

T H O M A S P E R T

The Palatine Family

and the

Thirty Years' War

Experiences of
Exile in Early
Modern Europe,
1632–1648



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The Palatine Family and the Thirty Years' War

*Experiences of Exile in Early
Modern Europe, 1632–1648*

THOMAS PERT

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Abbreviations

Add MS	British Library, London: Additional Manuscripts
Akkerman	N. Akkerman (ed.), <i>The correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia</i> (3 vols, Oxford, 2011–Present)
APW	<i>Acta Pacis Westphalicae</i> , gen. ed. K. Repgen (48 volumes in 3 series, Münster, 1961–Present)
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Briefe	K. Hauck (ed.), <i>Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs</i> (Heidelberg, 1908)
Bromley	G. Bromley (ed.), <i>A collection of original royal letters</i> (London, 1787)
CJ	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
Clm	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: Collectio Camerariana, 10381
CSPD	<i>Calendar of States Papers, Domestic Series</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Venice</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Golden Bull	J. Nutt (ed.), <i>The golden bull; being the great charter of the Empire. Or, the liberties and immunities granted to the Empire, and all the members of it, by the Emperor Charles IV. in the year 1356</i> (London, 1705)
Green	M.A.E. Green, <i>Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia</i> , ed. S.C. Lomas (London, 1909)
Hartlib	Sheffield University Library, Sheffield: Special Collections: Hartlib Papers [MS 61]
Hauck	K. Hauck, <i>Karl Ludwig, Kurfürst von der Pfalz (1617–1680)</i> (Leipzig, 1903)
Häusser	L. Häusser, <i>Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz nach ihrem politischen, kirchlichen und literarischen Verhältnissen</i> (2 vols, Heidelberg, 1856)
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HL/PO/JL/10	Parliamentary Archives, London: House of Lords: Parliament Office: Journal Office: Main Papers
IHR	<i>International History Review</i>
IPM	Instrumentum Pacis Monasteriense (Peace of Münster)
IPO	Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugense (Peace of Osnabrück)
Knowler	W. Knowler (ed.), <i>The Earl of Strafforde's letters and dispatches</i> (2 vols., London, 1739)

- LJ *Journal of the House of Lords*
- Loomie A.J. Loomie (ed.), *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet Master of Ceremonies, 1628–1641* (New York, 1987)
- Messinger S. Messinger, *Die Übertragung der pfälzischen Kurwürde auf das Herzogtum Bayern: Rechtliche, zeremonielle und politische Probleme* (Berlin, 2015)
- ‘Notebook’ Theobald Maurice, ‘Notebook’, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich, MS Korrespondenzakten 1022 1/2, 1638
- Oman C. Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (London, 1938)
- P&P *Past & Present*
- Parker G. Parker (ed.), *The Thirty Years’ War* (London, 1987)
- Pursell B.C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years’ War* (Aldershot, 2003)
- Schaab M. Schaab, *Geschichte der Kurpfalz* (2 vols, Stuttgart, 1988–92)
- Sourcebook P.H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook* (Basingstoke, 2010)
- SP 14 The National Archives, Kew: State Papers Domestic: James I
- SP 16 The National Archives, Kew: State Papers Domestic: Charles I
- SP 80 The National Archives, Kew: State Papers Foreign: Holy Roman Empire
- SP 81 The National Archives, Kew: State Papers Foreign: German States
- SP 84 The National Archives, Kew: State Papers Foreign: Holland
- Steiner J. Steiner, *Die pfälzische Kurwürde während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (1618–1648)* (Speyer, 1985)
- Thomas A.L. Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c.1550–1650* (Leiden, 2010)
- Thurloe T. Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols, London, 1742)
- TNA The National Archives, Kew
- Tragedy P.H. Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009)
- TS 23/1 The National Archives, Kew: Treasury Solicitor: Miscellanea: Copies of Royal Letters, 1636 to 1666
- Warburton E.G. Warburton (ed.), *Memoirs of prince Rupert and the Cavaliers including their private correspondence* (3 vols, London, 1849)
- Wendland A. Wendland (ed.), *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart, Königin von Böhmen, an ihren Sohn, den Kurfürsten Carl Ludwig von der Pfalz: 1650–1662* (Tübingen, 1902)
- ZGO *Zeitschrift der Geschichte des Oberrheins*
- ZHF *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*

A Note on Form

The anglicized forms of the names of the immediate electoral Palatine family members are used throughout. Other individuals are identified using the names by which they are best known in the English-language scholarship. Otherwise, this work uses the original German-, French-, or Dutch-language spelling for individuals' names. Place names are also given in the form most commonly used in English-language writing.

In the period covered by this work, most of the European Catholic states used the 'New Style' system of dating based on the Gregorian calendar which had been introduced in 1582, whilst many Protestant states (including England) continued using the 'Old Style' system based on the Julian calendar. The Gregorian calendar was ten days ahead of the Julian calendar, and so 1 April 1632 in 'Old Style' (OS) was 11 April 1632 in 'New Style' (NS). If correspondents were based in different countries, they would often date their letters with both Old and New Style dates (e.g. 21 Sept./1 Oct. 1633). The dates given in the main body of this work are 'New Style' except where specified.

A Note on Currencies

This work makes reference to and uses the following units of currency: Dutch guilder (florin), the English pound sterling, the French livre Tournois (franc), and German gulden (florin), and the imperial reichstaler.¹

The rates of exchange of the guilder, gulden, and reichstaler to the English pound remained largely constant, throughout the period 1632–1648. Accordingly, the following exchange rates are used:

Currency	Equivalent
Pound sterling	11 Dutch guilder
	4.44 reichstaler
	6.66 German gulden
Dutch guilder	0.09 pound sterling
	0.4 reichstaler
	0.6 German gulden
German gulden	0.15 pound sterling
	1.67 Dutch guilder
	0.67 reichstaler
Reichstaler	0.225 pound sterling
	2.5 Dutch guilder
	1.5 German gulden

In contrast, the value of the French coinage weakened against the Pound as the conflict progressed. This work therefore uses the following exchange rates:

1 pound sterling	10 livre Tournois (1624–1631)
	11 livre Tournois (1632–1636)
	13 livre Tournois (1637–1646)

¹ All information for values and exchange rates is taken from J. J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775* (London, 1978), pp.44, 52–3, 63, 69–70, 88–9.

Introduction

In April 1621, Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate, together with his wife, Princess Elizabeth of England and Scotland, and approximately 2,000 servants and followers, arrived in The Hague, where they established a court-in-exile which would act as a base of operations for the dispossessed 'Palatine family' for almost three decades. Frederick had accepted the Bohemian throne offered to him by a minority of Protestant rebels in 1619 following a revolt against their recently elected king, the future Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II. However, by early 1621, Frederick had fled his new kingdom, his ancestral lands in Germany had been invaded by Bavarian, imperial, and Spanish forces, and he was formally declared an outlaw by the newly crowned Emperor Ferdinand II, who later bestowed Frederick's electoral title and territories upon his own supporters. The Palatine family were thus relegated from the highest ranks of the imperial aristocracy to the status of penniless outlaws, dependent on the support of their extended family and well-wishers. The fate of the Palatine electoral title and lands, commonly referred to as the 'Palatine Question' or *Pfalzfrage*, would prove to be one of the most divisive issues of the entire Thirty Years' War. This work will examine the much-overlooked phase of the Palatine family's exile between Frederick's death in November 1632, and the partial restoration of his son, Charles Louis, under the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

This period was one of remarkable activity for the Palatine exiles. It witnessed the only independent military venture mounted by the family after 1622, as well as a wide range of strategies to secure valuable diplomatic and financial support for Charles Louis's restoration. However, as an analysis of the experiences of the ruling house of the Electorate of the Palatinate between 1632 and 1648, this work is not simply filling a gap within the broad scholarship of one of the many ruling dynasties or elite figures who were forced from their ancestral lands and deprived of prestigious titles in the seventeenth century. It also provides a valuable insight into a number of topics relating to the subject of exile as well as notions of sovereignty in early modern Europe which have rarely been studied in the context of exiled rulers.

This work primarily assesses how political exiles formulated and pursued strategies for their restoration during the period of the Thirty Years' War and British Civil Wars, a time when the structure of European politics was shifting towards clearly defined sovereign states and dispossessed regimes faced the threat of permanent exclusion from their lands and titles. The Palatine family are an ideal subject for such an assessment. A disputed royal status and familial connections to several European courts meant that their exile bore several similar characteristics to the experiences of regal exiles such as the Stuarts and Marie de Médicis, especially in terms of the potential political and material support they could obtain from their royal kin and by virtue of their sovereign title. However, as the electoral title and lands had been bestowed on the Palatine family by an imperial decree in the fourteenth century, their authority was subordinate to that of the imperial crown and dependent on the approval of the emperor. As a result, the difficulties faced by Charles Louis also make a useful comparison with those of the large number of fellow semi-sovereign rulers within the Empire who were also forced into exile during the Thirty Years' War, such as the Landgraves of Hessen-Kassel, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Dukes of Württemberg, and the Duke of Lorraine.

The Palatine Family and Exile in Early Modern Europe

By being both 'sovereign' and 'subject', the experiences of the Palatine family allow a broader assessment of the experiences of exile in early modern Europe. In particular, this work will examine the resources available to dispossessed regimes and individuals, and determine the extent to which exiled elites had autonomy over devising the strategies they pursued or whether they were simply powerless pawns in the machinations of more powerful states. Through a comparison of the Palatine family with other contemporary exiles, this study will assess which forms of capital were regarded as most useful for dispossessed elites and which strategies were regarded as the most effective for a dynasty seeking restoration. In addition, by studying the Palatine exiles' policy objectives and their willingness or refusal to compromise when presented with potential forms of restitution, the work will also examine the impact of less tangible considerations, such as prestige and public image, for dispossessed elites who were offered some manner of restoration to their lost lands and titles.

Studies of certain aspects of the Palatine family's experiences between 1618 and 1648 have already contributed to the study of exile during the early modern period. In particular, the investigations by Marika Koblusek, Nadine Akkerman, and others of the use of ceremonies and display at the exiled Palatine court have highlighted the central role of image and presentation in the attempts by dispossessed regimes to mobilize support for their cause.¹ Likewise, Andrew Thomas's examination of the feud between the Bavarian and Palatine branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty, and Volker Press's work on the Palatines' cousins in the Pfalz-Neuburg line of the family, demonstrate how dynastic concerns could fuel competition within ruling families and deny exiled groups the support of some of their closest relatives.² After all, intra-familial strife was common in numerous imperial princely dynasties and often placed political issues before familial and religious solidarity. For example, the competition between the electoral 'Ernestine' and ducal 'Albertine' lines of the House of Wettin saw these two Lutheran branches on opposite sides in the Schmalkaldic War of 1546–1547.³ An inheritance dispute, sharpened by confessional issues, also caused the Lutheran Landgraves of Hessen-Darmstadt to side with the emperor against their Calvinist cousins, the Landgraves of Hessen-Kassel during the Thirty Years' War.⁴

The example of the exiled Palatine family is therefore an ideal conduit into the broader topic of dynasticism in early modern Europe. As Charles Louis was related through blood and marriage to many royal, princely, and noble houses both within and outside the Holy Roman Empire, the Palatine family was arguably one of the most well-connected dynasties in Europe.

¹ M. Koblusek, 'The Bohemian Court at The Hague', in M. Koblusek and J. Zijlmans (eds), *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia von Solms* (The Hague, 1997) and 'Entertainment in Exile: Theatrical Performances at the Courts of Margaret Cavendish, Mary Stuart and Elizabeth of Bohemia', in P. Davidson and J. Belper (eds), *The Triumphs of the Defeated: Early Modern Festivals and Messages of Legitimacy* (Wiesbaden, 2007); N. Akkerman, *Courtly Rivals in The Hague: Elizabeth Stuart, 1596–1662 & Amalia von Solms, 1602–1675* (The Hague, 2014); A. Hughes and J. Saunders, 'The Hague Courts of Elizabeth of Bohemia and Mary Stuart: Theatrical and Ceremonial Cultures', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue, 15 (2007).

² Thomas; V. Press, 'Fürstentum und Fürstenhaus: Die dritte wittelsbachische Kraft', in K. Ackermann and G. Girisch (eds), *Gustl Lang: Leben für die Heimat* (Weiden, 1989). See also his article 'Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler—Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten 1505–1685', in H. Glaser (ed.), *Um Glauben und Reich. Kurfürst Maximilian I. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst, 1537–1657* (Munich, 1980), especially pp.24–35.

³ J. Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire* (2 vols, Oxford, 2012), I, 318.

⁴ *Tragedy*, p.205.

This work will examine the strength of such familial connections and their role in allowing the Palatines to obtain financial, military, and diplomatic support for their restitution. An assessment of the usefulness of dynastic connections for a ruling family at the nadir of their fortunes can provide a valuable insight into the limitations of such bonds on the geopolitical stage, as well as the pressure felt by contemporaries to assist their beleaguered kin in spite of their own political preferences and considerations. Conversely, the negative impact of dynasticism for exiled elites will also be examined, by considering the conflict within the wider Wittelsbach family between the Palatine and Bavarian branches, as well as the line of Pfalz-Neuburg, for the lands and titles confiscated from Frederick in the early 1620s. Additionally, this work will assess the extent to which Charles Louis observed the implied obligations of familial loyalty accompanying ties of kinship in his own actions towards the Stuarts during the Civil War period and the Interregnum.

The interplay of familial issues and matters of state in the early modern period has received considerable scholarly attention, ranging from Paula Sutter Fichtner's examinations of the limitations of dynasticism for the sixteenth-century Habsburgs, to explorations of the effectiveness of marriage as a political tool.⁵ Whilst scholars agree that familial obligations often fell by the wayside when rulers were confronted with political realities, contemporary belief in the strength of kinship bonds through blood or marriage should not be underestimated. The importance of dynastic connections as a source of support was especially acute for exiled elites who often lacked sufficient independent military and financial resources to pursue their restoration. For example, Toby Osborne's work on the exile of Marie de Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England has shown how she expected financial support from her sons-in-law, Philip IV and Charles I.⁶

⁵ P. Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1982), pp.259–61 and her articles 'Dynasticism and Its Limitations: The Habsburgs and Hungary, 1542', *East European Quarterly*, 4/4 (1971) and 'Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *American Historical Review*, 81 (1976); K.J. MacHardy, 'Cultural Capital, Family Strategies and Noble Identity in Early Modern Habsburg Austria, 1579–1620', *P&P*, 163 (1999); B.Y. Casalilla, 'Aristocratic Women across Borders, Cultural Transfers and Something More. Why Should We Care?', in J.L. Palos and M.S. Sánchez (eds), *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer* (Farnham, 2016), p.239; G. Delille, 'Kinship, Marriage, and Politics', in D.W. Sabeau, S. Teuscher, and J. Mathieu (eds), *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long Term Development (1300–1900)* (New York and Oxford, 2007).

⁶ T. Osborne, 'A Queen Mother in Exile: Marie de Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England, 1631–41', in P. Mansel and T. Riotte (eds), *Monarchy and Exile: The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II* (Basingstoke, 2011).

Similarly, the significance of the creation of a distinct ‘dynastic identity’, which could be promoted by a ruler to assert their sovereignty and to inspire loyalty from their subjects, was particularly important to exiled regimes who often turned to ostentatious display and ceremony in their attempts to persuade potential supporters of the legitimacy of their claims.⁷

The existing literature on royal and noble exile in early modern Europe has been dominated by works on the Stuarts in the 1650s and after 1688.⁸ However, as the work on exile in this period has drawn even greater scholarly attention in the last twenty years, there has emerged an increased understanding of the complexities and subtleties of the topic. Whilst the Stuarts remain the most famous and well-represented exiles in the scholarship on dispossessed regimes in the early modern period, historians no longer simply focus on the experiences of ejected royal houses.⁹ There has also been far greater interest in the writings of the ‘vanquished’, with the literary output of exiled individuals, especially women, emerging to counter the histories written from a victor’s perspective.¹⁰

The wealth of scholarship on the English religious diaspora and French noble exiles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has highlighted the

⁷ L. Geever, ‘The Nassau Orphans: The Disputed Legacy of William of Orange and the Construction of the Prince of Orange (1584–1675)’; in L. Geever and M. Marini (eds.), *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham, 2015); P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (London, 1992); A. Keay, ‘“The Shadow of a King?”: Aspects of the Exile of King Charles II’, and E.T. Corp, ‘The Extended Exile of James III’ in Mansel and Riotte (eds), *Monarchy and Exile*, pp.105–19 and 165–77, respectively.

⁸ See G. Smith, *Cavaliers in Exile, 1640–1660* (Basingstoke, 2003); E.T. Corp (ed.), *The Stuart Court in Rome: The Legacy of Exile* (Aldershot, 2003) and also his *A Court in Exile: the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge, 2004) and *The Jacobites at Urbino: An Exiled Court in Transition* (Basingstoke, 2009); E. Cruickshanks and E.T. Corp (eds), *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London, 1995); E. Cruickshanks and J. Black (eds), *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh, 1988).

⁹ K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011); G.H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2016); T.G. Fehler, G.G. Kroeker, C.H. Parker, and J. Ray (eds), *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (London, 2014); J. Spohnholz and G.K. Waite (eds), *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (London, 2014); A. Schunka, ‘No Return? Temporary Exile and Permanent Immigration among Confessional Migrants in the Early Modern Era’ and U. Niggemann, ‘Inventing Immigrant Traditions in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Huguenots in Context’ both in J. Coy, J. Poley, and A. Schunka (eds), *Migrations in the German Lands, 1500–2000* (New York, 2016).

¹⁰ See H. Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers 1650–1689* (Oxford, 2004); P. Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath 1640–1690* (Farnham, 2010) and his *Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration* (Farnham, 2013); H.J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge, 2015); S.J. Lee, *The Discourse of Exile in Early Modern English Literature* (New York, 2018).

several different types of exile ranging from internal banishment, expulsion abroad, voluntary withdrawal, and forced displacement, and how it could affect all strata of society.¹¹ As a study of exiles in the Thirty Years' War, however, this work predominantly focuses on rulers who were forced from their territories following military invasions by a rival power. More recent works have also explicitly highlighted the political significance of dispossessed rulers and elites within the wider political history of the period, such as Daniel Szechi's work on the Jacobites and their influence on French foreign policy in the early eighteenth century.¹² After all, an exile could also be an alternative ruler and so could become a focal point for political opposition, or an icon for a particular religious or ideological cause.

This work also addresses the political role of women in early modern Europe through an examination of Elizabeth of Bohemia's role in the exiled Palatine government. Whilst much of the existing scholarship on Elizabeth greatly oversimplifies her political role, erroneously asserting that she was regent for Charles Louis, she nonetheless held significant sway over Palatine policy. Whereas the sixteenth century was the time of queens regnant, the seventeenth century was the era of queen regents. Although many of these women had not been educated in matters of state, and their performances as stateswomen have been debated by biographers, they undeniably held real political power without being rulers in their own right and could even wield considerable influence whilst in exile.¹³ An examination of the political role of Elizabeth of Bohemia will therefore complement Tryntje Helfferich's biography of Amalia Elisabeth of Hessen-Kassel, a contemporary

¹¹ C. D'Addario, *Exile and Journey in Seventeenth Century Literature* (London, 2007); K. Gibbons, 'No Home in Exile? Elizabethan Catholics in Paris' and M. Netzloff 'Catholic Exiles and the English State after the Gunpowder Plot' both in *Reformation*, 15/1 (2010); J. Swann, *Exile, Imprisonment, or Death: The Politics of Disgrace in Bourbon France, 1610–1789* (Oxford, 2017); J. Dewald, *Status, Power, and Identity in Early Modern France: The Rohan Family, 1550–1715* (University Park, PA, 2015); T. Osborne, "'Chimeres, monopoles and stratagems': French Exiles in the Spanish Netherlands during the Thirty Years' War", *The Seventeenth Century*, 15 (2000).

¹² D. Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788* (Manchester, 1994) and *Britain's Lost Revolution?: Jacobite Scotland and French Grand Strategy, 1701–8* (Manchester, 2015).

¹³ R. Kleinman, *Anne of Austria: Queen of France* (Columbus, OH, 1985), ch.11; L. Granlund, 'Queen Hedwig Eleonora of Sweden: dowager, builder, and collector', in C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge, 2004); E. Goodman, 'Conspicuous in Her Absence: Mariana of Austria, Juan José of Austria, and the Representation of Her Power', in T. Earenfight (ed.), *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (London and New York, 2005), p.163.

of Elizabeth who acted as de facto head of the dispossessed Hessian government following the death of her husband in 1637.¹⁴

The Palatine Family and Historiography

The existing scholarship on the Palatine family in the seventeenth century has been dominated by works on Elizabeth and Prince Rupert, the dashing royalist Civil War commander. Whereas Charles Louis has been the subject of only two biographies published since 1903, his younger brother was studied in three biographies in 1976 alone.¹⁵ Elizabeth has similarly been the focus of numerous biographical studies, with Carola Oman's *Elizabeth of Bohemia* and Sophia Lomas's revised edition of M.A.E. Green's *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* remaining the most comprehensive works on the Winter Queen prior to the publication of Nadine Akkerman's biography of the 'Queen of Hearts'.¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that a number of studies of Elizabeth are romanticized, oversimplify her political position, and attempt to draw connections with her grandmother Mary Queen of Scots, as well as trying to demonstrate that she deliberately sought to emulate her namesake, Elizabeth I.¹⁷ Nevertheless, a number of works centred on Elizabeth and her offspring have placed the Palatine family within important wider historiographical debates. For example, studies of

¹⁴ T. Helfferich, *The Iron Princess: Amalia Elisabeth and the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge, MA, 2013).

¹⁵ Hauck; V. Sellin, *Kurfürst Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz: Versuch eines historischen Urteils* (Mannheim, 1980); P. Morrah, *Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London, 1976); M. Ashley, *Rupert of the Rhine* (London, 1976); G.M. Thomson, *Warrior Prince: Prince Rupert of the Rhine* (London, 1976). See also Warburton; E. Scott, *Rupert, Prince Palatine* (New York, 1899); Frank Kitson's two volumes *Prince Rupert: Portrait of a Soldier* (London, 1994) and *Prince Rupert: Admiral and General-at-Sea* (London, 1998) and C. Spencer, *Prince Rupert: The Last Cavalier* (London, 2007).

¹⁶ Oman; Green; N. Akkerman, *Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Hearts* (Oxford, 2021). See also R.K. Marshall, *The Winter Queen: Elizabeth of Bohemia* (Edinburgh, 1998); J. Gorst-Williams, *Elizabeth, The Winter Queen* (London, 1977); J. Ross, *The Winter Queen: The Story of Elizabeth Stuart* (New York, 1979).

¹⁷ M. Hay, *The Winter Queen: Being the Unhappy History of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress Palatine, Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1910); J. Saxton, *The Winter Queen* (London, 1977); N. Goldstone, *Daughters of the Winter Queen: Four Remarkable Sisters, the Crown of Bohemia, and the Enduring Legacy of Mary, Queen of Scots* (New York, 2018), pp.431–2; G. Ziegler, 'A Second Phoenix: The Rebirth of Elizabeth I as Elizabeth Stuart', in E.H. Hageman and K. Conway (eds), *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England* (Madison, NJ, 2007); N. Akkerman, 'Semper Eadem: Elizabeth Stuart and the Legacy of Queen Elizabeth I' in S. Smart and M.R. Wade (eds), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival* (Wiesbaden, 2013).

the Palatine daughters have contributed to discussions on the role of noble women in the scientific, philosophical, and artistic communities of early modern Europe.¹⁸ Examinations of the rhetoric and imagery employed at the public wedding of Frederick and Elizabeth in February 1613, and the works it inspired, have also provided a valuable insight into the Church of England's connections with European Protestantism and its role within the polarized religious situation in Europe prior to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.¹⁹

In light of the significant scholarly interest in the Palatine family during the Thirty Years' War and the insight that studies of their exile can provide for numerous broader topics, it is therefore surprising that there has been no detailed study of their actions during the latter half of the conflict. The near absence of scholarship on the Palatine family's actions from the mid-1630s is representative of a lack of attention paid to the second half of the Thirty Years' War in general, with examinations of the years 1618 to 1635, as well as works on the Peace of Westphalia itself, dominating studies of the conflict.²⁰

Even literature which specifically focuses on the Palatinate and its ruling dynasty during the period of the Thirty Years' War overwhelmingly tends to limit their chronological scope to the death of Frederick V in November 1632. This is no doubt due to Frederick's central role in the opening years of what would become the Thirty Years' War, which led many contemporaries to blame him for the development of a relatively localized rebellion into the most destructive European conflict prior to the twentieth century.²¹ For example, the work of Elmar Weiss and Magnus Råde on the relationship between the Electorate of the Palatinate and the Kingdom of England, and the financial support provided by James VI and I and Charles I to the Palatine exiles, both use this end point, even though English support for the

¹⁸ C. Pal, *Republic of Women: Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2012), especially pp.37–49; B.H. Zedler, "The Three Princesses," *Hypatia*, 4/1: The History of Women in Philosophy (1989); N. Mackenzie, "Jane Barker, Louise Hollandine of the Palatinate and "Solomons Wise Daughter", *Review of English Studies*, New Series, 58/233 (2007).

¹⁹ J. Miller, "The Henrician legend revived: the Palatine couple and its public image in early Stuart England," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 11/3 (2004); K. Curran, "James I and fictional authority at the Palatine wedding celebrations," *Renaissance Studies*, 20/1 (2006); A. Milton, "The Church of England and the Palatinate, 1566–1642," in P. Ha and P. Collinson (eds), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford, 2010).

²⁰ Parker.

²¹ Pursell; C.P. Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History: 1559–1660* (Oxford, 1963), pp.1–25.

Palatines can hardly be said to have died with Frederick.²² Nicolette Mout's study of the Palatine court-in-exile at The Hague, and Friedrich Schubert's examination of the exiled government of the Palatinate similarly use the demise of the Winter King as their endpoint.²³ In addition, broad histories of the Palatinate, as well as studies of the *Pfalzfrage* during the Thirty Years' War as a whole, in both the German and English scholarship hardly examine the actions of the Palatine family between Frederick's death and the Westphalian peace negotiations in the mid-1640s.²⁴

The lack of scholarly attention to the Palatine cause after 1632 is remarkable. Although the Palatine family were no longer the central figures in the conflict themselves, their cause was still a crucial issue. As the 'Palatine Question' has been described by numerous scholars as the dominant issue of the war, this suggests that the matter of Frederick's former lands and titles was not one which lessened in importance after his death.²⁵ However, as the Palatine exiles were rarely able actively to drive events on the continent, and they also failed to facilitate direct British intervention in the conflict, this means that their actions post-1632 are often paid scant attention in studies of the Thirty Years' War. In spite of the wealth of contemporary evidence to the contrary, the existing literature on the fortunes and actions of the Palatine family between 1632 and 1648 tends to relegate them to the capacity of passive observers. For example, Jürgen Steiner overlooks the actions of the Palatine family and their representatives themselves during the Westphalian peace talks, promulgating the theory that they were little more than flotsam buffeted by the waves of individual interests and ambitions of more powerful European states.²⁶

Charles Louis in particular has been portrayed by Veronica Wedgwood and Caroline Hibbard as little more than a 'chancer' and a hanger-on at the

²² E. Weiss, *Die Unterstützung Friedrichs V. von der Pfalz durch Jakob I. und Karl I. von England im Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1618–1632)* (Stuttgart, 1966); M. Rüde, *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteuropa (1608–1632): Konfession—Dynastie—kulturelle Ausdrucksformen* (Stuttgart, 2007). See also A. Marks, *England and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden, 2022) which ends its coverage in 1638.

²³ N. Mout, 'Der Winterkönig im Exil: Friedrich V. von der Pfalz und die niederländischen Generalstaaten 1621–1632', *ZHF*, 15/3 (1988); F.H. Schubert, 'Die pfälzische Exilregierung im dreißigjährigen Krieg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Protestantismus', *ZGO*, 102 (1954).

²⁴ See Clasen, *Palatinate*; Steiner, pp.126–30; Schaab, II, 118, 122–3.

²⁵ D. Croxton, *Westphalia: The Last Christian Peace* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 269; F. Dickmann, *Der Westfälische Frieden*, 2nd edn (Münster, 1965), p.27.

²⁶ Steiner, p.178.

Stuart court.²⁷ Indeed, the existing scholarship tends to view the prince's actions during this period through an Anglo-centric prism in isolation from developments on the continent and ignoring the interplay between events on both sides of the English Channel. As a result, Charles Louis generally appears as a largely peripheral figure whose intermittent presence in England from the mid-1630s led him to be seen by Charles I's opponents as symbolic of the perceived failures of the king's religious, domestic, and foreign policies, not to mention a potential replacement for Charles.²⁸ However, this work will demonstrate that whilst the actions pursued by the Palatine family could not have proceeded without British backing, the strategies were actually devised by the exiles themselves. Accordingly, the experiences of Charles Louis and his family after 1632 will be examined in a wider geographical context and place the Palatine exiles back at the centre of their own narrative as semi-autonomous actors on the European political stage. In its transnational approach, this work will reassert the dynastic perspective which connected the ruling elites of different states, rather than adopt the anachronistic approach of 'national' histories in which dynastic ties and considerations are circumscribed by the geographical borders which limit the scope of such studies.

In shifting the emphasis back onto the Palatine family, this work utilizes a considerable amount of epistolary evidence as well as other writings by Charles Louis, Elizabeth, and their representatives and advisers. The wealth of letters and financial documents from the Palatine family provides a considerable insight into the experiences of an exiled dynasty in early modern Europe. In addition to complementing the vivid image painted by the memoirs of the youngest Palatine daughter, Sophia, of the difficulties facing dispossessed elites in terms of their basic subsistence, the correspondence of the Palatine exiles and their agents contain valuable information regarding their financial difficulties as well as the strategies they were pursuing.²⁹ In particular, as the Palatine family were dependent on the military, financial, and diplomatic support of other powers, they often wrote to potential allies to request such assistance and to persuade them of the merits of their intended strategies. The discussion of the various offers of restitution made

²⁷ C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1983); C.V. Wedgwood, 'The Elector Palatine and the Civil War', *History Today*, 4 (1954), 3–10 and her *The Trial of Charles I* (London, 1964).

²⁸ C. Russell, *The Fall of British Monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991), pp.209, 279; J. Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London, 2007), pp.33, 40–1, 151.

²⁹ H. Forester (ed.), *Memoirs of Sophia, Electress of Hanover* (London, 1888).

to the Palatine family in the latter half of the 'Thirty Years' War can also highlight which bargaining positions were deemed acceptable by exiles in the early modern period and the reasons behind the Palatines' refusal of multiple propositions. These materials can help to place the Palatine family in a broader geopolitical context as they and their advisers were often on the 'front line' in negotiations with other powers, and allow us to build a more reliable picture of the effectiveness of their attempts to obtain support for their restitution.

* * *

This work adopts both a thematic and a chronological approach in its examination of the Palatine family between 1632 and 1648. The first three chapters address the broader topics relating to experiences of exile in early modern Europe, such as examining the forms of capital available to dispossessed ruling dynasties and their abilities to formulate and pursue independent strategies in their attempts to recover lost lands and titles. An examination of the Palatine family's plight between 1632 and 1648 within the broad themes of exile is the best way to compare Charles Louis's experiences with those of other figures and regimes who were deprived of their ancestral lands and titles in the same period. This first section will assess how the Palatine family attempted to use traditional 'sovereign' channels and methods to promote their claims to electoral status in the face of issues of diplomatic recognition, financial privation, the military and political burdens and necessities of war, as well as the rigid hierarchy and traditions of the Holy Roman Empire. In spite of their dependence on the assistance of other states, it will be demonstrated that the Palatine exiles were most often the ultimate arbiters in devising and directing the strategies they pursued between 1632 and 1648, albeit often in reaction to the events outside of their control as well as the open-handedness of their allies.

The first chapter will establish what constituted the ancestral lands and titles of the Electoral Palatinate prior to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, as well as cover the Palatine family's experience of the first fourteen years of the conflict, before the second chapter examines the broad policy objectives of the Palatine exiles between 1632 and 1648. As they rejected numerous offers of restitution during the 1630s and early 1640s for reasons beyond financial concerns and the size of the offered territories, the second chapter will evaluate the less tangible considerations of perception and public image which could influence the actions of exiled rulers in early modern Europe. Chapter two also identifies the key figures who dominated and

directed the Palatine family's policy in this period, assessing the roles played by Palatine advisers and the extended family. In doing so, the chapter deals with the difficulties faced by exiles attempting to obtain recognition of their sovereignty and claim to specific territories and titles, examining their position as a marginal group within the political and dynastic network of European rulers and monarchs. In particular, this chapter will examine the role played by Elizabeth of Bohemia. In addition to providing an assessment of her performance as a stateswoman during Charles Louis's minority, the chapter will address the extent to which Elizabeth and other widow-regents in the early modern period were able to exercise political influence and engage in diplomacy.

The third chapter examines the resources and the forms of 'capital' available to the Palatine family and exiled dynasties in general, broadly categorized as military, financial, and dynastic. It will discuss how far the Palatine exiles had access to each form of capital and the relative significance of each in assisting exiled regimes to recover their lost lands and titles. In particular, this chapter addresses the question of dynasticism by assessing the strength of familial connections between different royal houses and ruling dynasties in comparison to individual political considerations. In doing so, Chapter three details the military, material, and financial support received by the Palatine family as a product of their kinship ties to the rulers of Britain, France, and Denmark, as well as successive Stadtholders within the Dutch Republic. Such a study allows a valuable examination of the impact of dynasticism on the experiences of exiled elites in early modern Europe, especially during such a tumultuous period as the Thirty Years' War. In addition, as the resources received from other states were dictated by the willingness and ability of the benefactors to provide such assistance, this chapter will demonstrate the necessity of adopting a transnational approach when examining exiled ruling dynasties. By comparing the resources of the Palatines with those of their dispossessed contemporaries, and the extent to which they facilitated their respective restorations, Chapter three will also allow an assessment of how representative the experiences of the Palatine family were for exiled rulers in early modern Europe.

The remaining four chapters follow a chronological structure in detailing the activities of the Palatine exiles between Frederick's death and the Peace of Westphalia. Such an approach is necessary when studying the actions of members of an exiled dynasty who were forced to react to developments outside of their control. The activities of the Palatine family, and their fluctuations between willingness to compromise at the negotiating table and

pursuing military ventures to further their cause, exemplify the reactionary existence common to dispossessed regimes whose strategies were dictated by a constantly shifting political and martial situation. As a whole, this section seeks to explore the degree of autonomy exercised by exiled ruling houses in early modern Europe in devising and pursuing strategies for their restoration. As the existing scholarship tends to regard dispossessed elites as little more than rudderless observers riding the tides of military and political developments, it is important to examine the extent to which possession of the various forms of capital identified in the previous section could allow exiles to determine their own courses of action. In doing so, these four chapters will provide an assessment of how much the Palatine family were the authors of their own continued misfortune between 1632 and 1648 or were powerless victims of constantly worsening circumstances.

The fourth chapter examines the strategies pursued by the Palatine exiles to recover their lands between 1632 and 1642 and is divided into four distinct chronological sections which reflect the changing circumstances they faced and how they amended their actions in response. Such a study also provides a valuable insight into the experiences of exile for royal and noble dynasties during the early modern period as the chapter will demonstrate the extent to which the Palatine family were able to exercise autonomy in pursuit of their restitution during the latter half of their exile. Chapter five will then further address the transnational nature of exile for early modern European elites by examining the involvement of the Palatine family during the British Civil Wars between 1642 and 1649. In particular, Charles Louis's adherence to Parliament against his uncle and brothers, as well as his actions during his time in London between 1644 and 1649, will be studied within the wider context of Europe during the Thirty Years' War. It will be shown that the prince elector's allegiance and conduct were determined by the interplay of short-term developments in both the British and continental conflicts. This chapter will also provide a valuable insight into the experiences of long-term exile, by determining how the extent of support for the Palatine cause in England had changed by the mid- and late-1640s.

Chapter six examines the Palatine family's involvement in the Westphalian peace negotiations between 1645 and 1648. This chapter will highlight the difficulties faced by Charles Louis's representatives at the peace congress and assess the ways in which they attempted to gain support for their master's restitution. By providing an overview of the negotiations regarding the 'Palatine Question' and the bargaining positions of various powers, this chapter will demonstrate the problems faced by noble dynastic

exiles in attempting to procure their restoration at general peace talks. The final section of the chapter provides an assessment of the peace terms, the Palatine family's reaction to the negotiations and articles which facilitated their partial restoration, and a reassessment of the traditional view of the Peace of Westphalia as a failure for the Palatine family.

The final chapter addresses the legacy of the Thirty Years' War on the newly restored electoral family and their recovered territories. As the vast majority of contemporary observers and secondary literature address an eventual restoration as a victory for exiled dynasties, it is important to address how the experiences of exile could be felt even after restitution had been obtained. Whilst the 'Palatine Question' is still regarded by the vast majority of scholars as having been solved with the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, this chapter will demonstrate that several of the integral issues of the *Pfalzfrage* persisted into the 1650s and beyond. The chapter will also comment upon the role-reversal of the Palatine and Stuart families, as the latter were forced into exile in the wake of the British Civil Wars whilst their cousins recovered lands and titles on the continent. An examination of the extent to which Charles Louis was willing and able to support his newly exiled relatives seeks to provide another important insight into the importance of dynastic connections for dispossessed regimes in early modern Europe.

* * *

Although the professed electoral status of the Palatine exiles, as well as their dynastic connections and royal blood, made the family unique as the highest-ranking dispossessed rulers of the Thirty Years' War, they faced the same considerations and difficulties both during their exile and in their restitution as other displaced regimes. Whilst it was possible for exiled rulers to act with differing degrees of autonomy in pursuing their restoration, especially to keep their cause politically relevant and maintain support, this work will conclude that an exiled ruler stood the best chance of restoration if their cause coincided with the objectives and policies of more powerful states. In doing so, it will be shown that the study of exiles is both a valuable field of scholarly interest in itself, and can add an alternative dimension to studies of the interaction of international politics and dynasticism in early modern Europe.

1

From Princes to Paupers

The Palatine Family, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1632)

The 'Palatine Question', or *Pfalzfrage*, was not the spark which ignited the Thirty Years' War, but it was the issue which arguably caused the flames of the Bohemian Revolt to spread and engulf much of central Europe for three decades. The fate of the Palatine family's lands, and their prestigious electoral title, would prove to be one of the most disputed issues of the entire conflict. It was a matter in which almost every major belligerent had an interest or preference, and would only be concluded—at least in principle—at the Westphalian peace negotiations in the closing stages of the war. The *Pfalzfrage* was so contentious because the formal transfer of Elector Frederick V's title, as well as much of his territories, to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria in early 1623 was the culmination of a feud dating back over 250 years between the Palatine and Bavarian branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty. In order fully to comprehend the significance and complexities of the Palatine Question, and its impact on the course of the Thirty Years' War, it is important to examine the state—and status—of the Palatine family before 1618, both within the Holy Roman Empire, as well as on the broader European stage.

'Prince Electors'

By the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the head of the Palatine Family was one of the highest-ranking secular princes, and the most senior Protestant ruler, within the Holy Roman Empire by virtue of being one of the seven 'Prince Electors' (*Kurfürsten*) who voted in imperial elections. Such elections were held either to select a new emperor after the death of a predecessor or to choose a 'King of the Romans', the designated successor of