5

Heidelberg: The Eye of the Storm

When Elizabeth had followed her father from Edinburgh to her new life as princess to the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, she had been escorted by Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox. Ten years later, and almost to the day, she would make another life-changing journey as she followed her husband to his ancestral seat, Heidelberg. Her escort was, once more, Lennox (he had also fetched Frederick as he came from the Dutch Republic the year before). Like all progresses, this latest one presented a golden opportunity for display and political manoeuvring, and for the acquisition and distribution of gifts: this much she had learnt from her mother.

It began with James, Anna, and Charles accompanying the couple from Whitehall Palace to Greenwich Palace by barge, where the men went off on a two-day hunting trip, leaving Anna and Elizabeth to present themselves to the people and hold court.[1] The party continued to Rochester and another large civic reception before James and Anna said their farewells. Charles escorted the Palatine couple and their train via Sittingbourne to Canterbury, where the party once more split into two. Charles, Elizabeth, and Frederick were to attend various celebrations in the city, while Frederick Henry of Nassau and the German contingent travelled on towards Margate, so that they might cross the narrow seas and prepare for the couple's disembarkation at Flushing.

Charles, barely in his teens, had originally planned to see his sister and brother-in-law board ship at Margate, but the royal couple were stranded by winds 'so crosse and contrarie' that they could not set sail. According to Chamberlain, 'they have bene shipt once or twise but faine [keen] to come on shore againe'. After five days Charles was recalled to Windsor. As heir to

the three kingdoms, he was to shake off his late brother's shadow and take his rightful place at the feast day of the Order of the Garter.[2]

For all the finery and allusions to providential favour that the wedding had presented, Elizabeth could no more rely on the weather than she could on accurate coverage in the early modern 'media', as diplomat Sir Henry Wotton noted:

> My Lady Elizabeth and the Count Palatine, having lain long in our poor province of Kent languishing for a wind (which, she sees, though it be but a vapour, princes cannot command), at length, on Sunday last towards the evening, did put to sea, some eight days after a book had been printed and published in London of her entertainment at Heidelberge; so nimble an age it is.[3]

Wotton was evidently tickled that any account of her reception in the Palatinate should be written, let alone published, before Elizabeth and her husband had even crossed the Channel. It would not be the last time that the Elizabeth who appeared in print would differ from the figure Elizabeth saw in her looking glass.

While the royal party languished in Canterbury, Elizabeth had written an emotional farewell letter to her father, in which she expressed her sadness at their separation, ending with the unwittingly prophetic words 'I shall possibly never, as long as I live, again see the flower of princes, the King of fathers, the best and most gracious father under the sun'.[4] Whether the princess truly was overwhelmed by the events is open to question, however, as not only does no such letter exist to Anna, but the very next day she would write a brusquely businesslike missive to Sir Julius Caesar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, concerning some debts she had incurred with her jeweller that she wished settled before she left England.[5]

Elizabeth may have been leaving her country behind, but the memory of her late brother was ever present. The ship on which they finally set sail from Margate on 5 May was the *Prince Royal*, a warship built for the late Prince of Wales in 1610; poignantly, in Adam Willaerts's 1623 painting of the embarkation, both Henry's insignia and the cross of St George are clearly visible (Fig. 11).[6] Commanded by the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Admiral of the English Navy, and accompanied by an escort of six warships and seven merchantmen, the *Prince Royal* was met across the narrow seas at Ostend by Maurice of Nassau, his half-brother Frederick Henry, and Maurice's brother-in-law the Catholic Prince of Portugal, who all joined the couple on board for dinner.[7]

Fig. 11. Painted a decade after the event, Willaerts indulges his artistic licence in showing Elizabeth and Frederick being wished bon voyage by King James and Queen Anna, neither of whom accompanied the couple to the channel. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020.

The next day, Elizabeth's 373-strong entourage disembarked along with their 136 horses, and by 9 May they had reached Flushing, an important strategic outpost ever since the time of Elizabeth I, when this Dutch 'Cautionary Town' provided a bulwark against Spanish incursions from the south. From here, Frederick rode on to The Hague to meet with the States General to persuade them to join the Protestant Union.[8] Elizabeth, meanwhile, was escorted to nearby Middelburg, 'where the Burgers of the Towne, after a warlike manner, gave her Grace a royall and heartie entertainement, with loud and lusty vollyes of Shot, and so conducted her to her lodging'.[9] It was there, at Maurice's town residence, that a small dinner party was held for eighty select individuals, including various representatives of the province. Over the course of the next two days the visitors ate their way through a veritable farmyard of produce, including

> 420 pounds of sheep, 19 lambs, 263 pounds of veal, 30 pounds of beef, and 27 pounds of salted meat […] 24 turkeys, 18 peacocks, 282 doves, 120 capons, 178 chicks, 78 young and 48 mature rabbits, 122 quails, 12 geese, 60 spring chickens, one hare and 12 sparrows, which were partly used in pies.

The Flushing and Middelburg festivities cost a total of 26,250 guilders.[10]

Elizabeth's next stop was Veere, at which point her English escort the Lord Admiral sailed back to England, and she then travelled to Willemstad, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Delft, before joining her husband at The Hague on 15 May.[11] Three days later Frederick left his wife in the care of the Princes of Nassau and travelled ahead to Heidelberg to make preparations for her arrival. Elizabeth continued her progress for another week, visiting Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Rhenen, where she would once more indulge in her favourite pastime, hunting, and Arnhem, where she was entertained by her first cousin on her mother's side Sophia Hedwig and Stadholder Ernst Casimir, Countess and Count of Nassau-Dietz. From Arnhem, Elizabeth travelled further east to Nijmegen and Zaltbommel, eventually leaving the United Provinces on 30 May.[12]

This extended tour underlined the subtle, symbolic alliance between the United Provinces and the Protestant Union that had already been forged by Frederick and Maurice's appointment to the Order of the Garter. It did not come cheap, and the States General reimbursed every individual host who entertained Elizabeth and Frederick. Gifts for the couple, of course, came extra, and included two grand pearls bought from Maurice's sister, the Princess of Portugal, at 4,500 guilders apiece (she sold these heirlooms to buy an outfit for Elizabeth's reception).[13] The Hague jewellers' contribution of 'Oriental water pearls', diamonds, and a brooch was presented in a gold cloth casket on a perfumed cushion and cost the tidy sum of 33,800 guilders, while tapestries, Chinese lacquer furniture, and damask ran to a further 32,000 guilders. To say that the royal couple were greeted with grand ceremonial display is to do their hosts a disservice: altogether, the States General spent 260,000 guilders on these entertainments, which included the dozen sparrows baked in a pie at Middelburg.[14]

Elizabeth was sent off to Heidelberg in much the same style with which the couple had been received in the Republic and took with her gifts that she would carry throughout her travels around Europe—a six-piece tapestry set on the *Story of Diana* from the best workshops on the Continent, those of François Spiering of Delft. Tapestries were far more valuable than paintings, and served more than a merely decorative function, as they allowed for the presentation of political statements in a practical and portable form that also helped to insulate grand castle rooms from the cold. It comes as little surprise that her entourage included two 'bed and tapestry curators' as well as two 'valets specializing in the hanging of Tapestries'. The States General had also given Frederick a ten-piece set of the *Deeds of Scipio*,

thus casting him in the role of the great Roman general in the same breath as they presented Elizabeth as goddess of the hunt. (After she had been treated so well, it is perhaps no surprise that Elizabeth would later happily consider the Dutch Republic as her place of exile.) The tapestries Elizabeth was bringing with her to Heidelberg would soon find themselves alongside the five hundred other pieces the castle is estimated to have contained—and it would not be long before Dutch tapestry dealers, hearing of the couple's passion for their stock in trade, would travel to Heidelberg and sell Frederick a ten-piece set of the *Story of Samson*.[15]

More entertainment followed as the train moved from the Dutch Republic to Heidelberg, with Elizabeth paying 100*s*. to 'Garrett, the jester' in Cologne.[16] When Elizabeth eventually arrived at her new home on 17 June 1613, she was met not by her husband, whom she had last seen on 18 May, but

> by a 1000 Horses (all Gentleman of the Country) very richly attired, and bravely furnished with Armour, and other warlike habiliments: of the foot there were 16 Companies, which gave to their Lady and Princesse a volley of small shot, whose thunder was seconded by 25 pieces of great Ordnance.

These martial salutes were followed by rather more personal ones, as she was welcomed to Heidelberg Castle by her mother-in-law, Louise Juliana of Orange-Nassau (eldest daughter of William the Silent and half-sister of Maurice and Frederick Henry), and other noble ladies, before the pageants and a tournament in which she would finally catch sight of Frederick.[17] Elizabeth would later describe her reception in Heidelberg as 'most worthy and magnificent'.[18] On the day itself she and her new husband plainly felt the need for some private moments away from the gaze of the court, as she informed her father that they were to take 'acidulous waters similar to those at Spa, for no other reason than to refresh myself and briefly take the air while waiting for our progress and hunting trip'.[19] There were still legal niceties to observe, of course, and three days later Frederick signed a document notifying his father-in-law that he had 'received his Wife, the Princess Elizabeth, from Ludovick, Duke of Lennox and his Colleagues' in good condition, completing the transaction.[20]

In Brussels, Stuart diplomat William Trumbull soon heard of her safe arrival at Heidelberg, but there was also other, more important news: 'Her Highness's Physitians do report that in all appearance she should be with Child.'[21] But the couple—on whose shoulders many believed both the succession to James's throne and the fate of European Protestantism

rested—were still young. Elizabeth may have been pregnant but was not yet 17, and her husband appeared to many a mere child himself. Two years later, Wotton would even write to James that 'I doe not finde the Count Palatine, in the judgement of my eye, much growne (since your Majesty sawe him), either in height or breadth' (see Fig. 5).[22] Taller than her husband, Elizabeth insisted on her superiority in other ways, too, not least in terms of rank, and their first years at Heidelberg were rife with arguments over precedence that kept their households in almost perpetual enmity: their first child might have been conceived within two months of the wedding, but their second would not be born for another three years.

Two Households, Both Alike in Dignity?

The court at Heidelberg had accommodated two, complementary, households since the death of Elector Friedrich IV in 1610: that of the Administrator of the Lower Palatinate, the Duke of Zweibrücken-Veldenz, who was to govern until the young Frederick came of age, and that of Frederick's mother, the Dowager Electress Louise Juliana. The arrival of Frederick and Elizabeth in 1613 introduced two new, and very foreign, households into the equation. Frederick may have been German, but he had been raised in Sedan, France, by his uncle the Duke of Bouillon. Elizabeth was not only foreign by birth, but her household comprised two factions, Scots and English. Heidelberg struggled to adapt to what were, in effect, three new court cultures. Zweibrücken-Veldenz was presumably prepared for the sudden need to defer to the young Frederick, even though the prince would not take over the reins of government for another year, but neither he nor Louise Juliana was willing to allow Elizabeth to preside in what used to be their court.[23] Furthermore, both Elizabeth and James considered that her royal birthright gave her precedence over any German Elector, and this included her husband, especially when his lands and subjects were still under the control of an administrator. When four households each assume that the others must defer to them, trouble cannot be far behind.

One person believed that there was a solution, however. Mere days after Elizabeth's arrival in Heidelberg, the head of Frederick's household, Hans Meinhard Schomberg, wrote to James's Secretary of State Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester. Eager to curry favour with his new charge's father, he explained how he had solved the problem. While Zweibrücken-Veldenz

would continue to insist on Frederick being given precedence over Elizabeth, Schomberg had personally ensured that Elizabeth would take precedence over everybody else, both inside and outside of the castle's boundaries.[24] Schomberg's confidence was misplaced, however, and months later he would send another letter, this time directly to James, explaining the sheer impossibility of his situation: 'I have to satisfy a young prince and princess, an administrator, mother-in-law, sisters, aunts, and all their trains; everybody wishes to govern, everybody believes that I do more for one than another.'[25] The crux of the problem was that nobody knew who was in charge.

The displacement of the incumbent households was less of a problem than the young couple's diametrically opposed court styles. Frederick's court adapted to the German way through the simple fact that, on his accession to the Electorship, he effectively inherited an entire body of advisors and courtiers—those of the Palatinate. Elizabeth's situation was rather more precarious. She had been escorted to Heidelberg by a train of 373 individuals, including prominent courtiers aside from Lennox; Thomas Howard and his wife Alatheia, the 2nd Earl and Countess of Arundel; Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle; Sir Thomas Roe; and Lord and Lady Harington, and their respective servants. Some of the party, such as Lord Harington, Levinus Munck, and Henry Marten, were there to ensure that the financial agreements set out in the marriage contract were honoured, while others were effectively passing through onto other embassies. This display of ambassadorial force was thus all too short-lived. Sir Ralph Winwood, Stuart ambassador in The Hague, was worried that the settling of her jointure would take no more than a month, and that thereafter 'the noble Princesse shall be left desolate, noe man or woman about her, of qualletye of reputation or discretion'.[26] Sir George Goring, the later 1st Earl of Norwich who had accompanied Elizabeth to the Palatinate, expressed similar concerns:

> there will at six monthes ende remaine six persons. for some shee likes not, others not the countrye. [...] shee hath not one with her whoe is able uppon any occasion to advise her for the best, or to perswade or diswade. Some inferiours have will but want wit, others wit but noe will, and a third kinde voide of both.[27]

Her actual household was relatively small, comprising the 'thirtye six men and therteyne women, to be entertained in the Electors Court, of Diett, apparaile & wages' (including a bow-bearer for hunting trips) stipulated in the marriage contract.[28] What Elizabeth's court lacked in numbers, however,

it more than made up for in attitude, deliberately refusing to blend into the background, even though the Heidelberg court numbered almost a thousand individuals.[29]

Elizabeth's household was also divided along gender lines: 'I cannot learne that the Lady Elizabeth carries any English-man of sort to continue about her, but all Scots-men; I heare the women are for the most part English.'[30] The roots of this preponderance of English ladies-in-waiting had been set down a decade earlier by her mother. Anna came down from Edinburgh to London with 'onely two Scotch-woemen of quality and both of them passable for their faces and fashions', having dismissed the others, rebuffing her critics at the Scottish court by explaining that she had been allowed to bring only two women with her from Denmark and so would take no more to England.[31] Tradition, however, dictated that a princess be served by the daughters of her mother's ladies-in-waiting. Elizabeth took no Scottish maids of honour to Heidelberg, because neither of her mother's Scots ladies-in-waiting had suitable daughters. When it came to her male servants, however, James, who kept Elizabeth's household on a tight leash, had a preference for Scottish attendants. Wake reported that the favouring of so many Scots greatly displeased the English, striking out the words 'they seeme to pass it by with a jest, saying they are not thought drinkers good enough', before noting that the appointments of Sir James Sandilands as Master of the Household and Sir Andrew Keith as Master of the Horse were met with little enthusiasm, as they were 'men whose mean quality is not onely noted by those of our nation', but the German courtiers also 'despised' them.[32] Goring also suggested that Elizabeth was not entirely satisfied with Sandilands, either. He had replaced Lord Harington, and was 'thrust uppon her for recompense of former service', while Keith was 'most distasting' to her.[33] Schomberg sided with the English and his fellow countrymen, holding Sandilands in such open contempt that the Scot took umbrage, challenging Schomberg to a duel, 'which was passed over by the interposing of great ones who perswaded Sir James that all was but a *mal entendu* [a misunderstanding]'.[34] As if the masters of the two households almost coming to blows was not inauspicious enough, within a few months Keith gave a similar challenge to one of Lord Harington's servants.[35] As Elizabeth was less than fond of her Scottish Master of the Horse, she did not hesitate in imprisoning him. Indeed, she may even have staged the entire confrontation with this object in mind.

Although the marriage contract stipulated that Elizabeth could employ or dismiss whom she pleased, vacancies were either actively filled by James and Anna or subject to their approving her selection.[36] This micro-management ensured that Elizabeth's household did not intertwine with Frederick's. Ironically, this may ultimately have served to smooth relations between them, as the Scots and English courtiers were united in their dislike of German food and ate their meals away from the German contingent.[37]

The two courts were also independent in religious matters. Elizabeth's marriage treaty promised 'the exercise of religion and divine service of her owne Chaplaine for her selfe and her Court, according to the rites and ceremonies established now in the Church of England'.[38] The first Electress in Heidelberg to have her own chapel, she had arrived with two chaplains: 'Dr Scapman' and 'Dr Twyst'.[39] The latter, William Twisse, was recalled by his Oxford college, New College, to be made head of a Buckinghamshire rectory in September 1613.[40] Alexander Chapman, however, remained, and Elizabeth would listen to his sermons 'in her private chappell, and with her private, and religious familie', while Frederick and his household listened to their court preacher Abraham Scultetus.[41]

The marriage contract also stipulated that Frederick assign 'the Towne and pallace of Frankenthall', to Elizabeth, along with its jurisdictions and revenues, and that they were to be 'furnished and adorned, as is fitt for the dignity of the said Princesse'.[42] The plans that Schomberg drew up for the palace at Frankenthal were never executed—they were sent to England for James's approval but may never have arrived, as their courier, Lord Harington, succumbed to a fever in Worms en route.[43] Elizabeth does not comment upon the death of her surrogate father, but only two further letters of hers survive from that year. It was a feature of her life that periods of grief were met with epistolary silence.

Frankenthal would never be made fit for a princess, but it would continue to be of importance to Elizabeth throughout her life. Heidelberg Castle did not meet with Elizabeth's approval, either, though this was not immediately understood by its residents. Volrad von Plessen commented that the princess 'takes more pleasure in the fields than in this castle of Heidelberg, although its situation, air, view, and environs, are exceedingly healthy and pleasant'.[44] Elizabeth may have begged to differ: when she arrived in the Palatinate she found herself living on a mountain, surrounded by nothing but 'bare rock'. This fact is highlighted by the Dutch writer and

diplomat Constantijn Huygens, who visited Heidelberg while travelling to Venice in 1620. Frederick and Elizabeth were in Prague at the time, but he took the opportunity to describe the *Hortus Palatinus* (Fig. 12) in his travel diary:

> We were given a tour of the beautiful palace garden. Barely four years ago, all of this was nothing but bare rock, just like the rest of the mountain. Hence we were all the more astounded to be presented with such a sight. The rocks must have been chiselled away to create a fertile terrace. Now flowers, fig trees, orange trees etc. grow in abundance. At the end of the garden we saw the caves and fountains designed by Salomon de Caus. They can compete with those in France—indeed, they even surpass them; they are so big, so graceful and exceptional is the mosaic work, and the streams so powerful and large.[45]

Huygens reminds us that when Elizabeth first arrived in the Palatinate, in 1613, Heidelberg Castle might have afforded splendid views over the plains and the River Neckar raging below, but it could be accessed only by climbing hundreds of steps; work on the gardens and the 'English Style' wing of the castle meant for Elizabeth (today much of the castle is still largely intact, but little remains of this wing apart from the outer walls) was yet to begin.[46]

Fig. 12. When Elizabeth arrived at Heidelberg, the castle was yet to acquire the stunning gardens on display here. © Kurpfälzisches Museum der Stadt Heidelberg.

Heir Imminent

Elizabeth's need for her own lands, if not palaces and castles, was apparent even during her first month in Heidelberg, as she repeatedly sought escape from the factional disputes that riddled her new home and the discomfort that resulted from her mother-in-law still holding sway. Within days of her arrival, she took solace in the hunt, travelling to Schwetzingen, a mile from the capital, where she 'killed more than a third of the [company's] spoil':

> Their electoral highnesses took great delight and pastime in this hunt, especially the princess, who chased the deer after such a fashion that it was marvelled at, and in this country even seemed somewhat strange; for her grace shot twelve deer with her cross-bow, and at last, from her horse, she shot at a stag of the second head [a stag of around six years old, which was growing its second set of antlers], struck it in the ham, and brought it to the ground; whereat the elector and the princes were much surprised.[47]

These displays of masculine prowess left no doubt as to who held the upper hand in the marriage, and offered Elizabeth an opportunity to assert some control over her immediate environment, and in her own territory—one of the six districts in which they hunted belonged to her.[48] Two months later, Elizabeth left Heidelberg Castle for Friedrichsbühl (also known as Neuhaus) in Bellheim, the Palatine hunting lodge built in 1552. Bellheim was a municipality in the district of Germersheim, lands also assigned to her in the marriage contract.[49] There she would hunt once more, riding one of the three hundred 'great horse' kept by her husband.[50] The German councillor John Casimir Kolb was amazed by her hunting skills and how they transformed her into a goddess: 'Madame takes pleasure in the hunt, having become Diana in our most shady woods of the Rhine.'[51] This identification of Elizabeth with Diana, also manipulated during her wedding celebrations, was no mere rhetoric—she really appears to have been an exceptional huntress. In a postscript, Schomberg wrote to Secretary of State Rochester: 'We are here at the hunt & Madame the Princess is doing very well, she pulls hard at the harquebus [a long-barrelled firearm]; she killed three deer yesterday'.[52] It may be because of these demonstrations of both her heartiness and her attitude that no one voiced or dared voice any concern for her unborn child.[53] Whether or not Elizabeth had actively denied her pregnancy or merely sought to pay it as little heed as she could is unclear, but she later felt the need to defend herself to her aunt: 'The little dissimulation

must be imputed to my inexperience, and that it is not my way to entertain the world with doubtful hopes.'[54]

Elizabeth's carrying the heir to the House Palatine gave Schomberg the perfect excuse to interfere in her household affairs (though, considering her dislike of her own master of the household, Sandilands, she might have encouraged him). In December 1613, he travelled to London, where he found James amenable to both his news and his intentions. Schomberg also secured a promise of military assistance for another Jülich–Berg and Cleves crisis if needed, to the tune of four thousand British infantry and equal numbers from the Dutch army to which they were attached.[55] While Schomberg was negotiating in London, Heidelberg gave thanks for a new arrival, as, on New Year's Day 1614, Elizabeth gave birth to her first child: Prince Frederick Henry.

The child's name would have surprised no one, and had even been predicted in a nuptial hymn that presented Frederick as the means by which another Prince Henry would be produced rather than recycling the commonplace of Elizabeth inheriting her late brother's legacy:

> An hopefull Prince who may restore,
> In part, the losse we had before,
> *Io Hymen Hymenaus* [hail, God of Marriage]
> […]
> That one day we live to see,
> A Frederick Henry on her knee.
> […] [56]

The child on Elizabeth's knee was the first of the three babes whom his mother would lovingly refer to as her 'little black baby' in her frequent reports to their grandfather.[57] James was presumably pleased with the reference, as not only did Frederick have a dark complexion, but this was a trait often attributed to the Stuart House[58]—these children either shared this swarthiness or had emerged with a full head of black hair, rather than the amber hues of their mother's locks.

Schomberg had only just left the Stuart court when he received letters containing the news. Understandably keen to report the birth of the Prince Palatine to James in person, he turned around immediately.[59] In Madrid, the Stuart ambassador Sir John Digby told his Venetian colleague Francesco Morosini how the birth augured well, as it 'took place on an auspicious day, namely the first day of the year', and that it 'increases the stability of His

Majesty's [James's] house', as it secured the succession.[60] Elizabeth's production of a future heir to the three crowns paid dividends: 'The king has given to the princess his daughter 12,000 crowns a year for life, and to the little son of the Elector he has sent money and gold vessels to the value of 25,000 crowns'.[61] James may have granted his daughter a pension for life, but his financial situation was anything but rosy.

In April 1614, keen to put the brakes on his growing debts, James recalled parliament. This fractious and ultimately unsuccessful session is known as the Addled Parliament, partially because it did not produce a single piece of legislation. In James's opening speech, he outlined a bill, however,

> declaring the Lady Elizabeth and her issue by the Count Palatine, or otherwise, to bee after the kinge and Prince, &c. next heire unto these Crownes. And for the naturalizing of the Count Palatine himselfe, and his Children by that Lady, throughout all generations, so that they are more capable of any good fortune or preferment heere.[62]

In allaying the fears surrounding the succession that had gripped the country since the death of Henry, and the subsequent negotiations to marry Charles to a Catholic, James hoped to rebuild his relationship with parliament. He therefore claimed Frederick as a new son, reversing the words of Job: 'the Lorde hath takene, and the Lorde hathe geven, yea, he hath geven me compensatione, "*eodem genere*", a sonne for a sonne.' The bill asserted that his new grandson, Frederick Henry, was a prince 'born of true Englishe and Scotts bloode', and that the future rulers of his kingdoms would also be 'norishede with the milke of the same pure religeone you [parliament] now professe': any future king or queen of the three kingdoms would be Protestant.[63] Parliament appears to have appreciated the gesture, as the bill was rushed through both houses and expedited for royal assent. Parliament's grip on the purse strings remained as tight as ever nevertheless, so James dissolved it without signing the bill.[64]

The significance of Frederick Henry's birth was easily matched by the grandeur of his baptism. Frederick's chief advisor Prince Christian of Anhalt stood as proxy for James, 'accompanied by more than three hundred knights'.[65] The States General of the Dutch Republic, who always acted with utmost caution when dealing with Spain or the Emperor, sent the younger brother of their Prince and Stadholder Maurice: Johan van Oldenbarnevelt considered it too great a risk for Maurice himself to attend the christening of the head of the Protestant Union's son. As Maurice's younger brother was also called

Frederick Henry, they considered his presence less likely to be read as a political statement. After all, the child could be seen as being named after him.[66] Though the ceremony was ultimately delayed by his arguments with the Duke of Zweibrücken-Veldenz over precedence, Frederick Henry of Nassau 'came for the States [General] with a great company'.[67]

Neither Prattling of Maids and Valets, nor Flirting

Elizabeth was a stranger in a strange land, and she had been raised in a court where authority was asserted through masques, banquets, portraiture, clothing, and other modes of ostentatious display. These displays cost money—money that she simply did not have.

On his return to Heidelberg, Schomberg used James's authority to wrest control of Elizabeth's household from the unpopular Sandilands. The marriage contract detailed how Frederick ought to provide for his wife. First came a jointure to the value of £10,000 p.a., to be set aside as surety against widowhood; next he was to deliver 'into the hands of her Steward, or of any other whom she please to appoint, the somme of fiftene hundred pounds to be paid quarterlye, reckoning from the daye of the marriadge; besides all other houshold expences in diett, apparaile and rewards'. Frederick was also responsible for the wages of her forty-nine servants: another £733 6*s*. 7*d*. in total.[68] Nevertheless, she soon ran into financial difficulties, granting her servants' requests without due consideration and thus running into debt. Schomberg drafted two documents, the first of which required that he personally authorize all expenses,[69] while the second contained practical advice designed to teach Elizabeth how best to distribute her household money: she should 'never grant anything on the first request' and she should 'let every dress be paid for, both material and making, before she put it on', for example. Elizabeth signed the first document but took little notice of the second. She presumably found his suggestion that she account for her own spending—'as even the greatest emperors have done—have a specification of all your receipts—let the money be placed in a coffer in your cabinet'—rather patronising.[70] After all, she had been doing so since the age of 6. Elizabeth thanked her father for agreeing to Schomberg's assistance in March 1614. While she told James that, 'as for the order of my household, I am delighted that Your Majesty approves it', she revealed her true feelings as

she noted that 'if I had means enough to give them to spend there would not be any dispute'.[71] Schomberg's strictures applied to more than just money, however, as he also instructed Elizabeth on how to keep her servants in line. To 'prevent gossiping between servants of all grades', he said, she was to 'let order and reason govern her, not the prattle of maids or valets'. Schomberg's further suggestion that she allow 'no flirting in her presence'[72] was somewhat hypocritical, considering that he was courting her lady-in-waiting of eight years, Anne Dudley, though Elizabeth appears to have approved his measures as she would later assert these same rules at her children's court.[73] Whatever her real feelings on the matter of court romance, Elizabeth would soon find herself encouraging this match.

While Elizabeth appeared to be winning the war that waged on the domestic front, another front was threatening to reopen. In February 1614, barely four weeks after giving birth, and herself not yet 18 years old, Elizabeth wrote to her father about the possible resurgence of the crisis that had led James to join the Protestant Union in 1612, the Jülich–Berg and Cleves affair: 'The preparations the papists are making threaten us with war in spite of the fact that they say that the Archdukes pronounced themselves in favour of Your Majesty's letter. The Prince of Anhalt is here to assist His Highness the Elector in putting all his affairs in good order.'[74] It was, as ever, a dynastic disagreement causing all the trouble. Wolfgang Wilhelm, Duke of Neuburg, and John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, had jointly ruled over the duchies of Jülich–Berg and Cleves. Neuburg, however, was unwilling to share the wealth any longer. He sought a Catholic alliance, and married Magdalena, sister of Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria, in January 1613. In February 1614 the Spanish rulers, Archdukes Albert and Leopold (who were brother and cousin of Emperor Matthias respectively), sided with Wolfgang Wilhelm—now a Catholic convert. They supported his decision to cease cooperating with Calvinist Brandenburg, despite their promises to King James to stay out of the dispute.[75] Frederick's first decision on reaching his majority in August 1614 was, in effect, whether or not to go to war.

The conflicts in the duchies affected Elizabeth directly. Despite her dislike of Schomberg's controlling her every penny, Heidelberg was a more comfortable place when he was at her side. She had taken to him right from the beginning, and soon deemed him irreplaceable: 'he has the will and the good intention to serve me'; 'another person would have to be here 3 or 4 years

before he knows the moods and manners and could serve effectively.'[76] Brandenburg had called upon him for military assistance in this most recent Jülich–Berg and Cleves crisis, however. Elizabeth knew that Anne Dudley's parents were against the match with Schomberg, but she had her own reasons to encourage it beyond Dudley's happiness, and pressed her father to support the marriage: 'I think that [in] marrying him to Mademoiselle Dudley [...], he would have occasion to stay here longer.'[77] James withheld his consent, and Schomberg left for Jülich.

In May 1614, Elizabeth received some good news. 'The Electrice is retired to her dower', she wrote, the brevity of her statement doubtless belying the joy she felt after a year of being taunted by her mother-in-law.[78] A few months later, however, Frederick left Elizabeth to meet the Elector of Brandenburg, and Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse, among other princes of the Union, in Heilbronn, where they were to discuss how best to approach the newly rekindled crisis. Elizabeth went with Zweibrücken-Veldenz to stay with Louise Juliana at her 'dower' in Neuburg. It is no surprise that her response to being under close supervision with a woman who claimed precedence over her was to spend most of her six-week stay at the hunt.[79]

In October 1614, Frederick and Elizabeth both returned to Heidelberg to manage the crisis. The primary question was whether or not to take up arms against the Spanish if they refused to relinquish the occupied territories. The new head of the Protestant Union, who was expected by everyone to provide strong and certain leadership to counteract the Habsburg threat, wrote to his father-in-law. The letter, sent by a courier, explained just what a predicament this crisis placed him in, given that the Palatinate lacked the means to go to war.[80] Furthermore, it was accompanied by another letter, this time from Elizabeth, which served no purpose other than to remind James that his only daughter fully supported her husband, his son-in-law, and father to his first and so far only grandchild. She dissimulated, pretending to have no more time than to pen him an epistolary kiss: 'This bearer having been sent in haste by His Highness the Elector to Your Majesty I did not wish to miss the opportunity to kiss your hands.'[81]

In spite of her apparent haste, Elizabeth found the time to write a rather more serious missive, one that was delivered to an ambassador, quite possibly her friend Sir Ralph Winwood, her father's ambassador at The Hague, but certainly someone who had her confidence. In this letter, Elizabeth explained how Frederick was dangerously ill with an ague, a form of malaria that laid the patient low with intermittent attacks of fever (known as 'fits')

over the course of several days. 'I think he hath so much bussines at this time as troubles his mind too much', she said, and, with her husband ill, the cracks in Heidelberg's domestic superstructure began to reopen. Elizabeth felt that some in the court were taking advantage of his illness, and at her expense. She understood that her marriage to the Elector Palatine had been undertaken as part of a strategy to prevent the Continent from bursting into the flames of a confessional war, and was reconciled to performing her political duty. She was also worried:

> if I may say truth I think there is some that doth trouble him too much, for I find they desire he should bring me to be all dutch [High Dutch, i.e., German] and to theire fashions which I neither have binne bred to or is necessarie [...] neither will I doe it, for I finde there is that would sett me in a lower rancke then them that have gone before me, which I think they doe the Prince wrong, in putting into his head at this time when he is but too malincolie.

It was not just that Frederick was incapacitated, but that Schomberg, who according to Elizabeth 'hath the best hand to ease his [Frederick's] mind of this and sett all things in a good way',[82] was also powerless to intervene, as he was still serving as a colonel in the Dutch Army at Jülich. Schomberg was a powerful ally, and Elizabeth had many reasons to desire his return, not least, she wrote, 'for I find some would beginne to make some alteration heare which I doe not like well but I am sure he will help'. He had, she continued, been 'most carefull for me though it be unpossible for one man to do all and content everie one'.[83] When Elizabeth's feelings of vulnerability reached Wotton's ears, he told Winwood that the Master of Frederick's Household 'fell to open unto me some secrets of the Court of Heidelberg: the baseness of Doctoral counsayles, the privacie of the Prince [Palatine] himself, the humorousenesse [moodiness or unpredictability] of his Mother, and some other things not fitt to be committed to letter'.[84] Louise Juliana may have officially retired to her dower, but it appeared that she maintained some influence at Heidelberg.