



French troops under the command of general Charles Pichegru march into The Netherlands, winter 1794-95.
[*Jacob Cats*, 1795. Collection : Historisch-topografische Atlas van het Gemeente-archief van Amsterdam.]

Chapter 13

Years of Transformation (1795-1840)

The Liberators

On Sunday, the 24th of September, 1794, old Antonis van Tuyl and his son Otto joined their fellow burghers of Gameren at the village church, full of fear and anxiety.¹ The anxious inhabitants of Gameren and Zaltbommel could hear guns firing on the fortress *Crevecoeur* along the Maas and the city of 's-Hertogenbosch.² As a result of the French Revolution, Europe's balance of power had dramatically changed and - in an eerie replay of the events of 1672 - French armies were nearing the Bommelerwaard. But this time - unlike 1672 - many Dutch people viewed the French as liberators!³

From the start of the French Revolution in 1789, banished Dutch *Patriots* in France had tried in vain to persuade the new French revolutionary government to "liberate" Holland.^{4,5} Finally, in the summer of 1794, with France at war with England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic, General Charles Pichegru's *Noorderleger* [Northern Army] - 72,000 men, 18,500 horses, and 304 guns strong, with its own Dutch brigade commanded by *Patriot* Herman Willem Daendels - struck Brabant.⁶ France's adversaries were twice as strong, but heavily divided. The English, Austrian and Dutch commanders were each fighting more or less independent wars. As Turenne had done 120 years earlier, Pichegru wanted to bypass 's-Hertogenbosch, Zaltbommel and the rivers Maas and Waal, to strike directly at the heart of Holland. But an impatient Daendels jumped the gun on 22 September, capturing a Dutch fortress, thus precipitating a siege of 's-Hertogenbosch. That city fell on 9 October.⁷

¹ Mes, G., "Uit het dagboek van den Zaltbommelschen Predikant J.G.Kist (1794-1795)," in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre VIII*, Arnhem, 1905, pg. 455. [The contemporary account of Rev. J. G. Kist].

² Mes, pg. 456.

³ Jappe Alberts, W., et al. "Geschiedenis van Gelderland 1492-1795," Zutphen, 1975, pg. 329.

⁴ Schama, S., "Patriots and Liberators, Revolution in The Netherlands 1780-1813 (Dutch edition)," Amsterdam, 1989, pg. 182.

⁵ Some 6000 *Patriots* - opponents of the *Orangist* monarchy - had fled to France in 1787 after a failed attempt to overthrow the *Stadholder* [S.Groenveld and G.J.Schutte, "Nederlands verleden in vogelvlucht; de nieuwe tijd 1500 tot 1813," Leiden, 1992, pg. 135].

⁶ Schulten, J., "De Franse opmars naar 's-Hertogenbosch in 1794," in *'s-Hertogenbosch*, jaargang II, September 1994, pp. 117 -119.

⁷ Baartmans, J., "'s-Hertogenbosch in 1794, beleg in omwenteling," in *'s-Hertogenbosch*, jaargang II, September 1994, pp. 127, 130.

Nature Favors the French

Just to the north lay the heavily-defended Bommelerwaard, with 3000 infantry troops - many of them foreign - encamped at Zaltbommel and in the villages along the Maas. Nineteen batteries with twenty-four guns were established on the river's north bank.⁸ These foreign defenders did little to ingratiate themselves with the locals: the English robbed shops in Zaltbommel and stole cattle and potatoes from the farmers. A local farmer asked the son of *Stadholder* William V, who was visiting the area: "How shall I feed my wife and children."⁹ In marked contrast, the French behaved well: paying cash, posting a guard near the church, and allowing two services a day. They even attended these Protestant services.¹⁰

Pichegru hesitated to cross the Maas because he felt that his army was too weak.¹¹ For weeks he limited his efforts to raids and heavy shellings, keeping the inhabitants of Zaltbommel and Gameren awake.¹² But then Holland's natural ally, the water, turned into an enemy. Heavy freezing turned the Maas and Waal into ice-fields, and by the day after Christmas both these natural barriers had frozen over.¹³ Early the next morning Pichegru's troops crossed the Maas under heavy shelling, forcing the defenders to retreat.¹⁴ That same day, the French vanguard crossed the Waal, capturing batteries at Tuil, Haaften and Waardenburg. Zaltbommel was "liberated" and Daendels, the Dutch *Patriot*, put up at the house of burgomaster De Rook.¹⁵

Era of the Common Man

On 2 January 1795 a *volksrepresentant* [people's representative] arrived at Zaltbommel and installed a new municipal council - all former *Patriots*.¹⁶ One day later Pichegru's main army crossed the Waal heading to Amsterdam. By 18 January, they subdued the city, sending William V fleeing in a fishing boat, headed for asylum in England.¹⁷ The departure of the *Stadholder* marked the end of a governmental system that had existed for centuries, and with it the end of the era of a ruling class. Local lord George van Randwijck, *Heer van Gameren*, was replaced as *Ambtman* of the Tieler- and Bommelerwaard by the *Patriot* Hackfort van Wayenstein.¹⁸ On the 8th day of March, the revolutionary government addressed a crowd from the steps of

⁸ Van Hogerlinden, J., "Dagboek van A.W.C.Keyser over de gebeurtenissen in de jaren 1794 en 1795 in Gelderland," in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre*, jaargang XVIII, Arnhem, 1915.

⁹ Mes, pp. 465, 466.

¹⁰ Mes, pg. 475.

¹¹ Baartmans, pg. 131.

¹² Mes, pp. 475-6.

¹³ Van Hogerlinden.

¹⁴ Schama, pg. 230.

¹⁵ Mes, pp. 478, 480.

¹⁶ Mes, pg. 482.

¹⁷ Mes, pg. 481, and Schama, pp. 232-236.

¹⁸ Jappe Alberts, pg. 329.

Zaltbommel's town hall, reading a declaration of human rights.¹⁹ So it was that the great spirit of popular revolution that had swept first America, then France, thrust itself upon the Van Tuyls of Gameren.

Life Goes On

For eighty-five year old Antonis van Tuyl, who grew up respecting the local lord and all he stood for, it must have been a shock to hear a fellow-countryman announce that all the manorial rights of the nobility were henceforth canceled and that the Catholic Church - and other religions - suddenly had the same rights as "his" *Reformed Church*.²⁰ But despite these changes, life in Gameren went on as usual. When old Antonis died in 1796, his son Otto inherited all his father's properties, including the two farms on the Burgersteeg : the *Hoge Scheylweg* and the *Adammenhof*. Otto and his sons - Antonis and Gijsbert - turned their collective energies to running and improving the inherited farms, and to expanding their holdings [see map]. They - along with other Bommelerwaard farmers - improved their farming techniques, driving up yields for rapeseed and especially for potatoes, which, a short 25 years after their introduction to the area, now formed the staple of the common people's diet.^{21, 22} For the first time, government took a hand in regulating cattle production, introducing a fund to defray losses due to cattle plague.²³ This French-imposed government was nothing if not progressive.

People now *elected* their provincial representatives, and although they chose as their leaders members of the same old families that had always ruled the village, these local leaders were not necessarily supportive of the new system.²⁴ When the provincial government assembled for the first time on 6 February at Nijmegen, Gameren's delegates were nowhere to be found.²⁵ Two months later the representatives met at Tiel where they rejected a plan for restructuring the provincial government and the representative system of the Tieler- and Bommelerwaard.²⁶ But the French reforms did take hold - probably because they were much-needed.

¹⁹ Mes, pg. 496.

²⁰ Groenveld, pg. 259.

²¹ Van den Eerenbeemt, H., "De Patriotse-Bataafse-Franse tijd (1780-1813)," in *De economische geschiedenis van Nederland*, Groningen, 1977, pg. 186/187.

²² Groenveld, pp. 124-5.

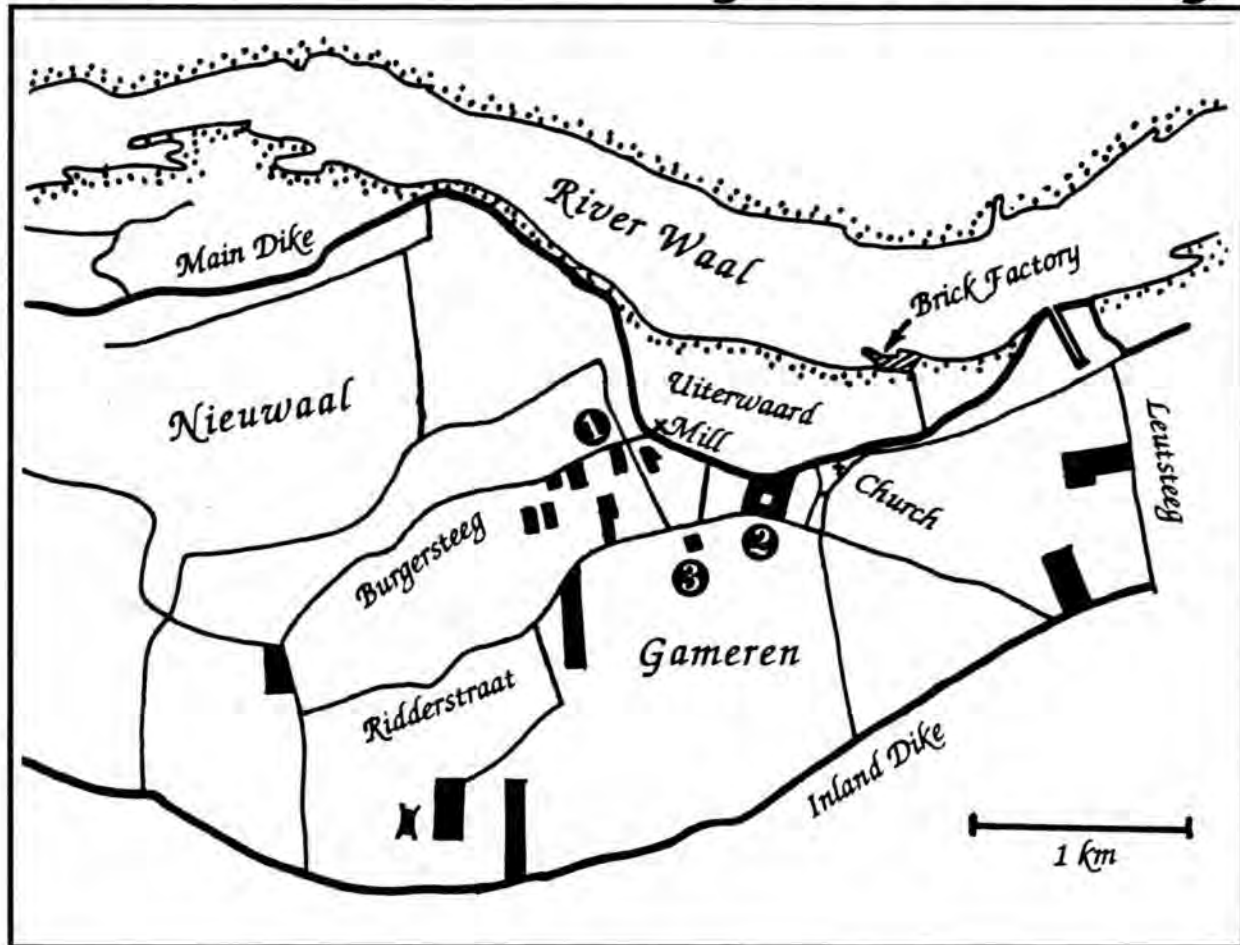
²³ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, Oud Archief Gameren 875. Each farmer paid 2 stivers for a cow older than 2 years and 1 stiver for the younger ones.

²⁴ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, Archief Ambtsbestuur (AA) 1c. Representatives of Gameren : Dirk Walraven van Kerkwijk, already *schout* and secretary since 1759; the minister Christiaan Heystek; Hermanus Timmer, alderman in the High Bench of Zuilichem (1787-1802), *buurmeester* at Gameren and Nieuwaal, *heemraad* and administrator of the church; Gerrit Cloppenburg, renter and owner of the brickworks, *gerichtsnaabur* and *buurmeester*.

²⁵ Brood, P., et al., "Homines Novi, de eerste volksvertegenwoordigers van 1795," Amsterdam, 1993, pg. 401. From Zaltbommel three representatives attended the meeting : minister Nicolaas de Lange, Philip Willem van der Horst and Jan Margriet Franciscus van Everdingen.

²⁶ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, AA 1c, 01-04-1795.

Gameren in the Early 19th Century



- ① *Adammenhof* ~ Built circa 1750 by Antonis [A1.1.1.1] van Tuyl
- ② *Het Sloth* ~ Site of Gameren's former castle. Purchased in 1803 by Antonis [A1.1.1.1] van Tuyl
- ③ *Van de Werken's Farm* ~ Site of Dragoon's Attack and "Church in the Apple-Cellar"
- Farm properties of Otto van Tuyl [A1.1.1.1] and his son Antonis [A1.1.1.1]

Property of Otto [A1.1.1.1] and Antonis [A1.1.1] van Tuyl circa 1803, the year Otto died and Antonis bought *Het Sloth*, site of Gameren's old castle. The Van Tuyls cultivated potatoes, oats, wheat, rapeseed and beans on the fertile land between the *Burgersteeg* and the *Nieuwsteeg*, near the *Adammenhof*.²⁷ Rapeseed was especially profitable.²⁸ Vegetables were cultivated in the garden near the house. They grazed cattle on the grasslands further away from the village. In 1803 Otto van Tuyl had 13 cows: only three farmers owned more.²⁹

²⁷ Rijksarchief Gelderland (RAG), Bestuursarchieven Franse Tijd (BFT) 1480.

²⁸ RAG, BFT 1478.

²⁹ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard (SAB), Oud Archief Gameren (OAG) 874, 14-03-1803.

Although the French ruled Holland for only 3 years (1810-1813), they laid the foundation for the modern Dutch state: institutions like the land registry, the civil code, and a new tax system all date from this period. For the first time ever, people were required - for administrative purposes - to take a last name. Patronymics would no longer suffice.

Since France was more or less continuously at war during the period, Gameren saw its share of French soldiers come and go, and the burghers were required to provide quarters for these troops. From 13 January to 18 May, 1797 a cavalry regiment was billeted at Gameren. Otto van Tuyl was required to house a hussar and his horse.³⁰ In the first years of occupation, France recognized Holland as an independent state, but required the Dutch to pay the costs of "liberation" and of maintaining French occupation troops.³¹ But with Napoleon's ascendancy after the military coup of 1799, there came a change in the occupiers' attitude.

In 1806 Napoleon became very dissatisfied with the Dutch support for his war against England and he forced the States General to "invite" his brother Louis Napoleon to become *King of Holland*.³² For the independent Dutch, who had always been leery of kings, this foreign-imposed monarch must have been a bitter pill to swallow. But Louis Napoleon was actually a benevolent ruler who tried to protect the interests of the Dutch. This was more than emperor Napoleon could tolerate. Declaring: "*La Hollande est une colonie anglaise*," he started to add the Low Countries to his empire.³³ First - by treaty of 16 March 1810 - he annexed the southern part of the country, including the region along the Waal.³⁴ By 9 July, 1810 the rest of the Netherlands was in his imperial grasp.³⁵ Later, Napoleon declared: "*I united Holland with my empire so that I might send my customs officers there*."³⁶ True enough. But there was another reason: Napoleon needed soldiers for his conquering army. As citizens of the French Empire, Dutchmen were required to serve in Napoleon's campaigns. More than 10,000 of them would be sacrificed during his disastrous 1812 Russian campaign alone.³⁷ Gameren continued to billet French troops during the Napoleonic era - in July, 1810 Otto van Tuyl's widow and her sons

³⁰ Groenendijk, J., "Inkwartiering van Franse troepen in Gameren," in *Tussen de Voorn en Loevestein*, jaargang 18, December 1982, pp. 57-62. That same year the costs of the 1794-1795 war were settled, and payment made to the citizens who rendered services [SAB, OAG 579, 19-08-1797].

³¹ Groenveld, pg. 261.

³² Groenveld, pg. 270.

³³ Van den Eerenbeemt, pg. 168.

³⁴ Flament, A., "Hoe ons land ten zuiden der Waal 1794-1815 Fransch werd en weer Nederlandsch."

³⁵ Groenveld, pg. 271.

³⁶ Romein, J. and Romein, A., "De lage landen bij de zee," Den Haag, 1973, pg. 416.

³⁷ Groenveld, pg. 271. Although it is certain that several young men from Gameren served in the French army, we are only sure of one: Gijsbert Petersz van de Werken (RAG, RAZ 690, 27-05-1811).

Antonis and Gijsbert each housed two hussars.³⁸ From the French point of view at least, the Dutch were benign subjects:³⁹

<i>Quand un Hollandais a sa pipe, son pot de biere et sa platee de pommes de terre, il est content comme un roi.</i>	Give a Dutchman his pipe, a pot of beer, and a plate of potatoes, and he's as happy as a king.
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The Family van Tuyl: Citizens of French Gameren

When Otto van Tuyl died in 1803, at age 60, he must have been pleased with his family's condition, despite the French occupation. Otto died knowing that his children had inherited a flourishing agricultural enterprise and had married well. His oldest son and daughter, Antonis and Jantje, both married children of the *schout*, respectively Weiltje Johanna and David van Kerkwijk. His second daughter, Peterke, married Cornelis Johannes Klop, *polderschout* at Aalst, and son Gijsbert wed Govertje van Arendonk.⁴⁰ Gijsbert directed all his energies to farming, but Antonis on the other hand was very active in public life, serving as *gerichtsnabuur*, *buurmeester*, church administrator, church warden and member of the polderboard.⁴¹ He was also the first Van Tuyl to leave the Burgersteeg. In 1803 he purchased the farm *Het Sloth* in Gameren - so named because it was the site of Gameren's historic old castle [*slot*], now a ruin.⁴²

Après le Déluge

As masters of the land along the Waal, the French had to confront that age-old nemesis: the flood. The winter of 1808-9 saw the biggest and most devastating inundation ever to strike the district - the result of a severely frozen river. Ice floating on the Waal jammed up, effectively damming the river.⁴³ On 30 January the water reached its highest level : 4 1/3 meters [over 14 ft.].⁴⁴ Antonis van Tuyl went that night to Nieuwaal to work on the threatened dike.⁴⁵ With great effort, he and his fellow citizens in Gameren, Nieuwaal and Zaltbommel saved the dike along the Waal, but to no avail. On 30 January the *Dwardsdijk* at Brakel breached in five places, and one day later the *Meidijk* gave way in three spots. The entire Bommelerwaard flooded to a depth of 1.2 to 1.8 meters.⁴⁶ Many houses were heavily damaged - especially those of the poorer people, who had built walls of stone, wood, clay and loam cemented with inferior mortar. After the flood, the government of Gelderland adopted a *building code*, ordering that only lime

³⁸ Groenendijk, pg. 57-62.

³⁹ Lieutenant Chevalier "Souvenirs des guerres napoleoniennes," Paris, 1970, pg. 151.

⁴⁰ See: *Dutch Genealogy*. Willem did not marry, and probably was not active as farmer. He was mentioned as renter and in 1820 sold his share of the estate to his brothers [RAG, Notarieel Archief Zaltbommel (NAZ) 1689, acte 53].

⁴¹ See: *Dutch Genealogy*.

⁴² RAG, RAZ 689, 11-01-1803.

⁴³ Driessen, A., "Watersnood tussen Maas en Waal, overstromingsrampen in het rivierengebied tussen 1780 en 1810," Zutphen, 1994, pg. 163.

⁴⁴ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, Oud Archief Gameren 871.

⁴⁵ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, OAG 871.

⁴⁶ Driessen, pg. 225.

mortar was to be allowed in new construction.⁴⁷ The French administration also instituted a more modern and adequate system of maintenance. The national dike law of 1810 abolished the old system in which every land parcel had been allocated a section of the dike to maintain. From then on, each owner of a house - as well as those residents without land - was obliged to pay a tax to fund maintenance of the dikes.⁴⁸

In total, an area twice as large as that which had flooded in 1784 and 1799 was affected, with some 275 people killed and more than 1000 homes destroyed.⁴⁹ Damage in the Bommelerwaard alone was estimated at 90,000 guilders.⁵⁰ Mereken van Tuyl, Otto's widow, calculated the damage for her whole family at 18 guilders for the house, 11 guilders 5 stivers for ruined potatoes, and 32 guilders for damaged wheat.⁵¹ But the consequences did not end there. In 1811, the *maire* of Gameren informed the tax collector that a lot of land still was flooded and could not be cultivated.⁵² This was more than the farmers of Gameren could bear. Without production, it was impossible for them to pay taxes. For the years 1809 and 1810 the outstanding debts for the Van Tuyls mounted: Antonis, 132 guilders 19 stivers; the widow of Otto van Tuyl, 33 guilders and 12 stivers; Willem van Tuyl, 4 guilders 6 stivers.⁵³ As it turned out, a difficult century was dawning for the Van Tuyls of Gameren.

Antonis van Tuyl and His Children

In the Bommelerwaard, recovery from the flood of 1809 was excruciatingly slow. Up until 1826 the economy was weak, due in part to the competition from new agricultural areas like southern Russia. Both the value of agricultural land and the income of farmers decreased.⁵⁴ Even Antonis, the wealthiest son of Otto van Tuyl, was sorely pressed. When his mother's estate was

⁴⁷ Driessen, pg. 49. At Gameren 42 houses were heavily damaged but still habitable, 3 were inhabitable and 1 was completely washed away; the majority of these houses were situated along the dike. Also the 3 duck-decoys were heavily damaged (Groenendijk, J., "De watersnood van 1809 in Gameren," in *Tussen de Voorn en Loevestein*, April 1983, pp. 5-13).

⁴⁸ Driessen, pp. 102, 286.

⁴⁹ Driessen, pg. 289.

⁵⁰ Driessen, pp. 270-272. The damage calculated for Gameren was fl 6,700, but the village received only fl 670 in compensation. Much support was given in the form of clothes, blankets, and food, while the money went for repair of houses. Of the 82 affected families in Gameren, 45 received compensation.

⁵¹ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, AA 272F. An exact list of the awarded compensation is not available, but the widow of Otto van Tuyl did not receive much. Most payments were awarded to the poor and destitute. In April 1809, 30 Gameren inhabitants received clothes and blankets (Groenendijk, J., "De watersnood van 1809 in Gameren," in : *Tussen de Voorn en Loevestein*, April 1983, pp. 5-13).

⁵² Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, Collectie De Hoop [CdH] 20, 13-01-1811.

⁵³ SAB, CdH 20, 13-01-1811. In 1811 Mereken van Tuyl was granted an extension of time for payment, Willem had paid his debts and Antonis was granted a reduction of 28 guilders of the still outstanding debt of 56 guilders 19 stivers.

⁵⁴ Bank, J., et al., "De nieuwste tijd, 1813 tot heden," Groningen, 1993, pg. 15-16.

divided, he was forced to borrow 1000 guilders to pay his brothers and sisters their share.⁵⁵ Nine years later he and his brothers and sisters sold four plots of land at Gameren and Nieuwaal for a total amount of 1949 guilders.⁵⁶ After the death of his wife Weiltje, Antonis borrowed 4000 guilders - with all his possessions as guarantee - from his two brothers-in-law.⁵⁷ But in time he successfully repaid his debt, so that by 1837 - 2 years before his death - only 1000 guilders remained.⁵⁸ When Antonis died, his children Gijsbert, Dirk, Otto and Willemke sold his properties. Sons Gijsbert and Otto continued to farm, buying some of the farm equipment from the estate.⁵⁹ The farm *Het Sloth* went to Willemke. Gijsbert and Otto were not able to afford houses of their own until several decades later.⁶⁰ Antonis' son Dirk Walraven van Tuyl, named after his grandfather the *schout*, chose a military career, and in 1832 was serving in a regiment of dragoons. When he died he was mentioned as retired sergeant.^{61, 62}

The Dutch State

When Antonis died he had been a citizen of a republic (until 1806), a kingdom (until 1810), the French empire (until 1813) and again a kingdom. When Napoleon met defeat, the Dutch state - at the instigation of a small group of leading politicians in The Hague - transformed into a monarchy with William I, the son of the last *Orangist* Stadholder, as the new king.⁶³ Two years later - in 1815 - the Congress of Vienna decided to unify Holland and Belgium in order to create a strong fortress on France's northern border.⁶⁴ The difference between these countries' cultures

⁵⁵ RAG, NAZ 1678, acte 75, 30-03-1821. The money was borrowed from Jan van Tuyl at Tuil with several plots of land as guarantee, among them the *Florishof* on the Burgersteeg.

⁵⁶ RAG, NAZ 1703, acte 160, 12-05-1830.

⁵⁷ RAG, NAZ 1705, acte 140, 14-06-1832. The brothers-in-law were: Jacob van Kerkwijk and Cornelis Klop, his brother Gijsbert and Jacob de Gram (married with a sister of Jacob van Kerkwijk). The interest to be paid each year on 6 June was 5 1/2 %. His possessions : a farm called *Het Sloth*, 1 hectare 48 are; 42 are farmland in the *Molenblok*; 1 hectare 13 are farmland *Florishof*; 1 hectare meadows *Hermiskampen*; 1 hectare 28 are meadows *Walemen*; 1 hectare 48 are meadows *Berenskampen*; 2 hectare meadows *Lomannenbos*; 1 hectare 48 are farmland *Leut*, all at Gameren; 1 hectare 28 are farmland *Binnenkwarten*; 50 are farmland *Woerden*; 77 are meadows *Kempkens*; 1 hectare 28 are meadows *Zakken*; 1 hectare woods *Leenkamp*, all at Nieuwaal; 63 are willowground *De Blaasbalg* at Hurwenen and 2 hectare 55 are meadows *Engfort* at Bruchem.

⁵⁸ RAG, NAZ 1710, acte 278, 18-12-1837.

⁵⁹ RAG, NAZ 1712, acte 43, 15-02-1839. The value of the immovables was fl 13,445.-. The movables were sold for fl 972,30. (RAG, NAZ 1712, acte 57, 01-03-1839). Some examples of the value of movables : a farmers cart, 83 guilders; a two year old mare, 115 guilders; a cow, 53 guilders; a copper kettle, 11 guilders; a bed with accessories, 19 1/2 guilders; a glazed cupboard, 3 guilders.

⁶⁰ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, Nieuw Archief Dorpspolder Gameren (NADG) 1087. In 1856 Gijsbert Antonis bought a farm on the Burgersteeg that was centuries earlier Van Tuyl property. Around 1860, Otto built a farm on the *Florishof*.

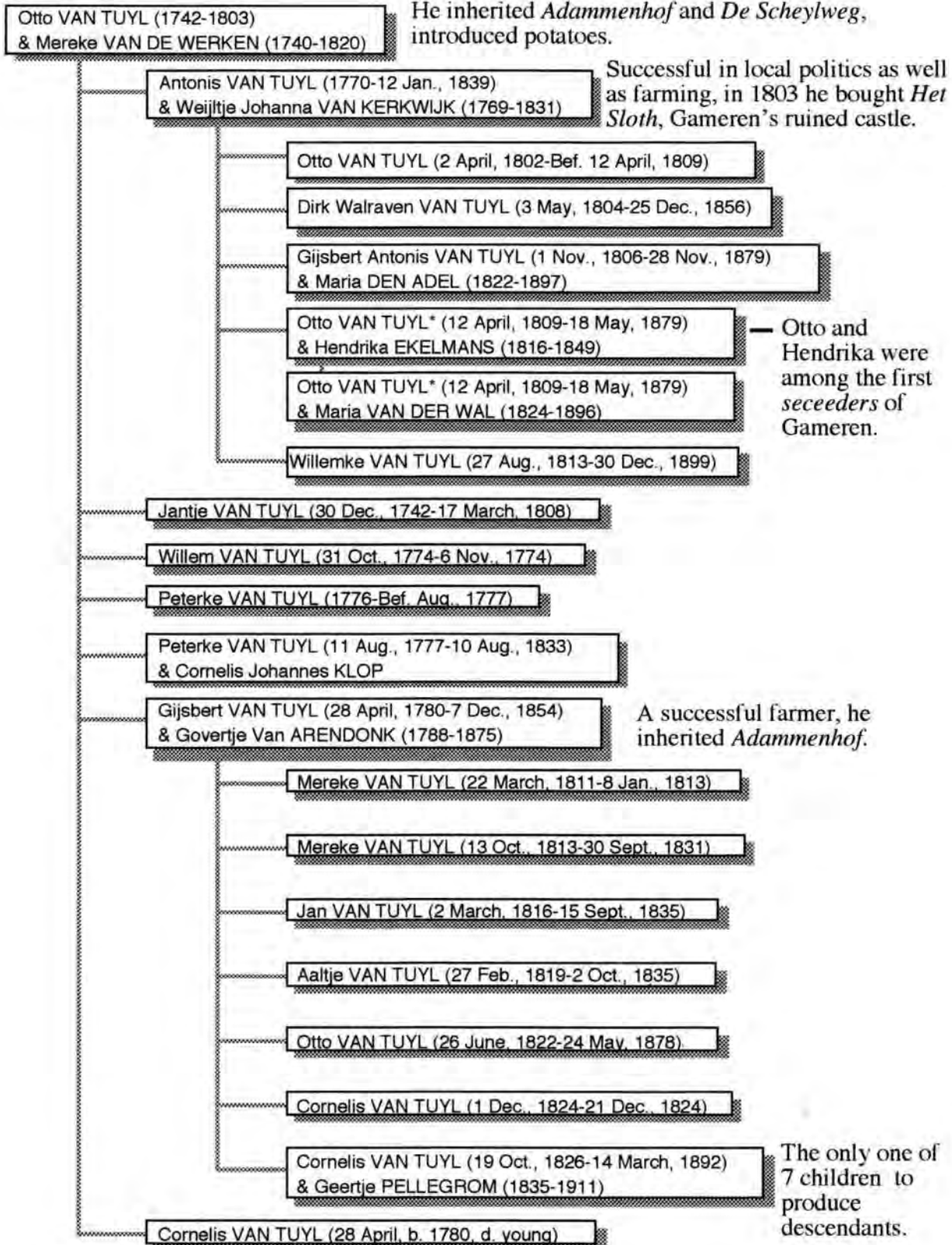
⁶¹ RAG, NAZ 1705, acte 140, 06-06-1832.

⁶² RAG, death register of Zaltbommel, 25-12-1856. He lived in the hotel of Leonardus Ruys in the Gamersestraat at Zaltbommel.

⁶³ Kossmann-Putto, pg. 39.

⁶⁴ Kossmann-Putto, pg. 40.

Early 19th Century Van Tuyls of Gameren

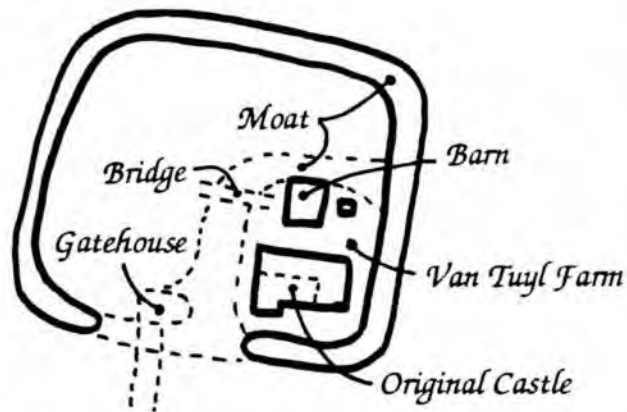


The Castle of Gameren



H.Tavernier, 1786. Collection : Gemeentemuseum Arnhem.

From the records of a 1969 excavation⁶⁵, and from other pictures of the Castle's ruins, we can reconstruct the following plan :



First mentioned as *Huis te Gameren* in 1379 when Arent Gijsbertsz of Rossum received it as a fief,⁶⁶ in the 16th century Gameren's Castle was owned by Dirck van Haeften, *Heer van Gameren*, the man who defended Zaltbommel against the Spanish in 1574. In 1803 Antonis [A1.1.1.1] van Tuyl purchased the farm - then called "*Het Sloth*" - which contained the ruined castle.⁶⁷ The partly-ruined building was used as a farmhouse at that time. Destroyed by fire in 1853, the farm was rebuilt, but finally demolished in 1969 to make way for a retirement home.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Berends, G. & Hulst, R., "Het Slot te Gameren" in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre*, deel LXV, Arnhem, 1971, pp.1-9.

⁶⁶ Sloet, J., et al., "Register op de leenaktenboeken van het Vorstendom Gelre en het Graafschap Zutphen," Arnhem, 1904, pg. 293.

⁶⁷ RAG, RAZ 689, 11 Jan., 1803.

⁶⁸ J.G.R.Acquoy : Jan van Venray, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1873, pg.130, note 4.

was too great, however, and by 1830 liberal and Catholic politicians in Belgium managed to inspire an anti-Dutch movement which - after a ten-day war followed by long negotiations - spawned in 1839 the separate Belgian state.⁶⁹

Holland made no attempt after Napoleon's defeat to restore the *ancien regime*.⁷⁰ Many local traditional rulers found it very difficult to retain their old positions. In 1815 Jacob van Kerkwijk - the brother-in-law of Antonis van Tuyl - wrote to the Baron Van Randwijck that he, as successor of his father, had been *schout* and secretary of Gameren since 1805, but that he was uncertain to whom he had to address himself to safeguard his interests, because there was no longer a *Heer* of Gameren.^{71,72} Political conditions finally normalized in 1825, when Van Kerkwijk was appointed mayor of Gameren. Some 10 years later, this traditional old village leader may have had cause to regret his position, being confronted as he was by a major religious revolt whose consequences would be felt in both The Netherlands and America: *De Afscheiding*.^{73, 74}

De Afscheiding in Gameren

De Afscheiding - The Secession - was a movement of conservative church members opposed to the influence of the *Enlightenment* within the state-run *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*. Their movement produced a schism when conservative congregations, which included many pious common people, chose to stick to traditional interpretations of Calvinist doctrine and, in 1834, seceded from the state church.⁷⁵ This schism affected towns and villages - including Gameren - and even separated families, such as the Van Tuyls.

On 16 August, 1835, after the morning service, Gameren's minister informed the church council that on the previous day, Otto van Tuyl and 19 other church members had handed him a document that requested they be stricken from the list of church members.⁷⁶ Otto, being the only Van Tuyl at Gameren to secede, suffered the disapproval of his father, brothers and sisters.⁷⁷ Perhaps his brother Gijsbert Antonis, being deacon of Gameren's church council, regretted

⁶⁹ Kossmann-Putto, pg. 41.

⁷⁰ Kossmann-Putto, pg. 39.

⁷¹ Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, OAG 884, 12-01-1815.

⁷² Streekarchief Bommelerwaard, OAG 884, 09-08-1825, Order in Council 75. Jacob van Kerkwijk was finally appointed *schout* and secretary in 1819, and mayor in 1825.

⁷³ Kenney, A., "Stubborn for Liberty, the Dutch in New York," Syracuse, 1975, pg. 223.

⁷⁴ Smits, C., "De Afscheiding van 1834," deel I, Gorinchem en Beneden-Gelderland, Oudkarspel, 1971, pp. 29-32.

⁷⁵ Today, their breakaway church is known as the *Gereformeerde Kerk*. Congregations at both Gameren and Nieuwaal are today affiliated with this denomination.

⁷⁶ Gameren church archives (GCA) (uncatalogued), acts 16-08-1835.

⁷⁷ Smits, deel 1, pg. 220.

Otto's actions the most.⁷⁸ The council reluctantly granted the seceders' request,⁷⁹ and in the months that followed, more church members followed, many of them small farmers and laborers.⁸⁰ The matter may have gone no further were it not for the actions of a zealous government intent on enforcing adherence to the state religion.

Gameren's *Afscheiding* came just weeks after the governor of Gelderland, W.H.A.C. Baron van Heeckeren tot Kell - one of the fiercest opponents of secession - called on municipal administrators to take sharp measures against the seceders and to disturb their meetings - *using military force if necessary*.⁸¹ On the morning of 23 August 1835 - one week after the secession - the village policeman Klaas van Lopik informed mayor Jacob van Kerkwijk that a large crowd was assembling in the orchard of Johannes Petersz van de Werken.⁸² The mayor, who just the day before had asked the commander of a regiment of dragoons at Zaltbommel to send him 40 troops, went to the meeting after urging lieutenant Van Oort of the dragoons to act wisely and carefully, and not to mistreat the people.^{83, 84} Van Kerkwijk found Hendrik Pieter Scholte, the activist minister from another village, standing on a farm cart, preaching. After a discussion with Scholte, mayor Van Kerkwijk requested the crowd to leave, and many did. But when Scholte continued preaching, the mayor called for Lt. Van Oort to disband the meeting. After his request to Van Oort, the mayor left and the crowd started to sing psalm 119 stanza 65:

*Thou hast dealt well with thy servant O Lord,
according to thy word.*

But at that moment the dragoons on horseback charged the crowd, swinging their bare sabres at the defenseless worshipers.⁸⁵ One Jacob Bayense was sitting on the farm cart when he was struck by a sabre blow and knocked to the ground.⁸⁶ Johannes Petersz van de Werken was beaten by the dragoons while arguing that he was standing in his own farmyard!⁸⁷ Someone even tried to hold Lt. Van Oort, shouting: "*I will hold you 'til the minister has finished his sermon.*"⁸⁸

⁷⁸ GCA (uncatalogued), acts 07-02-1834 and 06-02-1835.

⁷⁹ GCA (uncatalogued), acts 16-08-1835.

⁸⁰ Smits, deel I, pg. 221.

⁸¹ Smits, C. , "De Afscheiding van 1834," deel IX, Provincie Gelderland, Dordrecht, 1991, pp. 18-19.

⁸² Streekarchief Bommelerwaard (SAB), Oud Archief Gameren (OAG) 927.

⁸³ Smits, deel I, pg. 276.

⁸⁴ SAB, OAG 927.

⁸⁵ SAB, OAG 927. Request of Otto van Tuyl, Simon van Tuyl from Nieuwaal and Gerrit Verbeek from Nieuwaal to his Majesty William I, 4 September 1835.

⁸⁶ Smits, deel I, pg. 66 and 218. Letter of Scholte's wife to her mother.

⁸⁷ SAB, OAG 927. Request of Johannes Petersz van de Werken to his Majesty William I, september 1835.

⁸⁸ According to Evert van Tuyl, this was his greatgrandfather Evert van Wijnen.

It was a terrible day for Otto van Tuyl of Gameren; it was a terrible day for his uncle, the village mayor; it was a terrible day for the village of Gameren; it was a terrible day for religious liberty.

After the fracas, its victims petitioned mayor Van Kerkwijk and the judge and *schout* of Zaltbommel to make an official report of their ill treatment at the hands of the government. Their request was denied. They then wrote a letter to King William I asking for protection and freedom to serve God in public in their own way.⁸⁹ This request, too, was denied.⁹⁰ The protests in Gameren continued for several years, with Otto van Tuyl being one of the principal activists. Together with Hendrikus Ruimschoot, he drafted another petition to William I, this time explaining that the seceders were no agitators or mutineers, but rather were sincere people whose religious opinions were at odds with those of the state-run church. They asked not for money or any other support, but only for protection and the right to serve God in freedom of conscience.⁹¹ For several years these seceders' position was tenuous, but by 1841 they were finally able to get recognition for their new church - sometimes called *The Church in the Apple Cellar*, after their meeting place which was, in fact, J. P. van de Wercken's apple cellar.^{92, 93}

The Aftermath

A number of Dutch *Seceders* pulled up stakes and went to America: Reverend Scholte himself being perhaps the most prominent. He went to Pella, Iowa in the great second wave of Dutch immigration to America. But most of them stayed on in their home villages to establish their churches - many of which thrive to this day. Their stubborn insistence on freedom to worship as they pleased was a milestone in the development of the modern Dutch state, where religious tolerance is today taken for granted.

⁸⁹ SAB, OAG 927. Requests of Otto van Tuyl, Simon van Tuyl, Gerrit Verbeek and Johannes Petersz van de Werken.

⁹⁰ Smits, deel I, pg. 277.

⁹¹ Smits, deel I, pp. 29-32.

⁹² Smits, deel I, pg. 219, pg. 278. Order in Council, 30-01-1841.

⁹³ The first church council consisted of elders Willem Willemsz van Haften and Jacob Bayense, and deacons Johannes van de Werken and Hendrik Mels van den Oever. Van den Oever later returned to the state church [Smits, deel I, pg. 277]. Otto van Tuyl also left the Secessionist Church, converting to a group called *Conventikel Leven*, which reads at home from the teachings of 17th century ministers [family oral tradition].

De Afscheiding - The Church Secession of 1830s-40s

After the establishment of the Dutch monarchy in 1815 the church, originally established in 1619, had been transformed. The regulations of 1816 changed its name to *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) ruled by a national synod, consisting of a small group of ministers and elders. Because the local elite still had the right of nomination, the original popular church took on an aristocratic character. The influence of the Enlightenment was opposed by those who preferred the unshakable certainties of the synod of 1619. This caused an estrangement between enlightened ministers and simple believers.¹ But many ministers also opposed the more liberal direction - among them was Hendrik de Cock from Ulrum in Groningen. He preached and baptized according to the old liturgy and was in 1834 suspended by the classis (the regional church government).² De Cock continued to preach to his followers, and was in October 1834 visited by Hendrik Pieter Scholte, minister since 1833 at Genderen and Doeveren. Scholte, born in 1805 in Amsterdam as son of a coffin maker, clashed during his studies at Leiden with the *enlightened* professors because of his *orthodox* views. From the beginning, Scholte maintained a tough discipline in his congregations which caused a schism between the *orthodox* and *enlightened* church members. During the visit of Scholte, De Cock informed his church council of his wish to secede from the *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk* and when Scholte returned to Genderen he informed his church council of his own, similar, intentions. The church council and most of the church members followed him, so that by 31 October, 1834 the *secession* at Genderen and Doeveren was an accomplished fact.³ Nationally, the seceder's church would come to be called the *Gereformeerde Kerk*.

Although in the 1840's the position of the seceded church became more stable, many members decided to leave their homes and to emigrate to America. Their reasons, however, were not just religious: times were hard, and America held promise. All over northern Europe, the potato blight (and other crop failures) threatened parts of Germany and The Netherlands - as well as Ireland - with famine.⁴

In 1847 Scholte - who had difficulties in his own church - emigrated with a group of seceders, and located at a settlement at Pella, in south-central Iowa. Two years later, Pella proved to be a well chosen spot. The struggling settlers saw their fortunes suddenly improve as gold seekers - rushing to California in 1849 - passed through Pella, willing to pay top prices for all the supplies the Dutch could raise. Other seceders settled at Kalamazoo, Michigan where they were able to make the most of the fertile American soil, particularly muck-and-swamp lands which American farmers had passed by as worthless but whose possibilities the Dutch recognized.

Reverend Scholte became an important man in Pella, serving as minister, editor of the English-language Pella Gazette, lawyer, real estate developer, justice of peace, school inspector, and mayor ex-officio. Unlike many of the first seceders, he became an energetic capitalist. Besides owning almost one-third of the land in and around Pella, his investments in local industry were substantial. He owned a brick kiln, a steam flour mill, a limestone quarry, founded the Pella National Bank and was benefactor and trustee of the local college. Although he served as delegate-at-large and vice-president of the 1860 Republican national convention at Chicago, he did not succeed as a politician, failing in his bid for the state senate nomination in 1852.⁵

1. Bank, M., et al., "De nieuwste tijd, 1813 tot heden," Groningen, 1993, pp. 49-50.

2. Romein, J. & A., "De lage landen bij de zee," Den Haag, 1973, pg. 463.

3. Van Diggelen, M., "De Afscheiding in Genderen en Doeveren," Amsterdam, 1982, pp. 58, 64, 65, 82.

4. Kenney, A., "Stubborn for liberty, the Dutch in New York," Syracuse, 1975, pg. 223.

5. Kenney, pg. 226.

The First Seceders of Gameren

16 August 1835

Hendrikus Ruimschoot (35), bricklayer, his wife Aagje Haasakker (28) and children.

Cornelis van Haaften (55), farmer.

Christoffel van den Anker (30), laborer.

Willem Willemsz van Haaften (45), farmer and his children Nicolaas (20), Willem (16), Johanna (14), Jenneke (12), Arien (9), Catharina (6) and David (4).

Hendrik Mels van den Oever (30), laborer, his wife Jacoba Christel (28) and son Arien (6). [Returned in 1839 to the Protestant Church (Smits, deel I, pg. 278)].

Hendrik van Beusekom (42), cartwright.

Willem Aalbertsz van Haaften (33), farmer.

Willem van Hees (22), laborer.

Alida van den Oever (21).

Hendrika Ekelmans (19) (Married Otto van Tuyl, 4 Dec., 1835).

Willem Petersz van Alphen (22), laborer.

Peter van den Oever (36), laborer (brother of Hendrik Mels).

Otto van Tuyl (26), farmer.

Otto van Haaften (32) and children Willem (6), Aalbert (5), Eike Hendrika (2) and Geertje (1).

Johannes Petersz van de Werken (49), farmer.

Johannes Hendriksz van Eck (44), farmer and children Hendrik (11), Jan Hendrik (10) and Jantje (8).

Jacob Bayense (43), farmer and children Hendrik (11), Jielis (9), Jenneke (8), Hilleke (4), and Willemke (1).

Willem van der Wal (45), laborer.

Johanna van den Anker (36) (sister of Christoffel).

Willem Donker (18), laborer.

20 September 1835

Cornelis van der Velden

Willem Cornelisz van Haaften (24), farmer.

Abraham van de Werken (31), farmer (until 1832-33 a deacon of the *Hervormde Kerk*).

25 October 1835

Christoffel Meidam (28), laborer and his wife Adriana van Hees (28).

Rijk Wouter van Haaften Cornelisz (17).

18 February 1836

Jasper Bayense (31), farmer (until that date a deacon of the *Hervormde Kerk*).

8 May 1836

Jan Valkenburg (28).

5 June 1836

Joost van den Oever (24) (brother of Alida).

10 July 1836

Emma van Bentum (17) (married Simon van Tuil from Nieuwaal, laborer).