and the reports of Venetian ambassadors stationed in The Hague suggest that she conversed with those diplomats in their native tongue.[26]

The year 1605 brought the royal siblings closer together, both metaphorically and literally, when Elizabeth first became the object of political and religious strife during the Gunpowder Plot. Disaffected Catholics had conspired to kill King James and Henry Frederick by blowing up Westminster: their plan then was to raid Coombe Abbey and kidnap the 10-year-old princess Elizabeth with the intention of raising her in the Catholic faith. Had they succeeded, Elizabeth would have been married off to a Catholic (whose identity has never been established) and made a Catholic puppet-queen of England.[27] The plan failed because the Haringtons had been informed about the conspiracy, and accordingly moved Elizabeth to a secret hiding place in Coventry, the house of one Sampson Hopkins.[28] Thereafter it was thought best to relocate her and her household to Kew, near London, and this closer proximity made personal visits easier, but the frequency of letters being exchanged with her brother did not decrease. Certainly, a contemporary account notes of Henry Frederick that he

> loued her alwayes so dearly, that hee desired to see her alwayes by him. And (at least) they did visite each other once in two dayes, if time and occasion had serued, and that they had been any thing neare together. Otherwayes he did send often to inquire of her health, with diuers unfallible signes and tokens of his great loue & affection towards them both.[29]

The letters in this volume confirm this account and testify to the close relationship the siblings are reputed to have had.

At the age of 12 Elizabeth made her first official appearance at Whitehall and Hampton Court.[30] Several notable individuals, such as Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Theophilus Howard, Baron de Walden (later 2nd Earl of Suffolk), and even Philip III, King of Spain, put themselves forward as candidates for marriage, thereby indicating her diplomatic value. Many German princes also proposed marriage, among whom were Friedrich Ulrich, in 1613 Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and Otto, hereditary Prince of Hesse. In 1611 Charles Emmanuel, the Duke of Savoy, reiterated an earlier 1603 proposal for his son Vittoreo

[26] See the countless references to Elizabeth in the *CSP Venice*.

[27] Guy Fawkes, one of the Gunpowder plotters, admitted that Princess Elizabeth had been their main target. She would have been easier to abduct rather than the more heavily protected Prince Charles, and would have been easier to influence compared with the more mature Prince Henry Frederick. See Mark Nicholls, *Investigating Gunpowder Plot* (Manchester: Manchester University Press and New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), 15. As his source of reference, Nicholls lists TNA, SP 14/216, no. 37.

[28] See Elizabeth's undated letter to Henry Frederick (Letter 23).

[29] W.H., *The True Picture and Relation of Prince Henry...* (Leiden: Printed by William Christian, 1634), 4.

[30] Green 18.

Amedeo, by now Prince of Piedmont, to marry Elizabeth. This time he presented it as a double marriage treaty: his son Vittoreo Amedeo was presented as a groom for Elizabeth and his daughter Maria as bride for Henry Frederick. This double union was seriously considered: Sir Henry Wotton acted as Stuart ambassador in Turin and Claudio di Ruffio, Count of Carignana, was sent as Savoyard ambassador to England.[31] The most noteworthy proposals, however, came from Karl IX of Sweden on behalf of his son and heir, Gustavus Adolphus, in 1609,[32] and the much older Maurice of Nassau shortly afterwards. Even though they were, like previous suitors, unsuccessful in their negotiations, the latter pair would later come to play a significant role in Elizabeth's life, Maurice of Nassau's position as Stadholder being bolstered in 1618 when he became Prince of Orange. It was, however, her exact contemporary Frederick V who was successful in finally achieving the diplomatic victory of her hand. The decision by King James to accept the marriage proposal of this Calvinist Elector Palatine reaches back to the years 1607 to 1610, when the Donauwörth affair and the assassination of King Henry IV of France brought the need for an international Protestant alliance to the fore, as I have argued in more detail elsewhere.[33]

Since royal marriages in the seventeenth century were primarily dynastic and political matters, the young Elizabeth was destined to be a pawn in her father's foreign policy. For James, the union of his daughter with Frederick V was a strategic opportunity to safeguard peace on the Continent at a time when the potency of confessional issues threatened to disturb the status quo. The marriage of his daughter to a prominent Calvinist prince was not intended to signal James's unwavering support for Protestantism on the Continent, however, even though it was considered as such by many contemporary observers. On the contrary, had James's son Henry Frederick's life not been cut short, his father would have expected him to marry Maria, the daughter of the Catholic Duke of Savoy, in 1613,[34] and soon after Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick, James started marriage negotiations between his eldest surviving son Charles and the Spanish Infanta. If his daughter was married to a powerful Protestant prince, and his heir were to marry the daughter of one the most prominent Catholic rulers, so James believed, he could keep both sides content while extending the Stuart Crown's influence abroad. The marriage of his son Charles to the Spanish Infanta was to provide

[31] Roy Strong, 'England and Italy: The Marriage of Henry Prince of Wales', in Richard Ollard and Pamela Tudor-Craig (eds.), *For Veronica Wedgwood These Studies in Seventeenth-Century History* (London: Collins, 1986), 59–87 at 78–9.

[32] For more on the detail and context of this proposal see Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 27–8.

[33] See Akkerman, '*Semper Eadem*: Elizabeth Stuart and the Legacy of Elizabeth I', *passim*.

[34] Malcolm Smuts, 'Prince Henry and his World', in MacLeod, with Wilks, Smuts, and MacGibbon, *The Lost Prince*, 19–31 at 29. Strong, 'England and Italy', 84–7. These Savoyard proposals were renewed in 1619 for Prince Charles: see Letter 145 n. 2.

evidence, albeit primarily symbolic, that both powers would refrain from being tempted into a confessional war.[35] The Spanish would also gain by such a marriage alliance, as the resident Spanish ambassador in London, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, pointed out. The Stuart Crown's neutrality was highly desirable considering the fact that the Spanish and the Dutch were bound to clash again sooner or later, with the 1609 truce between Spain and the Netherlands being only concluded for twelve years' duration.

The festivities that marked this union have been studied from almost every conceivable angle,[36] and continue to attract much scholarly attention to this day,

[35] See Maurice Lee, Jr., *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in his Three Kingdoms* (Urbana, Ill. and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990); see esp. ch. 9, 'The Blessed Peacemaker', 261–89.

[36] The studies are too numerous to list in their entirety but include Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (eds.), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 2013); Christof Ginzel, *Poetry, Politics and Promises of Empire: Prophetic Rhetoric in the English and Neo-Latin Epithalamia on the Occasion of the Palatine Marriage in 1613* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009); Kevin Curran, 'James I and Fictional Authority at the Palatine Wedding Celebrations', *Renaissance Studies*, 20/1 (2006), 51–67; George Gömöri, '"A Memorable Wedding": The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz', *Journal of European Studies*, 34/3 (2004), 215–24; Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court 1590–1619* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), ch. 4, 'Disputed Marriages: The Female Courtier as Spectator', 136–63; Götz Schmitz, 'Die Hochzeit von Themse und Rhein: Gelegenheitsschriften zur Brautfahrt des Kurfürsten Friedrich V. von der Pfalz', *Daphnis*, 22 (1993), 265–309; Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), ch. 4, 'The Wedding of Princess Elizabeth', 95–134; and as one of the first and most famous Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972; repr. St Albans: Paladin, 1975). For studies that detail the continuation of the wedding festivities beyond the boundaries of the British Isles, see Mark Brayshay, 'The Choreography of Journeys of Magnificence: Arranging the Post-Nuptial Progress of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth of England from London to Heidelberg in 1613', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 12 (2008), 383–408 at 391–2; Marika Keblusek, 'Extremes of Cost and Riches: The Entry of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth in the Dutch Republic (1613)', in Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen, Paul Hoftijzer, Juliette Roding et al. (eds.), *Living in Posterity: Essays in Honour of Bart Westerweel* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 163–9, and its reappraisal, 'Celebrating a Union: The Festive Entry of Friedrich, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth in the Netherlands', in Smart and Wade (eds.), *The Palatine Wedding*, 391–409; and J. R. Mulryne, 'Marriage Entertainments in the Palatinate for Princess Elizabeth Stuart and the Elector Palatine', in J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 173–96. See also Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shews: Tournaments at German-Speaking Courts in their European Context 1560–1730* (Berlin: Mann, 1992).

not least because of the recent quatercentenary of the wedding.[37] Less attention has been paid to the period after 1613, when the 16-year-old Elizabeth left London and followed her husband to the Palatinate. This oversight can be explained to a certain extent. British historians have tended to neglect the seventeenth-century English elite who moved abroad.[38] Even the cataloguing system of The National Archives in Kew reflects this Anglocentric mindset: special permission needs to be obtained from an archivist to consult Elizabeth's pre-1614 papers that are filed among the State Papers Domestic; by contrast, Elizabeth's post-1613 papers are filed among the State Papers German, as if she were no longer a Scottish-born princess, and an open access policy applies. The Elector Palatine and his family have in recent years received renewed attention, as witness the two biographies by Brennan C. Pursell and Peter Bilhöfer.[39] Yet it is remarkable that Elizabeth's role after 1613, whether cultural or political, remains relatively unexplored. What is particularly poignant in the context of the present discussion is that her own feelings about the match are unknown.

[37] Smart and Wade's 662-page edited collection comprises twenty-three articles on the wedding.

[38] The recent interest in the experience of exile and displacement shows that scholars have begun to redress the balance. See, for instance, Geoffrey Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2003); Ben van Beneden and Nora de Poorter (eds.), *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648–1660* (Leuven: Exhibitions International, 2006); Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (New York: Harper, 2008); and Philip Major (ed.), with a foreword by Lisa Jardine, *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath 1640–1690* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[39] Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003) (hereafter Pursell). Pursell's study was soon followed by a large exhibition; see Peter Wolf, Michael Henker, Evamaria Brockhoff, et al. (eds.), *Der Winterkönig: Friedrich V, der letzte Kurfürst aus der Oberen Pfalz* (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2003). Part of this exhibition travelled to the Netherlands; see S. Groenveld, *De Winterkoning: Balling aan het Haagse Hof* (The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 2003). Furthermore, an exhibition was held in Heidelberg; see Annette Frese, Frieder Hepp and Renate Ludwig (eds.), *Der Winterkönig: Heidelberg zwischen höfischer Pracht und Dreißigjährigem Krieg; Begleitbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Kurpfälzischen Museum der Stadt Heidelberg* (Remshalden: Greiner, 2004); and Peter Bilhöfer's biography, *Nicht gegen Ehre und Gewissen: Friedrich V., Kurfürst von der Pfalz - der Winterkönig von Böhmen (1596–1632)* (Heidelberg: Eigenverlag Rhein-Neckar-Kreis, 2004) was published in the same year. See also Marika Keblusek, 'Het Hof van de Winterkoning and Winterkoningin en het Stadhouderlijk Hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia van Solms', in Markus Schacht (ed.), *Onder den Oranjeboom: Nederlandse Kunst en Cultuur aan Duitse Vorstenhoven in de Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw* (Munich: Hirmer and Apeldoorn: Stichting Paleis het Loo Museum, 1999), 107–11.

Frederick met his bride for the first time on 28 October 1612. King James wanted to meet the youth in person to dispel rumours that the German prince was afflicted by hereditary disease.[40] The 16-year-olds had exchanged letters in French since April that year. In one of his first letters to her, Frederick had enclosed a gift with the question: 'would you honour me by wearing a very unworthy token of my service?'[41] Her answer to his letter is short but revealing:

> I feel myself to be extremely honoured, and I give you most humble grace for the assurances you have given me of your love, which I will cherish the more affectionately because I am commanded to do so by the King, whose paternal wishes I regard as inviolable law.[42]

This token of his affection could have been a jewel, a miniature portrait, or even a lock of hair such as she wears in later paintings. Elizabeth's reply is diplomatic in tone, and it fails to answer Frederick's direct question, responding merely to the 'assurances you have given me of your love' with 'most humble grace'. Whether she talks about the token or the assurances, her comment that she will 'cherish' them 'the more affectionately' because she is '*commanded to do so*' by her father makes it plain that she is stressing her obligation in this matter. The lack of a corpus of letters from Elizabeth to Frederick makes it difficult to draw any real conclusions but it seems that the spectacular nature of the Palatine wedding, reputedly the most sumptuous wedding feast in early modern times,[43] may have sugar-coated Elizabeth's struggle with an alien culture and the ensuing tensions between her and Frederick during the first years of their marriage. Elizabeth's succinct reply to this, Frederick's first love letter, is a tacit reminder that theirs was not a love match but an arranged marriage.

To meet his bride, with whom he would always converse and correspond with in French, Frederick had travelled via The Hague, from where his maternal uncle, Stadholder Maurice of Nassau, the above-mentioned former suitor of Elizabeth, accompanied him on to London. The Duke of Bouillon also joined the escort, and the entire train consisted of a force of over 150 people.[44] Despite all the orchestrated formalities, however, Frederick seems genuinely to have been

[40] *CSP Venice*, xii, no. 516.

[41] For the French original see Letter 65 (Frederick's letter to Elizabeth of 8 Sept. 1612).

[42] For the French original see Letter 66 (Elizabeth's letter to Frederick of 22 Sept. 1612).

[43] Most recently, the editors of *The Palatine Wedding of 1613*, Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade, describe the wedding as 'the single most significant occasion in the whole of James's reign' (p. 13) and 'in terms of its magnificence, duration, and scope, ... the pinnacle of Protestant European festival' (p. 21).

[44] Margret Lemberg, *Eine Königin ohne Reich: Das Leben der Winterkönigin Elisabeth Stuart und ihre Briefe nach Hessen* (Marburg: Historische Kommission für Hessen, 1996), 10 (hereafter Lemberg). Antonio Foscarini, Venetian ambassador in England, even records a number of 300 men: see *CSP Venice*, xii, no. 516.

captivated by his prospective bride. As John Chamberlain, an English eyewitness, writes, the Elector 'has taken no delight in running at ring, nor tennis, nor riding with the Prince [of Wales] (as Count Henry his uncle [Frederick Henry, the future Prince of Orange] and others of his companie do), but only in her conversation'.[45]

Accounts of Elizabeth's reaction to Frederick are hard to come by,[46] but it is entirely possible that the young princess had her reservations. Despite being one of the most powerful Electors in the Holy Roman Empire, who could technically veto even the Emperor, Frederick's status was not initially recognized in England by some. Elizabeth's mother, Anna of Denmark, disapproved of the match, making her view clear by declining to attend the court ceremonies.[47] She reportedly dubbed Elizabeth 'Goody Palsgrave', considering any marriage candidate other than the King of Spain himself to be beneath her daughter.[48] The problem was approached semantically. To make Frederick appear more regal, the 'Elector Palatine' or 'Palsgrave' was from this point to be referred to as 'Prince Palatine'.[49] In addition, Frederick was elevated to the British Order of the Garter in December 1612, as was Maurice of Orange at his return to The Hague in February 1613, this move not only underlining the international Protestant alliance, but also emphasizing Frederick's newly acquired standing.[50]

The engagement period was initially given more lustre by the support of Elizabeth's brother Henry Frederick, first in line to the throne. As heir he may even have been instrumental in bringing the Palatine marriage negotiations to their successful conclusion, if the letter from Frederick's mother Louise Juliana

[45] John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 22 Oct. 1612, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norbert Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), i. 525. The original is TNA, SP 14/71, fo. 34[r].

[46] John Finet's seems to be the only report of the princess's first reaction on encountering her future husband when he arrived at Whitehall. Frederick curtsied first to James, Anna, and Henry Frederick before turning to Elizabeth: as Finet, master of ceremonies, records, 'the Princess (who was noted till then not to turn so much of a corner of an eye towards him), and [Frederick] stooping to take up the lowest part of her garment to kiss it, shee most gracefully courtesying lower than accustomed, and with her hand staying him from that humblest reverence, gave him at his rising a fair advantage (which he took) of kissing her'. Finet to Trumbull, printed in John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), ii. 464.

[47] McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, 137.

[48] Green 34. 'Goody' is an abbreviation of 'Goodwife', an insulting form of 'Mrs'. It survives in the expression 'Goody Two-Shoes'.

[49] For Queen Anna's displeasure and Frederick's new title see John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, 9 Jan. 1612 (Old Style), in E. Sawyer (ed.), *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I*... (London: Printed for T. Ward, 1725), iii. 421.

[50] Green 44–5, and Jan van Dorsten, 'Garter Knights and Familists', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), 178–88.

thanking him for his patronage is to be taken as more than mere courtesy.[51] Indeed, Henry Frederick had planned to entertain his future brother-in-law with some theatrical performances, but he failed to appear at a scheduled play amid rumours that he had an attack of fever. While at first his illness was not considered serious, within a few days no one was permitted to enter his sick-chamber. Elizabeth tried to gain access to her brother, affecting disguise and attempting to bribe servants, but to no avail, as a letter from Chamberlain to his friend Dudley Carleton written shortly after Henry Frederick's death testifies:

> The Lady Elizabeth is much afflicted with this losse, and not without goode cause, for he did extraordinarilie affect her, and during his sicknes inquired still after her, and the last wordes he spake in goode sense, (they say) were, Where is my deare sister? She was as desirous to visit him, and went once or twise in the euening disguised for that purpose, but could not be admitted, because his disease was doubted to be contagious.[52]

Henry Frederick's death is not mentioned in the letters of 1612 or 1613, but the fact that Elizabeth still cherished his memory as late as 1639,[53] and in 1658 refused to part with a 'great table diamond' while in dire financial circumstances simply because it had been his,[54] suggests that her silence was caused by intense bereavement. (Engravings and paintings portray her with a large mourning band (Fig. 1) and her will, drawn up in May 1661, stipulated that she was to be interred next to him.[55]) This possibility notwithstanding, the ceremonial engagement between Frederick and Elizabeth took place on 17 December 1612, twenty days after Henry Frederick's burial.

According to Henry Frederick's tutor Newton, the prince had secretly planned to disobey his father by abandoning the Catholic, Savoyard match and escorting his sister to Germany to find himself a Protestant bride instead.[56] Henry Frederick's treasurer, Sir Charles Cornwallis, may have planted this idea in his master's head when he tried to convince the prince not to accept a Medici daughter as his bride:

> Your conjunction with those of *your own* Religion [my emphasis] will demonstrate your clear, and undoubted resolution not to decline in the cause of God.... might the States of

[51] Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 57.

[52] Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 Nov. 1612 (Old Style), in McClure i. 390. The original is TNA, SP 14/71, fo. 47[r]. See also Carola Oman, *The Winter Queen: Elizabeth of Bohemia* (1938; rev. edn. 1964; London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 66 (hereafter Oman).

[53] See Vol. II, Letter 468.

[54] Elizabeth Stuart, *Briefe*, 97.

[55] See n. 8 above.

[56] Strong, 'England and Italy', 87. See also Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 Nov. 1612 (Old Style), in McClure i. 390: 'He [Henry Frederick] meant to haue conducted her on her way to Germanie to the uttermost bounds of that States dominions, which purpose he kept very secret and yt is come abrode [i.e. this has become known] but since his death'.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Elizabeth in either her wedding dress or an early masque dress, wearing a mourning band for her brother Henry Frederick. *Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia*, by an unknown artist, 1613. National Portrait Gallery, London

the United Provinces, out of consideration, how much it may import themselves to have you joined with those of the Pope's obedience, be wrought to become actors,... in recommending to your Highness a marriage in their neighbour countries... which may hereafter become of greater consequence, and benefit to your estate than whatsoever can be offered.[57]

Cornwallis had urged the prince to seek assistance from the Dutch to prepare a match with Germany. Now Elizabeth had to go to Germany without her beloved eldest brother.

[57] Strong, 'England and Italy', 74. Charles Cornwallis, 'A Discourse Concerning the Marriage Propounded to Prince Henry with a Daughter of Florence', in *Collectanea Curiosa*, ed. John Gutch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1781), i. 156–60 at 159–60.

To proceed with the wedding so soon must have been an ordeal for Elizabeth, but Henry Frederick's death served to increase the symbolic significance of the match. The burden on Elizabeth was that she was expected to restore a golden age. Puritans and members of the anti-Spanish faction at court had increasingly begun to view Princess Elizabeth as the reincarnation of her godmother and namesake Elizabeth I Tudor.[58] The pamphleteer John Reynolds, for instance, expressed it as follows:

> Shee inherited the Name and Vertues, the Majestie and generositie of our Immortall Queen *Elizabeth*, and is a Princess of such excellent hoapes and exquisite perfections, that I cannot speak of her without prayse, nor prayse her without admiration, sith shee can be immytated by none, nor parraleld by anie but by herselfe... whose Fame and Vertues hath drawne most hartes to adore, all to admyre her.[59]

By comparing her to Elizabeth I the English and Scots were expressing the hope that Elizabeth Stuart would eventually restore Britain to its earlier incarnation as a fervent and militant Protestant power. Henry Frederick's death had given them no other option but to cling to such beliefs.[60] These hopes greatly influenced how the populace came to perceive Elizabeth's marriage to the leader of the Protestant Union on St Valentine's Day 1613. The couple embodied the hope of Protestants across Europe that all members of their faith would be united.[61] Even though Elizabeth left England in 1613, she was expected to return eventually, not least because until 1630, when Henrietta Maria finally bore Charles I a son, Elizabeth was seen as realistically likely to succeed to the throne. Charles's unremitting chronic childhood health problems until this point, and—in the early years of his marriage—his suspected infertility remained problematic issues. These continued to feed expectations that a return to a purer form of Protestantism in Britain, in the persons of Elizabeth and Frederick, was imminent. Had Charles died without an heir, Elizabeth would have become Queen of the three Stuart kingdoms: Scotland, England, and Ireland.

In 1610 Prince Henry Frederick had been invested as Prince of Wales. On his untimely death from typhoid fever two years later, at the early age of 18, his pan-European Protestant responsibilities fell suddenly upon Elizabeth's 16-year-old shoulders.[62]

[58] See n. 20 above.

[59] 'S.R.N.I.', *Votivae Angliae* (Utrecht, 1624), sig. D3. Quoted from Martin Butler, 'Entertaining the Palatine Prince: Plays on Foreign Affairs 1635–1637', *English Literary Renaissance*, 13 (1983), 319–44 at 320.

[60] Thomas Cogswell, 'Phaeton's Chariot: The Parliament-Men and the Continental Crisis in 1621', in J. F. Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 24–46 at 26.

[61] Jaroslav Miller, 'The Henrician Legend Revived: The Palatine Couple and its Public Image in Early Stuart England', *European Review of History*, 11/3 (2004), 305–31.

[62] For Astraea iconography in 1612–13, see Ginzel, *Poetry, Politics and Promises*, 314–15.

Their younger surviving brother Charles was barely 9 years old when his elder brother died. Henry Frederick was widely mourned throughout Protestant Europe, and Elizabeth's resolve to remain true to her royal lineage seemed to have been strengthened. Her marriage in 1613 to the Palatine Elector Frederick led to her becoming Queen of Bohemia in November 1619, but also—in the first decade of her marriage—the most realistic heir to the three Crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Before the couple took up their seat at Heidelberg, the capital of the Lower Palatinate, they went on an extended tour of the Netherlands.[63] Bonds between the United Provinces and the Protestant Union were enhanced by this ceremonial visit of the Palatine couple. Frederick went ahead to prepare for Elizabeth's arrival in the Palatinate.[64] During his absence, as if foreshadowing future events, Elizabeth was left in the care of Maurice and Frederick Henry of Nassau, half-brothers of her mother-in-law, Louise Juliana of Nassau. These future Princes of Orange entertained Elizabeth in The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rhenen, and Arnhem with grand ceremonial display.[65] Having set off from Margate in April, and having been lavished by the Dutch in the Low Countries with Chinese lacquer tortoiseshell cabinets, diamonds, pearls, and plate, she arrived in Heidelberg at the beginning of June that year. Her journey had taken fifty-eight days.[66]

Heidelberg

Elizabeth and Frederick seemingly enjoyed a relatively peaceful five years in Heidelberg from 1613 to 1618, and their first three children, Frederick Henry (b. January 1614), Charles Louis (b. January 1618), and Elisabeth (b. December 1618), were born in the castle. Despite military preparations, their court certainly thrived culturally, for as consort to the Elector Palatine, Elizabeth insisted on upholding the standard of entertainment to which she had grown accustomed during her youth. With England's thriving court culture as her model, she extended activities at her own courts in Heidelberg and Amberg, drawing also on German, French and Dutch traditions.[67]

Elizabeth's desire to preside over a culturally sophisticated court is shown by her employment of Inigo Jones and Salomon de Caus. Jones had devised two masques for her wedding: these were Thomas Campion's *The Lords' Masque*,

[63] Keblusek, 'Extremes of Cost and Riches', *passim*. See also Elizabeth's letter to King James of 28 May 1613 (Letter 74).

[64] Mulryne, 'Marriage Entertainments in the Palatinate', *passim*.

[65] See Keblusek, 'Extremes of Cost and Riches', *passim*.

[66] Brayshay, 'The Choreography of Journeys of Magnificence', 391–2.

[67] See Klaus Winkler, 'Heidelberger Ballette, Musik und Tanz am kurpfälzischen Hof von Elizabeth Stuart und Friedrich V.', *Musik in Baden-Württemberg Jahrbuch*, 7 (2000), 11–23.