

sualed by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, seeking to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon woord came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the whole realme of Scotland.

“The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degree soeuer they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he set all slouthfull and lingering delaiies apart, and began to assemble an armie in most spedie wise, like a verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constrained by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come together, he diuided the same into three battels. The first was led by Makbeth, the second by Banquho, & the king himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobilitie.

“The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where incountering with the enimies, after a sore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chase on their enimies, but kept themselues all night in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assembling together againe, might haue set vpon them at some aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no enimies were to be found abroad, they gathered the spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by commandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt either man, woman, or child, except such as were found with weapon in hand readie to make resistance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloodshed.

“But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withstand the incursions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents & comming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round about it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus enuironed by his enimies, sent a secret message by counsell of Banquho to Makbeth, commanding him to abide at Inchcuthill, till he heard from him some other newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sueno, as though he would haue yeelded vp the castell into his hands, vnder certeine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise ment against them, till all things were brought to passe that might serue for the purpose. At length when they were fallen at a point for rendering vp the hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell into the campe greate prouision of vittels to refresh the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of sustenance manie daies before.

“The Scots heereupon tooke the iuice of mekilwoort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great abundance vnto their enimies. They reioising that they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might deuoure and swallow vp most, till the operation of the berries spread in such sort through all the parts of their bodies, that they were in the end brought into a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was vnpossible to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and set vpon the enimies, being in easie point to be ouercome. Makbeth making no delaiie, came with his people to the place where his enimies were lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards entered the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides without anie resistance that it was a wonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were so heaue of sleepe that the most part of them were slaine and neuer stirred; other that were awak-

ened either by the noise or other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make anie defense: so that of the whole number there escaped no more but onelie Sueno himselfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

“The most part of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be partakers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fellows: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued how through lacke of mariners he should not be able to conueie awaie his nauie, he furnished one ship throughlie with such as were left, and in the same sailed backe into Norwaie, cursing the time that he set forward on this infortunate iournie. The other ships which he left behind him, within three daies after his departure from thence, were tossed so together by violence of an east wind, that beating and rushing one against another, they sunke there, and lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the great danger of other such ships as come on that coast: for being couered with the fload when the tide commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some part of them appeere aboue water.

“The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost, is yet called Drownelaw sands. This ouerthrow receiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie displeasent to him and his people, as should appeere, in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no knights were made in Norwaie, except they were first sworne to reuenge the slaughter of their countriemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The Scots hauing woone so notable a victorie, after they had gathered & divided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enimies. But whilst the people were thus at their processions, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, sent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos ouerthrow. To resist these enimies, which were

alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the cuntry; Makbeth and Banquho were sent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incouerted the enimies, slue part of them, and chased the other to their ships. They that escaped and got once to their ships, obtinéd of Makbeth for a great summe of gold [see i. 2. 60-62], that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burieng noble men still is and heeretofore hath beene vsed.

“A peace was also concluded at the same time betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner of meanes. And these were the warres that Duncane had with forren enimies, in the seventh yeere of his reigne. Shortlie after happened a strange and vncouth woonder, which afterward was the cause of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall after heare.

ACT I. *Scene III.*—“It fortunéd as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went sporting by the waie together without other companie, saué onelie themselves, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the midst of a laund, there met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentiuellie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said; All haile Makbeth, thane of Glamis (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell). The second of them said; Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder. But the third said; All haile Makbeth that heereafter shalt be king of Scotland.

“Then Banquho; What manner of women (saith he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing fourth nothing for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we

promise greater benefits vnto thee, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in deed, but with an vnluckie end: neither shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in his place, where contrarilie thou in deed shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those shall be borne which shall gouern the Scottish kingdome by long order of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantastical illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromantical science, because euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken. For shortlie after, the thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treason against the king committed; his lands, liuings, and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mackbeth.

“The same night after, at supper, Banquho iested with him and said; Now Mackbeth thou hast obtained those things which the two former sisters prophesied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that which the third said should come to passe. Wherevpon Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began euen then to devise how he might atteine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he must tarie a time, which should aduance him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe in his former preferment.

“But shortlie after it chanced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them called Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were thereby to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his deceasse.

ACT I. *Scene IV.*—“Mackbeth sore troubled herewith, for that he saw by this means his hope sore hindered (where, by the

old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon himselfe, he that was next of bloud vnto him should be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell so to doo (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come preteind vnto the crowne.

“The words of the three weird sisters also (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him herevnto, but speciallie his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene. At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whome Banquho was the chiefest, vpon confidence of their promised aid, he slue the king at Eneuerns, or (as some say) at Botgosuane, in the sixt yeare of his reigne.

ACT II. *Scene IV.*—“Then hauing a companie about him of such as he had made priue to his enterprise, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he receiued the inuesture of the kingdome according to the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and conueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour, 1046.

“Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they might well know that Mackbeth would seeke to bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of Etheldred recouered the dominior of England from the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of most friendlie entertainment; but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land. Mackbeth, after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, vsed great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,

thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all enormities and abuses, which had chanced through the feeble and slouthfull administration of Duncane.'

"[And so vigorously did Macbeth carry out his reforms, that 'these theeues, barrettors, and other oppressors of the innocent people' . . . 'were streight waies apprehended by armed men, and trussed vp in halters on gibbets, according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue of misdoers that were left, were punished and tamed in such sort, that manie yeares after all theft and reifings were little heard of, the people inioieng the blissefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie. Mackbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by anie disordered persons within his realme, was accounted the sure defense and buckler of innocent people; and hereto he also applied his whole indeuor, to cause yoong men to exercise themselues in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their diuine seruice according to their vocations.

"'He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, because through them and their seditious attempts, much trouble dailie rose in the realme.' . . . 'To be brieue, such were the woorthie dooings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had attained therevnto by rightfull means, and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie holesome laws and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.' Holinshed here 'sets forth according to Hector Boetius' some of the laws made by Macbeth, and for one of them the king certainly deserves a handsome notice from some of our most advanced reformers of the present day: 'The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leave no sonne behind him.']

"'These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. . . . For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup as he had ministred to his predecessor. The words also of the three weird sisters would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo.

ACT III. *Scenes I. and III.*—"He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquo and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

"'It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancedmedlie¹ (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare), but

¹ The old law term for manslaughter. Dalton, in his *Country Justice* (1620), says: "Manslaughter, otherwise called *chancedmedley*, is the killing a man feloniously, . . . and yet without any malice forethought," etc.—(*Ed.*)

euen vpon a prepensd deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales.'

"[The old historian here makes a digression in order to 'rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquho.' It will suffice here to note that (according to Holinshed) Fleance's great-grandson Alexander had two sons, from one of whom descended 'the earles of Leuenox and Dernlie,' and from the other came Walter Steward, who 'married Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name,' 'the first' (says French, *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, p. 291) 'of the dynasty of Stuart, which continued to occupy the throne until the son of Mary Queen of Scots, James, the sixth of the name, was called to the throne of England, as James the First.']

"'But to returne vnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnderstand that after the contriued slaughter of Banquho, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his ownè life, and durst vneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmised cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

"'At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profite (as hee thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might the better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subjects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from

Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

"'At the last, when the turne fell vnto Makduffe thane of Fife to builde his part, he sent workemen with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bee giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had doone, which he refused to doo, for doubt lest the king bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent handes vpon him, as he had doone vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and because he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

ACR IV. *Scene I.* — "'And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his

heart, supposing he might doo what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to doo manie outragious things, to the greuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in eurie noble mans house one slie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or doone within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme [see iii. 4. 131].

ACT IV. *Scene II.* — “Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuerthelesse Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine.

ACT IV. *Scene III.* — “Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Makduffe was already escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hee might make by means of his support to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intoller-

able and most heaueie yoke of thralldome, which they susteined at such a caitifes hands.

“Malcolme hearing Makduffes woords, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for meere compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasioned ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they dailie susteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorrowfull for the oppression of his countrymen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further triall, and therevpon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth.

“I am trulie verie sorie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to defloure your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is. Heereunto Makduffe answered: this suerly is a verie euill fault, for many noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuerthelesse there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell, Make thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wiselie, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.

“Then said Malcolme, I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would slea the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmised accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischiefe may insue on you through mine vnsatiabie couetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a sore place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continually sucked out hir blood: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would haue the flies driuen beside hir, she answered no: for if these flies that are already full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased awaie, other that are emptie and fellie¹ an hungred, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my blood farre more to my greuance than these, which now being satisfied doo not much annoie me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine inquenchaible auarice may prooue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the vnmeasureable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you.

“Makduffe to this made answer, how it was a far woorse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischiefe, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue beene slaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire. Then said Malcolme againe,

¹ The obsolete adverb corresponding to the adjective *fell*, and = fiercely, cruelly. Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. II. 48:—

“How many flies, in whottest sommers day,
Do seize upon some beast whose flesh is bare,
That all the place with swarmes do overlay,
And with their litle stings right felly fare,” etc. — (*Ed.*)

I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasings,¹ and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioise in nothing so much, as to betraie & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my woords. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse,² and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you see how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or region: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praigne you find shift to cloke this vice amongst the residue.

“Then said Makduffe: This yet is the worst of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie; Oh ye vnhappy and miserable Scottishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, ech one aboue other! Ye haue one cursed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltye. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behaiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing woorthie to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie auaritious, and giuen to vnsatiabie lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie woord he speaketh. Adieu, Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation: and with those woords the brackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

“At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the sleue, and said: Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iested with

¹ Falsehoods. Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 9. 51: “And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies.” See also *Psalms*, iv. 2, v. 6, *T. N.* i. 1. 105, *Cor.* v. 2. 22. — (*Ed.*)

² Truthfulness. On *sooth* = truth, see note on i. 2. 36 below. Cf. *shamefastness* (= modesty), of which our modern *shamefacedness* is a corruption. — (*Ed.*)

thee in this manner, onelie to prooue thy mind: for diuerse times heeretofore hath Makbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same. Incontinentlie heereupon they imbraced ech other, and promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Soone after, Makduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hastilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull vsurper.

“In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edward’s hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland, was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heereupon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcomes side, would not ieopard to ioine with their enimes in a pight¹ field, till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enemies power to increase, by such aid as came to them foorth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunsinane, and to fight with his enimes, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with

¹ Pitched. Cf. *T. and C.* v. 10. 24:—

“You vile abominable tents,
Thus proudly pight upon our Phrygian plains.”—(*Ed.*)

Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage¹ sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which stale dailie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was borne of anie woman.

ACT V. *Scene IV.*—“Malcolme following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march foorth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within viewe of his enimes. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembered himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Neuerthesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo valiantlie, howbeit his enimes had scarsely cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streit to flight, whom Makduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfanaine, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse, saieing; Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy

¹ Hire, bribe. Cf. *Cor.* v. 6. 40:—

“I seem’d his follower, not partner, and
He wag’d me with his countenance, as if
I had been mercenary.”—(*Ed.*)

paines, and therewithall he lifted vp his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

ACT V. *Scene VIII.*—“But Makduffe quicklie auoiding¹ from his horsse, yer he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saieing: It is true Makbeth, and now shall thy insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he stept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeeres ouer the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth, (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yeere of the incarnation 1057, and in the 16 yeere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

“Malcolme Cammore thus recouering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yeere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Makbeth, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenox, Murrey, Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue beene heard of amongst the Scottishmen, (as their histories doo make mention.)’

¹ Withdrawing, dismounting. Cf. *W. T.* i. 2. 462: “Let us avoid;” *Cor.* iv. 5. 34: “here’s no place for you; pray you, avoid.” See also *1 Samuel*, xviii. 11.—(*Ed.*)

“In the ‘fift Chapter’ of ‘the eight Booke of the historie of England,’ Shakespear found the account of young Siward’s death (v. 7):—

“About the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentieth yeare, as should appeare by the Scottish writers, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horssemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that doone, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English writers say that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers doo testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he vanquished Mackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawn into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

“It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorrowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquire the land, whose hap was there to be slaine; and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the

forepart; I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.”

DR. FORMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAY.—The manuscript mentioned on p. 9 above is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The sketch of *Macbeth* is as follows, the spelling being modernized:

“In *Macbeth*, at the Globe, 1610, the 20th of April, Saturday, there was to be observed first how *Macbeth* and *Banquo*, two noblemen of Scotland, riding through a wood, there stood before them three women, fairies or nymphs, and saluted *Macbeth*, saying three times unto him, Hail, *Macbeth*, king of Codor, for thou shalt be a king, but shall beget no kings, etc. Then said *Banquo*, What, all to *Macbeth* and nothing to me? Yes, said the nymphs, Hail, to thee, *Banquo*; thou shalt beget kings, yet be no king. And so they departed, and came to the Court of Scotland, to *Duncan* king of Scots, and it was in the days of *Edward* the Confessor. And *Duncan* bade them both kindly welcome, and made *Macbeth* [*sic*] forthwith Prince of Northumberland, and sent him home to his own castle, and appointed *Macbeth* to provide for him, for he would sup with him the next day at night, and did so. And *Macbeth* contrived to kill *Duncan*, and through the persuasion of his wife did that night murder the king in his own castle, being his guest. And there were many prodigies seen that night and the day before. And when *Macbeth* had murdered the king, the blood on his hands could not be washed off by any means, nor from his wife's hands, which handled the bloody daggers in hiding them, by which means they became both much amazed and affronted. The murder being known, *Duncan's* two sons fled, the one to England, the [other to] Wales, to save themselves; they being fled, they were supposed guilty of the murder of their father, which was nothing so. Then was *Macbeth* crowned king, and then he for fear of *Banquo*, his old companion, that he should beget kings but be not king himself, he contrived the death of *Banquo*, and caused him to

be murdered on the way as he rode. That next night, being at supper with his noblemen, whom he had bid to a feast, to the which also *Banquo* should have come, he began to speak of noble *Banquo*, and to wish that he were there. And as he thus did, standing up to drink a carouse to him, the ghost of *Banquo* came and sat down in his chair behind him. And he, turning about to sit down again, saw the ghost of *Banquo*, which fronted him so that he fell in a great passion of fear and fury, uttering many words about his murder, by which, when they heard that *Banquo* was murdered, they suspected *Macbeth*. Then *Macduff* fled to England to the king's son, and so they raised an army and came into Scotland, and at *Dunsmenayse* overthrew *Macbeth*. In the mean time, while *Macduff* was in England, *Macbeth* slew *Macduff's* wife and children, and after, in the battle, *Macduff* slew *Macbeth*. Observe also how *Macbeth's* queen did rise in the night in her sleep, and walked, and talked and confessed all, and the Doctor noted her words.”