

## Index

- Abbot, George, Archbishop of Canterbury 94  
 against Spanish Match 220  
 accessibility of monarch, importance of 227  
 active life 39, 65–8, 73, 120  
*Admonition to Parliament* (1572) 4  
 Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 61  
 Albyn, Samuel 200, 204  
 Alford, Edward 173, 175, 182  
   speech in 1621 Parliament 176–7  
   speech in 1624 Parliament 186  
 Alured, Thomas 109, 212, 220, 224  
 Ambrose of Milan, St 7, 83–7, 95–6, 119  
   and Latin discussions of *parrhesia* 84  
   and Theodosius 82, 83, 84–5, 86  
   and Valentinian 83  
   as model for early modern churchmen 83,  
   92  
   *Letter 40* to Theodosius 84–5  
   *Letter 41* to his sister 86  
   on separation of temporal and spiritual  
   power 83  
   Thomas Scott on 116  
 American Bill of Rights (1791) 122  
 Anne of Denmark 109  
 Annotation 197, 199  
 anti-Calvinism 118, 194  
 anti-catholicism 169  
 Apostles  
   as exemplars of frank speaking 78  
   *parrhesia* of 79–80; *see also* John, St; Paul, St  
 Aristotle 43  
   *Ethics* 63  
   *Politics* 63, 65, 68  
 Arundel, Thomas Howard, 21<sup>st</sup> Earl of 127  
   proceedings against in 1626 Parliament 192  
 Ascham, Roger 39, 61  
 Athens, as home of free speech 16–19  
*Attorney General v. Pickering* 209, 215, 217–18,  
 250  
 Aubrey, John, *Life of John Hoskyns* 240–1  
 Augustus, Emperor 26–7
- Bacon, Sir Edmund 160  
 Bacon, Sir Francis 2, 176, 212  
   (attrib.), ‘An advertisement towching  
   seditious writings’ 210–11  
   *De sapientia veterum* 61–2, 68, 73, 74  
   *Essays* 73–6  
   *History of the Reign of Henry VII* 210  
   impeachment of 174, 192, 200, 235  
   libels against 210, 246, 247, 248  
   on parliamentary free speech 156  
   poems on in manuscript 235, 247  
   speeches in manuscript 247  
   trial and disgrace of 74  
   *The Wisedome of the Ancients* 61–2, 68, 73,  
   74  
 Bacon, Sir Nicholas, Lord Keeper 135  
 Baker, J. H. 205  
*Balaam’s Ass* 208  
 ballads 141, 216, 249  
 Bancroft, Richard, Archbishop of  
   Canterbury 151, 228  
 Barlow, William, Bishop 93  
 baronets, creation of, as grievance 175, *see also*  
   James I  
 Barrow, Henry 91  
 Barthes, Roland 14  
 Bastard, Thomas, poems in manuscript 246  
 Bate’s Case (1606) 153, 156–7  
 Beal, Peter 242  
 Bell, Robert, request for freedom of speech in  
   Parliament 135  
 Bellamy, Alastair 211–12  
 Bellarmine, Robert, Cardinal 94  
 Bill of Rights (1689) 122  
 Blount, Henry, poems in manuscript 243  
 Book of Job 54–5  
 Boscàn, Juan 50  
 Bowyer, Robert 243  
 Bristol, John Digby, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of 127  
   proceedings against in 1626 Parliament 191,  
   192

- Brooke, Christopher 154, 177  
   on impositions 154  
 Broughton, Hugh 97  
 Brown, Peter 82  
 Browne, George or John 129  
 Browne, William 90  
 Buckingham, George Villiers, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of 3, 71,  
   73, 74, 140, 174, 200, 212  
   accused of poisoning James I 191, 212  
   and 1624 Parliament 185  
   as embodiment of evil counsel 185, 187–8,  
   189–93  
   as Lord Admiral 188  
   assassination of 247, 248  
   attacks on as criticism of Charles I 191–2  
   attacks on in 1625 Parliament 187–8  
   attacks on in 1626 Parliament 189–93  
   blamed for dissolution of 1625 Parliament 192  
   blamed for grievances of the kingdom 192  
   compared to Sejanus 191  
   election as Chancellor of Cambridge  
   University 192  
   engrossing of high offices by 188  
   in 1621 Parliament 178  
   journey to Spain with Prince Charles 247  
   libels on 245, 246, 247, 248  
   proceedings against in 1626 Parliament 222  
   ‘relation’ to Parliament, manuscripts of 222  
   ‘Rodomontade’ 246  
   speech in 1626 Parliament 190  
 Buckinghamshire, contested election for in  
   1604 138  
 Bunyan, John 91  
 Bywater, Thomas 218–19, 224–33  
   and Privy Council 232–3  
   chaplain to Lord Hunsdon 230  
   contents of tract by 229  
   employed by Lord Sheffield 230–2  
   imprisonment in Tower of London 233  
   investigation into by Privy Council 229–32  
   letters to the Privy Council 219  
   on Catholics and Puritans 228  
   on counsel 227  
   on flattery 227  
   on taxes and subsidies 228  
   presents tract to James I 218  
   presents tract to Lord Sheffield 230–1  
 Calverly family 212  
 Calvert, Sir George 171, 172, 175, 177  
 Carew, Thomas, poems in manuscript 243  
 Carleton, Sir Dudley 199, 208, 240  
   speech in 1626 Parliament 191  
 Carr, Robert, *see* Somerset  
 Castiglione, Count Baldassare 43  
 Cave, Brian 212  
 Cavendish, William, *see* Devonshire  
 Cecil, Robert, *see* Salisbury  
 censorship 2, 36–7  
 Chamberlain, John 94–5, 199  
   on John Hoskyns 164, 240  
   on 1621 Parliament 184  
   on pasquils 208  
   on Richard Martin 161  
 Chancery, Court of, abuses in 174  
 Charles I 2, 74, 76, 97  
   accuses Clement Coke and Turner of uttering  
   seditious words 189  
   allows action against Buckingham 191  
   and Parliament 101, 120  
   as Prince of Wales, and 1624 Parliament 185  
   exclusion of Earls of Arundel and Bristol by  
   (1626) 127  
   opening speech at 1625 Parliament 187  
   proclamation against remonstrance of  
   1626 193  
   proposals for marriage of when Prince of  
   Wales 177, 178, 185  
   religious patronage of 102  
   speech to 1626 Parliament 190  
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 44  
 Christ Church, Oxford, and manuscript  
   miscellanies 245  
 Christ, as exemplar of frank speaking 78  
 Chute, Sir Walter  
   imprisonment of after 1614 Parliament 160,  
   164  
   speech in 1614 Parliament 162  
 Cicero 35, 36, 47, 54, 56, 61, 159–68  
   *De amicitia* 63  
   *De inventione* 15, 27  
   *De officiis* 40, 63  
   *De oratore* 30–1, 33  
   *In Catilinam* 34  
   *Orator* 30, 31, 33  
   *Pro Milone* 34  
   *Pro Murena* 34  
   *Pro Q. Ligario* 32–3, 34  
   *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* 31–2  
   *Second Philippic* 34  
 civic identity 199  
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of 123  
 Clarke, Edward, censured by House of  
   Commons in 1625 188  
 Coke, Clement 191  
   speech in 1626 Parliament 189  
 Coke, Sir Edward 170, 171, 172, 173, 182, 185, 215  
   appointed sheriff after 1625 Parliament 189  
   *de Libellis famosis* 209  
   defines parliamentary free speech 172

- Coke, Sir Edward (*cont.*)  
 examination of Thomas Bywater 218  
 imprisoned after 1621 Parliament 184  
 investigation of Thomas Bywater 230  
 on Cowell's *Interpreter* 151  
 on libels 217–18  
 Reports 216  
 speech in 1624 Parliament 186  
 speech in 1625 Parliament 188  
 speeches in 1621 Parliament 178, 179, 181, 182  
 Collinson, Patrick 5, 83, 86, 87, 93  
 commonplace books 201–2; *see also* commonplacing  
 commonplacing 197, 212; *see also* commonplace books  
 Commons' Protestation (1621) 122, 194  
 manuscripts of 212  
 conscience 100  
 contemplative life 65–8, 116  
 context, *see* decorum  
 Corbet, Richard, poems in manuscript 243, 246  
 Cornwallis, Sir Charles 164  
 imprisonment of in 1614 164  
 letter to James I 220, 248  
 coteries, *see* manuscripts  
 Cotton, Sir Robert 166  
 counsel 3–4, 6, 40, 43, 47, 49–50, 60, 61, 62–76, 99, 107–9, 143–4, 199, 203, 209, 210, 216  
 as purpose of Parliament 120–1  
 importance of definitions to 206  
 in Parliament 176, 178, 182, 183, 185, 186  
 religious 232  
*see also* Bywater, Thomas; Scott, Thomas  
 counsellors, danger of relying on too few 187, 190  
 Court of Chancery, investigations into in 1621 174  
*Court of the Most Illustrious and Most Magnificent James, the First, The* 71–2, 211  
 Coventry, Sir Thomas, Lord Keeper, speech in 1626 Parliament 190  
 Cowell, John, *The Interpreter* 150–1, 152  
 Cranborne, Viscount, *see* Salisbury  
 Cranfield, Lionel, poems on 248  
 Cremutius Cordus 36–7  
 Crew, John 172  
 speeches in 1621 Parliament 180, 181, 182  
 Crew, Ranulph, request for freedom of speech in Parliament 136  
 Crew, Thomas 171  
 Cust, Richard 211  
 custom, *see* precedent  
 Cyrus 19  
 D'Ewes, Sir Simonds 133, 191  
 Day, Angel, *The English Secretary* 59–60  
 decorum 5, 23, 25, 28, 37, 47, 48, 53, 57, 59, 61, 62, 74, 81, 88, 96, 99, 107, 118, 172, 200  
 in Parliament 135  
 defamation 200  
 law of 205, 250  
*see also* libel  
 Demosthenes 21, 23–4, 25, 41, 47, 48–50, 79  
 (attrib.) *Fourth Philippic* 24  
 (attrib.) *On Halonnessus* 24  
*Third Olynthiac* 24  
*Third Philippic* 24  
 Denny, Edward 246  
 Devonshire, William Cavendish, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of  
*Discourse against Flatterie* 45–6  
 Digby, John, *see* Bristol  
*Digest of Roman Law* 157  
 Digges, Sir Dudley  
 imprisoned in 1626 191, 192  
 speech in 1626 Parliament 191  
 speech in 1628 Parliament 194  
 Diogenes 20, 47, 48, 79, 82  
 Dionysius of Syracuse 66  
*diorithosis* 57, 59  
 'Directions to Preachers' (1622) 93  
 dissimulation 76  
 Donne, John 7, 93  
 and John Hoskyns 241  
*Elegies* 203  
*Ignatius his Conclave* 104  
 on conscience 100  
 on counsel 99  
 on libels 209–10  
 on libels on Sir Robert Cecil 202  
 on *mediocritas* 95–6, 99  
 on the law of liberty 97–101  
 pasquils placed in yard of 208  
 poems in manuscript 246  
*Pseudo-Martyr* 92  
 sermon at Whitehall, February 1628/9 97–101  
 sermon on 'Directions to Preachers' 94–6, 117  
 'The Sunne Rising' 213  
 Dowland, John, songs in manuscript 245  
 Drake, Sir William 9, 199  
 Drayton, Michael, 'To his coy love, a canzonet' 213  
 Du Plessis Mornay, Phillipe 220  
 Dudley, Edmund 3, 188  
 Duppa, Brian, poems in manuscript 243  
 Edward VI 7, 48, 86, 87–91, 92, 109  
 relaxation of censorship under 86  
 Eedes, Richard, Dean of Worcester 97  
 Egerton, Thomas, *see* Ellesmere

- Eliot, Sir John 187, 188  
 imprisoned in 1626 191, 192  
 in 1629 Parliament 194  
 speech in 1624 Parliament 186  
 speech in 1626 Parliament 191
- Elizabeth I 55, 73, 85, 109  
 attitude to preaching of 92–3  
 libels against 218  
 pasquil placed on statue of 207
- Elizabeth of Bohemia 173, 175
- Ellesmere, Thomas Egerton, Lord, Lord Keeper  
 and Lord Chancellor 136–7  
 speech in Star Chamber (1599) 216
- Ellice, Robert, poems in manuscript 243
- Elmer, John, Bishop of London 53
- Elton, G. R. 120, 121–2, 134, 136  
 on Form of Apology and Satisfaction 143
- Elwes, Sir Gervase 248
- Elyot, Sir Thomas 43, 207  
*The Book named the Governor* 3, 43, 71, 199,  
 207  
*Pasquil the Playne* 207
- Emmanuel College, Cambridge 218
- Empson, Richard 3, 188
- Erasmus, Desiderius 69, 75  
*The Education of a Christian Prince* 3, 43, 44,  
 71  
*Parabolae* 43–5
- Essex, Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of 73  
 arraignment of 247  
 as character in works by Thomas Scott 107–8  
 letters to Elizabeth I 248  
 poems in manuscript 248
- Esther 99, 115  
 as model of frank speech 113
- ethos 28, 31
- Euripides  
*Hippolytus* 17  
*Ion* 17
- European Convention on Human Rights 253
- Eusebius 91
- familiar letters 197
- favourites 227
- Felton, John 247
- Fenner, Dudley, *The Artes of Logike and  
 Rhetorike* 52–3
- Finch, Sir John 129
- First Amendment 15, 253
- Fish, Stanley 15, 251, 253, 254
- Five Knights' Case 193
- flattery 3, 6, 21, 22, 24, 25, 33, 35, 42–3, 44–6, 61,  
 64, 67, 71, 74, 75, 81, 89, 96, 106, 112, 114,  
 117, 147, 185, 209
- Floyd, Edward 173
- Forced Loan 193
- foreign policy 179
- Form of Apology and Satisfaction (1604) 122,  
 142–5, 152–65  
 as counsel 143–4  
 invoked in 1621 Parliament 178, 181, 182  
 on misinformation 143
- Fortescue, Sir John 156
- Fox, George 91
- Foxe, John, *Acts and Monuments* 90, 91, 92
- Fraunce, Abraham, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* 50–2
- Frederick, elector Palatine 168, 173, 175, 214,  
 247
- Fredrickson, David E. 78
- friendship 64, *see also* flattery
- Fuller, Nicholas 147, 157  
 speech in 1614 Parliament 167
- Gardiner, Stephen 134
- Gargrave, Sir Thomas, request for freedom of  
 speech in Parliament 133, 134, 135
- General Pardon (1621) 182
- Giles, Sir Edward 164, 170
- Gillis, Pieter 44, 67, 69
- Glanville, John 171
- Gondomar, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña,  
 Count 103, 104–5, 106, 108, 110, 212,  
 214
- Goodyer, Sir Henry 209
- Gorges, Sir Arthur 61
- Goring, Sir George, motion in 1621  
 Parliament 177
- Great Contract 149–50, 151, 158
- grievances 141, 152–3, 154, 162, 171, 209  
 in 1610 Parliament 211  
 in 1621 Parliament 175
- Grindal, Edmund, Archbishop of  
 Canterbury 83, 87, 90  
 and Elizabeth I 93
- Gunpowder Plot 145, 201
- Guy, John 40, 66
- Hadfield, Andrew 198
- Hakewill, William 178  
 imprisoned after 1621 Parliament 184  
 speeches in 1621 Parliament 182
- Haman 116
- Hampton Court Conference 228, 232
- Harley, Sir Robert 219
- Hatton, Sir Christopher, libels on 246
- Hedley, Thomas 156  
 speech in 1610 Parliament 157–8
- Henry V 188
- Henry VII 3
- Henry VIII 43, 65, 68, 71, 86, 87, 109, 197

- Henry, Prince of Wales 73, 74, 109, 110  
   religious patronage of 97  
 Herbert, Edward or William 129  
 Herbert, George, poems in manuscript 245  
 Herodotus 19–20  
 Herris, Christopher 129  
 Hexter, J. H. 69  
 High Commission, Court of 111  
 Hirst, Derek 123  
 Hobbes, Thomas 40, 45  
   on liberty 252  
 Hoby, Sir Thomas 43  
 Holland, Philemon 42  
 Holy Spirit, as source of *parrhesia* 117  
 Homer, *Iliad* 50  
 honour, and defamation 215  
 Horn, Robert 219–24, 249, 252  
   life and career of 219–20  
   publications of 220  
 Hoskyns, Benedicta 235–7  
 Hoskyns, John 39, 154  
   accused of writing libel in 1617 240  
   as *Terrae Filius* 239–40  
   circulation of poems 203, 237, 238–48  
   *Directions for Speech and Style* 219  
   ‘Fustian Answer made to a Tufftaffeta Speech’ 243, 245  
   imprisonment of after 1614 Parliament 160, 164, 235–7, 240: references to in later Parliaments 177, 240  
   in 1614 Parliament 126, 160  
   life and career of 239–40  
   literary reputation of 240–2  
   on *arcana imperii* 155  
   on Bishop, Neile 163  
   on Cowell’s *Interpreter* 150  
   on impositions 154, 155, 166  
   on union of England and Scotland 248  
   on writ of summons 166  
   poems 202, 222: ‘A Dreame’ 222, 235–7, 243, 247, 248; ‘Dum puer es, vanae’ / ‘Sweet Benjamin, while thou art yong’ 222, 237–8, 243, 245, 247; ‘Great Verulam is very lame’ 222, 235, 239, 246, 247, 248; ‘He that hath heard a Princes secrecy’ (attrib.) 240; ‘On Dreames’ 246; ‘Sic luo, sic merui’ 247; ‘The Parliament Fart’ 242–3, 244, 245, 246, 247; Latin juvenilia 239; manuscript compilation of 241; motives for collection of 242–4; publication of 241  
   speeches in 1614 Parliament 162, 164, 167  
 Hoskyns, Sir Benedict, Bt. (son of John Hoskyns) 237–8, 240

- House of Commons  
   actions against members 128–30  
   attitudes to English Catholics of in 1621 176, 178  
   information about proceedings of 130  
   investigations into Court of Chancery in 1621 174  
   limits on subjects of discussion 182  
   Lord Keeper’s reply to the Speaker 135–7  
   punishment of non-members by 163, 173; *see also* Martin, Richard; Neile, Richard; Floyd, Edward  
   reactions to James I’s threats to dismiss 1621 Parliament 175  
   right to decide order of business 183  
   right to discuss royal marriages 182, *see also* Charles I  
   right to investigate great officers 191  
   right to punish own members 183, 190  
   role of Speaker in 153–4  
   Speaker’s request for freedom of speech 131–8, 182, 192: by Ranulph Crew 136; by Robert Bell 135; by Sir Thomas More 131–2; by Sir Thomas Gargrave 133, 134, 135; by Thomas Williams 133  
   *see also* Parliament  
 Howard, Frances, libels against 245, 246, 247  
 Howard, Henry, *see* Northampton  
 Howard, Thomas, *see* Arundel  
 Howson, John, Bishop of Oxford and Durham 102, 141  
 Hubbard, Sir Henry 147  
 Hunsdon, John Carey, 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord 218  
   employer of Thomas Bywater 230  
 Hyde, Nicholas 166  
   speech in 1614 Parliament 167  
  
 idealisation, of freedom of speech 251, 253  
 imitation 197, 202  
 impeachment 174, *see also* Bacon, Sir Francis  
 impositions 149–50, 151–8, 161, 162, 165–7, 170, 186  
 Inns of Court, and manuscript miscellanies 243  
 Isocrates 21–3, 24, 25, 48  
   ‘On the Peace’ 21–3  
   *To Nicocles* 63, 64  
  
 James I 2, 73, 76, 93–7, 176, 192  
   alleged poisoning of 191, 212  
   and religious moderation 96–7  
   answer to petitions in 1621 Parliament 180–1  
   *Basilikon Doron* 226  
   death of 186  
   dissolution of 1621 Parliament by 124  
   finances 141–2

- letter to Parliament in 1621 178  
 libels against 247  
 message to House of Commons in 1621 182  
 on Commons' right to discuss foreign policy 180  
 on counsel 165–6  
 on discussion of baronets in 1621 175  
 on discussion of Merchant Adventurers in 1621 175  
 on grievances 152–3, 209  
 on impositions 155–6  
 on limits of parliamentary speech 136, 152–3, 169–70  
 on loquacity in Parliament 145–6  
 on nature of Parliament 169–70  
 on Parliament 120  
 on parliamentary privilege 139, 180–2  
 on royal prerogative 152, 155–6, 169  
 on 'Tribunes' in Parliament 146  
 opening speech to 1624 Parliament 185  
 pacific policies of 213  
 plans to dismiss 1621 Parliament 175  
 proclamation on dissolution of 1621 Parliament 184  
 relations with Parliament 194  
 religious policy of 247  
 response to 1621 Protestation 184  
 responses to petitions in 1621 Parliament 181–2  
 support of Bacon's impeachment 174  
*Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus* 94  
 Jenks, Herbert 222  
 Jephson, Sir John 175  
 Jewel, John, Bishop of Salisbury, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 83  
 John the Baptist, St 83  
 John, St 78  
 Gospel of, *parrhesia* in 79–80  
 Jonson, Ben, and John Hoskyns 240–1  
 Julius Caesar 32–3  
 Juvenal 118  
  
 Kaplan, M. Lindsay 204  
 Kennedy, George A. 26  
 King, Henry, poems in manuscript 243  
 'King's Five Senses, The' 243, 246  
 Klassen, William 78  
 Konstan, David 78  
  
 L'Estrange, Sir Roger 196  
 Lake, Peter 102, 106  
 Lambert, Sheila 205  
 Lampe, G. W. H. 91  
 Langland, William, *Piers Plowman* 90  
  
 Latimer, Hugh, Bishop of Worcester 7, 87–91, 92  
 and Edward VI 87–91  
 and Henry VIII 87  
 as Pasquil 89  
 as plain-speaking ploughman 90  
 compared to Elijah 89  
 imitating Jonah and Elijah 88–9  
 martyrdom of 90–1  
 Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury 102  
 law notes, manuscripts of 212, 216  
 Lewis, C. S. 12–13  
 Lewknor, Samuel, speech in 1610 Parliament 158–9  
 libel, law of 200, 204–5, 216; *see also* defamation  
 libels 9, 116  
 against puritans 201  
 against Sir Robert Cecil 201, 202  
 against Spain 213  
 against the French 214  
 and ballads 216  
 and counsel 216, 217–18  
 and epideictic rhetoric 249  
 and images 216  
 and news 199–201  
 and parliamentary freedom of speech 211  
 as criticism of the monarch 217  
 as eroding 'civility of trust' 204–5  
 as indicators of political climate 204  
 discussed in 1610 Parliament 211  
 in favour of Catholics 201  
 oral circulation of 201  
 religious 208  
 liberties of the subject 118, 152, 156, 193, 194  
 identified with freedom of speech 180  
 identified with parliamentary privileges 183, 184, 192, 194, 195  
 liberty  
 and Calvinism 87  
 John Donne on 97–101  
 neo-roman ideas of 252  
*licentia, see parrhesia*  
 Lilburne, John 91  
 Lipsius, Justus, *Sixte Bookes of Politicks* 63–4  
 Livy 157  
 Lords' Journals 131  
 Love, Harold 197, 198  
 Ludlow, Henry 243  
  
 MacCulloch, Diarmaid 86  
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, *The Prince* 71, 74  
 Magna Carta 181

Mallory, William  
 imprisoned after 1621 Parliament 184  
 speeches in 1621 Parliament 177, 181  
 manuscript miscellanies 9–10  
 and Christ Church, Oxford 245  
 and Inns of Court 243  
 anti-Spanish poems in 213–14  
 as tools of political analysis 248–9  
 bawdy verse in 246  
 communal production of 222–3, 245  
 copying of wholesale 203  
 importance of reading as collections  
 203  
 links with Oxford 247; *see also* Christ  
 Church  
 MS Bodleian Rawlinson B.151, poems  
 in 234–8  
 reasons for compilation 202–3, 242–4  
 Roman Catholic poems in 246  
 transcription of printed texts into 206  
 Bodleian MS Ashmole 781 248  
 Bodleian MS Douce f. 5 247  
 Bodleian MS Eng. poet. c. 50 248  
 Bodleian MS Malone 19 247  
 Bodleian MS Rawl. B.151 219–38, 244  
 Bodleian MS Rawl. D.160 237  
 British Library MS Add. 21433 243  
 British Library MS Add. 25303 243  
 ‘Dr Farmer Chetham MS’ 247  
 Folger MS V.a.162 244–5  
 Folger MS V.a.345 245–6  
 Folger MS V.a.402 212  
 Huntington MS 46323 212–16  
 Huntington MS HM 198 246–7  
 manuscripts  
 ‘author publication’ of 198  
 ‘entrepreneurial publication’ of 198  
 ‘user publication’ of 198  
 and aristocracy 198  
 and coteries 198  
 communities and 198  
 freedom from censorship of 197  
 of news 198  
 of parliamentary news 198, 222  
 parliamentary speeches in 212  
 production of multiple copies of 197  
 Marcuse, Herbert 254  
 Marforio 207  
 Marprelate tracts 104  
 Marrow, Stanley B. 78  
 Martin, Richard, speech in 1614 Parliament 161,  
 163  
 martyrdom 90–2  
 of Roman Catholics 92  
 Mary I 48, 109, 110

Matthew, Sir Toby, poems in manuscript 246  
 McRae, Andrew 2  
 Merchant Adventurers 174, 175  
 Mermaid Club 241  
 Mervyn, Henry, on Bishop Neile 161  
 Michell, Sir Francis 173, 200  
 Middleton, Thomas, *A Game at Chesse* 107  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 20  
 Mompesson, Sir Giles 173–4, 200  
 libels on 234, 245  
 monopolies 141–2, 173–4, 180, 200  
*see also* Michell, Sir Francis; Mompesson, Sir  
 Giles; patents  
 Montagu, James, Dean of Royal Chapel, Bishop  
 of Bath and Wells and of Winchester 219,  
 228  
 Montagu, Richard, Bishop of Chichester and  
 Norwich 102  
 Montagu, Sir Edward 161  
 Montagu, Sir Henry 154  
 More, John 128–30  
 More, Mr 172  
 More, Sir George 171  
 on counsel in Parliament 165  
 speech in 1626 Parliament 192  
 More, Sir Thomas  
 request for freedom of speech in  
 Parliament 131–2  
*Utopia* 66–71, 73, 89, 104; paratext of 69–70  
 Morrill, John 123–4, 128, 129  
 Morrissey, Mary 95  
 Morton, Thomas, Bishop of Coventry and  
 Lichfield 222  
 Mulcaster, Richard 38–9  
 Nathan 83, 115  
 Neale, J. E. 135  
*negotium*, *see* active life  
 Neile, Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, speeches in  
 1614 Parliament 161–2, 163, 166–7  
 Neville, Christopher 164  
 imprisonment of after 1614 Parliament 160,  
 164  
 speech in 1614 Parliament 162  
 new counsels 129, 191, 193, 194  
 news 109, 198, 199–201  
 parliamentary, dissemination of 195  
*see also* manuscripts  
 newsletters 198, 199–200  
 nobility, evinced by free speech 19–20  
 Norbrook, David 1  
 Northampton, Henry Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of  
 164  
 libels against 246  
 Noy, William, on impositions 154

- Oath of Allegiance 92, 94  
 orations, at university 249  
 Osborn, Louise Brown 242  
*otium*, *see* contemplative life  
 Overbury, Sir Thomas, murder of 248  
 Owen, John, monument to as site of pasquils 208  
 Owen, Sir Roger, on Bishop Neile 163
- Pace, Richard 207  
 Palatinate, the 168, 169, 176, 177, 179, 185  
 Palmes, Sir Guy 163–4  
   appointed sheriff after 1625 Parliament 189  
   speech in 1625 Parliament 188  
 pamphlets 102–4, 119  
 panegyric 249  
 Parker, Dr 141  
 Parliament 115  
   as locus of counsel 165–6  
   *Commons Journal* 127–8  
   diaries of proceedings 127–8, 141  
   freedom of speech in 4, 7–8, 39, 54–5  
   House of Lords, relations with House of Commons 179  
   John Reynolds on 109, 110  
   manuscript reports of 198, 222, 234, 247  
   misinformation in 125, 130, 132, 139, 140–1, 143, 148–9, 160, 176, 179, 183, 186, 190  
   privileges 139, 143, 152: as derived from statute 181; as due by inheritance 181–2, 183, 184–5; as due by royal grace 180–2, 184–5; importance of definitions of 182; *see also* James I; liberties of the subject  
   representative function of 181, 195, 252  
   responsibilities of members of to countries 186  
   secrecy of proceedings 141  
   Thomas Scott on 113  
   tripartite nature of 126  
   writ of summons to 134–5, 156, 159, 166, 178, 182, 183, 185  
   *see also* House of Commons  
 parliamentary sessions  
   of 1604–10 138–59  
   of 1610 137, 193, 211  
   of 1614 136–7, 159–68, 205: imprisonment of four members 164, 171  
   of 1621 124, 136, 137, 168–85: discussion of foreign policy in 179; discussion of war in 176, 177–8, 182; dissolution of 184; imprisonment of MPs after 186; Protestation 183–4, 185  
   of 1624 185–6: anti-Spanish feeling in 186; discussion of evil counsel in 185  
   of 1625 187–9: discussion of evil counsel in 187–8; dissolution of 188  
   of 1626 140, 189–93: dissolution of 193  
   of 1628 193–4  
   of 1629 194  
   *see also* Parliament  
*parrhesia* 6, 12–76  
   and criticism of audience 22, 25  
   and deception 50–1  
   and decline of Athenian democracy 21  
   and flattery 28–9, 33, 35, 42–3, 44–6, 61  
   and friendship 20  
   and philosophy 20  
   and social hierarchy 41–2  
   as apology for frank speech 23, 56–60  
   as attribute of the martyr 90–2  
   as attribute of the philosopher 82  
   as exclamation 50–2  
   as figure of thought 27, 30  
   as marker of friendship 64  
   as open relationship with God 78  
   as operation of Holy Spirit 79, 90, 91  
   episcopal 82–91: under Elizabeth I 92–3  
   in ancient Greece 15–25  
   in ancient Rome 25–37  
   in early church 78  
   in early modern England 37–76  
   in epistles of St Paul 79–80  
   in Gospel of St John 79–80  
   in New Testament 78–81  
   in Old Testament 77–8  
   in prayer 81  
   monastic 82  
   of Christ 79–80  
   religious 6–7, 48, 52–3, 54–5, 250: and Thomas Scott 102–19; under Charles I 97; under Elizabeth I 92–3; under James I 93–7  
   self-consciousness in 22  
 Pasquil and pasquils 89, 109, 206–9, 211, 249  
 Pasquino 206–7  
 patents 173–4, 200  
 Paul, St 7, 91, 115  
   *parrhesia* of 78, 79–80  
 Peacham, Henry 77  
   *The Garden of Eloquence* 53–7, 60  
 Peck, Linda Levy 164  
 Peltonen, Markku 73, 102, 157  
 Pembroke, William Herbert, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of  
   campaign against Buckingham 193  
 Pericles, as frank speaker 21  
 Petition of Right (1610) 156–8, 159  
 Petition of Right (1628) 122, 125, 194



290

- petitions  
 in 1621 Parliament 178, 179–80  
 to Parliament 232
- Phelips, Sir Edward 154
- Phelips, Sir Robert 170, 171, 172  
 appointed sheriff after 1625 Parliament 189  
 imprisoned after 1621 Parliament 184  
 speeches in 1621 Parliament 178, 180, 181, 182  
 speech in 1625 Parliament 187, 189  
 speech in 1628 Parliament 194
- Philip II 110
- Philip of Macedon 24
- Philodemus of Gadara 20  
*Peri parrhesias* 41
- Pickering, Lewis 209, 215, 217–18, 233, 250
- Piggott, Christopher 147–8
- plague, in 1625 187
- Plato 18, 21, 67, 82  
*Gorgias* 17–18
- Pliny 43
- ploughman, as model of free speech 90  
*Ploughman's Tale, The* 90
- Plutarch 3, 20, 32, 45, 79, 80–1  
 'How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend' 42–3  
*Moralia* 44, 63
- poetry, and origins of civilisation 58
- Poole, Sir Henry 2, 120, 172  
*praeceus correctio*, see *diorthosis*
- preaching 71, see also Donne, John; Latimer, Hugh; *parrhesia*, religious
- precedent 181, 182, 192
- prerogative, royal 138
- Price, Daniel 97
- private interest, dangers of 189
- privilege, parliamentary 175; see also Parliament
- Privy Council 137–8, 154  
 on Thomas Bywater 232–3
- Proclamations 169, 170–1, 184, 192  
 against lavish and licentious speech of matters of state (1620 and 1621) 176, 214–15  
 against popish and puritanical books (1624) 220  
 against remonstrance of 1626 193
- prophets  
 as models of free speech 114, 116  
 free speech of 57, 88–9, 233  
*prosopopoeia* 104, 107–8
- Protestantism, militant 110
- Protestation (of 1621) 183–4, 185  
 referred to in 1624 186  
 removed from *Commons Journal* by James I 184  
 status of 183–4
- Proverbs, book of 226

## Index

- Prynne, William 91
- Puckering, Sir John, Lord Keeper 55, 135
- Purveyance 141–2, 146
- Puttenham, George, *The Arte of English Poesie* 57–9
- Pym, John, imprisoned after 1621 Parliament 184
- Quarles, Francis 248
- Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 12, 15, 32, 33–5, 38, 40, 45, 47, 50, 86; on exclamation 34
- Raleigh, Sir Walter  
 and John Hoskyns 241  
 as character of Thomas Scott 108–9  
 'To his sonne' 245
- Ramus, Petrus 52
- Raymond, Joad 103
- recusancy  
 laws against 188  
 petition about in 1621 Parliament 178, 179
- Regius, Raphael 27
- Rehoboam 114, 165, 228
- Remonstrances  
 of 1626 (first) 190–1  
 of 1626 (second) 192–3
- Reynolds, John 7, 118  
 imprisonment of 110–11  
 on Parliament 109, 110  
*Vox Coeli* 109–11
- Rhé, Ile de 201, 247, 248
- rhetoric 5–6, 12–76, 252  
 and democracy 36, 38–9, 41  
 and inflaming the emotions 30–1, 33, 51, 52  
 and monarchy 38–9, 86  
 and poetry 58  
 and social hierarchy 57–8  
 and social unrest 35–6  
 at grammar schools 252  
 classification of schemes and tropes 14  
 codification of 16, 17, 25–6  
 epideictic 249, 252  
 figures of thought 30, 33–4, 46, 50  
 five parts of 25–6  
 forensic or judicial 252  
 in Parliament 252  
*occulatio* or *paralipsis* 32, 37  
 personification of 252  
 religious 40, 252  
 three branches of 25–6  
*vituperatio* 249; see also rhetoric, epideictic  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 6, 15, 27–9, 30, 31, 35, 45, 46, 59

- Rich, Sir Nathaniel, speech in 1621  
 Parliament 183
- Richardson, Sir Thomas 173
- Ridgeway, Sir Thomas 142
- Roe, Sir Thomas 171
- Roman Catholicism 7
- Roper, William, *Life of Sir Thomas More*  
 131
- Roskell, J. S. 133
- Rous, John 202
- Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, and John Hoskyns  
 241
- Russell, Conrad 121–2, 174, 175, 189, 194  
 on 1621 Protestation 184  
 on Form of Apology and Satisfaction 143
- Russell, John, *The Spy* 118
- Salisbury, Robert Cecil, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of 146, 149, 151,  
 208  
 and Thomas Bywater 230, 232  
 examination of Thomas Bywater 219  
 libels against 201, 202, 209, 246
- Sallust 50, 157
- Samson 117
- Sanderson, James L. 242
- Sandys, Sir Edwin 156, 171, 175  
 arrest of in 1621 175, 177  
 in Parliament of 1604–10 142  
 on Bishop Neile 163  
 on impositions 166  
 on libels 211  
 speech in 1614 Parliament 167
- Sandys, Sir Samuel 177
- satire 2  
 classical 249
- Savile, Sir John 164
- scandalum magnatum* 46, 205, 215, 240
- Scots, attacks on in Parliament 158, 162
- Scott, Thomas 5, 7, 77, 93, 102–19, 222, 223,  
 233, 252  
*A Speech Made in the Lower House of  
 Parliament* 105  
*A Tongue-Combat* 106  
 and classical humanism 102  
 and flattery 106, 114  
 and Parliament 102  
 and Puritanism 102  
 and republicanism 102  
 flight of 118  
*Newes from Parnassus* 105  
 on counsel 107–9  
 on decorum 107  
 on Esther 113  
 on Parliament 113, 115  
 on prophecy 114, 116  
 on public and private personae 112–13, 116–17  
 on Samson 117  
 on St Ambrose 116  
*Philomythie* 106  
*Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost* 106, 107–8  
*Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost* 106, 108–9:  
 manuscripts of 220  
*The Second Part of Vox Populi* 105  
 use of anonymity by 118  
*Vox Dei* 2, 116–17, 118  
*Vox Populi* 104–5, 107, 108, 109, 111, 115, 169,  
 212, 213, 214: manuscript circulation of 105;  
 manuscripts of 212, 220, 224  
*Vox Regis* 107, 108, 111–15
- scribal communities, *see* manuscripts
- scribal publication 198; *see also* manuscripts
- scriveners 197, 198
- Secreta Secretorum* 63
- seditious libel, punishment for 200; *see also* libel
- Selden, John, arrest of in 1621 175
- separates, manuscript 198, 222
- sermons, *see* preaching
- Seymour, Sir Francis 174  
 appointed sheriff after 1625 Parliament 189  
 attacks Buckingham in 1625 Parliament 188  
 questioned for speech in 1621 Parliament 174  
 speech in 1624 Parliament 186  
 speech in 1625 Parliament 187  
 speech in 1628 Parliament 194
- Shakespeare, William, *Julius Caesar*: pasquils  
 in 208–9
- Shami, Jeanne 95, 99
- Sharp, Lionel 164
- Sharpe, Kevin 9, 199
- Sheffield, Edmund, Lord (Baron) Sheffield of  
 Butterwick 218  
 relations with Thomas Bywater 230–2
- Shepherd, John 173
- Sherland, Christopher, speech in 1625  
 Parliament 188
- Sherry, Richard 13
- Shuger, Debora 217
- Sicilian Vespers 162, 164
- Sidney, Sir Philip 246  
*Letter to Queen Elizabeth* 91: manuscripts  
 of 91, 223  
*The Old Arcadia* 50, 51–2
- simplicity, as marker of religious free speech  
 78
- Skinner, Quentin 1, 39, 66, 68  
 on liberty 252  
 on slavery 157–8
- Skipwith, Sir William 147
- slander 2  
 law of 204, 205

- slavery  
 and freedom of speech 19–20  
 as dependence 153, 157–8, 166, 182, 183, 184–5, 192  
 fears of 160  
 Smith, David L. 128  
 Smith, Sir Thomas, *De Republica Anglorum* 134  
 Socrates 72  
 trial of 18  
 Somerset, Robert Carr, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of, libels on 245, 247  
 Sommerville, J. P. 151  
 Sophocles, *Trachiniai* 19  
 Southampton, Henry Wriothesley, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of, arrest of in 1621 175  
 Spain  
 attitudes towards 169  
 treaties with 185, 187  
 war with 185, 186  
 Spanish Armada 214  
 Spanish Match 93, 107, 110, 169, 187, 201, 213–14, 220, 223, 247  
 failure of 186  
 poems on 245  
 speech codes 254  
 Spencer, Edward or Richard, speech in 1621 Parliament 177  
 Spenser, Edmund  
*A View of the Present State of Ireland* 198  
*The Faerie Queene* 204  
*The Shepheardes Calender* 90  
 Spínola, Ambrosio 212  
 Stanley, Sir William 210  
 Star Chamber, court of 216  
 Starkey, Thomas, *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* 65–6  
 Statute of Westminster 215  
 statutes, bill for continuance of (1621) 182  
 Stephen, St 91  
 as exemplar of frank speaking 78  
 stigma of print 196  
 Stone, Ben 247  
 Strode, Richard, case of (c. 1513) 171  
 Strode, Sir William  
 speech in 1614 Parliament 167  
 speech in 1621 Parliament 182  
 Stubbs, John 91  
*The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf* 10, 84–5, 204, 206: manuscripts of 223–4  
 subsidies 147, 158, 170, 175, 209  
 supply 187, 189  
 linked to counsel 190  
 Tacitus 35–7, 38, 45, 187  
*Annals* 36–7  
*Dialogus* 35–6  
 Talon, Omer 52  
 Tasso, Torquato, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 50  
 Taverner, Richard 150  
 Tey, John 140  
 Theodosius 82, 83, 87, 116  
 Thompson, Christopher 175  
 Thornborough, John, Bishop of Bristol 130, 140–1, 142–4  
 Thucydides 21, 25  
 treason 172  
 Trumbull, William 150  
 Turner, Dr Samuel 191  
 ‘six queries’ about Buckingham in 1626 Parliament 189  
 tyranny 129  
 undertakers 161, 170  
 Union of England and Scotland 130, 139–41, 147, 148–9, 170, 248  
 Commission of (1604), Bacon on 75  
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights 253  
 Ursinus, Zacharias, *The Summe of Christian Religion* 87  
 Valentinian 83  
 Valla, Lorenzo 27  
 Vaughan, John, poems in manuscript 243  
 Vickers, Brian 12  
 Villiers, George, *see* Buckingham  
 Virgil, *Aeneid* 50–1  
 Virginia Company 161  
 Walter, Sir William, speech in 1626 Parliament 189–90  
 war 194  
 with Spain 185, 186, 187  
 wardship 141–2  
 Wentworth, Peter 10, 54–5, 77, 91, 110, 114, 128, 129  
 examination by Privy Council 137–8  
 Wentworth, Thomas 145, 153, 156  
 apology by in 1614 Parliament 163  
 imprisonment of after 1614 Parliament 160, 163  
 on impositions 154–5, 156  
 on royal prerogative 156  
 on slavery 157–8  
 speech in 1614 Parliament 162  
 Whitelocke, Bulstrode 129

## Index

293

- Whitelocke, James  
 on impositions 156, 166  
 on liberties of the subject 156
- Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury  
 libel on 218  
 pasquil placed on coffin of 207, 218
- Whitlock, Baird W. 240, 242
- Whitson, John  
 on impositions 166  
 speech in 1614 Parliament 167
- Wilde, John, speech in 1626 Parliament 189, 192
- Williams, John, Lord Keeper (later Bishop of Lincoln) 181  
 speech in 1621 Parliament 176, 177
- Williams, Thomas, request for freedom of speech in Parliament 133
- Wilson, Thomas 50, 62, 77  
*The Arte of Rhetorique* 2, 47–8  
*The Rule of Reason* 48  
 translations of Demosthenes 48–50
- Winter, S. C. 78
- Wither, George 90
- Wood, Anthony à 241
- Wootton, David 62
- Wotton, Sir Henry 39, 61, 164  
 and John Hoskyns 241  
 on 1614 Parliament 160  
 on impositions 162  
 on John Hoskyns 167  
 on Thomas Wentworth 162  
 ‘You meaner beauties of the night’ 213
- Woudhuysen, H. R. 196, 198  
 writ of summons 134–5
- Yale Center for Parliamentary History 127
- Young, Thomas 132–3
- Younge, Walter 201
- Zaller, Robert 178, 181, 183
- Zaret, David 141