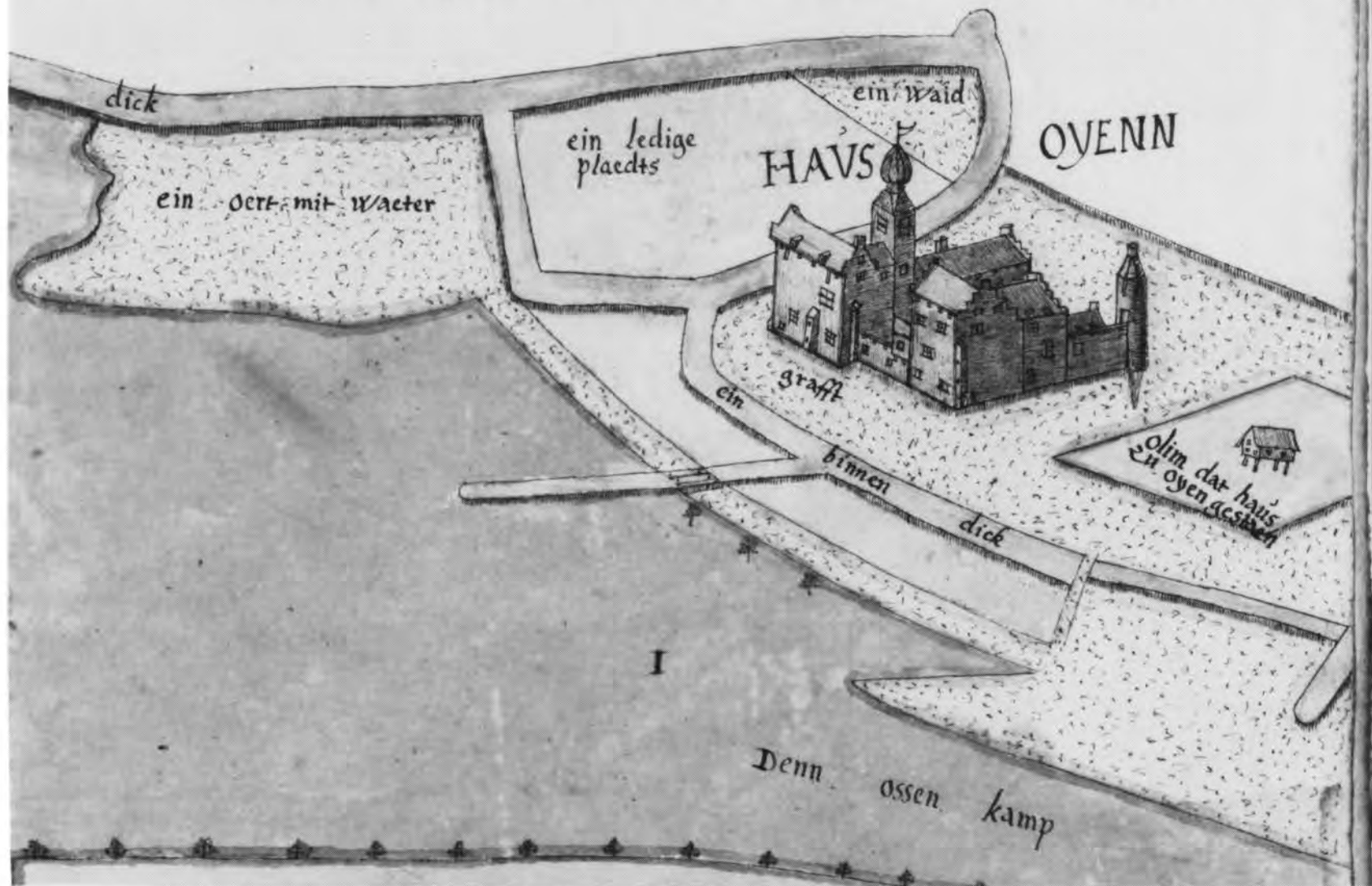


HIER LENGHS HEER ZV OVENS LENDERT, DAER VAN DIE MAIT FOLIO IX TO VINDEN



The Castle at Oyen, on the Gelderse frontier south of the Maas, where Arnt van Tuyl served *circa* 1400. [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Algemene Kaartenverzameling (AKV) 255, page 1. *Johan van Senhem*, 1611.]

## Chapter 3

### Turbulent Times 1400~1550

#### *The Burgundians Threaten Gelre*

Gelre suffered a shift in the balance of power during the 15th and early 16th centuries because of the growing influence of the Dukes of Burgundy, whose duchy - situated in present-day France - extended its territory steadily northward, devouring great areas in today's Belgium, Luxembourg and The Netherlands, everywhere challenging the power of the Dukes of Gelre.<sup>1</sup> Since the Tielerswaard was of strategic importance for the Duke of Gelre because of its position between Holland, Brabant and Utrecht, a strong Gelderse military presence was imperative if he was to counter Burgundian threats. So the Duke made use of the chain of castles along the Waal and Maas. They had been built by local lords, then consigned to the duke, who returned them as fiefs - thus allowing him to strengthen his defense system at little cost to his treasury.<sup>2</sup> For a period of over 100 years, up until the fall of Poederoyen in 1508, generations of Van Tuyls were to be occupied in one way or the other defending or operating these Gelderse castles.

Surrounded as they were by the Burgundian enemy, the four Quarters of Gelre pledged on 3 May 1418 to do everything in their power to purge the Burgundian influence, but their alliance disintegrated - partly due to poor administration by Duke Arnoud of Gelre - but also because the duke's vassals wanted to strengthen their own political positions. As a result, during the 15th century, Gelre was often divided internally in the struggle with Burgundy, and a succession of small wars became a way of life.<sup>3</sup> Often, those who suffered most during this time of civil upheaval were the common people of Gelre. Perhaps the famous poet, Willem van Hildegaersberch, put it best:<sup>4, 5</sup>

*Het volk ging onderling strijden  
De heeren scheidten zich in partijen  
Men ging de boeren zo kastijden  
Dat ze rouwden om hun leven"*

*The people fought among themselves  
The lords divided into factions  
Chastised they the farmers so,  
They mourned for their lives.*

As the 14th century drew to a close there lived, among the vassals of Gelre manning the frontier

<sup>1</sup> De Groot, J.H., "Zaltbommel, Stad en Waard Door de Eeuwen Heen," Europese Bibliotheek, Zaltbommel, 1979, pp. 85-114.

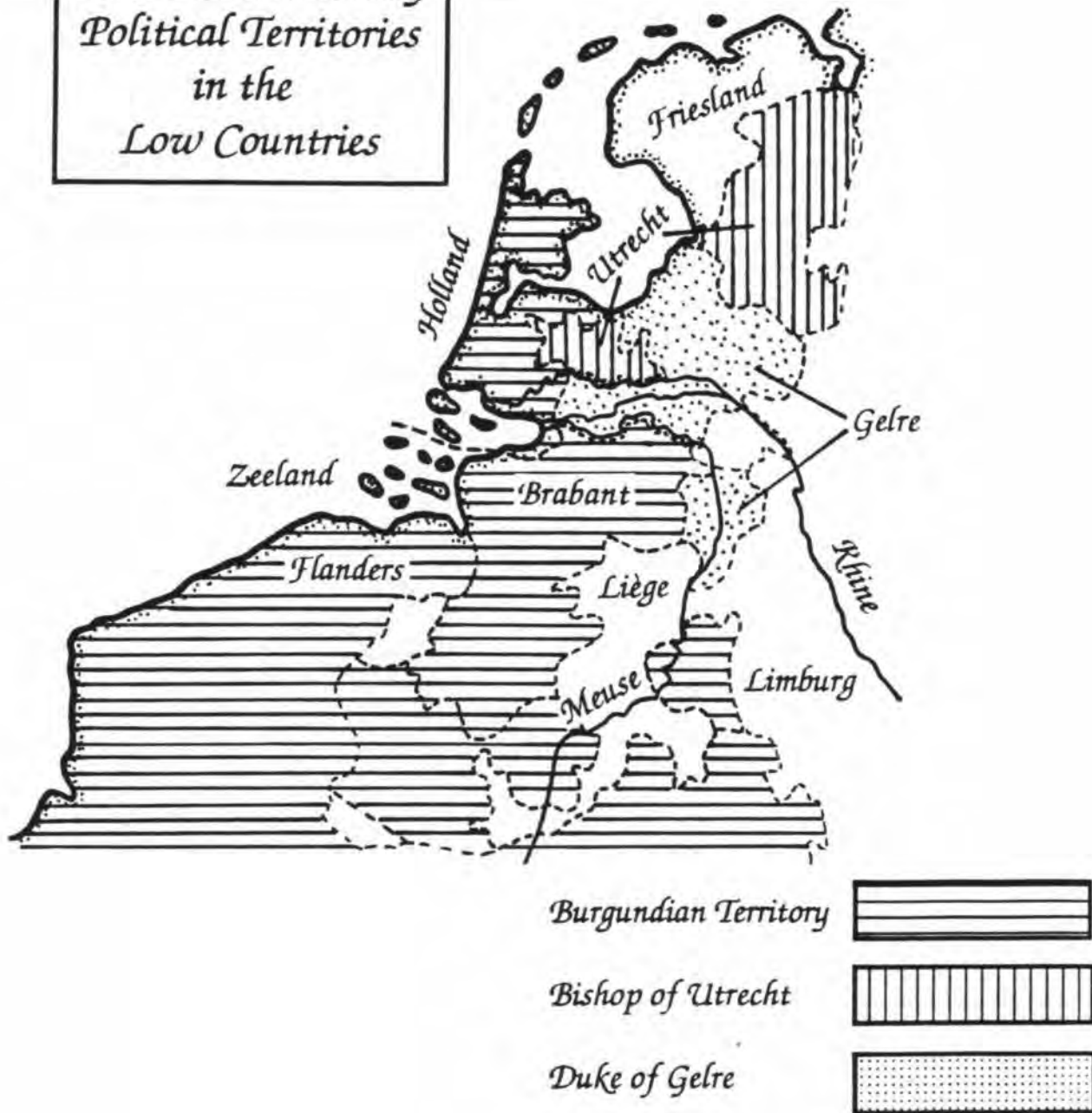
<sup>2</sup> Eliens, F.M. and Harenberg, J., "Middelleeuwse kastelen van Gelderland," Rijswijk, 1984, pp. 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> De Groot, page 95.

<sup>4</sup> Van Oostrom, F.P., "Het Woord van Eer," Amsterdam, 1987, pp. 46-85.

<sup>5</sup> Van der Zalm, J.A. & P., "Familiiekroniek Van der Zalm," Zaltbommel, 1982, page 86.

*15th - 16th Century  
Political Territories  
in the  
Low Countries*



During the 15th century, the Duchy of Gelre was surrounded on three sides by enemies: the Bishop of Utrecht to the north, and the Burgundian Empire to the south and west. Gelre itself was poorly led and somewhat divided during this time, with the power of the Burgundians gradually overtaking that of the Duke of Gelre. During the 15th century, Van Tuyls fought for the Duke against both the Bishop of Utrecht [who exercised secular power] and the Burgundian allies. Eventually, Burgundy triumphed, setting the stage for Spanish rule.

just south of the Maas, the powerful family van Kuyc and their adherents, brothers Gijsbert and Arnt van Tuyl. Gijsbert, it will be remembered, was a member of the household of Johanna van Kuyc, and Arnt was employed at the castle Oyen, property of the Duke of Gelre himself. This castle was situated in Brabant on the south bank of the river Maas, at the very frontier with Burgundian Brabant. It had been built late in the 14th century by Maria, daughter of Duke John of Brabant, pursuant to her marriage with Reinald III, Duke of Gelre.<sup>6, 7</sup> After Maria's death in 1399 the castle became property of Willem I van Gulik, Duke of Gelre.<sup>8</sup> During this period the Duke's man - Arnt van Tuyl - served at the castle.<sup>9</sup> After the turn of the century, and possibly as a result of Duke Willem's death in 1402,<sup>10</sup> Arnt left the frontier castle, apparently moving to the Veluwe, where he owned property near Ede and Bennecom, as well as a house in Arnhem.<sup>11</sup> He must have continued to have a successful career with the Duke and the van Kuycs, because he was witness to important Gelderse peace treaties in 1418 and 1436, and received in 1442 - near the end of his life - the *Cuijkse Tihe*.<sup>12</sup> Arnt fathered at least 4 sons, and two of them - Reyner [IIIb] and Gijsbert [IIIc] - seem to have been deeply involved in the battles with Gelre's enemy to the north: the *Bishop of Utrecht*.

### ***Battle of the Veluwe***

Reyner [IIIb] van Tuyl's name first appeared in written sources of 1436 as *knaap op de Veluwe* (squire at the battles of the Veluwe).<sup>13</sup> This most likely means that in 1429 he was called up by Arnoud van Egmond, Duke of Gelre, to serve in his army then campaigning on the Veluwe, a strategic part of Gelre situated between territories belonging to the Bishop of Utrecht. A few years earlier, Rudolf van Diephout had been chosen Bishop of Utrecht, but a political faction in Utrecht refused to recognize him and persuaded the Pope to appoint one Zweder van Culemborch to be bishop instead. Naturally, a war ensued. Arnoud, Duke of Gelre, chose the side of Zweder (who just happened to be his nephew).<sup>14</sup> Bishop Rudolf attacked Duke Arnoud on his own territory, organizing a raid on the Veluwe which forced Arnoud to counterattack there, and also in Rudolf's

<sup>6</sup> Kalkwiek, K., "De hertog en zijn burchten," Zaltbommel, 1976, pg. 119.

<sup>7</sup> De Mooy, A.J., "De Gelderse kroniek van Willem van Berchen," Arnhem, 1950, pg. 20: *Maria filia Johannis ducis Brabancie conthoralis predicti Reynaldi construxit in ducatu Gelrie castra de Oyen*. Also: Van Doorninck, P., "Geldersche Kronieken," Arnhem, 1904, pp. 84, 167: *He [Reinald] nam tzo eynre huysfrauwen Maria, hertoch Johans doichter van Brabant ..... so dede sy buwen dat sloss Oyen*.

<sup>8</sup> Kalkwiek, pg. 120.

<sup>9</sup> RAG, AGHG 317, fol. 52v. Keys were made for his room.

<sup>10</sup> Nijsten, G., "Het Hof van Gelre," Kampen, 1993, pg. 22.

<sup>11</sup> See: *Dutch Genealogy*, Generation 2.

<sup>12</sup> See: *Dutch Genealogy*, Generation 2.

<sup>13</sup> Van Winter, J.M., "Ministerialiteit en Ridderschap in Gelre en Zutphen," Werken Vereniging Gelre nr. 32, Arnhem, 1962, tabel A blad 1. Although the reference is dated 1436, the war and campaign on the Veluwe took place seven years earlier.

<sup>14</sup> Nijhoff, P., "Het Voornaamste uit de Geschiedenis van Gelderland," Arnhem, 1869, pg. 175.



own territory, the province of Utrecht.<sup>15</sup> So Reyner van Tuyl - and probably his brother Gijsbert - fought on the Veluwe and in Utrecht, but with little success. Many of the Duke's men were killed or taken prisoner during the fighting.<sup>16</sup> More skirmishes followed, with Bishop Rudolf twice invading the Tielerwaard, where he destroyed the villages of Zandwijk, Drumpt, Zoelen, Wadenojen, and Geldermalsen, and also the Convent of Marienweerd near Beesd.<sup>17</sup>

Ultimately, the war was a failure for Duke Arnoud of Gelre, and he was finally forced to recognize Rudolf as Bishop of Utrecht. Among his entourage who signed the peace treaty were Arndt [IIc] and Gijsbert [IIIc] van Tuyl.<sup>18,19</sup>

### ***Reyner van Tuyl - Heer van Est***

The records are silent about the further military exploits - if any - of Reyner van Tuyl. But by 1447, he seems to have been firmly settled in Est. In that year, Johan van Alphen and Jutte van Leembacck founded the *vicarie* of Saint Sebastian and Saint Nicholas in the church of Est.<sup>20</sup> After the death of the founders and their daughter, Reyner van Tuyl became *collator*, which gave him the right to appoint the vicar supported by the *vicarie*. In an apparent bit of nepotism, his first appointment was one Claes van Tuyl, priest.<sup>21</sup> In the same year, 1447, Reyner was enfeoffed with the income from the *Cuijckse tithes*, having purchased it from his brother, Wijnant, who had inherited it from their father, Arnt.<sup>22, 23</sup> Records indicate that in 1459 Reyner was known as Reyner van Tuyl *tot Est*. His growing importance is shown by the fact that he became *Heer van Est*, a position later held by his son and grandson.<sup>24, 25</sup> We can infer from these

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<sup>15</sup> Nijhoff, pg. 177-179.

<sup>16</sup> Kuys, J. et al., "De Tielse Kroniek," Hilversum, 1983, pg. 158.

<sup>17</sup> Kuys, et al., pg. 160. The Convent of Marienweerd was situated about 7 miles northwest of Est.

<sup>18</sup> Gijsbert and Reyner's father Arnt may also have fought in this battle, since Arnt was a signer, along with Gijsbert, of the peace treaty [Slichtenhorst, pg. 228. Gijsbert attended the signatory meeting of the peace treaty between Arnoud of Gelre and bishop Rudolf of Utrecht on 28 July 1429].

<sup>19</sup> Van Winter, tabel A blad1. Although the reference is dated 1436, the war and campaign on the Veluwe took place seven years earlier.

<sup>20</sup> Wijnandts van Resandt, W., "Vicarien in Gelderland," Amsterdam, 1943, pg. 55.

<sup>21</sup> For small villages like Est, establishment of a *vicarie* was probably the only way to support a priest. Since the family van Tuyl was, in effect, paying the priest's salary, it is understandable that they should appoint one of their own. On September 13, 1540 Reyner, the grandson of the first collator transferred this right to Hendrick Morinck. (Wijnandts van Resandt, pg. 55).

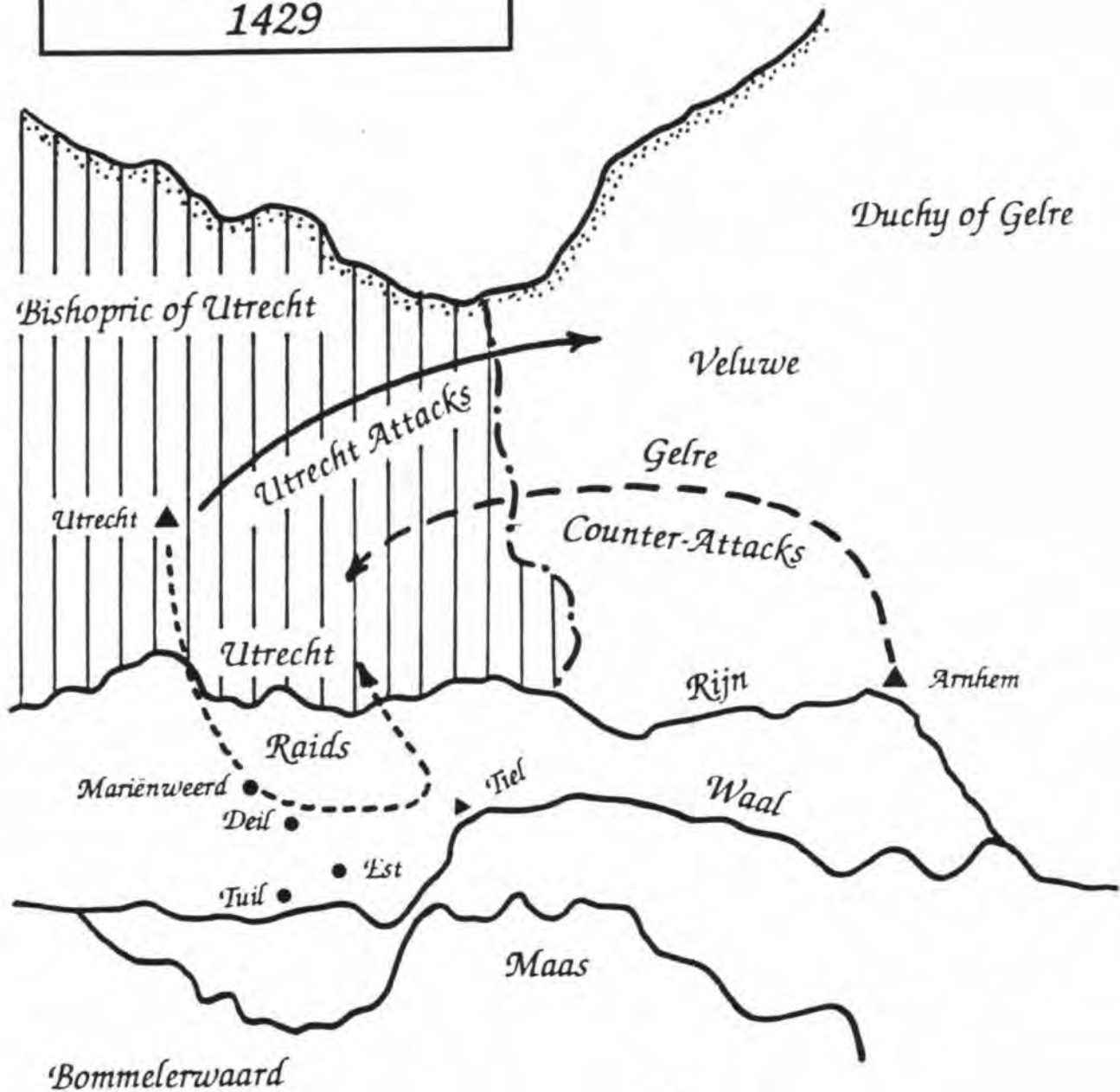
<sup>22</sup> *Geldersche Plakkatenboeken*.

<sup>23</sup> Sloet, page 523, charter 235, and Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Gelderse Leenkamer 2, fol. 37. For more than hundred years, the *Cuijckse tithes* was a fief of the van Tuyls, until Arndt Reynersz van Tuyl (great-grandson of Reyner) sold it to Johan de Cock van Opijnen in the 16th century. Note that the property itself was not inherited - only the income [tithes] from it.

<sup>24</sup> Van Winter, op. cit. He was listed together with a certain Hendrick van Tuyl tot Est.

<sup>25</sup> Streekarchief Bommelerwaard (SAB), Oud Archief Zaltbommel (OAZ) 1141, fol. 77v-83, 30-06-1459.

## Battles of the Veluwe 1429



Arnoud van Egmond, Duke of Gelre, called up his vassals in 1429 to repel attacks mounted by his enemy, the Bishop of Utrecht. Reyner van Tuyl - later the lord of Est - was recognized for his services in these battles, being dubbed *knaap op de Veluwe*. Reyner's father Arnt and his brother Gijsbert van Tuyl signed the peace treaty between Gelre and Utrecht, and may have been involved in the fighting as well.

### Chapter 3

various enfeoffments, *vicaries*, and titles that the family van Tuyl was probably a powerful presence in the little village of Est, where they would have enjoyed some small measure of prosperity.

In 1443, the Duke of Gelre summoned his subjects to fight a battle at Vuren. The burghers of Est, however, did not respond. This had happened once before, it seems, in 1435. For this first infraction, the Duke's *ambtman* fined the villagers 7 guilders, and for the later offense, 9 guilders, which was paid by Reyner van Tuyl, probably in his role as village lord.<sup>26</sup>

A strange incident occurred in 1460, when Reyner's wife and son were visiting Tiel, a "big city" of 300 houses at the time. There was some sort of fracas involving a group of people from Arnhem who had chartered a boat and one or more people who tried to prevent them from embarking. Reyner's son and wife were on the Waterstraat when a man named Herman Geritsz - possibly part of a rioting mob - attacked them. Reyner's son was thrown from his horse, and his mother was struck by Herman Geritsz. Later, the court awarded Reyner's son a monetary judgment - to be paid by his attacker.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1465 and 1470, Reyner van Tuyl, sometime soldier, a man of influence and *Heer* of his tiny village, died.<sup>28</sup> He was probably about 60 years old.

#### *The Sons of Reyner*

Reyner van Tuyl tot Est had three sons: Gijsbert (IVc), Arnt (IVd), and Sander (IVe); and one daughter, Luytgaert.<sup>29</sup> Gijsbert, Aernt and Luytgaert stayed in Est or other places in the Tielervaard, but Sander moved to a new home at Brakel, in the Bommelerwaard.

\* **Gijsbert** [IVc] - probably the oldest - became the Lord of Est, as did his son Reyner, who died without male descendants.

\* **Arnt** [IVd] - and his sons Peter and Aernt also stayed in the Tielervaard, but probably not in Est. Aernt was mentioned as alderman in nearby Deil,<sup>30</sup> and his son, Peter, lived in

<sup>26</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre [AGHG], Rekening ambtman Bommeler- en Tielervaarden 642, fol. 7, 1443/44; 638 fol. 30v.

<sup>27</sup> Streekarchief Tiel (SAT), Rechterlijk Archief Tiel (RAT) 50, fol. 148v.

<sup>28</sup> He renewed the Cuijkse tithe in 1465 [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Gelderse Leenkamer 3, fol. 23], and by 1470, his son Sander held the enfeoffment: "Anno quo supra des gudendaigs post Esto Mihi (7 March 1470) ontfangt Sander van Tuyl die Kuyksche thyende ... als hom dat van dode sijns vaders in maegscheidinge bij sijns vaders levendiger lijve toegescheiden is geweest." [RAG, AGLK 3, fol. 41v.]. Sander renewed the tithe enfeoffment on 10-10-1473 (AGLK 5, fol. 32v), 01-08-1481 (AGLK 4, fol. 51) and 14-09-1492 (AGLK 9, fol. 15). The yearly yield of the tithe was 19 "oude schilden" [about 31 guilders]. This enfeoffment passed out of the family when it was sold in the next century to Johan de Cock van Opijnen.

<sup>29</sup> Roman numerals are keyed to the *Dutch Genealogy*, and to the chart in Appendix 4.

<sup>30</sup> Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Den Haag, Collectie Musschait, microfilm 65c.

Vuren, near Gorinchem.<sup>31</sup> This branch of the Van Tuyl family apparently died out after a few generations.

\* **Sander**[IVe] - father of the Van Tuyl family of the Bommelerwaard and America - moved south of the river Waal, as we shall see. He inherited the Cuijkse tithe upon the death of his father, and it is from the records of this inheritance that we have positive proof of his descendancy.<sup>32</sup>

### ***Hard Times Along the River***

The 15th century was, for the people along the Waal, a trying time. It seems that disaster followed disaster in endless procession. Consider the following:

- By 1434, the number of houses in Est had dropped by a factor of two - down to 10 from 21 some fifty years earlier.<sup>33</sup>
- 1433, 1437, 1438: winters were severe, with high water and the ice on the river breaching the dikes several times. In 1438 the city of Tiel and many villages decided to build a new dike along the Waal, but before they could finish it a new dike break (in June of that year) destroyed the harvest. High prices and famine followed.<sup>34</sup>
- 1443, 1447: rain destroyed the grain and the fruit.<sup>35</sup>
- 1457: plague killed more than 50 inhabitants of Tiel. Other villages in the area were also hit.<sup>36</sup>
- 1458: storms damaged villages throughout the area. In Tiel, the church steeple was toppled.<sup>37</sup>
- 1464: terrible floods... "*There was no dike that didn't breach, because the water from melting snow caused floods in places that hadn't been inundated within living memory.*" The winter was so severe - and firewood so scarce - that people burned their bedsteads just to survive.<sup>38</sup> On the lighter side, however, was the opportunity the frozen river provided for winter recreation. In Nijmegen, Tiel and Salt-Bommel people who could afford to, placed tents on the ice and organized parties with drinking and dancing.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, RATL 3, fol. 69v.

<sup>32</sup> This enfeoffment proves that Sander was Reyner's son because in the charter we find the statement "Sander van Tuyl, bij dode sijns vaders" [Sander van Tuyl, because of the death of his father...], and a few years later [in 1473] also the name of his father is mentioned: "Sander van Tuyl, Reynaltsz... van Reynalt van Tuyl aenbestorven" [Sander van Tuyl Reynalt's son... inherited from Reynalt van Tuyl] [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Gelderse Leenkamer 3, fol. 41v.).

<sup>33</sup> Van Schaik, R., "Belasting, Bevolking en Bezit in Gelre en Zutphen 1350-1550," Verloren, Hilversum, 1987, pp. 255-277.

<sup>34</sup> Kuys, J. et al., "De Tielse Kroniek," Hilversum, 1983, pp. 163-182.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*

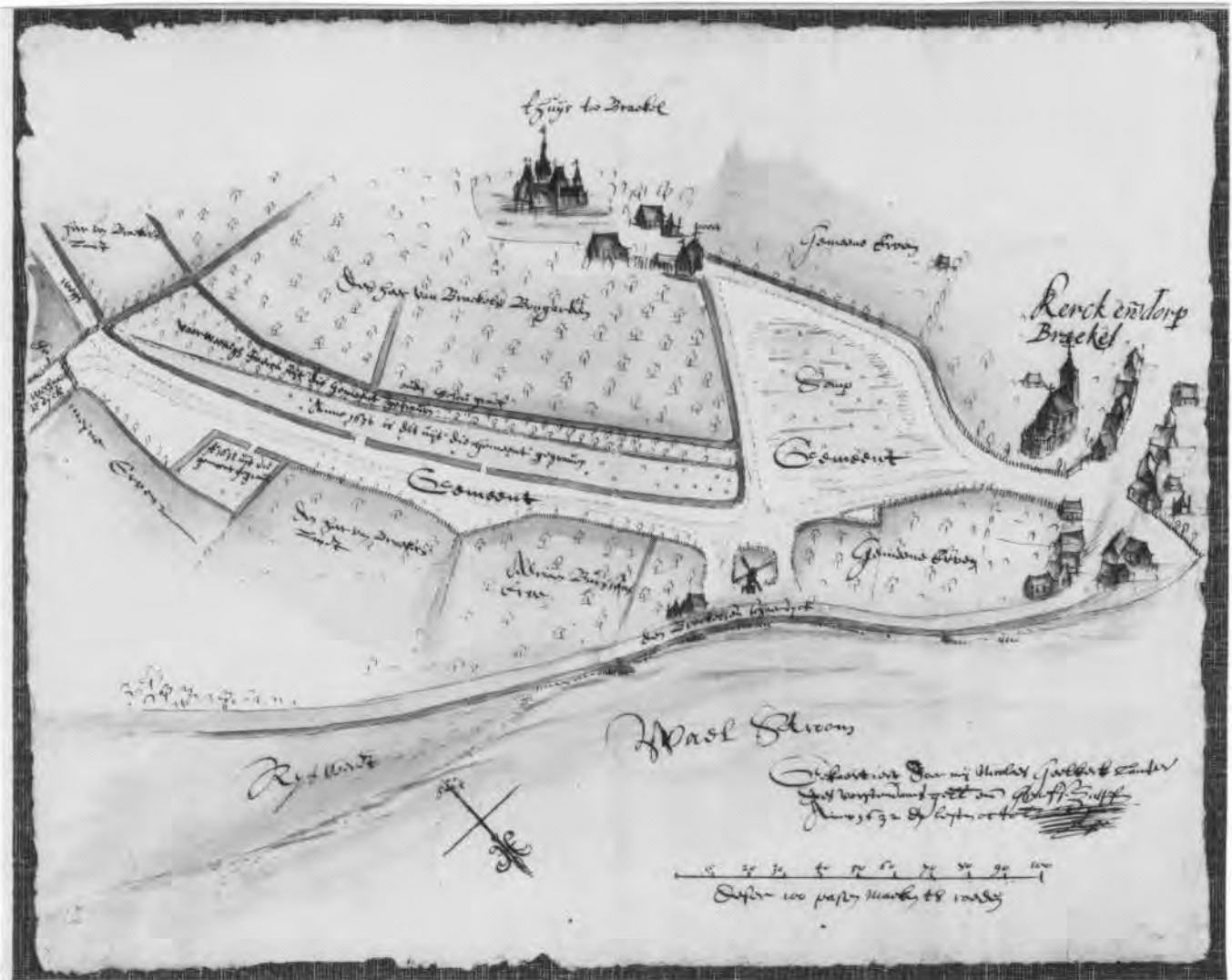
<sup>36</sup> Kuys, pg. 177.

<sup>37</sup> Kuys, pp. 177-178.

<sup>38</sup> Kuys, pg. 182.

<sup>39</sup> Kuys, pg. 183.





This 1632 south-looking view of Brakel made by Nicolaes Geelkerck shows the Castle of Brakel, with its orchards and gate [top], the village and its church [right], the River Waal, forelands and dike/road [bottom]. Several of the properties shown are privately owned, but those labeled *Gemeent* or *Gemeene* are public - such as the roadways and the commons located between the village and the castle. The village windmill is shown behind the dike. Public land behind the road was excavated for dike repair in 1631. [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Gelderse Leenkamer 1001, kaart 182].

All these cold winters and natural calamities caused an increase in the price of food, especially grain.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps families like the Van Tuyls didn't suffer as much as the peasants and the poor. But when the fields were flooded and no harvest was possible, there were no proceeds from the fields, so the tithe-owners probably suffered as well. To young Sander van Tuyl - a younger son of Reyner, who would not inherit the manor of Est - it must have seemed the right time to move on in search of a better life elsewhere. That is exactly what he did: he moved south of the river Waal to the village of Brakel.

### ***The Van Tuyls in Brakel***

A move to Brakel meant a life in a larger, and probably economically more promising, community for Sander Reynersz (IVe) van Tuyl. Although Brakel had suffered a decrease in households during the difficult early years of the 15th century - dropping from 128 houses in 1369 to 88 in 1434 - that still meant it was eight times larger than Est.<sup>41</sup> Brakel is first mentioned in the records at a later date than most of the other villages in the Bommelerwaard, but it is probably as old as the other places of habitation.<sup>42, 43</sup> It lies in the western section of the Bommelerwaard, in the section *outside* the protection of the *Meidijk* (a 14th century dike works which was built to protect the eastern Bommelerwaard when the west section flooded). Brakel, and the land to the west of it, was sandwiched between two rivers - the Maas and the Waal, and the ratio of dike periphery to land area was consequently higher than in the areas bounded by only a single river. Consequently, Brakel must have had poorer dike maintenance and suffered more frequent floods than other areas. A remedy was effected in 1478, with the construction of the *Nieuwe Dijk*, a wall protecting Brakel, Poederoyen, and their surrounding farms.<sup>44</sup> This dike construction occurred in the years when Sander van Tuyl was probably in his early 30s - about the time he would have moved to Brakel. Whether he had a hand in building the *Nieuwe Dijk* is not known, but certainly he benefited from it.

Sander van Tuyl had a successful career in Brakel. He worked as an administrator for the military governor of the area, Marshal Hendrick van Enssen, and became a leading citizen of the village of

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<sup>40</sup> Kuys, pg. 183.

<sup>41</sup> Van Schaik, page 277.

<sup>42</sup> Dumont, S., and Kleijnen, M., "Van wege den Koning," Zaltbommel, 1992, pp. 49-50. In 1212 Cesarius of Brakel witnessed a treaty between Dirck of Altena and John of Heusden. In 1265 "Eusstachio milete (knight) de Brakele" witnessed for Dirck and William of Altena. His grandson Eustachius of Brakel consigned in 1321 (together with his son Steeskinus) his castle to the Count of Gelre, who returned it as a fief. [Sloet, page 616].

<sup>43</sup> RAG, AGLK 1001, kaart 182. The castle of Brakel is visible on a map drawn in 1632. It was destroyed by the French in 1672. It was a fief of Gelre [J. den Draak : Het archief van de familie Van Dam van Brakel, Rijksarchief Gelderland Arnhem, 1989, page 5], but the *heertijkheid* was a fief of the house of Vianen [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Familie Van Dam van Brakel 557]. Both fiefs stayed in the possession of the family van Brakel and their descendants as a feudal estate of Vianen and Gelre [Den Draak, page 7].

<sup>44</sup> Moorman van Kappen, O., et al., "Tieler- en Bommelerwaarden 1327 - 1977," Tiel/Zaltbommel, 1977, pg. 50.

Brakel, where he was a vassal of the local lord.<sup>45</sup> He held the important posts of *schout* of Brakel and *alderman of the High Bench* [regional court] of Zuilichem.<sup>46,47</sup> He also engaged to some extent in farming, renting at one point 8 morgens of land from the estate of Peter van Hemert.<sup>48</sup> He also enjoyed income from the *tithe of Brakel* which rights he leased in partnership with two other local men, Art Ballinck and Dirck Helmichsz.<sup>49</sup> Sander lived to be very old, probably dying around 1527. But in December 1526 he was still alive, and engaged in lawsuits in Valburg.<sup>50</sup> In view of the fact that he was already a *momber* [guardian] of one of his relatives in 1464, he must have passed the age of 80 in 1526. When he testified at a trial in Tiel in 1512, he was referred to as an "old man".<sup>51</sup> Sander van Tuyl married twice: his first marriage with a daughter of Seger van der Poll and Johanna van Weerdenburg connected him with the nobility.<sup>52</sup> His daughter Johanna married Goossen Jansz, Lord of Aalst, a village near Brakel.<sup>53</sup> Other children were Reyner (Vc), Seger, Ysentruit and a daughter married to Gijsbert Joosten van Brakel.

But the really interesting event of Sander's life - and possibly a reason for his moving to Brakel in the first place - was a very serious business of politics-by-arms: the capture of Poederoyen.

### ***The Castle Conquered***

In 1477, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, died without a male heir. His daughter Maria was married to Maximilian of Austria, a member of the Habsburg dynasty who was later chosen *Holy Roman Emperor*.<sup>54</sup> The powers of Burgundy and Habsburg now were united and almost immediately the attacks on Gelre resumed. In the spring of 1481 Salt-Bommel was besieged: the

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<sup>45</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Familie Van Dam van Brakel 849, fol. 16v.

<sup>46</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Familie Van Dam van Brakel 849, fol. 16v.

<sup>47</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief van de Heerlijkheid Zuilichem, regest nr. 27, 23-02-1492. For the High Benches also see chapter 1. They were very old institutions, established in 1335 by Reynalt Count of Gelre. The High Bench of Zuilichem counted 8 aldermen ("scabini"). Each year four of them were either re-appointed, or replaced by four new ones. The aldermen themselves chose their new colleagues. An alderman had to own at least 16 morgens of land.

<sup>48</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre [AGHG] 1182, fol. 77v. The rent in 1498-99 was 4 gold guilders, 8 stiver, 1 penny.

<sup>49</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 121. The tithe of Brakel consisted of 16 1/2 morgen, 1 1/2 hont of land. The rent was 29 gold guilders.

<sup>50</sup> Streekarchief Tiel, Rechterlijk Archief Tiel 53, fol. 17v.

<sup>51</sup> Streekarchief Tiel, Rechterlijk Archief Tiel 54, fol. 92.

<sup>52</sup> See: *Dutch Genealogy*, Generation 4.

<sup>53</sup> Van Tuyl, R.D., "De Grafzerk in het Kerkje van Aalst," in *Tussen de Voorn en Loevestein*, Jaargang XXIX, n. 80, April 1993, pp. 2-7.

<sup>54</sup> Koldeweij, A.M. et al., "In Buscoducis 1450-1629; Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's Hertogenbosch," Den Haag, 1990, pp. 10-11.

city surrendered on 21 April of that year, without much damage or many casualties.<sup>55</sup> But not everyone supported Gelre. The mighty noblemen Jacob van Bronkhorst, Cornelis Pieck and Peter van Hemert, for example, opposed their Duke.<sup>56</sup> In 1493 Duke Charles of Gelre decided to campaign against Peter van Hemert, Lord of Poederoyen, a district in the western part of the Bommelerwaard, south of Brakel. Van Hemert was one of the local lords who challenged the Duke's power by aligning with the enemy. So, on 14 April 1493 Gerard van Weerdenburg - steward of Duke Charles - stormed the Castle of Poederoyen. One of Weerdenburg's Lieutenants that day was Arndt van Tuyl (IVf), and Arndt's cousin - Sander van Tuyl (IVe) - must surely have been in the attack force.<sup>57</sup> After the capture, the castle was plundered not only by the besiegers, but also by the local villagers.<sup>58</sup> Johanna van Herlaer, widow of the vanquished Peter van Hemert, later brought legal action to get her possessions back.<sup>59</sup> But her efforts were in vain. Duke Charles enfeoffed the castle and manor of Poederoyen to John of Rossum. It was cold comfort for the widow Johanna van Herlaer that this John of Rossum was her son-in-law, married to her daughter Johanna!

Duke Charles appointed his marshal, Hendrick van Enssen - nicknamed *Snijdewind* - commander of the castle, and he began to use it as staging point for commando raids into Burgundian territory.<sup>60</sup> Sander van Tuyl, his son Reyner, and his cousin Arndt rendered many services to the marshal during the years he controlled the castle.<sup>61</sup> Sander received several

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<sup>55</sup> De Groot, pp. 95-97. Ten years later however - in 1492 - most parts of Gelre were anti-Burgundy again and the cities and the nobility restored Charles of Egmond - the son of Arnoud, who returned from Burgundian captivity - as Duke of Gelre.

<sup>56</sup> De Groot, pg. 98.

<sup>57</sup> De Groot, pg. 99, note 77. See also: genealogy section.

<sup>58</sup> De Groot, pp. 98-99. For instance, in nearby Herwijnen eighty horses, fifty oxen, forty pigs and numerous sheep from Poederoyen were found.

<sup>59</sup> Van Doorninck, P.N., "Inneming en Plundering van het huis Poederoyen op 14 April 1493, Volgens bescheiden uit het Staatsarchief te Wetzlar," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre* 10, Arnhem, 1907, pg. 232. The trial was held on 16 Jan., 1497. Among the accused at the trial were Sander Reyersz van Tuyl, *Schout* of Brakel, and Arndt van Tuyl, his cousin. During the trial Sander was indicated as *Schout* of Brakel and two years later both Sander and Arndt Arndtsz van Tuyl acted as vassals of Arndt van Broeckhuijsen, Lord of Brakel [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Familie Van Dam van Brakel (AFDB) 849, fol.16v, 21-09-1499]. This makes it clear that they no longer lived in Est, but in Brakel. Also, Sander's mother-in-law was Johanna van Weerdenburg, perhaps a relative of Gerard, the destroyer of Poederoyen.

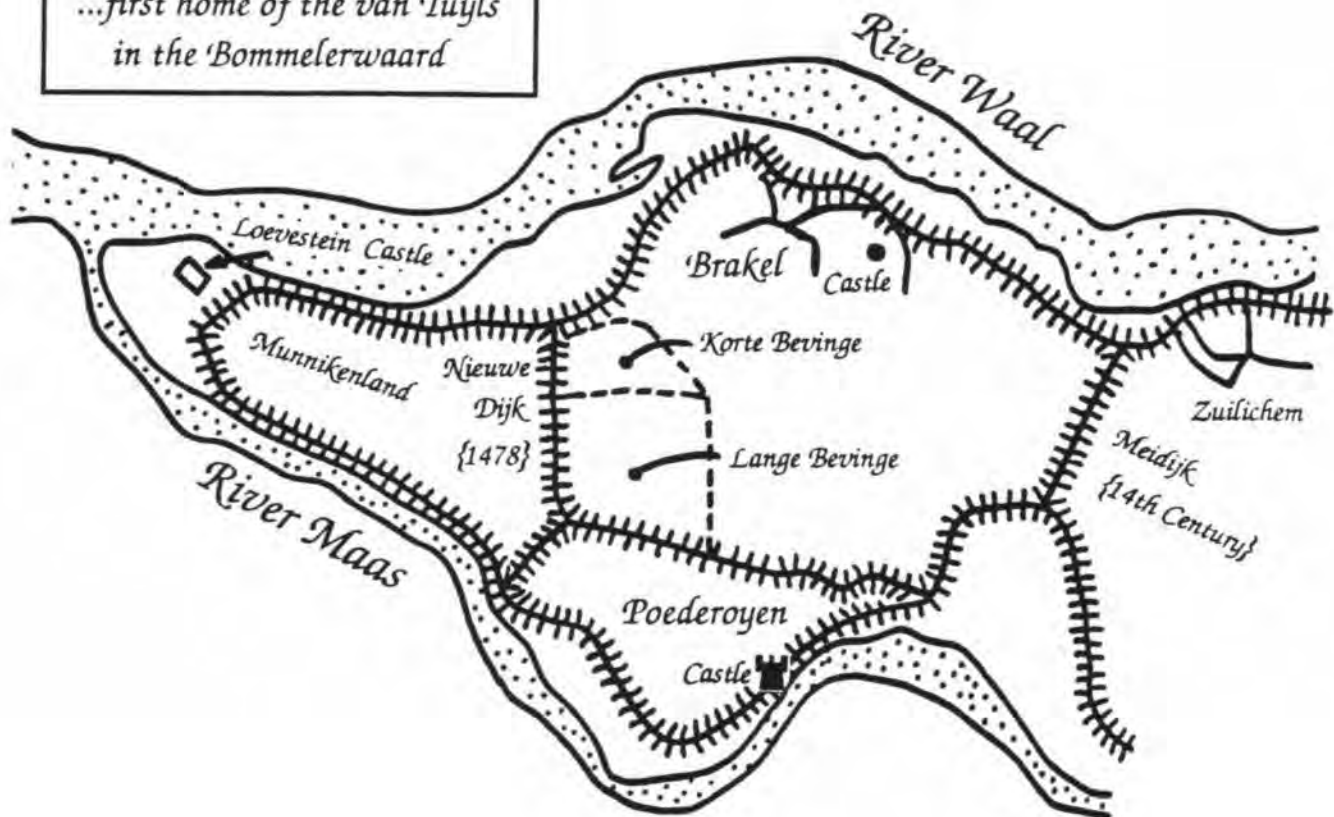
<sup>60</sup> Pleij, H., "De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511," Amsterdam, 1988, pg. 294.

<sup>61</sup> Arndt received in 1498 2 1/2 gold guilders and 4 stiver for 2 1/2 month and in 1500 another payment for one year [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 103v and 146]. Also Reyner, Sander's son, was a servant of the marshal. He received a payment of 4 gold guilders in 1498 and again 12 gold guilders for a year payment in 1499 [RAG, AGHG 1182, fol. 68v and 103v. "Reyner Sandersz van Tuyl, des mairscalcks dienre"]. In that same year he acted as a courier and went to Balgoy with a company of twelve servants [RAG, AGHG 1182, fol. 132v.] A certain Gijsbert van Tuyl, bastard, received twice a payment for one month, but we don't know who he was [RAG, AGHG 1182, fol. 104 and 145].



### Brakel & Poederoyen in the 16th Century

...first home of the van Tuyls  
in the 'Bommelerwaard'



In the late 15th century, Sander van Tuyl moved to Brakel, a village near the southern frontier of Gelre, which had been protected from the confluence of the Maas and Waal by the *Nieuwe Dijk* in 1478. Sander may have been involved in the 1493 sack of Poederoyen Castle, in support of the Duke of Gelre against the Burgundian forces. Sander and his son became important local officials, acting as administrators for the local lord. Reyner, the son, was enfeoffed with 6 morgens of land in the tracts called *Korte Bevinge* and *Lange Bevinge*. The Gelderse cause was dealt a severe blow in 1508, with the destruction of Poederoyen Castle, and the duchy finally capitulated to Burgundian pressure in 1543. But the Van Tuyls adapted, and remained important local citizens.

payments and is known to have purchased provisions in Salt-Bommel for the castle<sup>62, 63</sup> He also acted as a courier between 1496 and 1500, making voyages on behalf of the marshal to Gellicum, Leerdam, Tiel, Culemborg, Driel and Weert.<sup>64</sup> This last voyage was to the Count of Horne, one of the most important nobleman in that period. Apparently, Sander was performing military logistics for the Duke's marshal, and must have enjoyed the privileges of the job. But as the 16th century began, the precarious position of Poederoyen was about to collapse.

### ***“Thuys te Proyen”***

Around 1500 the political situation was as follows: the anti-Burgundian Duchy of Gelre was surrounded by Burgundian territory - including Brabant, Holland, and Utrecht. The river Maas, on whose shores the castle of Poederoyen stood, was the south-west frontier. This castle under Marshal van Enssen developed not only into a station for raids into Brabant, but also a fortress for preying on navigation along the Maas. This caused no end of problems for Burgundian-controlled cities like Dordrecht and Gorinchem in Holland, and 's-Hertogenbosch in Brabant.<sup>65</sup> The fact that Salt-Bommel, after a siege of three months in 1506, fell to Burgundian forces again, weakened the position of Poederoyen.<sup>66</sup> In 1507 the Burgundians attacked the castle, but this campaign dissolved when Duke Charles of Gelre relieved the siege with his army.<sup>67</sup> The Burgundian city of 's-Hertogenbosch did not take this defeat lightly. In 1508 the city and Archduke Maximilian asked the carpenter Willem van Bullestraten from Ammerzoden to draw up a plan to sap and destroy the castle.<sup>68</sup> They hired German mercenary Count Rudolf von Anhalt (for a fee of 16,000 gold guilders), and in April 1508 he attacked.<sup>69</sup> On 3 June the castle surrendered, heavily damaged by the “artillery” of Von Anhalt. Van Enssen was killed by a falling beam.<sup>70</sup> The castle was then demolished: it has never been rebuilt. But the name of this ruin has become famous in local lore: ever since then, a ruined building of any kind has been likely to be called “*Thuys te Proyen*”.<sup>71</sup>

Proof of the fact that this wasn't just a local conflict, but indeed part of the larger struggle between

<sup>62</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 7 (received payments over 1496/1497), fol. 36 (received 9 gold guilders, 11 stiver), fol. 68v (received 16 gold guilders, 17 1/2 stiver, 21-09-1498).

<sup>63</sup> The provisions: 738 barrels peat (20 guilders, 22 stiver, 3 1/2 penny), seed corn and oats, seed barley (10 gold guilders, 8 1/2 stiver and 1 penny and 18 1/2 stiver for transport) and timber [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 25v, 47, 56, 86v, 88v].

<sup>64</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 22v, 61, 132.

<sup>65</sup> Pleij 1511, pg. 294.

<sup>66</sup> De Groot, page 103.

<sup>67</sup> Pleij 1511, page 295.

<sup>68</sup> Koldewij, page 26. The city was apparently satisfied: in 1510 he was paid for his services.

<sup>69</sup> *Tussen De Voorn en Loevestein* (TVL), jaargang 10, September 1974, pg. 41.

<sup>70</sup> Pleij 1511, page 295 and TVL, page 41. The artillery used was a *ballista*: a military engine used to hurl heavy projectiles.

<sup>71</sup> “*Thuys te Proyen*” = “The House of Poederoyen”. House means manor house, or castle.

the powerful Duchies of Gelre and Burgundy, can be found in a famous chronicle written in 1511 by the Brussels rhetorician Jan Smeken:<sup>72</sup>

*In't Ruysbroeck stont de borch van Poeyro  
Snijdewind sadt daerinne verborghen  
Omdat 't slott was in selcken no,  
Becacte hem een man van sorghen.*

*In Ruysbroeck stood Fortress Poe-y-ro  
Old Snijdewind cowl'd in it;  
Because the castle was threatened so,  
He trembled 'til he shit!*

The whole Bommelerwaard was now Burgundian again and peace talks started between Maximilian and Charles of Gelre. One of the points discussed was the possible transfer of the Bommelerwaard from Gelre to Brabant. However, the negotiations collapsed, and in February 1511 war broke out again.<sup>73</sup> After two more years of conflict culminating in a treaty, Charles of Gelre kept his independence but lost some of his territory and privileges.<sup>74</sup>

Early in this 2-year war Salt-Bommel was reconquered by Gelre, thanks to a bit of heroic “Trojan horse” work by Dirck van Haeften, Lord of Gameren.<sup>75</sup> On 27 May 1511, disguised as a merchant, he landed a ship loaded with twigs [*Rijs*] near the *Watergate* of Salt-Bommel, catching the guards unawares:<sup>76</sup>

*“Vriend wat brengt gij?”  
“Rijs” roept Haeften  
Plotseling rijst zijn vracht.  
Hek- en poortslot geeft de vrager  
Siddrend in hun magt.<sup>77</sup>*

*“Friend, what bring ye?”  
“Rijs” cried Haeften...  
And “rise” they did all right,  
Gate and portal yielded the sentry  
Surrendering to their might.*

After the surrender of Salt-Bommel, the Burgundians raided the Bommelerwaard several more times, but not in the vicinity of Brakel. Another treaty ended hostilities for a time, but it would be an uneasy truce as long as Charles of Gelre and his frontline followers in the Bommelerwaard continued to oppose the Burgundian-Habsburg imperial designs.

<sup>72</sup> Pleij 1511, page 12 and 360. The chronicle describes a remarkable happening during a severe winter in Brussels in January 1511 : all over the city, snowmen were erected, more than 110 of them in about 50 groups, depicting biblical and historical events. A castle, representing Poederoyen was erected in the quarter of Ruysbroeck.

<sup>73</sup> De Groot, pg. 105.

<sup>74</sup> De Groot, page 112.

<sup>75</sup> Dirck van Haeften was enfeoffed with the manor of Gameren in 1494 as a legacy from his father Alart [Algemeen Rijksarchief Den Haag, Archief Mackay van Ophemert 1643].

<sup>76</sup> De Groot, pg. 110.

<sup>77</sup> Staring, A.C.W., “Gedichten,” Haarlem, 1862, pp. 70-76. Soldiers were hidden under the twigs; the Dutch word for twigs is “rijzen”, which also means “rise up”.

**Prosperous Landlords**

Reyner Sandersz, the son of Sander van Tuyl and grandson of Reyner van Tuyl tot Est, had in 1498 - like his father - placed himself at the service of Marshal van Enssen.<sup>78</sup> As Sander grew older, Reyner took over many of his functions and enfeoffments.<sup>79</sup> But Reyner [Vc] expanded the family holdings during his lifetime - a period of relative peace. He was enfeoffed with 6 morgens of land in the "*Korte en Lange Bevynghe*" in Brakel [see map];<sup>80</sup> owned foreland "*De Kijfweerd*" in Heesselt, near Tiel;<sup>81</sup> and 14 hont [2 1/3 morgen] of land "*op die Gore*" in Heesselt.<sup>82</sup>

Apparently, it was common for landowners then, as it is today, to borrow money against their holdings in order to finance other ventures or repay other debts. On 22 May, 1522 Reyner promised Jan Jacobsz van Tiel 2 Philipsguilders interest, using the 14 hont parcel as collateral. And in 1534 Reyner borrowed 200 Philipsguilders from Adriaen van Brakel, putting all his possessions in Heesselt and Tuil as guarantee of repayment.<sup>83</sup> These mortgages were not necessarily paid off during his lifetime, and those debts that weren't, were passed on to his heirs as part of his estate.<sup>84</sup> Reyner [Vc] was obviously a well-to-do landowner. His functions and the fact that he owned land in Brakel and the Tielerwaard are indications that he was no farmer himself, but owned the land that was tilled by tenants or servants. His son Arndt certainly wasn't a farmer: he inherited many possessions of his father, among others the previously-mentioned *Cuijckse tithe*. In 1555, Arndt actually appeared on a list of the nobility.<sup>85</sup> We don't know where Reyner's house was situated, nor who his wife was. But we do know that his children were: Arndt, Margriet, Berndt, and Sander.<sup>86</sup> Probably, this Sander Reynersz [VI], who served in 1552 as *gerichtsnaabuur* [council member] of Brakel, was the youngest.<sup>87</sup> After the death of Arndt and Margriet, their brother Sander was enfeoffed with 6 morgens of land in Brakel, which he exchanged on 16 March, 1560 for 1 morgen of "free" land in the same

<sup>78</sup> He received a payment of 4 gold guilders in 1498 and again 12 gold guilders for a year payment in 1499 [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 68v and 103v. "Reyner Sandersz van Tuyl, des mairschalcks dienre"]. In that same year he acted as a courier and went to Balgoy with a company of twelve servants [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Graven en Hertogen van Gelre 1182, fol. 132v.] This probably indicates he was of legal age at the time.

<sup>79</sup> When he was enfeoffed with the Cuijckse tithe in 1524 his father was described as old, sick and not in a position to travel [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Gelderse Leenkamer 12, fol. 88, 08-03-1524].

<sup>80</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Archief Familie Van Dam van Brakel 849, fol. 60, 31-05-1537.

<sup>81</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, RATL 1239, fol. 32v.

<sup>82</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, RATL 1238, fol. 208v.

<sup>83</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, RATL 1239, fol. 38.

<sup>84</sup> When his son Arndt sold the 14 hont (7-2-1551) it still was assessable with the interest.

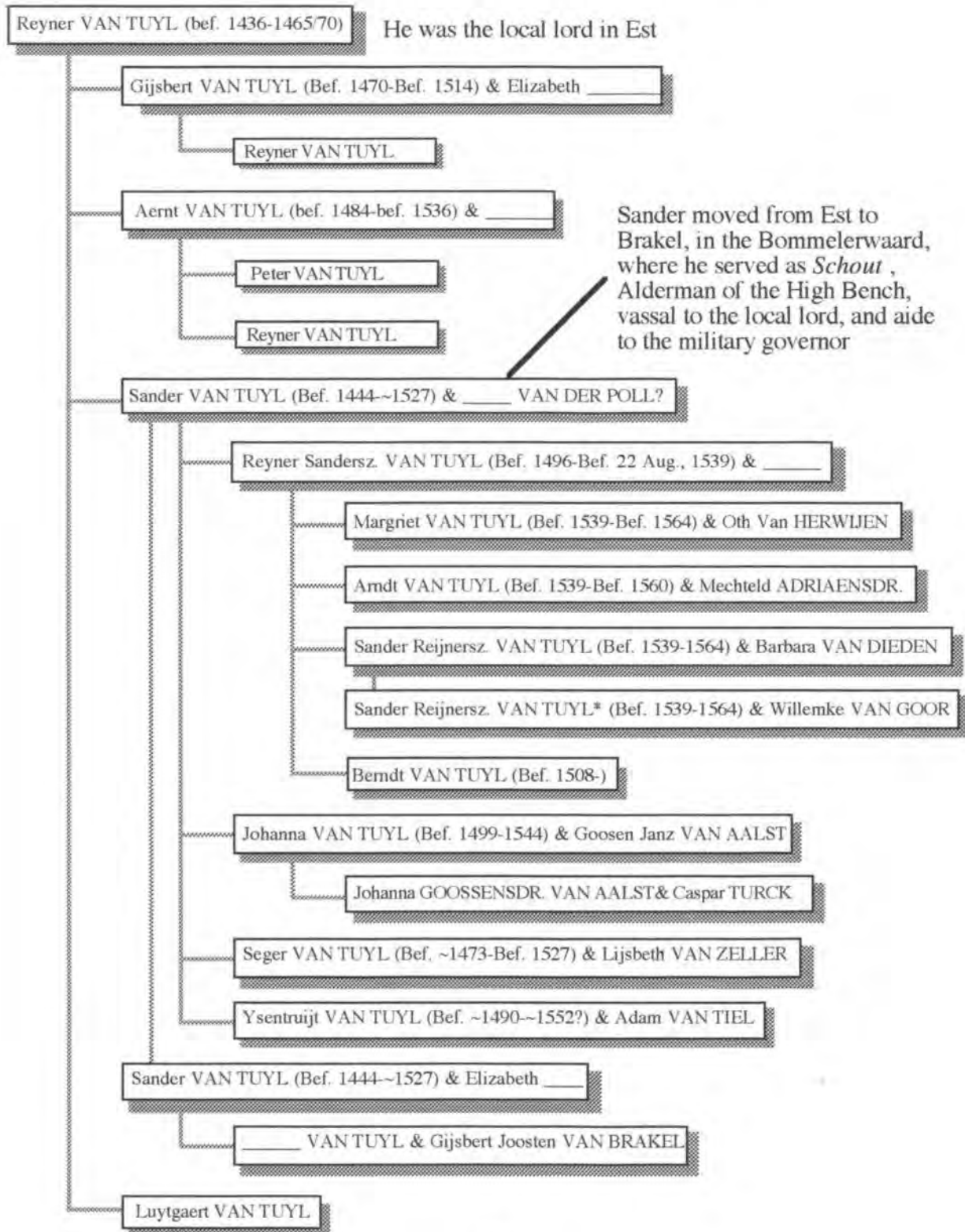
<sup>85</sup> RAG, Archief Hof van Gelre 1481, *ridderboek*, fol. 37v. In the early 1500s, Arndt acted as *hulder* [guardian] of Josina van Broeckhuijsen, the underage Lady of Brakel [Sloet, page 617, 24-11-1525].

<sup>86</sup> See: *Dutch Genealogy*, Generation 5.

<sup>87</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Volmachten van de Gelderse Leenkamers, doos 1551-1577. The councilmembers were chosen by the inhabitants who owned land; two of them were chosen as "buurmeester" (see: chapter 1).



# The Van Tuyl Family of Est and Brakel 1400-1564



area.<sup>88</sup> He was alderman in the High Bench of Zuilichem and *heemraad* [dike official] of Brakel in 1564.<sup>89</sup> Sander Reynersz bought a house in Brakel from Reyner Joosten, a priest of ill repute<sup>90</sup>, who in turn had bought the house from Reyner van Aeswijn, Lord of Brakel.<sup>91</sup> Sander was married twice: first, to Barbara van Dieden, secondly with Willemke van Goor. His first wife gave him a daughter Marijke, and from the second marriage came a son, Jan Sandersz van Tuyl [VII].<sup>92</sup> As we will see, it was Jan Sandersz who moved to Gameren, becoming in the process the father of generations of farmers in that village, and of the Van Tuyls of America.

### ***Gelre Defeated***

Although life was quiet during Sander [VI] van Tuyl's lifetime, it was also the period in which Gelre finally lost its independence. Six-year-old Charles V, grandson of Maximilian of Austria [Habsburg], became in 1506 (as a legacy of his father) Lord of The Netherlands. In 1516, the teenage boy was crowned King of Spain (a legacy of his mother), and in 1519 was chosen German Emperor. Obviously, he consolidated enormous power - power that would be nearly impossible to resist. But Charles of Gelre, right up until his death in 1538, defied the emperor. Charles of Gelre's heir was less successful.<sup>93</sup> After a short campaign Charles V defeated William II, the new, young Duke of Gelre.<sup>94</sup> In September 1543 the Treaty of Venlo was signed, in which the nobility and cities of Gelre acknowledged emperor Charles V as their sovereign.<sup>95</sup> Charles, who was in favor of a strong unification of all the duchies and counties in The Netherlands, brought them together in 1548 as the "*Bourgondische Kreits*".<sup>96</sup> These major historical events probably had little effect for the time being on life along the Waal. Perhaps Maarten van Rossum, Lord of Poederoyen, and Adriaen van Oever of Salt-Bommel, who owned property in Gameren - both of them eyewitness to the signing of the Treaty of Venlo - spread the word among the people.<sup>97</sup> Soon enough would they learn for themselves what it would mean to be ruled by the King of Spain.

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<sup>88</sup> [i.e. not *fief* - he actually owned it].

<sup>89</sup> Rijksarchief Gelderland, Rechterlijk Archief van Zuilichem 1, 31-11-1564.

<sup>90</sup> He had 11 children! [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Verzameling Spaen 996, proces nr. 8; RAG, Civiele processen Hof van Gelre (CPHG) 30; Archief geschiedenis Aartsbisdom Utrecht, deel 24, page 21].

<sup>91</sup> Interest of 9 guilders was owed to the church of Brakel on this house. In 1556 Sander promised Jan Jansz Glaesenmaecker (son-in-law of the priest) to pay the interest [Rijksarchief Gelderland, RATL 1241, fol. 165/165v.]. The heirs of Sander sold the house in 1567 to Hendrick Jansz Smit [Rijksarchief Gelderland, Rechterlijk Archief van Zuilichem 663, fol. 38v.].

<sup>92</sup> See: *Dutch Genealogy*, Generation 6.

<sup>93</sup> Groustra-Werdekker, A.H., "Karel van Gelre," Zutphen, 1992, pg. 9.

<sup>94</sup> Groustra, pp. 9, 48. William II of Gelre was also William V of Gulick.

<sup>95</sup> Keverling Buisman, F., et al. "Verdrag en tractaat van Venlo," Hilversum, 1993, pp. 247-266.

<sup>96</sup> Koldewij, pp. 10-11. The "*Bourgondische Kreits*" was founded in 1512; Charles V renewed and strengthened it. It was a collection of 17 provinces in present-day Belgium, Luxembourg and The Netherlands.

<sup>97</sup> Keverling Buisman, pg. 271.