It is not possible to suppose that Leslie in March-April 1638 was wholly ignorant of the relations of Charles with his Scottish subjects. At the time of his visit to London his chief, the earl of Rothes, Montrose, and others were organising their party and forming a fund¹³ for the war which appeared imminent. Save for the improbable hypothesis that Leslie was in ignorance of these preparations, it must appear from Roe's account of his offer to Charles and the prince palatine that he by no means recognised in them a call to himself. Zonca's letter to the doge suggests, by inference merely, that Leslie's visit to Scotland after his interview with Roe had caused no alteration in his plans. That he was returning to the continent not merely with recruits but also *con la sua famiglia* may or may not be significant as indicating Leslie's expectation of a further lengthened period of European service. It would be unfair to press Zonca's statement too far. But this at least is clear, that his return to Sweden must have been followed by an almost immediate request to be released from Queen Christina's service, since on the following 14 Aug. 1638 he received his letters of demission.¹⁴

Between August and October 1638, when Leslie returned to Scotland to model the Scottish army of the Covenant, there is no record of any negotiations between him and its leaders. Baillie, however, supposes that Leslie's motive in returning was known to Charles, and that English men-of-war were watching the coast to intercept him.¹⁵ Roe, also, in a letter to Windebank of 26 Sept. 1640, asserts that Leslie on quitting the Swedish service received munitions of war in part payment of his stipend.¹⁶ But in the light of his visit to London in March 1638, and in the absence, so far, of any evidence to show when and why his then attitude underwent a change,¹⁷ there is room at least for the suggestion that had Charles been in a position to intervene in the European war in 1638, as in 1631, the Scottish army of the Covenant might have served under another general.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

A FRANCO-IRISH SPY IN 1796.

GENERAL HOCHÉ, while preparing for his expedition to Ireland, secretly sent over one of his staff officers, Captain Bernard Mac

¹³ Rothes, *Relation*, pp. 72, 80, 81, 127.

¹⁴ Fraser, *Melvilles*, i. 391.

¹⁵ *Letters*, i. 111.

¹⁶ *Cal. State Papers*, 1640-1, p. 101. Leslie, however, need not necessarily have at first designed them for employment in Scotland.

¹⁷ I had hoped that the State Papers in the Swedish archives might have provided materials towards the elucidation of this point, but so far I have failed to gain any light from them.

Sheehy. Born in Ireland in 1774, and probably a nephew of John Baptist Mac Sheehy, physician to the French court, Bernard Mac Sheehy studied at the Irish College in Paris. In November 1792 he attended the dinner of British residents of which I gave an account in this Review in October 1898. Arrested in September 1793, in common with all British subjects in France, he offered to join the French army. In May 1794 he was appointed interpreter on the staff of General Félix for the contemplated expedition to India. In 1796 he joined General Hoche's staff, and I have found in the French National Archives (A. F. iii. 186 b) his report on the mission entrusted to him. Translated from the French text it reads thus :—

Brest : 29 Frimaire, year V [19 Nov. 1796].

Directed by General Hoche to go to Ireland, in order to confer with the patriots of that country on the present situation, and at the same time to announce to them the desire of the French people and government to free them from the English yoke, I started from Brest on the 17 Brumaire [7 Nov.] in the American vessel 'Washington.' After undergoing for eleven days all the sufferings that the sea can produce, and the vessel leaking on all sides, we were forced to cast anchor off the Isle of Wight, whence a pilot boat took us to Portsmouth, as also the two Americans directed to accompany me. The 'Washington' was taken to Cowes, where it was seized by the king's lieutenant, Stewart, for having landed passengers without previous examination. It was even stated that the pilot boat which had taken us to Portsmouth had been seized and the captain thrown into prison.

We started next morning for London, knowing that it would there be much easier than elsewhere to remain unknown. After staying some days I resolved to continue my journey to Dublin. A king's messenger was my sole travelling companion. By my apparent attachment for royalty I insinuated myself into his confidence to such a degree that he made me the confidant of his mission. He was the bearer of instructions from the cabinet of St. James's to Lord Camden, viceroy of Ireland, to take every possible means of bringing before the Board of Admiralty a man called Bryan, who had come from Brest to Portsmouth in the American ship 'Washington.' He was strictly enjoined in future to search any vessel from abroad, especially from France. My name was already known in London on account of my former conduct in Paris, and I had thought it necessary to change it. Fancy my astonishment on finding myself thus designated ! I succeeded so well, however, in playing my rôle of royalist that on reaching Dublin the king's messenger invited me to spend the night at the viceroy's castle. It was very late when we landed. I declined as politely as possible, and lodged at the Marine Hotel. I called next day on —. It was more difficult for me to gain their confidence than that of the messenger. The rigour of the government forces them to be more than ever on their guard. Here are the general notes which they gave me on the state of the country.

The military force of Ireland amounts to 45,000 men, 20,000 of whom consist of Scottish Fencibles and 25,000 of the militia of the country. The

latter are for the most part inclined to shake off the yoke. Special vexations have already spread an almost general disaffection among them. A trusty agent was sent the same day to the north. He brought back news that there are already 50,000 men trained to the use of arms, and ready to second the French, and that they had weapons for 15,000 men, and twenty guns at their disposal. They assured me that the disaffection against the government was general, and that the United Irishmen's Association daily increases in strength and extends over the whole surface of Ireland. They are all pledged to bring about a reform. This is the ostensible pretext, but the real aim is to sever the union with England. They are sworn never to abandon one another, to sacrifice all those who may be base enough to deceive them, and to have entire confidence in their chiefs. Several of them are already appointed and known. I was assured that most of them are celebrated for their talents and that all had large properties.

If we consider the civil and political state of the Irish people, there is no doubt that its unfortunate condition inclines it to resort to any means of emerging from it. Already several partial insurrections, fomented by the government, have failed to reveal the general plan concerted by the leaders of the insurrection. They are doing their utmost to restrain the passions of a constantly embittered people, in order to await the moment when they can display an imposing force, capable of destroying all that there is of English in the island. This is at last decided on. If General Hoche effects a landing Ireland is free, France has a faithful ally, and her natural enemy, the enemy of all nations, is struck off the list of nations. The English government, suspecting this, is circulating the following reflexions:—

‘If the French invade Ireland will they respect property, they who have never known how to respect their own? They are short of money and food. If they appear in this country they will leave nothing but famine and distress behind them.’

Such is what the adherents of royalty parade before the eyes of the people, but the firm conduct of the officers and generals satisfies me that property will be respected, and I hope that the means which have been furnished them will sufficiently vouch in the eyes of the Irish people for the good intentions of the French people and government. The persons with whom I have conferred tell me that with money alone they would be able to free themselves, and they have urged me to assure you that if the French troops could only subsist for two months without requiring anything from the inhabitants their efforts would not fail to be crowned with prompt and complete success.

CAPITAINE-ADJOINT MAC SHEEHY.

General Hédouville in forwarding this report stated that Mac Sheehy had landed the previous night near Paimpol, and that he was intelligent and educated, and seemed to have perfectly accomplished his mission. Mac Sheehy also drew up a journal, which is mostly a repetition of his report, but which contains the following passages:—

During the four days in London I remarked that all the women, even