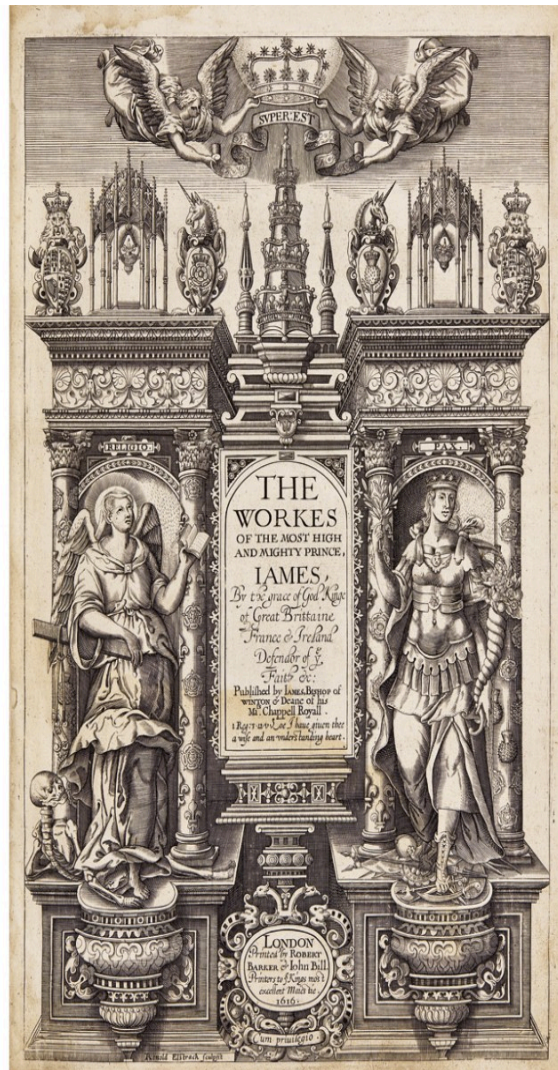


Macbeth

Act II



The frontispiece, by Reynad Elstrack

Primary Documents

(Government and Freedom)

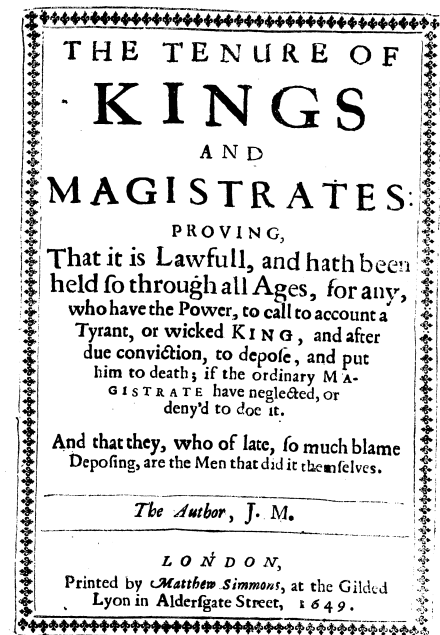
The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates - 1649

John Milton

But who in particular is a Tyrant cannot be determin'd in a generall discourse, otherwise then by supposition; his particular charge, and the sufficient proove of it must determine that: which I leave to Magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them, and of the people, though in number lesse by many, in whom faction least hath prevaild above the Law of nature and right reason, to judge as they finde cause. But this I dare owne as part of my faith, that if such a one there be, by whose Commission, whole massacres have been committed on his faithfull Subjects, his Provinces offerd to pawne or alienation, as the hire of those whom he had sollicitd to come in and destroy whole Cities and Countries; be hee King, or Tyrant, or Emperour, the Sword of Justice is above him; in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of inuocent blood. For if all humane power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evill doers without exception, be of God; then that power, whether ordinary, or if that faile, extraordinary so executing that intent of God, is lawfull, and not to be resisted. (image 5, page 7)

...the King hath as good right to his crown and dignitie, as any man to his inheritance, is to make the subject no better then the Kings slave, his chattell, or his possession that may be bought and sould, And doubtless if hereditarie title were sufficiently inquir'd, the best foundation of it would be found but either in courtesie or convenience. But suppose it to be of right hereditarie, what can be more just and legal, if a subject for certaine crimes be to forfeit by Law from himselfe and posterity, all his inheritance to the King, then that a King for crimes proportionall, should forfeit all his title and inheritance to the people: unless the people must be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him single, which were a kinde of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm. (image 7, page 11)

It follows lastly, that since the King or Magistrate holds his autoritie of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the first place, and not his owne, then may the people as oft as they shall judge it for the best,



either choose him or reject him, re|taine him or depose him though no Tyrant, meerly by the libertie and right of free born men to be go|vern'd as seems to them best. (image 8, page 13)

And it were worth the knowing, since Kings, and that by Scripture boast the justness of thir title, by holding it immediatly of God, yet cannot show the t[...]me when God ever set on the throne them or thir forefathers, but onely when the people chose them; why by the same rea|son, since God ascribes as oft to himself the casting down of Princes from the throne, it should not be thought as lawful, and as much from God when none are seen to do it but the people, and that for just cau|ses. For if it needs must be a sin in them to depose, it may as likely be a sin to have elected. (images 9,10; pages 16-17)

Therefore when the people or any part of them shall rise against the King and his authority executing the Law in any thing establishd civil or Ecclesiastical, I doe nor say it is rebellion, if the thing commanded though establishd be unlawfull, and that they sought first all due means of redress (and no man is furdre bound to Law) but I say it is an absolute renouncing both of Supre|macy and Allegiance, which in one word is an actu|al and total deposing of the King, and the setting up of another supreme authority over them. (image 17, page 30)

Milton, John. *The tenure of kings and magistrates proving that it is lawfull and hath been held so through all ages for any who have the power to call to account a tyrant or wicked king, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or deny'd to doe it, and that they who of late so much blame deposing are the men that did it themselves*. Printed by Matthew Simmons, 1650. *EEBO*. Wing / M2183, Copy from Harvard University Library. 10 July 2016, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000122961900000&WARN=N&SIZE=76&FILE=../session/1468174874_21911&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.

The historie of Scotland (1577)

The woodcuts below are taken from Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*. The stories or chronicles contain a mixture of history and lore. The only historically accurate fact was concerning the death of Duncan.



A Scottish King and his court



Macbeth and Banquo meet the witches



Coronation of a Scottish King



Execution of a Scottish noble



A Scottish thane killed in ambush

Holinshed, Raphael. *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*. Woodcuts. 1577. Scotland 1040. 1997. 10 July 2016.
<http://hightechchat.reocities.com/Athens/forum/5595/macbethh.htm>

The Divine Right and Irresistibility of Kings and Supreme Magistrates

Reader,

I Have cited the Confessions of the Reformed Churches as they were Printed at *Cambridge, 1586.*

And I have quoted the Homilies, according to their late Impression, 1633. And from the Confessions and Homilies thou mayest learne; That God is the Author of Politicall Order; And that himselfe is the first in that Order; And that Kings and Princes are in that Ranke and Order next under him, as his Lieutenants and Deputies, having their Authority and power from him, and so to give an Accompt of their Ministration to him.

The confession of *SCOTLAND.*

WE confesse and acknowledge Empires, Kingdomes, Dominions, and Cities to be distincted and ordeined by God: the Powers and Authorities in the same, be it of Emperours in their Empires, Kings in their Realmes, Dukes and Princes in their Dominions, and of other Magistrates in their Cities to be Gods holy ordinance, ordeined for manifestation of his owne glory, and for the singular profit and Commodity of mankind: so that whosoever goeth about to take away, or confound the whole state of Civill policies now long established, we affirme the same men, not onely to be Enemies to mankind, but also wickedly fight against Gods expressed will.

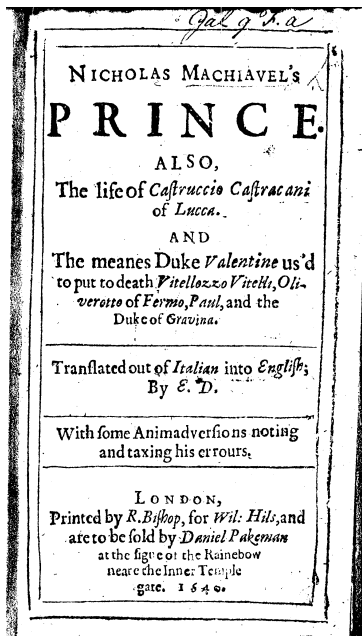


The summe of these confessions.

The summe is; All power is originally in God himselfe, who is *Solus potens*, the onely King, and independant potentate. 2. He hath (for the good of mankind) communicated some of his power immediatly to Kings, and by them to inferiour Magistrates. So that a King is Gods immediate Vicegerent and Deputy, and therefore His Authority, and Person are both Sacred, and should be inviolable.

The Divine right and irresistibility of kings and supreme magistrates clearly evidenced, not from any private authority, but from the publique confessions of the reformed churches, and the homilies of the Church of England. 1645, *EEBO*. Wing / D1732, copy from Bodleian Library. 10 July 2016.

http://eebo.chadwyck.com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000122883180000&WARN=N&SIZE=23&FILE=../session/1468177782_24401&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.



Sovereignty and Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1640)

According to Rebecca Lemon, Duncan is unable to “read his environment,” which leads to his inability to proactively and successfully rule Scotland during the eleventh century (76-77). First, when he learns of treason within his own circle, Duncan admits he did not foresee the Thane of Cawdor’s treachery: “He was a gentleman on whom I built / An absolute trust” (1.4.15-16). Second, he makes the same mistake in naming Macbeth as the new thane. Relying on his subjects’ reports and hear-say about Macbeth’s valiance, especially during war, Shakespeare’s depiction of the downfall of kings is illumined by Nicholas Machiavelli’s *The Prince*. Machiavelli acknowledges both the virtues and vices of kingship, but warns sovereigns must be smart as well as wise. Had King Duncan perceived problems within his own realm and used discretion in his choices of shared leadership both on the battlefield and at home, he would have heeded

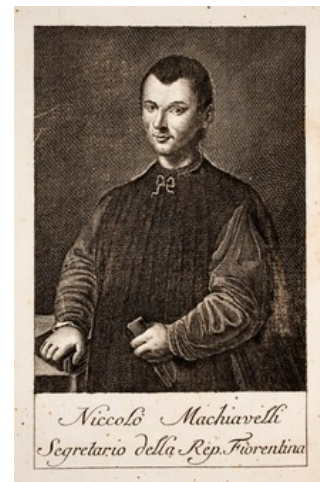
Machiavelli’s advice:

- “Wherefore that Prince which perceives not mischiefs, but as they grow up, is not truly wise” (109).
- “It is necessary for him [a sovereign] to be so discreet, that he know how to avoid the infamie of those vices, which would thrust him out of his State; and if it be possible, beware of those also which are not able to remove him thence” (120).
- “For a Prince ought to have two feares, the one from within, in regard of his subjects; the other from abroad, in regard of his mighty neighbours” (146-147).

Lemon also comments on King Duncan’s kindness, a virtue without value during times of turmoil. His attempt to reward Macbeth for his prowess on the battlefield is warranted, given the Thane of Glamis’ apparent loyalty. Macbeth, albeit dutiful, is also malleable, a trait that the present King does not recognize or suspect. He bases Macbeth’s new appointment to Thane of Cawdor primarily on the captain’s report of how both Macbeth and Banquo “were / As cannons overcharged with double cracks” (1.2.40-41), specifically how Macbeth unseamed him [Macdonwald] from the nave to th’chops” (24), a generosity that Machiavelli describes as self-consuming and dangerous: “the more you practice it, the less you will be able to practice it” (qtd. in Lemon 76). Moreover, Machiavelli understands the impossibility “for a new

Prince to avoid the name of cruell, because all new States are full of dangers” (129). What Machiavelli infers is that princes to be unrelentingly tough: trust must be earned, and even then, it is smart to be feared, rather than loved.

Why, then, does Macbeth fail? He is tough, feared, and respected when he leaves the battlefield and subsequently receives his new title. Shakespeare offers readers



and viewers two different models of kingship: one based on love and respect, and one based on fear and hatred. Neither succeeds. The problem is that Macbeth becomes hated because of his own paranoia-based sadism. Machiavelli theorizes that leading through fear is most effective when subjects fear out of respect. He adds, "The worst that a Prince can look for of the people become his enemy, is, to be abandoned by them: but when the great ones once grow his enemies, he is not only to fear their abandoning of him, but their making of a party against him also" (74-75). Unfortunately, Macbeth's fear of losing his

title, coupled with the resentment of Banquo's line interrupting his own issue's right to the throne – despite the fact that tanistry, rather than primogeniture, was the system of sovereignty – is what leads Macbeth down his own private path of destruction. By ordering the savage killing of Banquo and Lady Macduff and specifically the murder of Macduff's children and the attempted murder of Banquo's son Fleance, Macbeth positions himself as one to be feared and hated, the political formula Machiavelli believes always leads to sovereign failure.

Lemon, Rebecca. "Sovereignty and Treason in Macbeth." Ed. Nick Moschovakis. Routledge, 2008. 73-87. Shakespeare Criticism. ShC. ProQuest. Web. 6 July 2016.

Machiavelli, Niccolò. Nicholas Machiavel's Prince. 1640. EEB0. STC (2nd ed.), 17168, copy from British Library.

Sovereign as Host: The Theatricality of Macbeth

Does sovereignty require the theatrical presence of the monarch? In the following dissertation excerpt, Kottman describes Macbeth as the ungracious host of his first feast as King of Scotland, an event that should have been a spectacle of sovereignty. Is this demise of the theatricality of his position the major cause of his own failure?

Macbeth and the Hosts of Sovereignty

Macbeth is, in unmistakable ways, a play about hosting and being hosted; a play of guests who come when invited, and ghosts, apparitions and witches who come and go regardless of invitation... And given that Macbeth was likely performed for James I in 1606, as part of a courtly entertainment, the appeal to sovereign power through hospitality might initially seem to be Shakespeare's affirmation of this arrangement.

“The house-keeper, the hunter, every one” (3.1.97)

It should not go unnoticed that nearly every word that King Duncan utters in the play relates in some way to welcoming subjects, or to being himself received. His role is to speak of hospitality, to sanction its extension. Even as Lady Macbeth's guest, the King's magnanimity presents him to his audience as 'sovereign' host... In short, the King not only sanctions conventional hospitality, but he presides over it as if he were to do nothing else.

“As a gap in our great feast”

The link between sovereignty and displays of hospitality extends beyond Duncan to Macbeth's rule as well. True to form, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth inaugurate their reign as King and Queen by hosting a dinner party, a party whose purpose is at once to

confirm Macbeth's role as King/host as well as to murder Banquo and his son as guests...

In the 'banquet scene' we can see most clearly the extent to which Macbeth mimics and undoes the features of sovereign 'display'... Macbeth speaks first, connecting the "degree(s)" of his guests with their position at his table in a way which confirms their position in relation to him... Clearly, Macbeth is rather uneasy about his own tenuous position within the social hierarchy he seeks at once to legitimate and confirm, having ascended to the throne under suspicious circumstances... At first, and for a moment, Macbeth is the fulcrum, the middle, the center of the gathering...

As with Elizabeth and James, it is Macbeth's self-display, his appearance in the midst of others, which ought to mark his appearance as sovereign in this scene... However, it is precisely this social nature of sovereignty that Macbeth fails to comprehend, and indeed fails to fulfill. Rather than attend to those around him, Macbeth leaves them to converse with the murderers. Believing Banquo and Fleance to be a greater threat to his juridical position than his absence from the banquet, Macbeth here reveals that he does not grasp the importance of his being present to others...

Sovereignty, Isolation

Indeed, in the 'banquet scene' it is not the spectacle of Macbeth-the-monarch at all, but rather a quite different sort of appearance, which takes center stage.

*The Ghost of Banquo enters and sits in
Macbeth's place.*

The usurpation of Macbeth's seat by this uninvited guest brings on Macbeth's "strange infirmity" by exceeding the foundation of juridical sovereignty, namely, that the sovereign (whether a state or person) ought to be in control of all entry into the house' or realm. Macbeth, indeed, is no longer at home with himself. He is rendered a stranger (a guest) to himself and his position, alienated from the scene of hospitality itself by a "fit" which comes again and again.

Whereas, at the beginning of the scene, Macbeth had invoked convention by re-confirming the positions and placement of his guests, the scene ends with the utter dissolution of this convention. As if to underscore this loss of communal order, Lady Macbeth dispels the gathering, crying: "Stand not upon the order of your going / But go at once" (3.4.118-9)...

The Decline of the Theatrical Sovereign

Thus, there are two dissolutions: the disintegration of Macbeth's sovereignty is accompanied by the dispersion of the gathering... If Elizabeth and James were renowned for their deft managing of hospitable displays, Shakespeare's Macbeth shows himself to be their precise antithesis...

Macbeth's performance as host is characterized by his relative concealment from his guests, whether he is engaged in secret discourse with the murderers, or consumed by a "strange infirmity" that causes him to see Banquo's Ghost at his table. Indeed, invoking this "strange infirmity" Macbeth implies that his guests do not know him very well, remarking - "I have a strange infirmity, which is nothing / To those that know me" (3.4.85-6)...

What appears on the surface to be a spectacular failure of hospitality is, therefore, more precisely Macbeth's failure to be a *spectacle*... Macbeth seems more preoccupied with the act of seeing, rather than with making himself into the object of sight. That is to say,

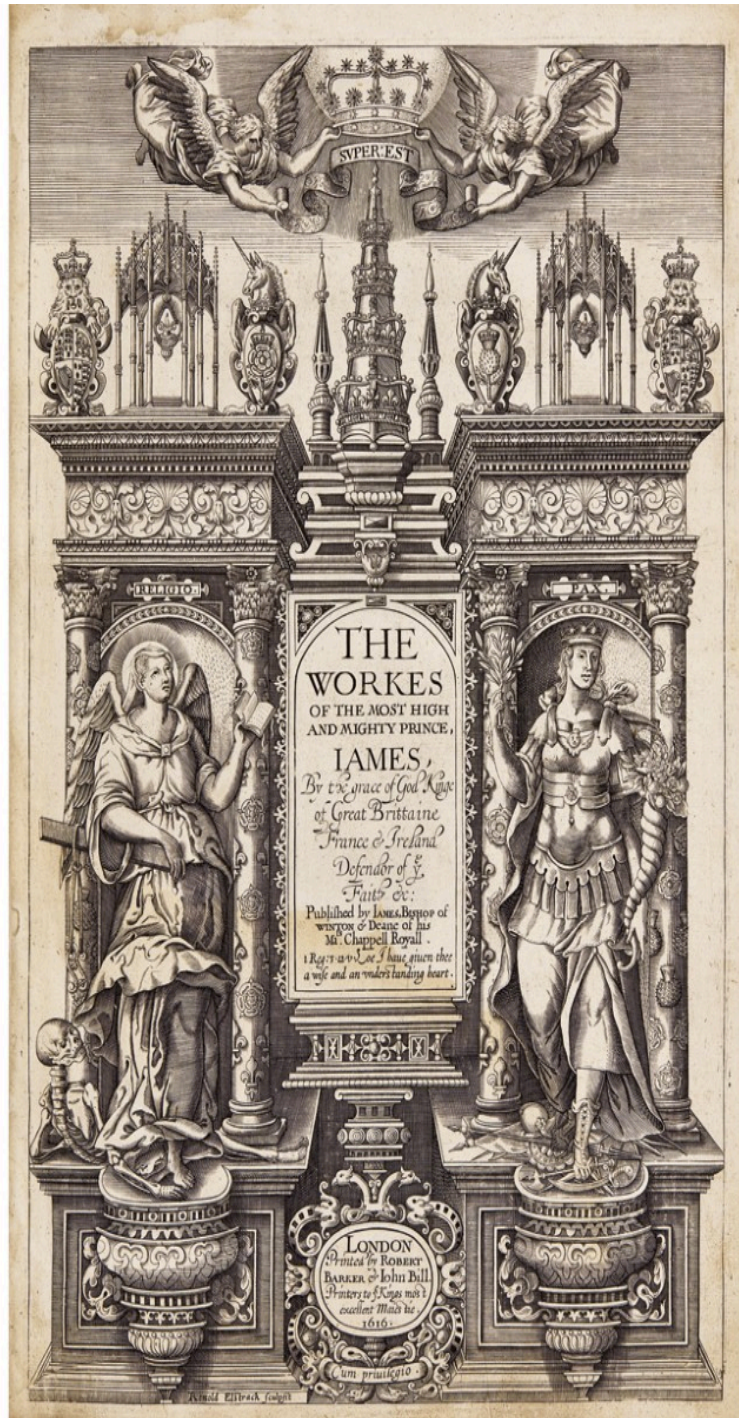
his focus is on what appears to him, not his appearance to others... A strange reversal is taking place in the conventional bond between sovereign and appearance, for rather than present Macbeth as the object of sight, Shakespeare makes his murderous monarch into the seeing subject...

Macbeth's failure to emerge as sovereign in the banquet scene is first of all a social failure, his failure to appear before, and with, others. What Macbeth loses in this scene is, of course, not so much his juridical authority, which he maintains, to some degree, until his death. Rather, the scene makes clear the extent to which Macbeth's juridical title and authority are insufficient...

Macbeth's failure as host, therefore, can be understood as an unmistakable sign of the increasing untenability, or perhaps impossibility, of this 'theatrical' sovereign. pp.

Kottman, Paul Augustin. "Spectral Communities and Ghosts of Sovereignty: Interpreting Apparitions in 'Hamlet' and 'Macbeth'." Order No. DA3001900 U of California, Berkeley, 2000. ProQuest. Web. 6 July 2016. pp. 126-157.





The frontispiece, by Reynad Elstrack, to the collected writings of King James, published in 1616. The two statues represent Religion (standing victorious over death) and Peace (standing victorious over the implements of war), and James crown rises above all to the heavens.

From *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1598)

I. On the Relation Between the King and the Law

...[W]e daily see that in the Parliament (which is nothing else but the head court of the king and his vassals) the laws are but craved by his subjects and only made by him at their roagation¹, and with their advice. For albeit the king make daily statutes and ordinances, enjoining such pains thereto as he thinks meet, without any advice of Parliament or estates, yet it lies in the power of no Parliament, to make any kind of law or statute without his scepter be to it, for giving it the force of a law.

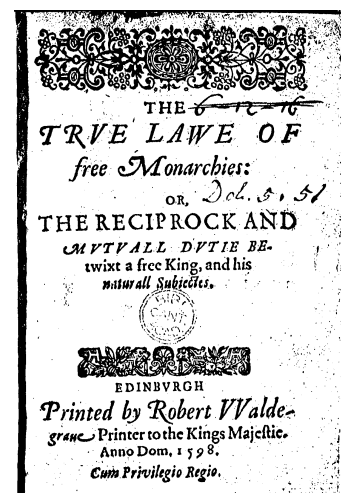
II. The King's Power

...the king is over-lord of the whole land, so is he master over every person that inhabiteth the same, having power over the life and death of every one of them. For although a just prince will not take the life of any of his subjects without a clear law, yet the same laws whereby he taketh them, are made by himself, or his predecessors, and so the power flows always from himself...For albeit it be true that I have at length proved, that the king is above the law, as both the author and giver of strength thereto, yet a good king will not only delight to rule his subjects by the law, but even will conform himself in his own actions thereunto...And where he sees the law doubtsome or rigorous, may upon known respects to the king by his authority be mitigated, and suspended upon causes only known to him.

III. The King as Father and Head

...The king towards his people is rightly compared to a father of children, and to a head of a body composed of divers members...as the discourse and direction flows from the head, and the execution according thereunto belongs to the rest of the members, so it is betwixt a wise prince, and his people...in case any of them be affected with any infirmity must care and provide for their remedy, in case it be curable, and if otherwise gar cut them off² for fear of infecting the rest; even so is it betwixt the prince, and his people.

James I, King of England. *The true lawe of free monarchies: or The reciprock and mutuall dutie betwixt a free king, and his naturall subiectes.* 1598. *EEBO*. STC. 1313:10, copy from Cambridge University Library.



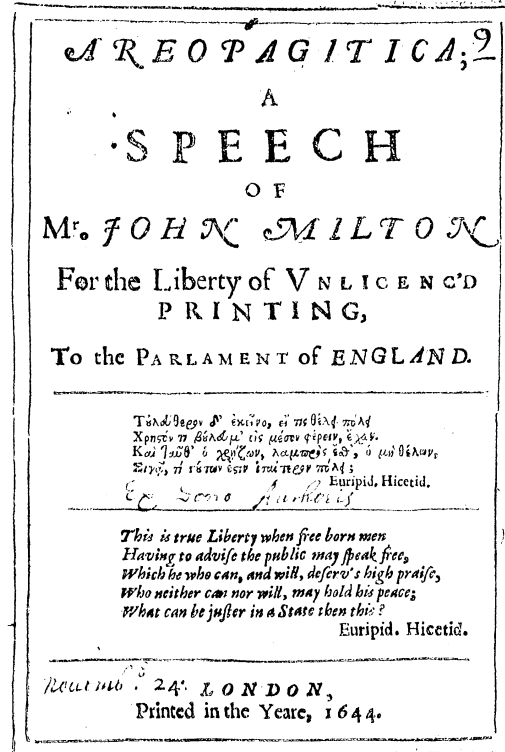
¹ Formal request

² have them cut off

³ Notes for *Areopagitica*. *Norton Anthology*, p. 1816.

This is true Liberty when free born men
 Having to advise the public may speak
 free, Which he who can, and will, deserv's
 high praise, Who neither can nor will, may
 hold his peace; What can be juster in a
 State then this? Euripid, Hicetid.

The above preface to John Milton's speech Parliament in 1644 clearly establishes the need for free speech. Milton employs a classical model of persuasion to dissuade the State from censoring the written word, specifically at a time when pamphlets flooded the market and thus the presses. At this time, the Press Ordinance required all written documents to be "registered with the stationers and licensed by the censors before publication...and that both author and publisher be identified, on pain of fines and imprisonment of both."³



to

Areopagitica

Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together almost insepa|rably; and the knowledge of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evill, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds which were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is that doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing good and evill, that is to say of knowing good by evill. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evill? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian. (image 7, page 12)

... evill manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopt, and evill doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also doe without writing... if learned men be the first receivers out of books, & dispredders both of vice and error, how shall the licencers themselves be confided in, unlesse we can conferr upon them, or they

³ Notes for *Areopagitica*. Norton Anthology, p. 1816.

assume to themselves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptednesse? (image 8, page 14)

If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to recti|fie manners, we must regulat all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to man. No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Dorick*. There must be licencing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such *Plato* was pro|vided of; It will ask more then the work of twenty licencers to ex|amin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also, and the *Balcone's* must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous Fron|tispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licen|cers? (image 10, page 16)

God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes here|in consisted his merit, herein in the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredi|ents of vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagin to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all, in such a universall thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. (images 10-11, pages 16-17)

Nor is it to the common people lesse then a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what doe we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak estate of faith and dis|cretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licencer. (image 13; page 23)

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible losse, and detriment that this plot of licencing puts us to, more then if som enemy at sea should stop up all our hav'ns and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest Marchandize, Truth. (image 16, page 29)

Milton, John. *Areopagitica*. 1644. *EEBO*. Wing (2nd ed.) / M2092, Copy from British Library.

http://eebo.chadwyck.com.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfgACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998688590000&WARN=N&SIZE=108&FILE=../session/1468154486_3062&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.