Macbeth Navigator: Excerpts from

Holinshed’s Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland

[Shakespeare’s primary source for Macbeth was Raphael Holinshed’s Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, first published in 1577. The outlines of Shakespeare’s story are derived from Holinshed’s account of Kings Duncan and Macbeth. In addition, Shakespeare seems to have taken many particulars from Holinshed’s account of King Duffe, who died eighty years before Macbeth did.]

Source of these excerpts:

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- from page 273: After the killing of Banquo, nothing goes well for Macbeth. Many are afraid of him, and he is afraid of many.
- page 274: Macbeth puts many nobles to death on trumped-up charges and seizes their goods. | To increase his power, Macbeth orders a great castle to be built on Dunsinane hill. | Macduff, in fear of his life, sends workmen to the castle but does not go himself. Macbeth takes offense at this, especially since “certeine wizzards” had told him to take heed of Macduff. | Macbeth refrains from killing Macduff only because “a certeine witch” told him that he could not be slain by any man born of woman, nor be vanquished until “the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane.” | Macbeth goes to England to persuade Malcolm to claim the throne of Scotland. Macbeth, through his spies, hears of Macduff’s plan and goes to Macduff’s dwelling, expecting to find him there. Macduff’s people open the gate to Macbeth, but he nevertheless kills everyone inside.
- page 275: Macduff pleads with Malcolm to come to Scotland, take the throne, and rescue the country from Macbeth. | Malcolm tests Macduff by telling him that he (Malcolm) is lustful and greedy, and would be a worse king than Macbeth.
- page 276: Malcolm, continuing to test Macduff, says he is a liar. At this, Macduff is disgusted and weeps for Scotland. | Malcolm tells Macduff he was only testing him, to see if he might be an agent of Macbeth. | Malcolm and Macduff plan the invasion of Scotland and receive the aid of old Siward and an army of ten thousand. | Macbeth decides to defend himself at Dunsinane, despite advice to the contrary, because he trusts in the prophecies. | In Birnam wood, Malcolm orders his men to cut boughs to disguise themselves as they approach Dunsinane.
- from page 277: Macbeth sees Birnam wood move, but urges his men to stand and fight. However, when Macbeth sees the size of the opposing army he tries to run away. | Macduff pursues Macbeth, and Macbeth tells him that he cannot be killed of woman born. Macduff reveals that he was “neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe” and kills Macbeth, then cuts off his head, puts it on a pole, and takes it to Malcom. | Malcolm is crowned king and rewards his followers by creating them the first earls of Scotland. The new earls are “Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenox, Murrey, Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus.”

King Duffe:

- from page 233: King Duffe falls into a wasting disease, which prevents him from sleeping, and witches are found to be causing it.
• **page 234**: The witches are discovered roasting a wax image of King Duffe over a fire and reciting enchantments. They confess that they meant to make the king waste away, and that the enchantments were to keep him from sleeping. The witches are burnt to death, and the king recovers his health. | Donwald tries to get the king to pardon certain rebellious kin and friends, but the king refuses. Donwald, at the urging of his wife plans the murder of the king.

• **page 235**: In Donwald's castle (Forres), King Duffe rewards Donwald and others for their assistance in putting down a rebellion, then goes to bed. | Donwald and his wife feed the king's chamberlains plenty of meat and drink, making them fall fast asleep when they return to the king's chamber. | Donwald bribes four of his servants to cut the king's throat, then bury the body in the bed of a river, so that it would never be discovered. This was done because it was thought that a murder victim's body would bleed in the presence of the victim's murderer. | Meanwhile, Donwald stays up with the guards all night, then pretends great surprise when the king's bloody and empty bed is discovered. Donwald kills the king's chamberlains and blames the murder on them. | Donwald rushes about, pretending to be looking for other guilty parties, which raises suspicions about him, but no one dares say anything, because they're in his castle. | For six months after the murder neither the sun nor moon are seen, and great winds make people fear for their lives.

*from Holinshed's Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland, page 264*

After Malcolm succeeded his nephew Duncane\(^*\) the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being guen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doada, was maried vnto Sincell the thane of Gliemmis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not been somewhat cruel of nature, might have been thought most worthie the gouernement of the realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to have been so tempered and interchangeable bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might have reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proud a worthy king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans regigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceuied how negligent he was in punishing offendors, manie misruled person tooke occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Banquho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied\(^*\) the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharplie such as were notorious offendors, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a doo to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hée was somewhat recovered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length\(^*\) that the offendors were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall autoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makedowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, took vpon him to be chief capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makedowald vttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle moonks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He vsed also such subtill persuasions and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten together a mightie power of men: for out of the westerne illes there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselves to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Kernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serve vnder him, whither they had such time to assemble

Makedowald thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, encountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force tooke their capteine Malcolme\(^*\) and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king, did put him in woonderfull fear, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he asked of them their best aduice for the subduing of Makedowald & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie man his skill. At length Makbeth speaking much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slackness in punishing offendors, whereby they had such time to assemble
together, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquho, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrie.

And euene so it came to passe: for being sent foorth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming put the enemies in such feare, that a great number of them stale secretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neuertheless inforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Makbeth, with the residue which remained with him: but being overcom, and fleieing for refuge into a castel (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, hée first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yeelded simplice, he should haue béene executed in most cruell wise for an example to others. Makbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasses of Makdowald lying dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruel nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent as a present to the king, who as then laie at Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bee hoong vp upon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the westerne Iles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Makdowald in his tratorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of monie: and those whom he took in Lochquhaber, being come thither to bear armor against the king, he put to execution. Hereupon the Ilandmen conceiued a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a covenant-breaker, a bloodie tyrant, & a cruel murtherer of them whom the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the Iles, to have taken reuenge vpon them for their liberall talke, had he not béene otherwise persuaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, seeking to avoid his displeasure. Thus was justice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediate wherevpon word came that Sueno king of Norway was arrived in Fife with a puissant armie, displeasure. Thus was justice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon word came that Sueno king of Norway was arrived in Fife with a puissant armie, displeasure.

Omitted: Two paragraphs on Sweno's famous ancestors and kin.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwegian king in Fife (as before is ex-pressed) ye shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his comming was to reuenge the slaughter of his uncle Camus, and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degrée soeuer they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he set all slouthfull and lingering delaies apart, and began to assemble an armie in most spéedie wise, like a verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constreined by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come togither, he diuided the same into thrée 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 Scotish nobilitie.

The armie of Scotishmen being thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where incountering with the enemies, after a sore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno remained victorious, and Malcolm with his Scots discomitied. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chase on their enimies, but kept themselves all night in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assembling togeither againe, might have 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 abrode, 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 readdie to make resistance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloudshed.

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 environed by his enemies, 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 mean time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sueno, as though he would have yeelded vp the castell into his hands, vnder certeine conditions, and this did he to drive 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 rendring vp the hold, Duncane offered to send foorth of the castell into the campe great provision of vittels to refreshe the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had been in great penurie of sustenance manie daies before.
The Scots hēerevpon 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 séemed they stroue who might deouore 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 foorthwith Duncane sent vnto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and set vpon the enimies, being in easie point to be overcome. Makbeth making no delaie, 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 resistence, that it was a woonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and neuer stirred: other that were awakened 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 Sueño himselfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

A peace was also concluded at the same time betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen, ratified (as some haue written) in this wise: That from thencefoorth 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 seuenth in this wise: That from thencefoorth 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 seuenth

from Holinshed’s Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland, page 268

Then Banquho; "What manner of women (saith he) are you, that séeme so little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all?" "Yes (saith the first of them) we promise greater benefits vnto thée, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in déed, but with my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all?" "Yes (saith the first of them) we promise greater benefits vnto thée, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in déed, but with

The Scots hauing woone so notable a victorie, it fortuned as Makbeth and Banquho iournied the realme of Scotland, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enimies. But after they had gathered & diuided 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 after they had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of

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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 thée to purchase that which the third said should come to passe. Wherevpon Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began euon then to deuise 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 to beapply him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his deceasse. 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 succéed were not of able age to take the charge vpon himselfe, he that was next of bloud vunto 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, pretend vnto the crowne.

The woords of the thrie weird sisters also (of whome before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him herewith, but speciallie his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verei ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a quéene. At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whom Banquho was the chiefest, vpon confidence of their promised aid, he slue the king at Enuerns, or (as some say) at Botgosuane, in the sixte yeare of his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and foorthwith 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 Saiour, 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 Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of most friendlie enterteinment: but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land. Mackbeth, after the dparture thus of Duncanes sonnes, vsed great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme, thereby to win their favoure, 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 chanceed through the feéble and slouthfull administration of Duncane. And to bring his purpose the better to passe without anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtilt wile to bring all offendours and misdooers vnto iustice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most oppressed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight singular combats within barriers, in triall of their accusations. When these theèues, barrettors,* and other oppressors of the innocent people were come to darren battell in this wise (as is said) they were streight waies apprehended by armed men, and trussed vp in halteres on gibbets, according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue of misdooers that were left, were punished and tamed in such sort, that manie years after all theft and reiffings* 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 indevour, to cause yong 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. He appeased the troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Makgill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed nothing of* the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, such were the woorthie dooings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had atteined thereunto by rightfull means, and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue béene numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie holesomes laws and statutes for the publike weale of his subjects.

from Holinshed's Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland, page 271

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 therby 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, prepared for them which was in déed, 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 Banquho 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 suspiccion 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 reservering him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards having 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 chance medlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen upon a prepensed deuise:* whereupon to avoid further perill he fled into Wales.

from Holinshed's Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland, page 273

But to returne vnnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnnderstand that after the contriued slaughter of Banquho, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth* 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 surmized 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 profit (as hée thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were inriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from inurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builied 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 stuffe 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 the building, each man his course about.*

At the last, when the turne fell vnnto Makduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie beahalfe, that no occasion might bée 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 least the king bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had doone vpon diuerse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause 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 enow 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 thrée faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take héed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whom hee had in great trust, had told that he should never 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 beléeued 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 gréeuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to avoid 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 secritie 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 euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fée 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.

Immediatlie then, being advertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and foorthwith 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
neverthelesse Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in
that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out
of all parts of his realme; but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme
Cammore, to trie what purchase hée might

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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 intolerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they
sustained at such a caiftes hands.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes woords, which he vuttered in verie lamentable sort, for méere compassion and verie
ruth that pearsed his sorowfull 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 Scotish
people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew
himselde 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 have some occasion ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of
those notable injuries, which they dailie sustaine by the outragious crueltie of Macbeths misgouernance. Though
Malcolme was verie sorowfull for the oppression of his countriemen 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 reliue the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing méet
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 séeke to defloure maids and matrones, in such wise that my
intemperancie should be more importable* vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is." Héerevnto
Makduffe answered: "This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie 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
secret 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 séeke so
manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would slea the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized
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 vnsatiable 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 continuallie sucked out hir bloud: 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 alreadie full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased awaie, other that
are emptie and fellie an hungred,* should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my bloud farre more to
my greeuance 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 vnquenchable auarice may prooue
such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should séeme easie in respect of the
vnmeasurable 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 béene slaine and brought to their finall end. Yet
notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thée the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to
satisfie they gréedie desire." Then Malcolme againe, "I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of
leasings,* and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioise in nothing so much, as to be-

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traie & 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, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you sée
Then said Makduffe: "This yet is the worst of all, and there I leave thee, and therefore saie; Oh ye vnhappy and miserable Scotishmen, which are thus scourged with so many 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 bloody crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauior and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing woorthie to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie auairitious, and gien to vnsatiabllie 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 cheékes verie abundantlie.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the sleuee, and said: "Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iested with the in this manner, onelie to prooue" thy mind: for diverse times héeretofore 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 use in accomplishing the same." Incontinentlie* hereupon they imbraced each other, and promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best proide 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 realm, 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 recover the same out of the hands of the wrongfull usurper.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edwards 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 abroand in Scotland, the nobles drew into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Hereupon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diverse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not ieopard to ioine with their enimes in a pight field,* till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimes power to increase, by such asaid as came to them forth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoile 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 advised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage* sundrie great princes of the realm to take his part, & retaine strangers, in whom he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which stale* dailie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleueed 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.

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 treé or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth with it in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimes. On the morow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembreed tomorrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimes. The morow they came, Makbeth seeing them comming, he at first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembreed himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of

*from Holinshed's Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland, page 277*

the comming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Neuerthelessse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo volantlie, howbeit his enimes had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streict* to flight, whom Makduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse,* saying: "Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am no appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of woman, come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which thou hast desired for thy paines," and therewithall he lifted vp his swoord thinking to haue slaine him.

But Makduffe quicklie avoiding from his horse, yer* he came at him, answered (with his naked swoord in his hand) saying: "It is true Makbeth, and now shall thine insatiabllie crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue tolde thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe:" therewithall he stęp 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 Scotishmen. 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

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 Sone the 25 day of April, 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 Scotishmen (as their histories doo make mention.)

from Holinshed's Chronicles, Volume V: Scotland, page 233

omitted: A paragraph about how King Duffe's campaign against oppressors of the people earned him the enmity of certain nobles.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an vtter enimie thereof, so that he was vnwoorthie to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did spread not onelie among them in the Iles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euil of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so gréeuous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was séene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound,* whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaie and consumption (so as there remained vnneth anie thing* vpon him saue skin and bone.)

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks, that moe was not to be wished for; he had also a temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into excéeding sweats, which by no means might be restreined. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into forreigne parts, who happilie being inured with* such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much thereunto.

Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuising oft with his councell about the same. But when it was vnderstood into what a perillous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Murrey land, who slaieng sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the pople, how the king was vexed with no naturall sicknesse, by by sorcerie and magickal art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrey land, called Fores.

Wherevpon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine Wittie* persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iornie, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their comming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that here was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yoong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vsed by hir mother & other hir companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie* the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemmen,* told the same to his fellows, who made report to Donwald, and hée shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yoong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streict
examination to confess the whole matter as she had seen and knew. Whereupon learning by her confession in what house in the town it was where they wrought their mischievous mystery, he sent fourth souldiers about the midst of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches roasting upon a wooden broch an image of wax at the fire, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and devised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of enchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, tooke them togethier with the image, and led them into the castell, where being strictlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of enchantment, they answered, to the end to make away the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king break forth in sweat. And as for the words of the enchantment, they served to keepe him still waking from sleepe, so that as the wax euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should have come to passe, that when the wax was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hire to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrey land. The standers by, that heard such an abominable tale told by these witches, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserued) to bee burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking forth vpon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doo anie maner of thing that lay in man to doo, as though he had not beene sicke before anie thing at all. But how soeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murrey land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Rosse, and from Rosse into Cathnesse, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

Amongst them there were also certeine yong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being neere of kin vnto Donwald capteine of the castell, and had beene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsel of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine denial, he conceiued such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceasid not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vthankefulnessse, hee found meanes to murther the king within the foresaid castell of Fores where he vsed to soiourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whom the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceassed not to trauell with him, till she understood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king ofteentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholelie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir advisie in the execution of so heinous an act. Wherypon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way he might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his oratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursuite and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had beene euer accounted a most faithfull servaunt to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his pruie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed came forth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their droonken sleepe.
Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & spéedilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secrettely cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie buskling at all: and immediately by a posterne gate they caried foorth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vp on an horsse there prouided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staided, and gat certeine laboures to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuere running through the fields there, and digging a déepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course agaíne, no man could perceiue that anie thing had béene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guilie of the murther. For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bléed abundantlie if the murtherer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and streightwaies therevpon fled into Orknie.

Donwald, about the time that the murther was in dooing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all beraied with bloud; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of he matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he foothwith slue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had béene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie priuie place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open he burdened the chamberleins whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their kéeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable murther.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuerse inquisition and triall of the offendors héerein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell foorth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogither cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue therevnto, and héervpon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appéered no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

A Note on the Notes:
Holinshed doesn't require much annotation. The punctuation is irregular but servicable. The spelling looks strange to modern eyes, but is fairly consistent. When a word doesn't make sense, the problem can usually be solved by substituting a “j” for an “i,” a “v” for a “u” (and vice-versa), or a “y” for an “ie.” Holinshed tells a good story, but is not a poet or an inventor of words, so the meanings of obsolete words can usually be deduced from context or found in a good single-volume dictionary.

After Malcome succéeded his nephue Duncane: After Malcolm died, his nephew Duncan succeeded to the throne. (This is an older Malcolm than the one who appears in Macbeth.)
reiffings: robberies.
buckler: shield.
passed nothing of: didn't give a hoot about.

who was slaine not by chance medlie . . . but euen upon a prepensed deuise: "Chance medlie" is short for "manslaughter by chance medlie," which describes a killing that happens partly, but not entirely, by chance. (The killing of an innocent bystander in the course of a robbery would be an example of "manslaughter by chance medlie." In contrast, a "prepensed deuise" is a premeditated plot. Macbeth wanted people to believe that Banquo was simply in the wrong place at the wrong time and got killed by highway robbers, but the truth was that Macbeth plotted to kill Banquo.
durst vnneth: scarcely dared.
surmized caullation: trumped-up charge.
each man his course about: each man taking his turn.
the good title he had: the good claim that Malcolm had to the throne of Scotland.
vnfeinedlie: without deception, sincerely.
importable: unsupportable.
fellie an hungred: fierce if hungry.
leasings: lies.
proue: test.
condescend: agree.
Incontinentlie: immediately.
pight field: pitched battle.
wage: pay.
which stale dailie from him: who stole away each day.
streict: immediately.
leapt beside his horsse: leapt down from his horse.
yer: before.