London ... I was much surprised to find such a spirit and adversion to the present Government of the nation in Generall never was more discontent or ready to Imbrace any oppportunity to get free of these people.<sup>8</sup>

Often individuals mentioned in the letters are only referred to by code-names, such as Mr Draper and Mr Williamson. In most of the correspondence the Old Pretender is referred to as Mr Brown (and occasionally Mr Thomson). Smith himself used the pseudonyms of Charles Ramsay or Charles Stepney on some of the letters. Gradually Smith was entrusted with greater responsibility to gather intelligence through a network of informers in England, Scotland, the Netherlands and eventually Wales. One example involved an informer who had been working for the influential politician, James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1673-1744):

As to John Fergusone he has been for sometime past at Bridgewater & Bath as steward to a small estate of the Duke of Chandos. 9

Regular correspondents were a critical means of gathering intelligence. Edgar wrote to Smith, 12 October 1735:

d ... ever since the

we have had no regular correspondence with S\_ accident happened to Mr Corser ...

It were a thing much to be wished that proper methods could be found to sound the Patriots, or one or two of the principal of them. 1(1

On several occasions Smith was sent on specific missions by the Prince. He wrote directly to him, 5 July 1738:

I went to London to talk to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton ... he has nothing on Earth so Much at heart as your Majesties Interest. 1:L Smith was also responsible for remunerating informers and paying pensions to loyal Jacobites in exile. One such informer referred to as John Brown merchant sent reports from Leghorn via Smith, who in turn paid him as directed.

Other matters were of a less secretive nature. As the Old Pretender was rumoured to be sliding into dissipation and melancholy, Edgar wrote to Smith, 12 October 1737:

Mr Brown [The Old Pretender] wants some good canary wine ... order 200 botles of the most perfect... Mr Brown himself likes and takes frequently a glass of that wine. 12

It is not clear whether Smith himself was paid for his services but he was certainly sent gifts of family portraits by the Old Pretender.

On 14 August 1734, Smith wrote to Edgar:

The Pictures are just come which are exceeding well done and Return My humble and hearty thanks for the Honour Mr Brown has done me nothing could be more acceptable to me. 13

On other occasions Smith organised the shipping of goods, including pictures to England and Scotland. In 1735 he was asked to ensure the safe transportation of five miniatures of the Old Pretender and his family, sent by the Earl of Dunbar to his mother, the Dowager of Stormont.

In 1740 Smith asked Edgar to commission for him, the Princes two pictures of same size you sent for my Lord Weemyss ... by the best hand, which he duly did. 14

Towards the end of the 1730s Smith's role was hotting up and he began providing more regular and important information, as well as vital news on the movements of the English fleet, which would have been available in a port like Boulogne. He was also giving opinions on reliability and honesty of individuals and sources, and providing hospitality and money to Jacobites passing through Boulogne on their way to Paris or Rome.

Increasingly plans turned towards rebellion and Bonnie Prince Charlie toured the Netherlands for support. On 8 June 1737 Smith using the code-name Ramsay wrote to Edgar that, we see Young Mr Browns progress in the Dutch Gazette I wish his nixt may be nearer home. 15

Smith was subsequently asked to provide specific military intelligence. Edgar wrote to him, 21 May 1738:

As to arms ... what quantity could be got? in how short time? & how & from whence they can be transported? In the same letter he emphasises that they must be Broad Swords such as the Clans use. 16

In the early 1740s with England at war with Spain and relations with France deteriorating, Smith's position became increasingly precarious.

On 9 November 1740, the Old Pretender issued a Protection order to Charles Smith, established at Boulogne. 17

On 22 February 1742, Edgar wrote to Smith:

the present is without doubt a very critical juncture ... as things stand such events may fall out from one day to another, which might make yr being at yr own home very necessary. 18

The correspondence between Smith and Edgar appears to have become less regular, although Smith wrote from London, 8 February 1744 that people here in London are very angry at the Hanoverian troops but the Ministry seem determined to dispise all discontents. 19 Among Edgar's last letters to Smith he writes, 12 January 1745, all I wish is that the present embroils may only end in the manner you and I long for. 20

Smith died in August 1768. His last recorded letter to Edgar (after a period of some five years) was written in May 1750. More details have yet to emerge about his life after this date and how he was reconciled to the Hanoverian Establishment, if at all. His final days were spent among family and friends in Stirlingshire. The Scots Magazine of August 1768 records the death on the 25th of that month, At Touch, Stirlingshire, aged 80, Charles Smith, Esq; of Boulogne, in France, merchant.

### Secret Symbols of the Jacobites

In the 18th century, it was unlawful to oppose the government in any way. Supporting the Jacobite cause was akin to treason (the word for murder of a monarch. In Britain today, committing treason is the only crime still punishable by death!) so anyone who openly admitted to being a Jacobite risked imprisonment or execution.



To get round this, supporters of the Jacobites developed secret symbols to privately demonstrate their allegiance to King James. One symbol was the White Cockade, a flower which they would wear in their bonnets or pinned to a sash. Fine glassware crafted to display etchings of these symbols could be used by the wealthy Jacobites to drink a toast to the king or to celebrate the coming of the Prince. One very unusual example of these private tributes to the Prince is the Secret Portrait.

An unidentifiable smear of paint on the surface of a metal tray would not raise any suspicion at all among visiting government officers. But when a cylindrical mirror is placed in the centre of the tray, a perfect likeness of Prince is reflected. This is an old technique known as anomorphic painting. It is thought to have been developed by the Chinese. To the Jacobites it was a very clever method of deception - it allowed them to secretly display a forbidden image in their home.



The symbols of Jacobite support were not just displayed in defiance of the government. They were important for communication between Jacobite supporters. A white cockade worn at a meeting or a symbol sketched at the foot of a letter would let other Jacobites know that they were talking to one of their own. It was like a secret code which would allow them to converse and make plans without the risk of being detected.

From [Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange: knt.](#)

### [Page 141](#)

The Chevalier de St. George, in all letters likely to be intercepted by British officials, is designed as “cousin” or “friend,” while spoken of as “the King” on other occasions, and as “Mr. Orry” in writing to the Prince. “Trade” or “merchandise” is the disguised phrase for Jacobite politics. By the refugees in France Charles Edward was usually spoken of as “Burton;” but about 1764-5 he is occasionally alluded to from Paris under the name of “Baron.” Mr. Lumisden’s letters to him were addressed as “Mr. J. Douglas,” and forwarded through Waters, the Parisian banker; but after his father’s death he is sometimes mentioned as “Mr. Ford.” In like manner, Lord Blantyre passed as “Mr. Goodwin,” Lord Alford as “Mr. Blunt,” and the titular Earl of Inverness as “Mr. Campbell.” Mr. Lumisden’s home correspondence came to him under the names of “Manson,” “Andrew Bruce,” or “Brown.”

The “flowers” here spoken of are an allusion to the green ribbon of the Thistle, demanded by this insatiable and selfish intriguer.

Mr. Orry [*i.e.* the Chevalier],

*Duncan Cant* David Wemyss, Lord Elcho

*Jacobite Ciphers.*

IN the number of this Review for July 1901 nine letters of the Chevalier de St. George (the titular James III) were published by Mr. Sanford Terry. Two of them are addressed to a M. de Nettencour, and most, if not all, of the remainder are apparently written to the same person. I lately found among the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle the key to the cipher used between James and the cardinal de Noailles, in which Nettencour denotes the cardinal. He was, therefore, the person to whom these letters were addressed. Ranuzzi in this cipher is James himself. The only letter which is partly in cipher is the third (xvi. 509). I subjoin a copy of the part in cipher, with the key to each cipher name:

L'affaire de Medar [the marriage] est enfin sur le point d'être terminée. . . . Je puis vous dire . . . que par tout ce que j'apprens Mr Rose [Princess Clementina] a toutes les qualités requises pour rendre heureux ceux avec qui il doit vivre. J'ai mande a Mr Duran [Dillon] d'informer M<sup>r</sup> Rochfort [the Regent] de cecy, et de le presser en meme tems sur l'affaire d'Altin [argent].

I may add that I found also the key to the cipher used in the letters of Prince Charles Edward to Anthony Walsh and to Kelly, printed by the Duc de la Trémoille in *Une Famille Royaliste Irlandaise et Française*, published in 1901. Some of the results are interesting. For instance, on 28 Sept. 1758 the prince writes—

Il ne sera jamais question que Mr Burton voudra seder, ni entrer en aucune accommodement touchant les petites teres de Vernon et Stanley.

As Burton means the prince himself, Vernon Scotland, and Stanley Ireland, it appears that the prince had refused, even in return for French assistance, to cede any territory to Louis XV.

F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

# A royalist family Irish and French (1689-1789) and Prince Charles Edward

edited by Louis La Trémoille (duc de). [Page 86](#).

## KEY TO THE CYPHER IN THE FOREGOING CORRESPONDENCE, RECENTLY SUPPLIED BY MR. HUSSEY WALSH.

Bertie,	<i>Lord Lismoir.</i>	Mansfield,	<i>George Kelly.</i>
Burton,	<i>Prince Charles Edward.</i>	Mason,	<i>George II.</i>
Campbell,	<i>Alexander Murray.</i>	Masterson,	<i>Mme. de Pompadour.</i>
Chambers,	<i>Duc de Richelieu.</i>	Metcaf,	<i>King of Sweden.</i>
Desborough,	<i>Heguerty (of Paris).</i>	Meldrum,	<i>King Stanislas of Poland.</i>
Dumont,	<i>Supposed to have been a French agent.</i>	Mill,	<i>General Wall.</i>
Eliot,	<i>Lord Clancarty.</i>	Rotterdam,	<i>London.</i>
Ellis,	<i>Louis XV.</i>	Sackville,	<i>The Dauphin.</i>
Eyres,	<i>Queen of Hungary.</i>	Sanford,	<i>England.</i>
Faning,	<i>Abbé de la Ville.</i>	Stanley,	<i>Ireland.</i>
Goodman,	<i>Dr. King.</i>	Symon,	<i>Mr. S.</i>
Grant,	<i>The Pope.</i>	Truth,	<i>Mr. Gordon of Coherlie.</i>
Harrison,	<i>Maréchal de Belleisle.</i>	Vernon,	<i>Scotland.</i>
Jones,	<i>General Lally.</i>	Wade,	<i>Duca del Huernar.</i>
Lee,	<i>Waters, the Banker.</i>	Wigley,	<i>Maurepas.</i>
Lumley,	<i>Prince de Soubise.</i>	Williams,	<i>Duc de Noailles.</i>
Manners,	<i>King of Spain.</i>	Wynn,	<i>Abbé, afterwards Cardinal de Bernis.</i>

**HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE  
PEACE OF UTRECHT TO THE PEACE  
OF PARIS, VOLUME 2**  
By Philip Henry Stanhope (Lord Mahon)

Extracts from the Stuart Papers beginning on [page 533](#) of the Appendix.

S. Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) found Wright (Cardinal Tencin) in extreme bad humour at the proceedings of Adam (King Louis) ...

Dean (Lord John Drummond)

Isham (Prince Charles)

Lumley (Lord Sempill)

Jenkins (the Prince)

Howell's (the Prince's)

Hammer (the King)

Maloch (Bohaldie)

Kerry (Bohaldie), and Morrice (Lord Sempill)

Morgan (Mr. O'Brien)

Trig (the King)

Grevill (the King)

Sir C. G. (Charles Goring?)