1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*
http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/index.php

In the king's absence, whilst he was forth of the realm in Scotland against his enemies, Welshmen took occasion to rebel under the conduct of their captain Owen Glendower, doing what mischief they could devise, unto their English neighbors. . . .

The king advertised of such rebellious exploits, enterprised by the said Owen, and his unruly accomplices, determined to chastise them, as disturbers of his peace, and so with an army entered into Wales; but the Welshmen with their captain withdrew into the mountains of Snowdon, so to escape the revenge, which the king meant towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and sword, slaying diverse that with weapon in hand came forth to resist him, and so with a great bootie of beasts and cattle he returnd. . . .

Owen Glendower and his Welshmen did much hurt to the king's subjects. One night as the king was going to bed, he was in danger to have been destroyed; for some naughty traitorous persons had conveyed into his bed a certain iron made with smiths craft, like a caltrop, with three long pricks, sharp and small, standing upright, in such sort, that when he had laid him down, & that the weight of his body should come upon the bed, he should have been thrust in with those pricks, and peradventure slain: but as God would, the king not thinking of any such thing, chanced yet to féele and perceive the instrument before he laid him down, and so escaped the danger. Howbeit he was not so soone delivered from fear; for he might well have his life in suspicion, & prouide for the preseruation of the same; sith perils of death crept into his secret chamber, and lay lurking in the bed of down where his body was to be reposed and to take rest. Oh what a suspected state therefore is that of a king holding his regiment with the hatred of his people, the heartgrudgings of his courtiers, and the peremptory practices of both together? Could he confidently compose or settle himself to sleep for fear of strangling? Durst he boldly eat and drink without dread of poisoning? Might he adventure to show himself in great meetings or solemn assemblies without mistrust of mischief against his person intended? What pleasure or what felicity could he take in his princely pomp, which he knew by manifest and fearful experience, to be envied and maligned to the very death?

Owen Glendower, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble together against them, under the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earl of March. But coming to try the matter by battle, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortuned, that the English power was discomfited, the earl taken prisoner, and above a thousand of his people slain in the place. The shameful villainy used by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses, was such, as honest ears would be ashamed to hear, and continent tongues to speak thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great sums of money given for liberty to convey them away. . . .

The king was not hasty to purchase the deliverance of the earl March, because his title to the crown was well enough known, and therefore suffered him to remain in miserable prison, wishing both the said earl, and all other of his lineage out of this life, with God and his saints in heaven, so they had been out of the way, for then all had been well enough as he thought. . . .

About mid of August, the king to chastise the presumptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to pursue the captain of the Welsh, the rebel Owen Glendower, but in effect he lost his labor; for Owen conveyed himself out of the way, into his known lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magic, he caused such foul weather of winds, tempest, rain, snow, and hail to be raised, for the annoyance of the kings army, that the like had not been heard of; in such sort, that the king was constrained to return home, having caused his people yet to spoil and burn first a great part of the country. . . .

Archibald earl Douglas sore displeased in his mind for this overthrow, procured a commission to invade England, and that to his cost, as ye may likewise read in the Scottish histories. For at a place called Holmden, they were so fiercely assailed by the Englishmen, under the leading of the lord Percy, surnamed Henry Hotspur, and George earl of March, that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the Rood day in harvest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. We know that the Scottish writers note this battle to have chanced in the year 1403. But we following Thomas Walsingham in this place, and other English writers, for the accountt of times, have thought good to place it in this year 1402, as in the same writers we find it. . . . Edmund Mortimer earl of March, prisoner with Owen Glendower, whether for irksomeness of cruel captivity, or fear of death, or for what other cause, it is uncertain, agreed to take part with Owen, against the king of England, and took to wife the daughter of the said Owen. . . . Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the nativity of this man, for the same night he was borne, all

his fathers horsses in the stable were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies. . . .

Henry earl of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas earl of Worcester, and his son the lord Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henry in the beginning of his reign, both faithful friends, and earnest aiders, began now to envy his wealth and felicity; and especially they were grieved, because the king demanded of the earl and his son such Scottish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit: for of all the captives which were taken in the conflicts fought in those two places, they delivered to the kings possession only Mordake earl of Fife, the duke of Albany'ss son, though the king did divers and sundry times require deliverance of the residue, and that with great threatnings: wherewith the Percys being sore offended, for that they claimed them as their own proper prisoners, and their peculiar prize, by the counsel of the lord Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, whose study was ever (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a broil, came to the king unto Windsor (upon a purpose to prove him) and there required of him, that either by ransom or otherwise, he would cause to be delivered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earl of March, their cousin germane, whom (as they reported) Owen Glendower kept in filthy prison, shackled with irons, only for that he took his part, and was to him faithful and true. . . .

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in deed it touched him somewhat near, since this Edmund was son to Roger earl of March, son to the lady Philip, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son of king Edward the third; which Edmund at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclaimed heir apparent to the crown and realm, whose aunt called Elianor, the lord Henry Percy had married; and therefore king Henry could not well hear, that any man should be earnest about the advancement of that lineage. The king when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the earl of March was not taken prisoner for his cause, nor in his service, but willingly suffered himself to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendower, and his accomplices, & therefore he would neither ransom him, nor release him.

The Percys with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, insomuch that Henry Hotspur said openly: Behold, the heir of the realm is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his own will not redeem him. So in this fury the Percys departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henry from the high type of his royalty, and to place in his seat their cousin Edmund earl of March, whom they did not only deliver out of captivity, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henry) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendower. Herewith, they by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, divided the realm amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and seald with their seals, by the covenants whereof, all England from Severn and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earl of March: all Wales, & the lands beyond Severn westward, were appointed to Owen Glendower: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Percy. . . . King Henry not knowing of this new confederacy, and nothing less minding than that which after happened, gathered a great army to go again into Wales, whereof the earl of Northumberland and his son were advertised by the earl of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners at Holmden, for aid of men, promising to the earl of Douglas the town of Berwick, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scottish lords, great lordships and seigniories, if they obtained the upper hand. The Scots in hope of gain, and desirous to be revenged of their old grievances, came to the earl with a great company well appointed. . . .

Incontinently his uncle Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, that had the government of the prince of Wales, who as then lay at London in secret manner, conveyed himself out of the princes house, and coming to Stafford (where he met his nephew) they increased their power by all ways and means they could devise. The earl of Northumberland himself was not with them, but being sick, had promised upon his amendment to repair unto them (as some write) with all convenient speed. . . .

They marched towards Shrewsbury, upon hope to be aided (as men thought) by Owen Glendower, and his Welshmen, publishing abroad throughout the countries on each side, that king Richard was alive, whom if they wished to see, they willed them to repair in armor unto the castle of Chester, where (without all doubt) he was at that present, and ready to come forward. This tale being raised, though it were most untrue, yet it bred variable motions in mens' minds, causing them to waver, so as they knew not to which part they should stick; and verily, divers were well affected towards king Richard, specially such as had tasted of his princely bountifulness, of which there was no small number. And to speak a truth, no marvel it was, if many envied the prosperous state of king Henry, since it was evident enough to the world, that he had with wrong usurped the crown, and not only violently deposed king Richard, but also cruelly procured his death, for the which undoubtedly, both he and his posterity tasted such troubles, as put them still in danger of their states, till their direct succeeding line was quite rooted out by the contrary faction, as in Henry the Sixth and Edward the fourth it may appear. . . .

King Henry after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the same, answered the esquires, that he was ready with dint of sword and fierce battle to prove their quarrel false, and nothing else than a forged matter, not doubting, but that God would aid and assist him in his righteous cause, against the disloyal and false forsworn traitors. The next day in the morning early, being the even of Marie Magdalene, they set their battles in order on both sides, and now whilst the warriors looked when the token of battle should be given, the abbot of Shrewsbury, and one of the clerks of the privy seal, were sent from the king unto the Percys, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reasonable agreement. By their persuasions, the lord Henry Percy began to give ear unto the kings offers, & so sent with them his uncle the earl of Worcester, to declare unto the king the causes of those troubles, and to require some effectual reformation in the same. It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condescended unto all that was reasonable at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble himself more than was meet for his estate, the earl of Worcester (upon his return to his nephew) made relation clean contrary to that the king had said, in such sort that he set his nephews hart more in displeasure towards the king, than ever it was before, driving him by that means to fight whether he would or not: then suddenly blew the trumpets, the kings part crying S. George upon them, the adversaries cried **Esperance Percy**, and so the two armies furiously joined. The archers on both sides shot for the best game, laying on such load with arrows, that many died, and were driven down that never rose again.

The Scots (as some write) which had the fore ward on the Percys side, intending to be revenged of their old displeasures done to them by the English nation, set so fiercely on the kings fore ward, led by the earl of Stafford, that they made the same draw back, and had almost broken their aduersaries arraie. The Welshmen also which before had lain lurking in the woods, mountains, and marshes, hearing of this battle toward, came to the aid of the Percys, and refreshed the wearied people with new succors. The king perceiving that his men were thus put to distresse, what with the violent impression of the Scots, and the tempestuous stormes of arrows, that his aduersaries discharged fréely against him and his people, it was no need to will him to stirre: for suddenly with his fresh battle, he approched and relieved his men; so that the battle began more fierce than before. Here the lord Henry Percy, and the earl Douglas, a right stout and hardy captain, not regarding the shot of the kings battle, nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward together bent their whole forces towards the kings person, comming upon him with speares and swords so fiercely, that the earl of March the Scot, perceiving their purpose, withdrew the king from that side of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and safeguard (as it appeared) for they gave such a violent onset upon them that stood about the kings standard, that slaying his standard-bearer sir Walter Blunt, and overthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all those that stood about it, as the earl of Stafford, that day made by the king constable of the realm, and diverse other.

The prince that day helped his father like a hardy young gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diverse noble men that were about him, would have conveyed him forth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to doo, least his departure from amongst his men might happily have stricken some fear into their harts: and so without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & never ceased, either to fight where the battle was most hot, or to encourage his men where it seemed most needed. This battle lasted three long hours, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crying, “Saint George victory,” broke the array of his enemies, and adventured so far, that (as some write) the earl Douglas strake him down, & at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the king’s suit and clothing, saying: I marvel to see so many kings thus suddenly arise one in the neck of an other. The king in deed was raised, & did that day many a noble feat of arms, for as it is written, he slue that day with his own hands six and thirty persons of his enemies. The other on his part encouraged by his doings, fought valiantly, and slue the lord Percy, called sir Henry Hotspur. To conclude, the kings enemies were vanquished, and put to flight, in which flight, the earl of Douglas, for hast, falling from the crag of a high mountain, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his valiantness, of the king frankly and freely delivered.

[The following passage is from the last chapter in the chronicle on Henry IV, on a period more than ten years after the events discussed above.]

Whilst these things were a dooing in France, the lord Henry prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Henry, got knowledge that certain of his fathers seruants were busie to give informations against him, whereby discord might arise betwixt him and his father: for they put into the kings head, not one|ie what euill rule (according to the course of youth) the prince kept to the offense of many: but also what great resort of people came to his house, so that the court was nothing furnished with such a train as dailie followed the prince. These tales brought no small suspicion into the kings head, least his sonne would presume to vsurpe the crowne, he being yet aliue, through which suspicious gelousie, it was perceived that he fauoured not his sonne, as in times past he had done.

The Prince sore offended with such persons, as by slanderous reports, sought not only to spot his good name abroad in the realm, but to sow discord also betwixt him and his father, wrote letters into every part of the realm, to reprove all such slanderous devises of those that sought his discredit. And to clear himself the better, that the world might understand what wrong he had to be slandered in such wise . . . he came to the court with such a number of noble men and other his friends that wished him well, as the like train had been seldom seen repairing to the court at any one time in those days. He was apparelled in a gown of blue satin, full of small eyelet holes, at every hole the needle hanging by a silk thread with which it was sewed. About his arm he ware an hounds collar set full of SS of gold, and the tirets likewise being of the same metall.

The court was then at Westminster, where he being entered into the hall, not one of his company durst once advance himself further than the fire in the same hall, notwithstanding they were earnestly requested by the lords to come higher: but they regarding what they had in commandment of the prince, would not presume to doo in any thing contrary thereunto. He himself only accompanied with those of the kings house, was straight admitted to the presence of the king his father, who being at that time grievously diseased, yet caused himself in his chair to be borne into his privy chamber, where in the presence of three or four persons, in whom he had most confidence, he commanded the prince to show what he had to say concerning the cause of his coming.

The prince kneeling down before his father said:

Most redoubted and sovereign lord and father, I am at this time come to your presence as your liege man, and as your natural son, in all things to be at your commandment. And where I understand you have in suspicion my demeanor against your grace, you know very well, that if I knew any man within this realm, of whom you should stand in fear, my duty were to punish that person, thereby to remove that grief from your heart. Then how much more ought I to suffer death, to ease your grace of that grief which you have of me, being your natural son and liege man: and to that end I have this day made my self ready by confession and receiving of the sacrament. And therefore I beseech you most redoubted lord and dear father, for the honor of God, to ease your heart of all such suspicion as you have of me, and to dispatch me here before your knees, with this same dagger [and withal he delivered unto the king his dagger, in all humble reverence; adding further, that his life was not so dear to him, that he wished to live one day with his displeasure] and therefore in thus ridding me out of life, and your self from all suspicion, here in presence of these lords, and before God at the day of the general judgment, I faithfully protest clearly to forgive you.

The king moved herewith, cast from him the dagger, and embracing the prince kissed him, and with shedding tears confessed, that in deed he had him partly in suspicion, though now (as he perceived) not with just cause, and therefore from thenceforth no misreport should cause him to have him in mistrust, and this he promised of his honor. So by his great wisdom was the wrongful suspicion that his father had conceived against him removed, and he restored to his favor. And further, where he could not but grievously complain of them that had slandered him so greatly, to the defacing not only of his honor, but also putting him in danger of his life, he humbly besought the king that they might answer their unjust accusation; and in case they were found to have forged such matters upon a malicious purpose, that then they might suffer some punishment for their faults, though not to the full of that they had deserved. The king seeming to grant his reasonable desire, yet told him that he must tarry a parliament, that such offenders might be punished by judgment of their peers: and so for that time he was dismissed, with great love and signs of fatherly affection.

Thus were the father and the son reconciled, betwixt whom the said pickthanks had sown division, insomuch that the son upon a vehement conceit of unkindness sprung in the father, was in the way to be worn out of favor. Which was the more likely to come to pass, by their informations that charged him with riot and other uncivil demeanor unseemly for a prince. Indeed he was youthfully given, grown to audacity, and had chosen him companions agreeable to his age; with whom he spent the time in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fancied. But yet (it should seem by the report of some writers) that his behavior was not offensive or at least tending to the damage of any body; since he had a care to avoid doing of wrong, and to tether his affections within the tract of virtue, whereby he opened unto himself a ready passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloved of such as could discern his disposition, which was in no degree so excessive, as that he deserved in such vehement manner to be suspected. In whose dispraise I find little, but to his praise very much, parcel whereof I will deliver by the way as a yardstick whereby the residue may be measured.