

Original Documents.

CONTEMPORANEOUS COPY OF THE CONVENTION FOR THE SURRENDER OF RENNES, THE CAPITAL OF BRITTANY, TO THE ARMY OF HENRY, DUKE OF LANCASTER AND EARL OF LINCOLN, 1 JULY, 1357.

From the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln.

THIS very remarkable document was recently discovered at Lincoln by Mr. Burtt among the records of the Dean and Chapter, in a box of miscellaneous documents labelled "Useless Papers." It is written upon a sheet of paper 11 in. by 7 in., without margin, and though not the original document, is doubtless a contemporaneous copy. The handwriting is clear, the ink good, and the whole, with the exception of the space of an inch in one of the folds, and two names that are somewhat uncertain, is perfectly legible. Nothing is known of the original Convention itself, which must have carried the seals of Guy de Laval, &c., in any public collection. The paper bears a plain bold ribbed wiremark of the 14th century, in which is to be seen the watermark of a stag, with horns displayed, courant to the sinister. This device does not appear to have been noticed in the collection of early watermarks in a paper contributed to the *Archæologia*¹ by the late Rev. J. Hunter, from the collection now in the Public Record Office.² The document has been folded neatly into a billet 4½ in. by 3½ in., and closed by a paper band passed through it in three places and sealed—evidently that it might be transmitted by a messenger, and very probably to Lincoln, where it was found. Remains of the band, which was of stout paper, exist in one of the openings through which it passed.

Rennes, the capital city of the Duchy of Brittany, and long celebrated for its Parliament, was a place of much importance, civil and military, in the wars between France and England in the 14th century. The war, of which the siege of Rennes was an incident, was everywhere conducted with much cruelty, and was especially severe in Brittany, where the succession was contested, and the rival claimants were supported by two powerful Kings.

John, surnamed the Good, Duke of Brittany, died childless in 1341. His next brother, already dead, had left a daughter, married to Charles of

¹ Vol. xxxvii. p. 447.

² Two of those brought forward by Mr. Hunter, a ram's head and a bell, are earlier than the date of the Rennes Convention. There are no watermarks on the letters relating to the Duchy of

Guienne, temp. Edw. II. in the Public Record Office. Some of these, however, are pierced through for bands to fasten them when folded (as in the Rennes document), and one has a portion of a similar band remaining in it.

Blois, maternal nephew to the French King, and who claimed the Duchy as her right as well as by Duke John's Will. There survived, however, also a younger half-brother of Duke John, John Count de Montfort, who claimed as the male heir. Philip of France was in arms for one candidate and Edward of England for the other. The French peers had decided, as was to be expected, against De Montfort, who seized the Duchy and did homage to Edward. In the course of the war De Montfort was taken prisoner, but his cause was carried on by his Countess, Joan of Flanders, a lion-hearted woman, who with their infant son, threw herself into Hennebon, and there stood a very severe siege, which was at last raised in 1343 by Sir Walter Manny and a force from England. The account of the siege, and the tardy relief of the place, is well known to all readers of Froissart.

In 1345 De Montfort died, and Edward became the guardian of John his infant son. In 1346 the battle of Crecy was fought, and soon afterwards Charles of Blois was taken prisoner. In 1350 King Philip of France was succeeded by John his son, who was taken prisoner at Poitiers 19th September, 1357. In the preceding month Henry Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Lincoln had been constituted captain of the Duchy of Brittany in the names of Edward and the infant Duke.

Later in that year Lancaster marched into the Duchy with the army that had triumphed at Poitiers, and on the 3rd October appeared before Rennes. The city at that time was well garrisoned, containing among other leaders the Viscount de Rohan, the Sire de Laval, and the Chevalier de Dinan. The Duke, probably from fear of an attack from without upon his rear, was for some time inactive, and suffered from the scarcity of provisions and the assaults of the garrison, and was much harassed by Bertrand Du Guesclin, who threatened his camp from the rear. This renowned patriotic leader and famous Breton knight had already figured conspicuously in the celebrated combat of the Thirty,³ and achieved much distinction in his attempts to force the English army to raise the siege of Rennes. He burned a large *beffroi* or wooden tower which they had made to command the walls; he fought several single combats with distinguished English knights in view both of besiegers and besieged, and was victorious in them all; he then threw himself into the place with a small but chosen band of followers, and headed its defenders. Hard pressed as Rennes was by the English army, it had also another foe to contend with, which proved to be irresistible, and that was *famine*: A late historian of Brittany tells an amusing story how the English tried to draw out the garrison so as to attack them at advantage, and how the French defeated the scheme. A herd of 2000 pigs was suffered to approach the walls to provoke a sally, when suddenly the drawbridge was lowered, and the piteous cries of a living sow, hung up within a safe distance, so attracted the porkers that they burst from the swineherds and rushed tumultuously into the place. So the town was re-victualled for a time; "And thus," says the writer, "arose the proverb 'Un tel nous a donné du lard.'" But all was in vain, and want prevailed. The English were invited to send six knights into the town to treat with the besieged, and when they entered, they were astonished to see an abundance of victuals everywhere displayed. This was a ruse on the part of Du Guesclin to obtain better terms. There

³ See remarks on the "Sire de Biaumenouer," p. 401.

is a chronicle of Du Guesclin, written very soon after his death, and which has been published more than once, in which are recorded many of his remarkable achievements in connection with the siege of Rennes.

Meantime King John and his captor had discussed and settled terms of a Peace between the two kingdoms, which was completed at Bordeaux, the 23rd March,⁴ and in consequence Lancaster was ordered by the King to raise the siege.⁵ This first order seems to have been made on the 2nd April, 1357, and refers distinctly to the Peace which had then been made. But the mandate must have been entirely neglected by the Duke, and indeed the execution of the Treaty would seem to have been quite unknown to those who drew up the Convention now brought to notice. The English leader appears to have sworn not to retire until his banner had floated over the walls. "Le Duc de l'Encloistre," says the rhyming chronicle of Du Guesclin, had sworn :—

" Que son serement et sa foi créantée
Il ne s'en partiroit tant qu'il e'ust durée,
Se l'enseigne du roi d'Engleterre la lee
N'estoit sur les creneaux tout contremont montée."

The Bishop of Rennes, who had passed through the Duke's camp under a safe conduct, brought the news of the Peace, saying that he wondered the Duke had not received it. There is no doubt that the siege continued in all its severity to the date of the document now brought to notice—the 1st of July in that year. At that time such was the condition of the gallant defenders of Rennes that they entered into the convention for its surrender, which is to the following effect :—

[Epitome of conditions for the Surrender of Rennes.]

We, Guy, Sire de Laval, &c., in the name and on behalf of the noble Prince Charles Duke of Bretagne, make known that as regards the siege of Rennes by the Lord Henry Duke of Lancaster, &c., Lieutenant of the King of England, and for John de Bretagne Earl of Montfort, we have (for the honour of God and to avoid the great perils that may ensue) agreed with the said Lord as follows. In honour and reverence of the said Lord the town shall be surrendered to him, its keys be delivered to him, and his banners put upon the walls, with all the honour and reverence due to such a Lord, and the guard of the said town shall be a captain that we shall put there, who shall swear to keep the same well and truly, and to give it up to the person appointed to receive the same by the final peace between the Kings of France and England. Sir Oliver de Cliczon, Sir Michael Delapole, Hugh de Calveleg, Henry Rose, John of Monmouth, John de Vzelbourne, and Peter de Creting, shall be given up to him.

For the ransom of the men and goods of the town 100,000 crowns shall be paid to the said Lord :—20,000 at once ; 20,000 within the next five weeks ; 20,000 at Whitsuntide next ; and the other 40,000 at the end of the following year ; which being done the town shall be at the disposal of the parties to the Convention, and shall remain for [the settlement of] the final peace between the said Kings.

And so the present siege shall be raised at all points at once, without continuing during the performance of the matters aforesaid. And for the keeping and accomplishing of the same conditions well and loyally in every respect without hindrance by any one, We, the persons aforesaid and Morice

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pars 1, p. 348.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 353.

de Park, Peter Hericzon, and Guillemont Levesque, bind ourselves and our heirs to the said Lord or his deputies, and each of us for all of us bind all our goods and heritages wherever they may be ; that the same may be sold and distributed by the said Lord or his deputies, attornies, or executors. And to keep all and every one of these things by us, our heirs, and successors, We have sworn by the faith of our bodies and knighthood, the holy Evangelists being touched by us. Except that we are not bound to surrender the said Sir Oliver de Cliczon for five weeks to come, and from such obligation to surrender the said Oliver the Sire de Beaumanoir and Silvester de la Fueille are released. And we pledge ourselves to the said Lord that we will keep all the things aforesaid in everything touching him. In witness whereof we have given to the said Lord these letters sealed with our own seals the first day of July, 1357.

On the 4th July, 1357,⁶ appeared a second and very positive order from the King to Lancaster, dated at London, expressing his great displeasure at the continuance of the siege in violation of the terms agreed upon in the Peace between England and France, and ordering instant obedience. This second order could not have arrived at Rennes till long after the conditions of the present Convention had been put into execution. The historian already referred to allows that the English were admitted into the town out of regard to the oath of their leader ; but one might be disposed to maintain that such terms of surrender expressed in the language of the document now presented to notice cannot be explained away by such a colourable representation of the circumstances. De Marteville sums up his account by saying—"Tel fut l'issue du siège de Rennes, siège fameux par les grandes actions qui s'y firent, la longueur, le nombre et l'intrepidite des combattants. L'histoire nous en offre peu de plus memorables, et par une contradiction assez étrange, peu de moins connus."⁷ In the paucity of such existing information the document now before us is of special value.

Of the persons named Guy, Sire de Laval et de Chateaubriant, was the head of the house of Montmorency-Laval, the elder cadets of that eminent family. He descended from Matthew de Montmorency, Constable of France, and Emma his second wife, only child of Guy Lord of Laval. Writing of the race of Laval, Duchesne observes, "laquelle, puis que les familles ont leurs periodes, comme toutes les autres choses du monde, ne pouvoit desirer une plus glorieuse cheute qu'en celle de Montmorency." This "glorious" absorption took place about 1222. Guy, XIth of the name, Sire de Laval et de Chateaubriant, was eldest son of Guy the Xth by Beatrice de Bretagne, second daughter of Duke Arthur by Yolande de Dreux Countess of Montfort, and therefore a princess of the blood of France. The elder Guy was slain at the battle of Roche-Derrien in 1347, fighting for Charles of Blois, the French claimant of the Breton Duchy. His eldest son, Guy, was there taken prisoner, and though ransomed for a large sum by his mother, died childless in 1348. He was succeeded by his brother, also named Guy, the Guy of the present document, who married, as his first wife, Louise, sister and heiress of Geoffrey de Chateaubriant, who also fell at Roche-Derrien. She died in 1383. It was this match, which is shewn by this present record to have taken place before 1357, which gave to her husband the title of De Chateaubriant.

⁶ *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pars 1, p. 359.

⁷ De Marteville, "Rennes, ancien et moderne," p. 115.

John de Laval, Sire de Chasteillon et de Tintiniac, a hostage under the treaty of Evran, also a Montmorency, was second cousin to Guy of Chateaubriant. He was son of Andrew de Chastillon, a younger son of Guy VIII. de Laval. He was a well-known soldier, and a combatant in the famous combat of the Thirty, afterwards noticed. He married, the record shows before 1357, Isabel, heiress of Tintiniac, whence his designation. Chastillon came into the family with Philippe, wife of Guy VII. de Laval in 1231. Jeanne, sister to John, married Sir William Felton, so renowned in the wars of the Black Prince.

John de Laval, Sire de Pacy, was uncle to Guy de Chateaubriant. Pacy-sur-Marne was a family lordship held by his uncle William, who died childless, and was probably granted to John by his elder brother Guy X. de Laval. John had an elder brother, Peter, Bishop of Rennes, who died in 1357. His attempt to save the city of Rennes by bringing news of the peace has been already noticed. The last Lord of Tintiniac was slain at the combat of Mauron in 1351.

Finally, Guy de Laval, Sire de Loue. was second son of Andrew de Chastillon. Loue was also a family barony held by Thibault, Guy's uncle, who was slain s.p. at Poitiers in 1356, and then no doubt inherited by him. The family of Montmorency-Laval was very powerful in Brittany, and, as became them, much opposed to the English.

John de Chateaugiron was probably the head of the considerable Breton family of that name, and no doubt the same who is mentioned in the rhyming chronicle of le 'Libvre du bon Jehan' as present at the siege of Rennes in 1340.

"I. a estoit l'evesque de Rennes
Et si estoit celui de Vennes
Laval, Rohan, et Rochefort,
La Roche, Lohéac et Montfort,
Et Monsieur Charles de Dinan

Acerac et Chateaugiron
Et pluseurs aultres d'environ," [L. 3654].

A Sire de Malestroît, as mentioned in Barnes's history in 1352, was a hostage at Evran. The place is in "Breton bretonnant" or Lower Brittany. The "Sire de Biaumenouer" was Marshal Beaumanoir. He was the leader of the Breton party in the combat of the Thirty, fought by arrangement with the English with thirty men-at-arms on each side, between Josselin and Ploermel, the 27th March, 1351. After a long and bloody encounter, in which many on each side were killed, and very few unhurt, the Bretons were victorious. The spot is still marked by a cross, on which is an inscription recording the event. Several of the combatants afterwards took part in the siege of Rennes.

The Sire de Montauban was an adherent of the French party. He was made prisoner at Auray in 1364, where Charles of Blois was slain and Du Guesclin taken prisoner, and in consequence of which John de Montfort was acknowledged by France. Raoul de Montfort was present at Chisey, and also taken at Auray. Another Sire de Montfort fell at Roche-Derrien. La Fueille, and St. Pere are amongst the

"Maint bon chevaliers que nommer ne savens."

Robert de St. Pere was a Breton gentleman, who with the Chevalier de

Penhoet, made his way into Rennes after the siege had begun. Morice de Park was present at the battle of Chisey. [*Chron. de B. du Guesclin*, II. pp. 293—541.]

Of those who were to be surrendered, and who were probably English prisoners, Oliver de Cliczon is doubtless Oliver de Clisson, whose father was beheaded without form of law by Philip of France, on suspicion of having favoured the English, and whose son in consequence became a strong partizan of the Countess Joan, and therefore might, at this time, have been acting with the English. At a later period his French instincts prevailed, and he rose to be Constable of France. Michael de la Pole may well have been he who was afterwards Earl of Suffolk. He was probably of age in 1339-40, and in 1369-78 he accompanied the Duke of Lancaster beyond sea. Hugh de Calverley of Lea in Cheshire, was a well-known soldier in the wars of France. He was one of the combatants in the fight of the Thirty. In 1364 his life was saved by Du Guesclin, but he probably was made prisoner. He was buried in Bromley Church, Cheshire, where his monument still exists.

Who Henry Rose was is doubtful. Henry was not a name in the family of Ros. The Monmouths were a baronial family connected with the town of that name. John, the last baron, died s.p.m. 41 Hen. III, but this John de Monmouth must have been a kinsman. In 1365 he was ordered to send miners from Dere Forest to the Prince of Wales in Gascony. Vzelbourne is probably not the real spelling. Pere or Peter de Creting may have belonged to the family of John de Creting, summoned to Parliament 6 Ed. III. Edmund and Henry de Creting occur in public documents in the reign of Ed. III.

Brogerac or Bergerac was the Duke's lordship in Aquitaine. It was the scene of a most gallant exploit by Sir Walter Manny in the 18 Ed. III.

G. T. C.

Nous, Guy, Sire de Laval et de Chasteaubriant, Johan de Laval, Sire de Chasteillon et de Tintiniac, Johan de Chasteaugiron, Sire de Malestroit, Jehan, Sire de Biaumenouer, Oliver, Sire de Montabon, Raoul, Sire de Montford, Johan de Laval, Sire de Pacy, Guy de Laval, Sire de Loue, Sevestre de la Fueille, et Robert de Saynt Pere, troutours au nom et pour tres noble prince Monsieur Monsieur Charles Duc de Bretagne, en son absens, fesons savoir que sur le fait de sege estant devant la ville de Rennes par tres honore Seigneur Monsieur Henry, Duc de Lancastre, Counte de Derby, de Nicole, de Laycestre, Seneschal Dengleterre, Seigneur de Brogerac, lieu tenant es parties de Bretagne pour tres noble et tres excellent prince le Roy Dengleterre, et pour Monsieur Johan de Bretagne, Conte de Montfort, Avons en honour de dieu et pour eschuiuer plusieurs grans perils que puent ensuiuer, traite o^s le dit tres honore Seigneur en la manere qe ensuit. Cestasavoir que pour honours et reverences de dit treshonore Seigneur li serra la ville rendue, et les cleffs baillez, et ces banieres mises sur les murs, o tout honours et reverences, come dit est et come a tiel Seigneur appartient. Et serra et demorra la garde de la dite ville a un capitain que nous on^s dit nom y metterons, le quele jurra a bien et loialment la garder, et la rendre la ou serra ordeyne par la finale pais des Roys de France et Dengleterre, et de lours royaumes. Item lui serront renduz Monsieur Oliver de Cliczon, Monsieur Michel de la Poule, Hugh de Calvelegh, Henry Rose, Jehan de

⁸ Avec.

⁹ En.

Mynmoth, Johan de Vzelbourne, et Pere de Creting. Item pour la ranzon des gens et biens de la dite ville, serront paieez par le dit traite a dit treshonore Seigneur cent mille escuz ; assavoir est vint mille a present, vint mille escuz dedenz cinq septimes prochain ensuantz, et autres vint mille escuz Pentecoste prochain ensuant, et les autres quarante mille dedenz la fin de lan prochain ensuant, qe fait, la dite ville ordeinee demorra a la partie des ditz traictours et demorroit pour la finale pais des dessus ditz Roys et royaumes. Et ainsui est a present oste la dite sege de toutz pointz, sanz mettre sege devant la dite ville, les ditz temps durante, fornissant et accomplissant les choses dessus dites. Et quant a ce tenir fornir et acomplir de point en point, bien et loialment a noz pouairs sanz ascun enpeschement, et de non venir encontre par nous ne par autres, Nous dessus ditz traittours, et nous Morice de Park, Pere Hericzon, et Guillemont Levesque, et chescun de nous pour le tout, nous obligeons au dit treshonore Seigneur ou a ces desputez atournors ou executours, et chescun de nous pour le tout, sanz division de biens ne de partie, noz heirs et touz nos biens, meubles et heritages, presens et aveners, quele part qils soient trovez, a prendre vendre et distribuer par le dit treshonore Seigneur ou ces desputez atornez ou executours. Et tout ces choses et chescun tenir sanz fraude ou mal engin, avons jurre par la foy de noz corps et de chivalerie, et sur saintz evaungelles corporelment tochees, tant pour nous que pour noz heirs et successors. Sauffe que nous ne suismes tenuz rendre le dit Sire Oliver de Cliczon jesques a cinq septimes prochain avenir, et en celle obligation de rendre le dit Monsieur Oliver de Cliczon nous Sire de Biaumenouer et Sevestre de la Fueille ne suismes point obliges. Et nous appruoms le dit treshonore Seigneur en bone foy les dites chosez et chescune tenir et acomplir en tant come li touche. En tesmoignance des choses dessus dictes avons donee a dit treshonoree Seigneur ces presentes lettres seelles de nos propres scaux le primer jour de Juillet lan de grace Mill ccclvii.