



KU LEUVEN
FACULTEIT LETTEREN
MASTEROPLEIDING TAAL- EN LETTERKUNDE

**The Black Legend and Romantic Orientalism in
Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* and
Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges*:
a comparison**

Promotor
Prof. dr. R. Ingelbien

Masterproef
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1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the representation of national and cultural images and stereotypes in Henri Guillaume Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* (1827) and Thomas Colley Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges* (1830), two similar novels set in the 16th-century Low Countries. The representation of the Spanish and the Oriental Other in those two lesser-known novels will be analysed in the light of studies of more canonical Romantic literature. For that purpose the thesis will draw on imagology for the examination of the Spaniard and on *Orientalism* for the examination of the Oriental Other. Both paradigms are equally important.

Imagology is a specialization within comparative literature which “deals with the discursive and literary articulation of cultural difference and of national identity” (Leerssen 269). It is the aim of imagology “to describe the origin, process and function of national prejudices and stereotypes, to bring them to the surface, analyse them and make people rationally aware of them” (Beller and Leerssen 11 - 12). Imagology focusses on the images of nations. It

studies national images to “single out the significantly active prejudices, stereotypes and clichés from the total complex of imaginary images” (Beller and Leerssen 11). The second paradigm is *Orientalism*. The difference between imagology and Said’s approach in *Orientalism* is that *Orientalism* transcends the level of the nation and focusses on the differences between the Orient and the West. It deals with several oriental places, “especially the great empires of China, India, Turkey, and Persia” (Ballaster 8). Beller and Leerssen note that “[p]ostcolonial theorists in the wake of Frantz Fanon (...) and Edward Said (...) began to address the imposition of reputations and stereotypes as part of a colonial power imbalance between hegemon and subaltern” (p. 24).

Before focussing on these two nineteenth-century historical novels, some general background information will be provided. First of all, I will explain how stereotypes came into existence, what the mechanisms of national stereotyping are, how Leerssen defines national stereotyping and which parameters constitute national stereotyping. The next chapter contains information about Romantic Orientalism. This is a tendency which started in the

eighteenth century and continued in the nineteenth century. The works which fit in the Romantic Orientalist tradition contain elements from Asian, North-African and Eastern European culture. Not only the Eastern and African culture are important in this thesis, the Spanish culture plays an important role as well. Therefore the following chapter discusses the Black Legend, its characteristics and how it manifested itself in particular countries, such as England.

The next chapter focusses on Moke and *Le Gueux de Mer*. It begins with a biographical sketch of Moke and a synopsis of his novel. Moke's participation in the myth of the sixteenth century and the creation of a Belgian literature before the creation of the Belgian nation will be taken into consideration. The core of this chapter is the documentation of the influence of the Black Legend and of Romantic Orientalism on *Le Gueux de Mer*.

The chapter on Grattan has a similar structure. I sketch his biography, summarize his novel and study the influence of the Black Legend and of Romantic Orientalism on *The Heiress of Bruges*.

The seventh chapter compares the representation of the Spaniards by Moke to the representation of the

Spaniards by Grattan. The similarities and the differences between both representations are discussed and the position of the Oriental characters in both novels is compared. The goal is to find out if Moke's and Grattan's representation confirm the dominant forms of Romantic Orientalism or not. Finally, it will become clear which Other - the Spanish or the Oriental - is represented in the most favourable way.

2 The representation of national stereotypes

2.1 The history of national characterization

Leerssen describes the development of national characterization in European literary history as follows. National characterization begins with ethnocentrism, which seems to have existed in every society: a society makes itself central and judges the other societies from its perspective. The human being has always been intrigued by the fact that different ethnical groups with their own cultural behaviour exist. Humans have thus always been fascinated by the Other. “However, a systematically diversified and particularized assignation of characters to specific ethnic groups (as opposed to incidental instances of finger-pointing and name-calling) appears in European written culture only during the early modern period” (Leerssen 272).

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, with the consolidation of the nation-state, the concept of nationality is being explored and specific traits are assigned to the different ‘nations’. For instance the critic, poet and historian La Mesnardière wrote in that period a prescription about how to characterize certain Germans, Spaniards,

Italians and so on in plays. The term ‘nation’ then gained a more specialised and political meaning. Philosophers such as Herder and Rousseau started to develop the concept; a clear example of the Enlightenment attitude towards the issue of national identity can be found in the encyclopaedia of Diderot and D’Alembert. Their encyclopaedia contains “under ‘caractère des nations’, (...) a contrastive list of national particularities (...) drawn up on the basis of clichéd commonplaces in order to define the European moral landscape” (Leerssen 273). The encyclopaedia explains that:

[e]ach nation has its particular character; it is a sort of proverb to say: airy as a Frenchman, jealous as an Italian, serious as a Spaniard, wicked as an Englishman, proud as a Scot, drunk as a German, lazy as an Irishman, deceitful as a Greek. (cited via Leerssen 273)

The fact that they use the word ‘proverb’ already indicates that linking certain characteristics with certain nationalities has become a habit, a convention, rather than that it is an actual state of affairs.

For this thesis, the nineteenth century is especially

important. In that century, people started to place themselves in a nationalistic framework. The ideology of the nation-state and of ethnic-racial purity of a nation's inhabitants came into existence. "[L]iterature became more and more the manifestation of the nation's character by means of verbal art. Literature was seen by nineteenth-century philologists as the very speech of the Volksgeist" (Leerssen 274).

Recent literature which involves national characterization uses stereotypes with an ironic touch. It is not clear whether the images they present about national identity are to be taken seriously or not. In this way they on the one hand strive against the particular stereotypical ideas and on the other hand they acknowledge and reinforce the general use and acceptance of the prejudice. "[O]ne and the same text may for certain readers exemplify a type, whereas for other readers it controverts it, while yet other readers may not even notice this aspect" (Leerssen 285).

2.2 The mechanisms of national stereotypes

National stereotypes emerge because of different reasons. As Beller and Leerssen explain, historical and ideological circumstances can create an image of representation of certain populations, but cultural, literary and discursive conventions can play an important role as well. In the case of the literary representation of the Spaniard during the nineteenth century, historical and ideological reasons prevail, while in the case of the representation of the Oriental Other, literary conventions rather prevail.

The question of cultural, national, and ethnic identity is particularly noticeable in the field of literature, which of all art forms is most explicit in reflecting and shaping the awareness of entire societies and which often counts as the very formulation of that society's cultural identity. (Leerssen 268)

Beller and Leerssen argue that “[o]ur images of foreign countries, peoples and cultures mainly derive from selective value judgements (which are in turn derived from selective observation) as expressed in travel writing and literary representation” (Beller and Leerssen 5). Characters are often

represented according to the stereotypical ideas about their nation and culture. Nationality is not an objective, graspable concept which is then distorted in some literary works and the question even arises whether there is something like ‘a national identity’. “[N]ational characters are a matter of commonplace and hearsay rather than empirical observation or statements of objective fact” (Beller and Leerssen 26). Even when the image of the inhabitants of a region is based on facts and not on conventional ideas, the image will always refer to the majority of the inhabitants of that region. Not every inhabitant will correspond to the created image, though general assumptions might be made. The image of a certain nationality is also very unstable. During each century a population can be attributed different characteristics. For instance, in the eighteenth century, Englishmen were depicted as “suicide-prone splenetics”, while in the nineteenth century they were depicted as imperturbable, self-controlled and unemotional (Leerssen 275).

Very often the stereotypical ideas about an ethnic group do not have any link with the characteristics of the group at all. This can be illustrated by the circulating jokes about the stupidity of certain populations. In Flanders jokes

are made about the stupidity of the Dutchmen, while in the Netherlands exactly the same jokes are circulating to make fun of the Flemish population. The empirical reality is not important. The strongest rhetorical effect of stereotypes “lies in [their] familiarity and recognition value rather than in their empirical truth value” (Leerssen 280). People seem to want to increase their feeling of national identity by imposing strict boundaries between their nationality and that of others. Their own nationality always generates a form of pride and a feeling of superiority vis-à-vis the other ethnic groups.

Tajfel argues that people long to belong to a group to gain a sense of social identity.¹ The persons outside the proper group are divided into different social categories. One way to improve the image of the group one belongs to - the in-group - is by putting another group in discredit. Tajfel’s *social identity theory* claims that the in-group will formulate prejudices about the out-group to put themselves in a better perspective. Stereotypes are thus formed to create and consolidate a positive self-image. Tajfel mentions two

¹ Some concrete studies about stability and variability in national and European self-identification can be found in Cinnarelli’s article, see Bibliography.

mechanisms which operate in stereotypical characterisation: the differences between groups are exaggerated and the similar aspects within one group are generalised. In other words, groups are seen as more homogenous than they really are because of two mechanisms. The stereotypical similarities between the members of the group are focussed on and the differences between two alleged homogenous groups are emphasised. Because of the enlarged distance between two groups, it is easier to discriminate the other group. For instance, during the World Wars laws were created in Germany to decrease the contact between Jews and the rest of the population, so that the discrimination and persecution of the Jews could be more easily accepted by the population. Stereotyping leads to:

the homogenization and depersonalization of out-group members. These individuals become perceptually interchangeable because they are perceived in terms of their shared category characteristics and not their personal idiosyncratic natures. (Tajfel 28)

Tajfel sees stereotyping as a natural process: “[t]he cognitive output of a functioning social identification is, in a nutshell, stereotypic perception” (Tajfel 28). One is automatically involved in a process of stereotyping to build one’s own social identity. Not only are the members of the out-group stereotyped, but the members of the in-group are given common characteristics of one’s category as well to create social cohesion.

Thus our perception of reality, “our way of seeing and judging is conditioned by preconceived notions, prejudice and stereotypes” and “we transform our perceptions into images; and that selective perception results from suppressed tensions between self-image and the image of the other” (Beller and Leerssen 4). However, stereotyping does not always need to be condemned. Human beings tend to create a stereotypical perception to generate different categories and give themselves a place in society within a certain category.

2.3 A definition and three parameters for stereotyping

Leerssen defines national stereotyping as “specifically concerned not with reporting facts concerning a given nation but with defining its character” (Leerssen 282). “On the surface, this means that the discourse of national stereotyping deals primarily in psychologisms, ascribing to nationalities specific personality traits” (Leerssen 283). A nation wants to describe the character of another nation and whether the inhabitants of that nation really possess the characteristics ascribed to them is less important.

[A] nation’s “character” (...) is that essential, central set of temperamental attributes that distinguishes the nation as such from others and that motivates and explains the specificity of its presence and behavior in the world. Thus, national stereotyping sets in when the utterances concern in some way a psychologism or temperamental predisposition (...) and when the attributes predicated to the nation are held to be typical and characteristic (...)—in other words: a psychological proprium. (Leerssen 283)

Thus Leerssen places stereotyping, like Tajfel, in the field of psychology. However, facts trigger the creation of stereotypes. The actions of persons who belong to a certain category can create generalized stereotypical ideas about that category. Leerssen notes that saying that certain characteristics are typical of a certain population means two things: the characteristics are representative of the type and they are remarkable. For instance, lederhosen are typically German since they are typically worn by Germans and they are unusual and remarkable for non-Germans.

Leerssen also mentions three parameters which are easily used by persons as reasons to distantiate themselves from others: the opposition between North and South, between strong and weak and between central and peripheral. This first opposition can be made between all sorts of countries (e.g. between Denmark and Germany) and even within one and the same country (e.g. between North and South Italy). In general the northern populations are regarded as 'colder', more individualistic and more responsible, while the southern populations are regarded as 'warmer', more collective and sensual, but less responsible. The attribution of the label 'northern/southern' to a

population is, however, instable. The same country can be considered northern, as well as southern depending on the point of view.

The second parameter is the strength of a nation. When a nation is powerful, the inhabitants will be represented as cruel, while weak nations can count on a more sympathetic representation. Spain is an important example of this and more will be explained about Spain's specific situation concerning stereotypical characterisation in the section about *La Leyenda Negra* or *The Black Legend*. The second parameter also played a role in some cases in Romantic Orientalism. "The East was a source of great anxiety among Europeans when the size and power of large empires such as the Persian, the Chinese, the Mughal, and the Ottoman were measured at different moments in history" (Aravamudan "Enlightenment Orientalism" 8 - 9). The West feared the power of the East and represented the Eastern male as a tyrant.

Finally, the third opposition refers to whether a nation has a central or a peripheral position. Central regions are seen as dynamic and innovating, while peripheral regions are seen as traditional and retarded in development.

These three parameters constitute the basis for national stereotypical characterisation, each nation from its own point of view and regardless of the actual characteristics of the population which is northern/southern, weak/strong, central/peripheral. “Valorizing the Other is (...) a reflection of one’s own point of view” (Beller and Leerssen 6).

The study of characteristics of a population should not be based on the images present in different literary works, because literary works may contain national prejudices. Of course, the study of literary works provides an interesting insight into the formation and production of stereotypes.

3 Romantic Orientalism

3.1 Introduction

In *Orientalism*, the Palestinian scholar Edward Said explores how Western writers formed a prejudiced image of the East. Said's work draws on British, French and other European texts and consequently may be considered as potentially useful for a discussion of Belgian Romantic literature: "To speak of Orientalism (...) is to speak mainly, although not exclusively, of a British and French cultural enterprise" (Said 5). The East was seen by the West as an inferior Other. Europe had consolidated its own identity "by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (Said 3) and Orientalism was "a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient" (Said 95) in which "the Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks" (Said 40). In fact "as Europe exercised more and more power over the Middle East, the Orient itself, in Said's striking phrase, became 'orientalized by orientalism'" (Sharafuddin xv). The image of the East was not based on facts, but it was a construction based on a network of literary representations repeated over and over again. Aravamudan even speaks of "maniacal

hyperproductivity” (Aravamudan “Enlightenment Orientalism” 2). “The Orient is less a place than a topos, a set of references that seem to have its origin in someone’s work on the Orient. (...) By the nineteenth century the Orient was already a textual universe” (Schneider 87). Therefore, national and cultural images were not representations of an ‘empirical reality’, but representations of a ‘discursive reality’. Leerssen points out that

[h]istorical studies of discursive corpuses containing images concerning a given nation concur in the finding that these corpuses have a high intertextual cohesion; the remarkable concord of the semantic register of various images as brought forward by individual texts is demonstrably the result of later texts echoing, citing, or referring to earlier texts. Even when an author claims to write from direct, empirical experience concerning the nation in question, it will usually transpire that that experience was preceded by preparatory reading on the topic. (Leerssen 280)

“Eighteenth-century readers in the West came to draw their mental maps of oriental territories and distinctions between them from their experience of reading tales ‘from’ the Orient” (Ballaster 8). However, the contact with the Orient also raised “questions of national identity, cultural difference, the morality of imperialist domination and consequent anxiety and guilt concerning such issues” (NAEL).

British Romantic Orientalism² is a tendency which started in the eighteenth century with two important translations. The translation of *Thousand and One Nights* or the *Arabian Nights* from French into English and the translation of the Koran into English by George Sale (Sharafuddin xxviii). The tendency flourished in a period marked by global travel, exploration and colonialism. “Orientalism (...) was saturated from the beginning by nationalist or proto-nationalist claims of rival European states, each of which developed competing accounts of the East, albeit based on a limited, shared body of information” (Leask 104). Writers of the Romantic period gave their works an exotic touch by focussing on Otherness and

² Source: NAEL

looking for inspiration in Asian, North-African and Eastern European cultures.

In literary history, Romantic Orientalism is the recurrence of recognizable elements of Asian and African place names, historical and legendary people, religions, philosophies, art, architecture, interior decoration, costume, and the like in the writings of the British Romantics. (NAEL)

The literary works that belong to the tradition of Romantic Orientalism often retrieved their information about the Oriental from other works and the ideas about nationality and identity were sometimes combined with ethnic prejudice. The writers of Romantic Orientalism wanted to emphasise the national and cultural identity of their characters, but some of them relied mainly on textual sources.

3.2 Characteristics

The works which can be ascribed to Romantic Orientalism have some characteristics in common. I will briefly discuss five characteristics³: the setting, the status of women, sexuality, violence and religion.

First of all, Oriental tales often have an Oriental setting. The reader is plunged in a world with Oriental buildings such as mosques and palaces, Oriental clothing such as the turban, Oriental ornaments such as tapestries etc. In many cases a foreign title already makes it clear that an Oriental Tale will follow, for example Sheridan's *History of Nourjahad*, Jones's *Hymn to Narayena*, Reeve's *History of Charoba*, *Queen of Ægypt*, Beckford's *Vathek*, Landor's *Gebir*, Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, Byron's *Giaour* and Moore's *Lalla Rookh*. Some writers, such as Thomas Moore, used many footnotes to make their stories seem more historically and geographically accurate. As Ballaster points out, "[t]ravellers bring their knowledge of fictional models to bear in understanding the new cultures they encounter, while fictional writers weave travellers' tropes and evidence

³ The discussion is based on my Bachelor paper *Romantic Orientalism. The use of Orientalist elements in Byron's The Giaour and Moore's Lalla Rookh*.

into their materials” (p. 21).

Another characteristic of Orientalist works is the stereotypical representation of women. They were considered as passive beings who were oppressed by the male Oriental tyrant. They needed to be liberated from the harem by a Western hero. As Peirce explains:

we in the West are heir to an ancient but still robust tradition of obsession with the sexuality of Islamic society. The harem is undoubtedly the most prevalent symbol in Western myths constructed around the theme of Muslim sensuality. (Peirce 3)

For the Western man, the harem symbolized mysterious and exotic sensuality. It was object of his lively imagination and therefore it became an important theme in the Oriental tradition. If the Western man could not get access to the sensual, exotic, female Other in real life, then at least he could take control of her in his writings. For instance, in Shelley’s *Alastor: or the Spirit of Solitude* (1815) “the protagonist’s dream of the ‘veiled maid’” and the “exhilaration (and exhaustion) or sexual desire” form an important theme (Leask 122). Western writers also wanted

to “claim the superiority of western ‘history’ by marking its difference from the mythic space-time of oriental story as delivered in the seraglio [i.e. harem]” (Ballaster 10). Said laments about this stereotype and he does not understand “[w]hy the Orient seems still to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies” (Said 189).

Thirdly, “[t]he Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe” (Said 190). One could get involved in all kinds of sexual activities in the East, even homosexual ones. The Orient had the reputation of being the place to be for sexual liberty and sodomy. As Rana Kabbani points out, “[t]he European was led to the east by sexuality, by the embodiment of it in a woman or a young boy” (qtd. in Leask 120). In some Oriental tales a triangular relation can be found between one woman and two men. The two men compete for the woman, but this rivalry establishes a bond between them which has some features of the homoerotic.

The Orient is also associated with violence and absolutism. “[C]ruelty, despotism, the will-to-power, religious hypocrisy, and imposture” are some typical

characteristics of the Ottoman court in Romantic Oriental writing (Ballaster 61). It is a place where bloody battles constantly take place. The Oriental society is so permeated by violence that it is considered as a natural tool to obtain social and political control. For instance, the male Oriental character in Byron's *The Giaour* is a violent, merciless tyrant who silently murders one of his unfaithful harem women and then lives on without remorse.

Finally, religion constitutes an interesting parameter in Oriental Tales. The Oriental characters often adhere to Islam. For instance in *Lalla Rookh* by Thomas Moore, there are several references to the life of the great Muslim prophet Mohammed in the speeches of the character Mokanna and the description of the Muslim afterlife is based on passages from the Koran. Kelly asserts that "the missionary and Bible societies looked to the East with aggressive, imperial intent, as field for religious (that is, ideological) conflict and conquest" (Kelly 13). Some Oriental Tales criticize the Muslim religion and present it as a tyrannical, oppressive religion.

However, Sharafuddin notes that not all the Romantic Orientalist works distorted the reality of the East.

For instance Landor's *Gebir*, Southey's *Thalaba*, Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* and Lord Byron's 'Turkish Tales' all mark "an advance in the understanding of and sympathy with the Orient" (Sharafuddin xviii) and therefore Sharafuddin speaks of the emergence of 'realistic Orientalism'. Leask agrees with this view and states that "[w]hile it is true that the Oriental Other represented in British Romantic literature is usually a monological construct (...), the internal and external pressures determining and undermining such representations are more various than Said's thesis will allow" (Leask 2). As will be shown in this thesis, Henri Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* and Thomas Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges* confirm these cautionary remarks by Leask and Sharafuddin.

4 The Black Legend

4.1 Introduction

The book *La Leyenda Negra* written by the Spanish historian Julián Juderías in 1914 (with a second edition in 1917) spread the use of the term the ‘Black Legend’⁴. The term ‘Black Legend’ can be seen as a synonym for ‘anti-Spanish propaganda’. Greer explains that Juderías wanted to purify Spain’s reputation of a cruel and barbaric country. He protested “the characterization of Spain by other Europeans as a backward country of ignorance, superstition, and religious fanaticism that was unable to become a modern nation” (Greer 1). He tried to demonstrate that the legend was created by French, Dutch, English and Italian enemies of this powerful state and was then continued in writings by travellers who knew little about the Spanish population. The Black Legend refers to the negative image about Spaniards which had been created in Europe since the sixteenth century by exaggerating Spain’s misdeeds. Maltby emphasises that the Black Legend is a “legend and not a

⁴ Source: Encyclopædia Britannica. "Black Legend" at <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/67986/Black-Legend>
Last accessed on 19 October 2012.

myth. It sprang, as legends do, from actual events” (p. 11). The Spaniards have indeed committed horrible misdeeds, but other populations are guilty of equally grave crimes. “[M]uch of Spain’s guilt lay in the preconceptions of its self-appointed judges and (...) biased reporting has an enormous effect on the content of the English Black Legend” (Maltby 136).

4.2 The ingredients of the Black Legend

Some factors which created the Black Legend were religious antagonism, the Inquisition, “rivalry for overseas empires” (Maltby 28) such as America, national consciousness, criticism by Spaniards on their own countrymen and finally race. All these elements were used to profile Spain as the Other in all possible senses.

First of all Northern, especially Protestant, Europeans saw an adversary in Spain, because this country was “the natural leader of the Catholics” (Maltby 19). Almost all the writers that contributed to the Black Legend were Protestants. The hatred they felt for Catholicism during the Protestant Reformation was transferred to Spain. “Spain’s efforts as the champion of Catholicism during the

sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries earned the country the undying hatred of Protestants in every corner of Europe” (Maltby 4). The European Protestants criticised Spain and the measures taken by the anti-Protestant King Philip II.

In the context of England’s late sixteenth-century Spanish troubles, to be Hispanized implied one’s sympathies toward Philip II’s policies and came to suggest, most especially, an identification with Roman Catholic universality over and against Protestant particularism. (Griffin “Specter of Spain” 9)

As Protestant claims to English governmental institutions and cultural life were legitimated, the religious institutions, imperial obligations, dynastic inheritances and colonizing projects of Catholic Spain (along with Roman Catholic pretensions in England) were demonized, divested, delegitimized and deposed. (Griffin “Nationalism” 367)

Griffin also notes that those in favour of Catholicism did not agree with the stereotyping. Juderías places the roots of anti-Hispanism in ‘The Protestant Tradition’, beginning “with

the revolt of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century” (Maltby 4). The revolt of the Netherlands was an explicit factor which triggered the universal hostility towards the Spaniards. “Through the 1580s and 1590s the European print-world swelled with equal parts envy and dread at the prospect of an Iberia unified as Empire of the ‘the Spains’” (Griffin “Nationalism” 347). Maltby notes that the actions of the duke of Alba and the sack of Antwerp became important ingredients of the (Elizabethan) Black Legend.

Horwitz, Maltby, Leerssen and Greer all mention the importance of the Spanish Inquisition in the Black Legend. It became “a popular symbol of Spanish faith” (Maltby 31). Maltby stresses the institution’s fame in English literature. The rebels of the Netherlands argued during their revolt that Philip II “had overthrown their ancient privileges and instituted a religious persecution against loyal subjects” (Maltby 31). In the dominant English perception, the states of the Netherlands opposed their king because he wanted to establish the Inquisition, while in reality he never had these intentions. Sixteenth-century writers such as Foxe and Montanus wrote influential books which often approached the truth, “but by a clever use of dramatization and

hyperbole they contrived a picture of the Inquisition that is wholly misleading. Its importance to the overall English view of the nation that invented and condoned such a monstrosity cannot be minimized” (Maltby 43). Greer mentions that the Inquisition “became in England’s propaganda wars (...) the emblem of Spain’s moral and political degeneracy” (Greer 99). The practices of the Inquisition constituted evidence that Spain could never be a modern nation.

The third factor that supported the Black Legend is Spain’s imperial power. Spain was a powerful and feared state and therefore European literature focussed on “the Inquisition, the ruthless control of Crown and Church over the individual, and the genocidal policies in the Americas” (Leerssen 277). “Northern Europeans (...) envied [Spain’s] American empire, published books and gory engravings that depicted Spanish colonization as uniquely barbarous: an orgy of greed, slaughter and papist depravity” (Horwitz 2). Literature focusses on Spain’s exploitation of the Indian and African slaves. Greer notes that it was indeed in America and in the sixteenth century that the history of modern racism began:

The links between religiously coded racism and color-coded racism were consequences of the early modern European imperial expansion in Africa, the subjugation of the indigenous populations of America, and the evolution of an ancient practice of slavery. (Greer 2)

Maltby notes that the Spanish conquest of America was not the real reason for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Englishman's hatred of Spain. The Spanish conquest was just used to blacken Spain's reputation for other goals. The English for instance used the popularity of the Black Legend to justify the piracy whereby the English took gold from the Spanish (Greer). The same is true for the Dutch. The Dutch were colonized by Spain and therefore they "used Spanish New World barbarity to legitimate their political rebellion" (Greer 14).

The fourth factor is national consciousness. "Spain's misfortune lay in offending a great many nations at a time when such [simple national] stereotypes were being developed all over Europe" (Maltby 135). Spain's actions were received in a universally offensive way, because it was the period of the rise of national consciousness. "[T]he

development of national consciousness not only contributed to the growth of anti-Hispanism but ensured its survival in an unusually malignant form” (Maltby 135). Proto-nationalist sentiments assisted in the growth of the Black Legend.

The next factor that will be discussed is writings. The discourse which is related to the Black Legend, instead of initiating the legend, rather supported and spread it. It is a bit ironic that Spain’s first important critiques of the American Conquest were made by Spanish missionaries in America (Greer). For instance, Maltby and Greer note that one of the most famous authors who supported the legend was Bartolomé de las Casas with *Brevissima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*⁵. This book was printed in 1551 and it was only translated thirty years later, when there already was hostility between England and Spain. This Spaniard questioned the legitimacy of Spain’s imperial actions and his work was later used as propaganda against Spain.

Finally, race played an important role in the Black

⁵ Translation: “A very short account of the destruction of the Indies” (Greer 5).

Legend. The term itself already makes this clear. Greer argues that early modern Spain repelled and persecuted Moors⁶, but at the same time it was fascinated by the Moorish culture. One could even speak of ‘maurophilia’. After 1492, Spanish culture actually embraces the Arabic culture of al-Andalus. The Spanish national identity tries to deny its attachment to the Moorish culture, but at the same time it is fascinated by it to such an extent that Greer does not speak of mere literary curiosity, but of a real cultural phenomenon. Spain thus has a contradictory relation with the Moorish aspect of its culture. “[E]ven as Spain goes to great pains to contain the influences of al-Andalus by racializing and othering *conversos* and *moriscos* (...) rival European states busily construct Spain as precisely the racial other of Europe” (Greer 88). The European states thus used “the complicated persistence of Moorishness within Spanish self-identity to denigrate Spain as the black other of its northern European self” (Greer 18). Spain’s maurophilia is used by other European countries in a racist and xenophobic

⁶ ‘Moor’ is the term used to refer to “light- and dark-skinned people, to Muslims in Spain as well as in North Africa, and even, occasionally, to Turks or sub-Saharan peoples” (Greer 88). In Spain, it refers to the dark-skinned people who came to Spain in the early 8th century and called their Spanish region Al-Andalus.

discourse to deny Spain's place in Europe. The Black Legend thus incorporated Orientalist clichés.

4.3 The Black Legend in England

Griffin focusses on the image of the Spaniards in England because the “*otherness* [of imperial Spain] was impressed most profoundly upon the English imagination” (Griffin “Specter of Spain” 12). Greer even states that England was obsessed with Spain. It had to move Spain out of the way before it could take a significant place in the Western political order. At the end of the sixteenth century, England symbolised Protestantism and “[c]onfronted during the course of the 1590s with continuing challenges to Tudor rule, England’s Protestant presses had churned out Hispanophobic invective in unprecedented bulk. By the dawn of the seventeenth century, England had entered what might be called the Black Legend’s golden age” (Griffin “Nationalism” 356). Elizabethan England was a strong adversary of Catholic Spain, since it “was generally regarded as the natural leader of the reform camp” (Maltby 19). “During Elizabeth’s turbulent final decade English public culture had been inundated with Hispanophobic

stereotypes mobilized again and again in propagandistic efforts to affirm the twin pillars of national sovereignty and the Protestant faith” (Griffin “Nationalism” 357). On top of the already mentioned factors which created the Black Legend, it can be added that “Englishmen rarely had an opportunity to discover that their notions of Spain and the Spaniards were erroneous.” (Maltby 138). Spain was not a country which was included in the Grand Tour which young Europeans undertook as a part of their education. Griffin says something opposed to Maltby. He argues that:

England knew ‘the Spains’ extremely well. Indeed, their aristocratic, military, clerical, scholastic, and merchant classes had been on intimate terms for centuries, possessing a shared history of intermarriage and commerce, crusade and pilgrimage, technological and intellectual exchange. Rarely in human history have two cultures that shared so much dropped so far and so rapidly in mutual esteem as did the national cultures of England and Spain. (Griffin “Specter of Spain” 13)

“Religious antagonism and national consciousness, however important as conditions under which anti-Spanish feeling was allowed to mature, cannot, of course, be regarded as the immediate causes of this prejudice in England” (Maltby 135), the Anglo-Spanish conflicts, which reached their climax with the Armada, played a crucial role as well. “Anglo Americans inherited the view that Spaniards were unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent and authoritarian” (Weber qtd. in Horwitz 2).

The English Black Legend certainly possesses its own characteristics. Maltby points out that Juderías, for instance, focussed mostly on the stereotype of the backward Spaniard, neglecting the stereotype of the lecherous, deceitful and cruel Spaniard, while the English stereotype did not include a backward Spaniard, but a cruel and arrogant one, a coward and a traitor. “English anti-Hispanism was originally more founded on moral rather than intellectual grounds and in its first phase was based on a concept of inherent Spanish wickedness” (Maltby 133). Greer notes the particular English envy of Spanish gold (from the New World) and Griffin adds to this that in

England's Black Legend the main characteristic of the Spaniard was his lust, his ever burning passion to deceive women and fulfil his desires.

Not only the differences in character, but also ethnic differences were emphasized. The verb *to Hispanize* "gained its full persuasive force only when they began to acquire the racialist tinge of color in the post-Armada years" (Griffin "Specter of Spain" 9). Griffin explains that the Spaniards were not seen as a pure race, but as a mixed race. The Spaniard often has a black soul, a Moor's soul. The race has lost its purity of blood by mingling with Moors. "[T]he 'mixed blood' of Iberian culture becomes a sign of both the religious and racial 'corruption'" (Griffin "Nationalism" 47). Hence, that was in that period a biological reason to consider the Spanish race as inferior and different from other races. "If 'the Spaniard' was at heart 'a Moor,' a 'demi-barbarian,' it went without saying that all obligations to him/her/it could be rendered null and void" and "[i]t was the appeal to this racialized Hispanic otherness that gave the Black Legend much of its rhetorical force" (Griffin "Nationalism" 366). Griffin states that "La Leyenda Negra is very much a discourse of color" (p. 8). He says that racial

thinking was really nationalized in the sixteenth century and nationalism was racialized.

[D]uring the ‘golden age’ of la leyenda negra, the period between the Armada crisis and the Stuart succession, not only does proximity to and relationship with Africa become an index of Hispanicity, ‘Africa’ begins to signify in such a way as to play into the conjuncture’s growing obsession with miscegenation. (Griffin “Nationalism” 10)

Griffin agrees with Walker Connor that “a group of people must know ethnically what they are not before they can know what they are” (Griffin “Specter of Spain” 28 - 29).

Greer attributes a very important role to the racist aspect of the Black Legend. He believes that the Black Legend “contributed to founding the racial imperial difference within and outside Europe itself” (Greer 23). Spain is associated in the Black Legend with Africa, Islam and dark people. He argues that critics often consider the ‘blackness’ of the legend as a metaphor for “Spain’s cruelty and greed in the New World, yet it often refers in unambiguous terms to Spain’s racial difference, its *essential*

Moorishness” (Greer 94). Spain’s opponents wanted to “render Spain visibly, biologically black” (Greer 94). Some critics tend to see the Englishmen as “naturally xenophobic” because they are island people, but Griffin doesn’t agree. Other populations would be equally xenophobic as the English. Maltby for his part argues that the ethnic aspect shouldn’t be focussed on too much. “The frequent insistence on the supposed Moorish or Jewish origins of the Spaniards indicated that there may even have been an element of racial antagonism involved, but how important could such a thing have been?” (Maltby 134). He clearly plays down the importance of race in the Black Legend.

4.4 Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia today

Griffin noted that Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia often went hand in hand throughout the period of European national consolidation. “[A]dmiration and attraction could mix with resentment and fear” (Griffin “Specter of Spain” 17), for instance “‘the Spanish fashion’ was continent-wide during the sixteenth century” (Griffin “Specter of Spain” 18). When Spain lost its power and became occupied by

Napoleon, a clearly positive image about the country emerged: a charming image of castanets, bullfights and passion. This image, however, was soon replaced by a negative one analogous to certain historical events. In Belgium, Spain soon became the Other. Quaghebeur and Labio argue that nineteenth-century historians, both Catholic and Voltairian, often described a dualism with on the one hand the Spanish disaster and oppression and on the other hand an innocent and repressed population. The objective discourse and fable began to overlap and consequently

the image of Spain in Belgian letters necessarily came to be dominated by the so-called ‘black legend’, (...). In its specifically Belgian version, however, it was also accompanied by the celebration of Belgium as the land of milk and honey (pays de Cocagne), by explorations of the differences between the time of Charles V and the reign of Philip II, and by the exponential growth of the iconic figure of the gueux. (Quaghebeur and Labio 118)

The Black Legend has spread almost all over the world. In the United States the legend gained popularity in the nineteenth century because of the Mexican War (1846) and the Spanish-American War (1898). Nowadays there are still people who use elements of the Black Legend when it suits them. For instance, in America there are some “foes of immigration [who] echo the black legend (...), typecasting Hispanics as indolent, a burden on the American taxpayer, greedy for benefits and jobs, prone to criminality and alien to our [American] values” (Horwitz 3). Horwitz uses the term Black Legend here not to refer to the Spaniards as cruel and arrogant persons, but in a more general way to refer to expressions of Hispanophobia.

5 Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer*

5.1 Henri Moke: biography⁷

Henri Guillaume Moke was born to a Flemish father and a German mother in Le Havre in 1801. Varendonck notes that it was not sure what his mother tongue was. He went to high school in Paris and studied at the universities of Ghent and Louvain. At the university of Ghent, one of his professors made his students enthusiastic about the history of the resistance of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands against Spain. Accordingly, Moke's studies influenced his later literary career. He became a professor himself at the Athenaeum in Bruges, as a teacher of rhetoric. He had Orangist sympathies and had contacts with other liberal thinkers.

His request to King William I Frederick of the Netherlands to finance his writing career was approved. He wrote French historical novels, inspired by Walter Scott, Hugo, Lamartine and Balzac. The first novel was *Le Gueux de Mer, ou la Belgique sous le Duc d'Albe* and this novel was followed by *Les Gueux des bois ou les Patriotes Belges*

⁷ Moke's biography is based on Dessouroux's and Varendonck's theses.

de 1566 and *Philippine de Flandre ou les Prisonniers du Louvre, Roman historique belge*. He was familiar with Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges*, given that he revised the translation by Delepierre.

After the Belgian revolution, Moke changed from an Orangist patriot into a Belgian patriot. He then started writing histories of Belgium, most of them concerning the history of Belgium before the French Revolution, such as *Histoire des Francs* and *Histoire de la Belgique*. He was professor at the Athenaeum in Brussels and then professor of old history and French literature in Ghent. He also worked as a journalist and became member of the Académie Royale de Belgique in 1840. This academy introduced him to other members of the Belgian intellectual elite. He became member of the Société Huet, a progressive elite group, as well and wrote *Moeurs, usages, fêtes et solennités des Belges*. In 1846 he was rewarded by Leopold I for his merits, for instance the popularization of the historical patrimony. At the end of his life, Moke had financial problems and he struggled with a heart condition. He died in 1862.

5.2 *Le Gueux de Mer*: synopsis

Le Gueux de Mer was written in 1827, thus three years before the formation of the Belgian nation. This historical novel is set in the 16th century Low Countries. The novel contains many historical references, but it is also a fiction book.

Dessouroux states that “Louis is a fictional character created by Moke” (Dessouroux 33), but this is not entirely true. Wagner attests in his book *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* that Louis of Bruges (or Lodewijk van Brugge) is a historical figure who lived from 1427 until 1492. He was a Flemish nobleman, courtier and bibliophile who played an important role in several wars. He carried the title of Earl of Gruthuyse and was rewarded for his support of Edward IV with the title of Earl of Winchester. He died before the start of the sixteenth century. Joseph Van Praet confirms the historicity of this figure and introduces him as “Louis De Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse, prince de Steenhuyse, comte de Wincestre, seigneur d'Avelghem, de Hamste, d'Oostcamp, de Beveren, de Thielt ten Hove, etc., étoit fils [not grandson!] de Jean de Bruges et de Marguerite de Steenhuyse” (Van Praet 1). The literary, sixteenth-century

Louis loves Marguerite, countess of Waldeghem and the historical Louis “épousa, en 1455, Marguerite de Borssele, issue d'une ancienne famille de Zeelande” (Van Praet 5). On account of this, there are some connections between the fifteenth-century Louis and the character Moke sketched. Moke himself even referred to the historicity of Louis in his first footnote. One of his sources of information about the lords of Gruthuysen are the notes of “M. Van Praet, de Bruges, bibliothécaire du roi de France” (p. 359). Moke was inspired by some historical facts about the lords of Gruthuysen.

The novel tells the story of Louis of Winchester, grandson of Jean of Bruges, lord Gruthuysen, who attacks some Spanish soldiers. His grandfather and his girlfriend Marguerite consequently look down on him and Louis leaves them. Later they realise that the Spaniards oppress the population and Marguerite misses Louis, even though her aunt, the baroness of Berghes, considers him as an heretic. Suddenly Marguerite sees Louis at an assembly at the mayor's house where he challenges don Sandoval and then disappears to avoid being caught. Later on, don Juan de la Cerda arrives with a fleet. He is sent to replace Fernando

Alvarez de Toledo, the duke of Alba and governor of the Low Countries. The baroness and Marguerite are watching his arrival, when Marguerite is captured by some Spanish soldiers at don Sandoval's command. He has this rich woman brought to a chapel to make her his wife. Louis, disguised as a fisherman, rescues her with his friend Dirk Dirksen.

The young couple realises that they still love each other. They all embark on the ship of the 'sea beggars' chief: admiral of Flessingue, Ewout Pietersen Worst. A little boat arrives which brings Joos de Moor⁸, Claas Claessens and Guillaume of Nassau. The rebels want to attack the war ships of the new governor. Louis puts the ship of de la Cerda on fire and the rest of the fleet gets stuck on sandbanks. After this victorious battle, the ladies are allowed to leave the ship and they go to Ecluse. Nassau tells Louis about his son who is captured by the duke of Alba in Spain. Louis finds out via Marguerite's father, the count of Waldeghem, who works in Madrid, whether he is alright. Afterwards, he goes to his grandfather in Bruges who

⁸ The character Joos de Moor is an historical figure who fought on the side of the patriots and despite his name, he is no Moor.

forgives him everything.

In the meantime, the Spaniards are angry at the inhabitants of Ecluse, because they had contact with the rebels. Marguerite and the baroness are captured to be questioned by the tribunal. Don Sandoval asks Marguerite again to accept his proposal, but Dirk and a mariner help the ladies to escape from prison. They flee to Brussels, but don Sandoval can track them down and when his proposal is once more refused, he captures them again and they are trialled by the Council of Blood. The situation is critical for the ladies, but they are saved by Dirk and a mariner.

Louis and Dirk save a mulatto, don Alonzo, and kill don Sandoval. Don Alonzo had a hard youth: his Spanish father, the duke of Alba, had killed his African mother. Despite his father's cruelty, he still serves him. The new governor arrives and the duke of Alba refuses to give up his powerful position. He asks the brave Louis to bring the news of his disobedience to king Philip II. He cannot refuse the offer, because the duke is aware of his affections for the two ladies. He gives his son the order to kill Louis if he betrays him, but don Alonzo swears loyalty to Louis instead. Louis hears from Marguerite that her father is captured. He

goes to Madrid with the plan to use his position as the agent of the duke of Alba to rescue Marguerite's father.

While Louis is waiting for his audience with the severe king, he is asked to come to Queen Anne-Marie of Austria, who supports the Belgians. The king orders that his wife shall be executed because she has sympathies for the heretics. However, Louis defends her and the king, who has changed his mind, is relieved she is alive. The king grows jealous of him and wants him killed, but Louis defends himself bravely, consequently the king lets him go. Louis afterwards returns to his lodging where he meets Dirk. His friend is in the company of a Spanish inquisitor, don Ignacio. The inquisitor has to return Dirk a favour and therefore he will help him and Louis to save Marguerite's father from the dungeons. During their action in the dungeons, they find an abused girl who turns out to be don Ignacio's daughter. They manage to save Marguerite's father, but the girl is lost.

Back in Bruges, Louis hears that his grandfather died and that Marguerite and the baroness are in Mechlin, which is occupied by the Spaniards. He manages to save the ladies, but don Alonzo does not survive, since he gave his life to

protect the ladies. Louis and Dirk then leave for a year to fight for the homeland. When they return, Marguerite, her father and the baroness are captured by a Spanish ship. The captured are transferred from the Spanish ship to the ship of the governor of Holland, the Earl of Bossu, a friend of Marguerite's father. The ship of Bossu fights with the Spanish ships against the rebels. During the fight Louis and Dirk are reunited with Marguerite and her father. Despite their small size and lack of equipment the ships of the patriots defeat the royal troops. The duke of Alba does not punish Louis because he was dear to his deceased son and in the end Louis finally marries his beloved Marguerite.

5.3 The myth of the sixteenth century and Belgian literature

Quaghebeur notes that Moke started the myth of the Belgian resistance fighters. “[L]a résistance efficace de la petite armée belge devant la plus grande armée européenne de l’époque confortait dans le réel, le mythe du petit Belge qui fait face mais ne veut ni de la guerre ni du pouvoir” (Quaghebeur 17). Another component of the myth was to characterise some powerful Spanish men as tyrants: such as Philip II and Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba.

Moke's *Le gueux de Mer* contains several topoi of this myth of the sixteenth century. His work also inspired the creation of De Coster's *La légende d'Ulenspiegel*. This myth about the sixteenth century emerged in the nineteenth century and linked the Belgian identity to the concept of the *gueux*, which is French for the word *beggar*. "The gueux is a fearless and intractable rebel with a noble and generous soul. He is deprived of the means of repression and cares about the freedom of his own people" (Quaghebeur and Labio 116).

Given that Moke wrote a novel about Belgians even before the Belgian state was created, it is interesting to address the phenomenon of a 'Belgian' literary corpus created even before the creation of the Belgian nation. Recently different critics have discussed the existence of such a corpus.

Bénit (2008) says that texts like Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* contain characteristics of the 'Belgian' identity. He argues that one can only speak of Belgian literature from the end of the 18th century onwards. Consequently, the Belgian literature before the creation of the Belgian state is situated between the end of the 18th century and 1830. One cannot

speak of Belgian literature earlier on, first of all because there were no real Belgian national feelings yet and secondly because the intellectual, artistic and literary activity was rather poor in that geographical area compared to the dynamic activity in France.

Laserra (2010) has a more reserved opinion. She finds it difficult to solve the question whether one can talk about a national literature before the creation of the Belgian state. She wonders how one can talk about a strong Belgian literary corpus of that period when Flanders and Wallonia did not even share the same language or the same history. However, she agrees with Bénit that a national spirit existed before the unification and this is attested by Moke's historical novel.

Quaghebeur (2012) says that with the existence of the Belgian nation, Francophone Belgians sought a modern language to express themselves in a different way than French writers did. They wanted an autonomous Francophone literature in Belgium and distanced themselves from the French canon. One of the writers who established this new Belgian Francophone⁹ literature is Henri Moke.

⁹ Note that the term 'Francophone' did not exist yet in that period.

Moke's novel *Le Gueux de Mer* "produit les premiers éléments du mythe du XVIe siècle. Le principe d'une figure de résistance qui ne veut pas du pouvoir – figure censée incarner le petit Belge héroïque que conforteront les combats de 1914-1918 (...) s'y inscrit déjà très clairement" (Quaghebeur 9). He argues that a moderately romantic literature is developed in Belgium which glorifies the heroic past of the feudal principalities or of Ancient Belgium. "Ainsi conforte-t-elle et étend-elle le mythe historique du siècle d'or (XVe-XVIe siècles) et du pays de cocagne mis à mal par les appétits de ces puissances étrangères dont les Belges n'ont que faire" (Quaghebeur 10).

The Francophone Belgian authors thus wanted to have a literature of their own. If one can speak of a Belgian literature before the creation of Belgium itself, Moke surely helped to establish this form of literature, though this was not his intention with *Le Gueux de Mer*.

5.4 The Black Legend

This sections serves to examine whether aspects of the Black Legend such as rivalry for the New World, the Inquisition, a negative attitude towards (Spanish)

Catholicism and an exaggerated negative representation of the Spanish characters in general can be found in *Le Gueux de Mer*.

The New World and the horrible behaviour of the Spaniards towards the native population are mentioned. Louis' father went to the New World with a merchant ship to live far away from the civilised world. He tells Louis that the Spaniards attacked the peaceful tribes and forced them to work in the mines. Giant dogs were trained to eat the men and wild women cut the throats of the poor Indians without a reason. To top it all, the Spaniards “prêchaient le massacre au nom de l'Évangile, et teignaient dans le sang l'emblème de la miséricorde céleste” (p. 107). The Indians are represented as a peaceful and hospitable population. They regarded lord Gruthuysen as their father. Don Sandoval once tells Marguerite and the baroness that he will attack ‘l'île de Walcheren’, the hideout of the water beggars and that if women and little children will be spared, it will be “pour les envoyer au fond des mines de l'Amérique” (p. 31). The Spaniards are rude, heartless tyrants who abuse the native population of America, and want to exploit the rebels to feed their hunger for the treasures of America. Moke thus

clearly uses the Spanish Conquest of the New World to support his negative portrayal of the Spaniards.

The Inquisition plays an important role in the novel. Marguerite and the baroness of Berghes are questioned by the Inquisition because they had been on the ship of the heretics. The tribunal is made up by three Spanish judges: the first two do not speak French or Flemish and the third one is don Christophe de Sandoval, who speaks a bit French. This information already makes clear how distanced they are from the people they judge. “La fortune et la vie des bourgeois de l’Ecluse se trouvaient donc entre les mains des trois militaires espagnols, qui ignoraient leurs costumes, ne comprenaient pas leur langage et professaient le plus grand mépris pour les privilèges héréditaires de la nation” (p. 111). The ladies manage to flee to Brussels where they are captured and led once more to the Council of Blood. There they witness the trial of twenty-seven innocent villagers who will all be hanged because some *gueux de bois* destroyed the chapel of their village. Jean de Vargas, president of the Council, pronounces their sentence in Latin, thus the villagers, who were not even interrogated, do not know what fate awaits them. Marguerite and her aunt try to

explain to Vargas that the accuser, Sandoval, is their personal enemy. Vargas consequently blames them for the murder of Sandoval, while the ladies did not even know he is murdered.

The Inquisition appears another time towards the end of the novel when Louis, Dirk and don Ignacio de Santa-Maria are in the palace of the Inquisition to rescue Marguerite's father. Don Ignacio tells the Flemings that he enriches himself with goods, for instance wine, from the accused. When they are alarmed by some noise, the Spaniard says that they should not pay attention to the noise, "nous entendons cette musique toute la journée: ce sont les cris des pauvres diables auxquels on inflige des coups de discipline pour mortifier la chair" (p. 288). The shouts of the tormented victims sound like music to the Spaniard's ear. Suddenly a half-naked girl, who had been tortured with a hot iron, enters the room. Don Ignacio wants to betray the girl, who will later turn out to be his own daughter, but the two Flemings can prevent it. The Inquisitor who searched her is a young monk with eyes full of lust and it is more than obvious that he tried to rape the girl. Louis and Dirk continue their mission and enter the torture room where they

distinguish “des hommes couverts d’un voile noir et semblables à des spectres funèbres: les uns préparaient des instruments de supplice, les autres faisaient bouillir de l’eau et fondre du plomb” (p. 295). They witness how an old, innocent Franciscan monk is undressed and tortured because he does not confess being a heretic. The tortures are minutely described, for instance “[l]es épaules, ordinairement trop faibles pour résister au fardeau qui pesait sur elles, se disloquaient, et les jointures se détachaient avec un horrible craquement” (p. 301) and “[s]es veines gonflées dessinaient par tout son corps de grosses lignes noires ou violettes, ses yeux sortaient de leur orbite, ses lèvres étaient couvertes d’écume, et une douleur excessive donnait à sa figure l’expression d’un rire affreux” (p. 302). He dies without confessing, but nevertheless he is judged guilty of heresy and of having made a pact with the devil.

The protagonists thus often encounter the Inquisition and Moke dedicates long passages to describe its cruelties. Women, seniors and even monks are not spared. The former are even raped by monks of the Inquisition. All the cases described in the novel are convictions of innocent people.

Moke’s novel shows no hostility towards

Catholicism in general and Belgium is not represented as an even latently Protestant country. The majority of the protagonists adhere to the Catholic religion. Louis, Marguerite and the baroness of Berghes are all good Catholics and they often pray. There is a distinction, however, between Flemish Catholicism and Spanish Catholicism. Flemish Catholicism is described in a positive way and the God of this population is a peaceful God. Spanish Catholicism is a fanatic religion and the Spanish inquisitors commit several crimes in the name of their cruel God. Dessouroux notes that the patriots are associated with God's chosen people from Israël. Moke does not advocate Protestantism as the true religion, but Spanish Catholicism is not the same as the Catholicism of the patriots.

The general image of Spain and the Spaniards is a very unflattering one. Their appearances, their attitude and their actions are described in a negative way. They are dressed with luxurious products, but “leurs regards impérieux, leurs traits fortement dessinés, leur teint basané et leur contenance fière ne pouvaient inspirer que la crainte et l’aversion” and “[à] l’air hautain et à la démarche assurée de ces deux militaires [espagnoles], il était facile de voir

qu'ils se croyaient faits pour dicter des lois" (p. 16.) They have an "air menaçant et [d]es regards sinistres" (p. 38), "tous leurs traits exprimaient la brutalité de leur caractère, et ils semblaient moins à des soldats qu'à des bouchers" (p. 39). The Spaniards are horrible and haughty slaughterers. They are also deceitful, greedy cowards (cf. "la fourberie, l'avarice et la lâcheté" p. 40). They bring terror and disaster everywhere they go. Marguerite and the baroness encounter some children whose fathers and elder brothers are imprisoned because they could not pay the high taxes. A child tells "on nous a chassés de l'humble toit qui nous couvrait" (p. 12). The Spaniards behave roughly towards the old baroness when she tries to protect Marguerite. "[L]es féroces soldats la repoussaient brutalement, riaient de ses larmes et ne lui répondaient que par les plus cruelles injures" (p. 40). Many more examples could be added, but I will conclude with an example of the Inquisitor. "Le féroce Jean de Vargas se mit à rire, d'un rire dur et sinistre. [Et il dit:] '(...) les flamants sont le peuple le plus brut et le plus imbécile qui rampe à la surface de la terre, Dieu le permettant ainsi pour les punir de leurs hérésies" (p. 138). In many respects the image of the Spaniard corresponds to

Weber's definition. The Spaniard in Moke's novel is indeed "unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent and authoritarian" (Weber qtd. in Horwitz 2). The negative description of the Spaniards is even stronger because these descriptions are contrasted with the very positive description of the patriots, who are noble, honest, goodhearted and courageous.

A strong correlation between appearances and character can be noted. The good characters often have noble and regular features, while the bad ones are rather ugly. For instance, when Moke describes Louis, he emphasizes "la noblesse de sa figure", "l'élégance de sa taille et l'heureuse harmonie de ses proportions" (p. 43). He is often referred to as "[le] beau marin" (p. 54) and the Queen trusts him because "sa figure exprimait si bien la noblesse et la loyauté" (p. 259). Guillaume of Nassau has "les traits mâles et le front majestueux" and "son sourire exprimait (...) la bonté" (p. 64). The contrast with the description of the duke of Alba is immense. "Le caractère de cet homme se peignait sur sa figure longue et décharnée. Son front élevé; ses yeux perçants, ombragés par de grands

sourcils plus noirs que l'ébène; son nez recourbé comme le bec d'un oiseau de proie: tous ses traits révélaient l'orgueil, l'ambition et la soif de sang" (p. 162). Another Spaniard, one of Philip II's soldiers, is described in the following way: "sa figure brutale, sa démarche lourde et son maintien ignoble annonçaient une origine basse et un caractère grossier: son regard était menaçant et son sourire féroce" (p. 262). The logic of a correlation between appearances and character is applied to the duke of Médina-Coeli as well. He is described as a handsome man, consequently it is expected that he will do good actions for the Belgians. "On vit la joie et la confiance se peindre dans les regards des Belges, car la physionomie de ce nouveau gouverneur annonçait la bonté" (p. 173).

The representation of the Spaniard in general is clearly an (exaggerated) negative one. Now, some specific Spanish characters will be looked at: don Christophe de Sandoval, the duke of Alba, Philip II and don Ignacio.

Don Sandoval is described in a negative way. The character is, just like the historical figure, an important inquisitor. He has a high self-esteem and for instance brags about how he slayed *gueux de bois* and *gueux de mer*. He is

not very clever either, given that “[s]ans considérer qu’il parlait devant des Belges, il s’exprima de la manière la plus méprisante sur les guerriers de cette nation” (p. 20). His rudeness and arrogance are attested for instance in the scene where Don Sandoval does not wait for the mayor to give the signal to start drinking (p. 22) and in the scene where he glorifies the Inquisition and the combat against the *gueux*. Marguerite does not find any traces of nobleness or grace in his manners. He has an imperious and hard expression and “c’était un véritable supplice pour elle de revoir cet homme odieux” (p. 29). In short, many examples can be found in the novel which attest don Sandoval’s vanity, arrogance and cruelty.

The duke of Alba is described as a very cruel person as well, though there are some softening elements. An example of his cruelty is that he orders the hanging of the seventeen deans of the bourgeoisie of Brussels, although his secretary told him they have not been condemned by his judges (p. 195). Another cruel action of the duke is that he murders the woman he once loved and who had given him a child, don Alonzo, because it enrages him that a black woman can have such a power over his heart. The (slightly)

softening details are that he first has good intentions with his love and wants to brave “tous les préjugés de sa nation et partager ses grandeurs avec une fille des déserts” (p. 155); after he kills her, he has “des remords aussi cruels que sa passion avait été violente” (p. 156). He wants to compensate for the assassination of his beloved by loving his negro son: “jamais père n’aima davantage son fils!” (p. 194). When don Alonzo dies, he grieves for his death. The duke also declares Louis as a free man because he knows he was gentle to his son. The duke of Alba, severe and cruel as he may be, is thus not completely dehumanised.

Whereas Moke grants the duke of Alba some mitigating circumstances and redeeming features, king Philip II is granted none. He is represented as a cold, heartless tyrant. He, for instance, “préférerait à tous les spectacles la vue des supplices infligés aux hérétiques (...) et montra une horrible joie pendant qu’ils expiraient dans les flammes” (p. 364). He also hires some men to murder his own wife because she sympathises with the heretics, but the attempt is cancelled by Louis. “In every instance, the king of Spain is defined by the harsh accents of the black legend, or, more accurately, by those features and those features only,

which bring out, in counterpoint, the nobility of the Belgian(s)” (Quaghebeur and Labio 121). The king’s cruel behaviour is contrasted with Louis’s nobleness. Another example of Philip II’s cruelty is that he watches an innocent old monk being tortured in a horrible way without intervening. At a certain moment he fears he has let a saint being tortured, but when the monk appears to be dead, it is concluded that he was guilty after all. “This [negative representation] is characteristic of the way in which Philip II has been remembered throughout the entire history of the Belgian literary tradition, a phenomenon that emerged precisely at the time when what one can reasonably call a national consciousness was beginning to take shape” (Quaghebeur and Labio 120). The representation of Philip II is purely negative.

Don Ignacio, also known as Juan Carino, helps Louis and Dirk Dirksen to free Marguerite’s father. He presents himself to Louis as “don Ignacio-Angelico-Domenico-Francisco de Santa Maria y Pedroval y Paulodor, actuellement brigadier dans l’honorable corps de la Sainte-Hermandad, familier et alguazil-major de la très sainte inquisition” (p. 278). By introducing himself with such a

long name and title, he shows how proud he is of himself and he wants to make Louis realise what an honour he has to meet him. Don Ignacio is a good friend of Dirk. He is loyal to him, “je suis à toi à la vie et à la mort” (p. 281), not because Dirk has saved his life, “[j]e sais que tu m’a sauvé la vie une fois ou deux fois; mais ce ne serait pas là une raison pour m’exposer à la perdre” (p. 280 - 281), but because he has killed his greatest enemy. He even refuses Louis’s money and delivers the prisoner for free. He thus helps the patriots, but this does not mean he is a thoroughly good-hearted man. He is a haughty man and is ready to raise his sword against whoever insults him, even if it is his good friend Dirk. He is also cruel, since he is an inquisitor and he has no mercy for the escaped girl. However, when he finds out that she is his daughter, he shows remorse. He regrets that he abandoned his wife and his child, while he could have been a good father and a good husband. He was driven by “la soif de l’or...le jeu...la débauche!” (p. 292) and realises he does not deserve to be called her father. He calls himself “le plus dénaturé des hommes” (p. 293) and is ready to redeem “une partie de [s]es crimes en versant tout [s]on sang pour votre [de Louis] service” (p. 293). He thus

becomes a new man, a good man. When his daughter dies, he becomes embittered and revenges her death. In general, don Ignacio is a haughty, cruel Spaniard who helps the patriots and even regrets his crimes after he has met his daughter.

The overall representation of Spain and the Spaniards is very unfavourable. First of all, Moke mentions the horrible exploitation of the New World, emphasises the good character of the native population and the greediness of the Spaniards. Secondly, the Inquisition plays an important role in the novel. Several pages are devoted to the workings of this institution and its cruelty is described in detail. Thirdly, Belgium is not represented as a Protestant nation, but a clear distinction is made between Flemish Catholicism and the devilish Catholicism of the Spaniards. The atmosphere that surrounds the Spaniards is one of horror and fear and the majority of the Spanish characters are cruel, haughty and merciless, Philip II being the worst of all. Some leniency is granted to the Spaniards, given that Moke's duke of Alba could have been worse and don Ignacio changes into a better man. Don Alonzo is even described in a positive way, but since he is a black man he

will be discussed in the section 'Orientalist elements'. Quaghebeur and Labio argues that Moke wants to present a historically realistic novel and therefore he tries to be more lenient and objective in his description of the Spaniards. He does not want to be overtly partisan and "believed that all parties were guilty of excesses and condemned them equally vehemently". Moreover, he also clearly states his intention to treat "virtuous men of all persuasions and faiths fairly, in part in order to make his depictions of Philip II, the duke of Alba, and William of Orange all the more interesting" (Quaghebeur and Labio 119). I argue that if Moke tried to make clear that all parties were equally guilty, he did not succeed in portraying that image at all. He did not condemn them equally and he is overtly biased. He sketches a very positive image of the Prince of Orange and a very negative image of his opponents, though they are granted some minor softening circumstances. The Black Legend has had an overriding influence on this novel.

5.5 Orientalist elements

Romantic Orientalism flourished in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century and the writers who belonged to this movement often represented a fantasized image of the Eastern Other, based on sources which contained (negative) stereotypes about the Orient. Moke's novel represents a better image of the Oriental.

The main Oriental character in the novel is don Alonzo and he is represented in a very positive way. Louis saves his life when two Spaniards try to murder him, because it is a shame that a "chien de nègre" (p. 149) has the title of captain in the Spanish army. Don Alonzo is considered as inferior by everyone except by Louis, who regards him as his equal and immediately trusts him, even though he previously fought against the patriots with his army of Albanese soldiers. Louis is "le seul être pour qui [s]a couleur ne fût point un sujet de mépris et de dégoût" (p. 153). Although he is the duke of Alba's son, the mulatto is described as a handsome person with good manners: "le mulâtre (...) avait la taille la plus avantageuse, les proportions les plus parfaits et les traits les plus réguliers" (p. 152). "Les manières du mulâtre étaient celles d'un

gentilhomme; son langage était doux et modeste” (p. 153). Not all the Africans are described positively, though. Don Alonzo himself indicates that his passionate African mother is an exception, “elle ne ressemblait point à cette race dégradé dont trafiquent vos [European] marchands: quoique noire, elle avait ces traits nobles et gracieux” (p. 154). She loved her son very much, “qu’il est faible et inattentive l’amour maternel des Européennes” (p. 156). Don Alonzo gives a very positive representation of his mother, but he does not defend the African race in general. He accepts the humiliations connected to his colour. Even when he wants to protect Marguerite and the baroness, the baroness does not trust him. She even fears that he might be a cannibal, “nous voilà captives d’un brigand, d’un nègre, peut-être d’un anthropophage” (p. 243). Even though he is not trusted, he gives his life for their safety. Dessouroux suggests that don Alonzo may symbolise the Spanish loss of African colonies, because he turns against his father’s cause and swears loyalty to Louis.

Not much can be said about don Alonzo’s costume and Oriental elements in the setting. Moke does not give much attention to a description of don Alonzo’s clothing.

Only once he vaguely describes his outfit, when don Alonzo follows the ladies to secure their safety. “Il était vêtu de manière à ne point laisser apercevoir sa figure” (p. 208 - 209). Only once in the novel is an Oriental setting described, when don Alonzo has just met Louis and invites him in his room in the palace of the government. “[L]e jeune Flamand fut frappé de la magnificence orientale qu’on y remarquait: des tapis de Turquie garnissaient les murailles, des sofas revêtus d’étoffes de soie invitaient au repos, et une huile parfumée brûlait dans des lampes d’argent” (p. 152). However, this last description is intensely Orientalist. Don Alonzo is half African, half Spaniard and he is consequently expected to have ornamented his room according to Spanish or African fashion, not according to Oriental fashion. This is not the case. He has Turkish carpets and the silk and perfume give an air of lazy, effeminate sensuality that is typically Orientalist.

Moke provides a lengthy description of don Alonzo’s discovery of the Catholic religion. After his father killed his mother, he could no longer bear the sight of his son and confided him to some women. The women who were ordered to take care of him dragged him “d’église en

église, de couvent en couvent, et [le] forcèrent à prendre part à des cérémonies que [il] ne pouvai[t] comprendre” (p. 156). When someone talked about religion to don Alonzo, God and the angels were represented as “blancs comme les Européens” (p. 156), while “Satan et les réprouvés” were represented as “noirs comme [s]a mère et comme [lui]” (p. 157). Therefore he decided to worship the stars like his mother did. All changes when his father gives him a private tutor, a clergyman who preaches about a God who cares for the humble and the sufferers. Don Alonzo can relate to this kind of God and reconciles with Christianity. Thus don Alonzo is not a Muslim who was converted to Christianity. Islam is actually not mentioned in the novel. One explanation may be that Moke did not appreciate Muslims: he did not hide his disapproval of Muslims and Turks in particular in his book *Du sort de la femme dans les temps anciens et modernes*. He wrote for instance “C’est au sein du harem que les Turcs d’un certain rang puisent cette morne apathie qui se peint sur leur visage” (qt. Varendonck 126). His aversion to the Muslim faith is motivated by his disapproval of all forms of polygamy. He wanted a more independent position for women and thought that “men de

vrouw in de ontplooiing van haar activiteiten zo weinig mogelijk beperkingen mag opleggen” (Varendonck 127). Varendonck mentions that Moke occasionally expresses superiority of the whites over the blacks, but “Mokes Europees superieur gevoel, evenals de racistische uitspraken die hij hier en daar in zijn werken of toespraken integreerde, hadden evenwel een grens” (Varendonck 157).

Finally, don Alonzo’s death needs to be discussed. He is wounded while protecting the two ladies and Louis is by his side when he pronounces his final words: “Le pauvre mulâtre a aussi reçu sa récompense...il va passer dans un séjour où il n’y aura plus d’humiliations pour lui. (...) Alonzo ne regrette point l’existence...; il n’avait ni famille...ni patrie!” (p. 319). Despite the fact that don Alonzo has finally made some friends, he does not see a place for him in society. He is happy to leave his racist environment. Although his father is still alive, he says that he has no family. He does not seem to belong anywhere. This gives the impression that Moke did not know what to do with his Oriental character after all is said and done, so he lets him die. Moke does not discriminate the black character in that he lets the hero of the novel respect and

trust him, but on the other hand the black character seems dispensable in the end. He has the honour to die a patriotic death, but no real happy ending is provided for him.

The key message is that don Alonzo is often discriminated and despised by other characters and Moke shows that these characters are wrong. The mulatto is not described as an arrogant, merciless Spaniard, but as an honest, handsome young man who is embarrassed by his father's misdeeds and who, after meeting Louis, wants to give his life for the good cause. The overall representation of don Alonzo is still stereotypical, but in a positive way, though in the end Moke gets rid of him. Louis's nobleness is highlighted once more, because he is the only one who can see that there is more than meets the eye. He ignores don Alonzo's colour and sees the man's good qualities.

I argue that *Le Gueux de Mer* does not meet all the requirements of an Orientalist text. First of all, the Oriental setting is limited to don Alonzo's residence. Further, don Alonzo is not even a Muslim. Finally, don Alonzo is not described according to the parameters of Romantic Orientalism, since stereotypical Romantic Orientalist

elements such as the homoerotic, the violent Oriental man, the submissive and sensual Oriental woman are absent.

6 Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges*

6.1 Thomas Colley Grattan¹⁰: biography

Thomas Colley Grattan was born in Dublin in 1791. In that period his fatherland depended politically and legislatively on Britain. The Society of the United Irishmen was formed and they rebelled in 1798. Grattan's relative Henry Grattan, leader of the Irish parliament, was an Irish Whig Protestant who pleaded for Irish independence. The protest of the Irish Whig Protestants did not actualize these aspirations and in 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland saw the light and the Irish parliament was no more. Thomas Grattan was a Whig and his political ideas were in accordance with his relative Henry, who wanted the independence of the Irish Parliament, but at the same time he was loyal to England. Henry was, like Thomas, a Protestant but he nevertheless defended "Catholic Emancipation and tried to ease Protestants' fears of the presence of Catholics in Parliament" (Dessouroux 18). In *Beaten Paths*, Thomas Grattan explained that he regretted "the marked separation of religious sects in [the Irish]

¹⁰ Grattan's biography is based on the articles by Boase and Clarke, on Dessouroux's thesis and on Grattan's *Beaten Paths*.

society” (Grattan 40). In this autobiography - though Grattan did not like this term - his liberal sympathies become clear. Grattan left Ireland in 1817 to support the South American wars of independence against Spain, but never got that far. On the way, he met Eliza Sarah and married her. The two of them settled in Bordeaux where they started a family. He then worked in Paris as a journalist and he published a collection of stories with the title *Highways and Byways, or, Tales of the Roadside* and moved to Brussels in 1828.

In this city Grattan wrote *History of the Netherlands* as well as *The Heiress of Bruges* in 1830. The latter was translated into French by Delepierre - with Moke’s assistance - one year later. He afterwards left Belgium for two years because of the Belgian Revolution of 1830. At first he only sympathised with the House of Orange and not with the Belgian revolution. “He favoured the union between Northern and Southern Netherlands, praised their Protestant King William I Frederick in glorifying the national past and legitimising the union” (Dessouroux 20). However, after his good reception in Belgium by King Leopold I, he was in favour of the Belgian independence.

Afterwards he “wrote on European affairs, mainly connected with Belgium, for British and foreign reviews” (Dessouroux 6). He also intervened “in resolving the problem of the north-eastern boundary between the American states and the British provinces” (Dessouroux 6) and in ameliorating the position of Irish immigrants. In 1846 he went to London where he wrote some novels and commented on Anglo-American affairs. He died in the same city in 1864.

6.2 *The Heiress of Bruges*: synopsis

The Heiress of Bruges is a historical novel which, like Moke’s, is set the 16th century Low Countries. It is divided into four volumes and is part of the “Orangist literature which aimed at shaping national pride and feelings. (...) By praising the worth of the patriots and the union between Flemish, Walloon and Dutch soldiers, Grattan entered his novel into the tradition of Orangist literature” (Dessouroux 19). Contrary to Moke, though, Grattan’s main concern was not to provide a political message to his readers. As Ingelbien and Eelen point out, Grattan wanted primarily to entertain his British audience.

In the novel, the troops loyal to Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange after the death of his brother William, oppose the Catholic troops of Philip II of Spain. (Maurice of Nassau was Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands from 1585 until 1625¹¹.) Siger Van Rozenhoed becomes a wealthy man and eventually mayor of Bruges when he finds a treasure in his garden. His daughter Theresa, the main protagonist of the novel, has spent her youth in a convent where she witnesses the escape of her Moorish friend Beatrice with the help of the reckless freedom-fighter Count Ivon De Bassenveldt. When the beautiful Theresa returns to her father, many men introduce themselves as her suitors, but her heart is already destined for the nephew of the Prior of St. Andrews, the humble Lambert Boonen. Later on, Theresa's father is arrested, because archduke Albert has discovered that he is in contact with Maurice of Orange; he will be tried in Brussels. Theresa is obliged to follow her father to Brussels and to stay in the house of the Marquess of Assembourg with her aunt Mme Marguerite De Lovenskerke. Baron Lyderic De Roulemonde wants to force her to marry him, but her lover

¹¹ Source: Merriam Webster Dictionary.

Lambert helps her to escape during the night. During their escape flight, they are captured again, now by the men of Ivon De Bassenveldt, who wants to marry her as well, and they are taken to Welbasch Castle. De Bassenveldt lets her know that he assures her father's safety. He is known to be a rebel who opposes the archduke Albert and he has two goals in his life: the liberation of Brabant and a marriage with Theresa.

From the moment they are captured, Theresa's love for Lambert is continually tested. At one moment, she can easily dedicate her love to Lambert, at the other she feels she is giving in to De Bassenveldt's irresistible attraction, though she has not met him at the castle. Different characters, such as lieutenant Gallagher, Beatrice and Mme Marguerite are trying to convince Theresa of De Bassenveldt's good qualities. Beatrice fell for the charms of De Bassenveldt, but she accepts that he is only interested in Theresa. Theresa despises and admires Beatrice at the same time because of her boldness and immorality. Throughout the book she will develop a better relationship with Beatrice, because she realises that Beatrice left the convent to escape from the Spaniard don Juan de Trovaldo.

Shortly after Theresa's capturing, Welbasch Castle is attacked by the troops of the archduke, led by Trovaldo, who hopes to get Beatrice back. Baron Lyderic is on the Spanish side as well. He is a dangerous opponent, because he knows the castle very well. He used to be Ivon's best friend, but turned out to be a traitor. After twelve days of occupation of the castle, Lyderic asks the help of the Italian engineer Barochio. This man orders a mass of hydraulic machinery and brings it into an aperture in the wall to flood the provision chambers of the Castle. Don Juan disapproves the inglorious action of Lyderic. He also superstitiously thinks he will die soon, because at night he sees a Moriscoe¹² whom he has killed previously and thus must be a ghost. He thinks he sees Beatrice's father, but actually he sees his former slave Aben Farez, Beatrice's brother and a good friend of De Bassenveldt. De Bassenveldt, the Moriscoe and two volunteers manage to destroy the hydraulic machinery. The damages to the castle are tremendous and De Bassenveldt fears that he will need Prince Maurice's help. The Moriscoe tries to murder don

¹² Moriscos/Moriscoes are Moors who have been forced to convert to Christianity.

Juan to avenge the suffering he has caused to his sister. His attempt fails and he is chained to the battery. He should have been killed by a bullet from the castle, but the bullet liberates him and don Juan lets the Moriscoe escape, because his rescue seems a miracle. Actually his sister has saved him. Then a group of De Bassenveldt's men are captured by the royalists. Don Juan proposes that twenty-one of his men fight against twenty-one of De Bassenveldt's men (with the Moriscoe and Lambert) for the liberation of the prisoners. At the end, all patriots are lying on the ground except for the Moriscoe and Lambert. Against all odds, they defeat four opponents and the giant Lekkerbeetje¹³.

Despite this victory, the situation looks bad for De Bassenveldt and his regiment of 'Black Walloons'. The provisions decrease, but they refuse a proposal of surrender. Consequently, Lyderic places mines to destroy the castle, but De Bassenveldt has placed some countermines. The castle is destroyed and the inhabitants flee. Beatrice, however, falls into the hands of Lyderic, who tries to let the

¹³ The site of the Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum states that Lekkerbeetje ('gourmand') is the nickname of the historical figure Gerard van Houwelingen, a lieutenant who served the last governor of 's-Hertogen-bosch in Spanish service.

Inquisition murder her after she refuses his love, but her brother and a Jew intervene. Theresa is led to Prince Maurice's protection by Renault Claassen, another man who loves her, but she is depressed because she thinks her lover Lambert died in the explosion of the castle. She refuses all her suitors and wishes to return to the convent, but in Bruges she and her father are captured by Lyderic. In the meantime Maurice fights with the Dutch army and with De Bassenveldt at his side against the royalist army of the archdukes. They win the Battle of Nieuwpoort and De Bassenveldt saves Theresa and her father. Theresa sees De Bassenveldt for the first time and a marriage follows now she has discovered that the romantic, tender, innocent, timid singer and lover Lambert Boonen and the heroic, bold and ardent Count Ivon De Bassenveldt are one and the same person!

6.3 The Black Legend

This section examines whether aspects such as rivalry for the New World, the Inquisition, a negative attitude towards (Spanish) Catholicism and an exaggerated negative representation of the Spanish characters in general can be

found in *The Heiress of Bruges*.

The discovery of the New World is mentioned in the beginning of the novel when Siger Rozen (not yet entitled with the noble last name Van Rozenhoed) is a humble goldbeater. He longs for the trans-Atlantic gold and has some serious thoughts of going to the new-found world to find gold. Grattan does not mention any cruel or greedy Spanish action in America, but as Greer has mentioned, the envy of Spanish gold is present in the English Black Legend. It is possible that the Spanish exploitation of the slaves is not mentioned, because it is difficult to reconcile envy of gold (gained by forced labour in mines) and moral behaviour. One cannot criticize the exploitation by the Spanish, while desiring the wealth gained by this exploitation.

The Inquisition is mentioned when Lyderic hands Beatrice over to the Inquisition to punish her refusal of his love. The men of the Inquisition are represented as cold-hearted imbeciles, though don Lupo de Lucerdo, the commissary of the Inquisition, is described as a more intelligent man, a “learned monster” (p. 451). He does not torture Beatrice, since she willingly confesses her heretic

belief, and decides that she will be punished with living burial. The Inquisition is criticised, but not in a severe way. The episode dedicated to the Inquisition is small and it does not contain any practices of torture. Thus the Inquisition's cruelty does not seem exaggerated.

As far as religion is concerned, the Protestant Grattan shows a very tolerant and open-minded attitude towards different religions. The Catholic, the Protestant, the Muslim and even the Jewish religion are present in the novel. Despite the fact that the novel is a part of Orangist literature, in which the Prince of Orange and Protestant freedom fighters are represented as great, noble, courageous heroes, some important and respectable characters adhere to the Catholic religion. Van Rozenhoed and his fair daughter are both loyal Catholics and so is De Bassenveldt who in a speech to his officers holds up a chaplet as a "badge of Walloon freedom" (p. 109). In his army there has been a struggle between people of different religions and then Grattan inserts an obvious plea for religious tolerance through the character saying: "He is a Calvinist – ye are Catholics – well, what of that?" De Bassenveldt himself agrees that it does not matter that his soldiers come from

different countries and support different religions, since all that matters is that they fight for the same goals. Both Catholics and Protestants work together for the freedom of the country. Van Rozenhoed and the prior of St. Andrews collaborate with the Protestant Van der Gobble and Maurice of Nassau, because the freedom of Flanders is more important than religious antagonism. It is important to note that Catholicism and Spain do not become synonyms in the novel. People from other countries are represented as Catholics as well. Dessouroux argues that a distinction must be made between Spanish Catholicism and Flemish Catholicism. Spanish Catholicism is connoted negatively – mainly due to the Inquisition - as “a fanatical religion adoring a God of sufferings and death” (Dessouroux 53). Flemish Catholicism is a less radical, more tolerant religion. It must be noted though, that Flemish Catholicism is mocked to some extent, since the prior uses gifts of the treasure of Van Rozenhoed to strengthen his own position and make his aspirations of the Bishop title more realistic. Instead of using the money for charity and being satisfied with his position as a humble servant of the Church, he uses the money for his own profit. Both variants of the Catholic

religion have their flaws, though the ones of Spanish Catholicism are much worse.

The Muslim religion is mentioned as the religion of Beatrice and her brother. Except for don Trovaldo and the Inquisition, nobody despises their religion. Beatrice even tells the Inquisition in vain that “Ferdinand and Isabella granted freedom of worship and security against forced conversions to all the Moriscoe race” (p. 452-53). The Jewish religion is mentioned once, when Abram Hackaerts, the crooked Jew of Mechlin, helps Aben Farez to save his sister’s life. The Jew is put in a good light, given that he assists in a noble and courageous deed. “[H]e accomplished his purpose of doing good to a fellow-creature, even though the objects of his beneficence were of a belief that pointed out him and his religion as most loathsome and detested” (p. 462).

It is obvious that in general a disadvantageous image of Spain is portrayed, as a country whose tyrannical power must be destroyed by the patriots. Therefore it is more interesting to examine the individual Spanish characters to see whether Grattan grants the Spaniards some favourable features.

Don Juan de Trovaldo, the governor of Bruges is introduced as “an officer of considerable merit” (p. 33), but soon his awful character is known to the reader. Some stereotypes of the Black Legend apply to him, such as cruelty, an authoritarian and haughty character, superstition (in that he believes in ghosts and miracles) and passion for a woman. Other stereotypes such as laziness and cowardice do not apply to him. He actively participates in some battles and he scorns Lyderic’s plans to flood the Castle of Welbasch. Before he agrees to the placement of mines, he wants to attempt to overthrow the patriots on the battlefield. He wants to defeat the enemy by fair play and not with filthy tricks. It is possible that Trovaldo “stands for Philip II’s illegitimate half-brother called don Juan de Austria, who fought against Moriscos in Spain, killed a lot of them and kept others as slaves, like don Juan de Trovaldo in the story” (Dessouroux 41). Don Trovaldo is without doubt a malevolent man, but non-Spaniards such as Lyderic de Roulemonde equal or even exceed his malevolence. Lyderic is the traitor *par excellence* of the novel. He does not want to stand in the shadow of De Basseveldt’s greatness and therefore he betrays him and collaborates with don

Trovaldo. Later on he tries to murder don Trovaldo in order to be the only chief in charge and when the castle is blown up (by De Bassenveldt). Trovaldo's death is accomplished and Lyderic gains his title of governor. Trovaldo possesses a few good qualities, while Lyderic is rotten to the core. However, Lyderic has been educated in Spain, thus this country could have formed his malevolent character.

Another fairly important Spanish character is don Diego Leonis. This Spaniard in De Bassenveldt's troops saved the provost of Flanders and his assistant Louis Dranckaert from the hands of Martin Schenk, leader of the Picaroons. The Picaroons are a band of outlaws formed by deserters of all nations from the royalist troops. Don Leonis is a soldier who always boasts about and exaggerates his merits. Nevertheless he really is a good warrior and for instance succeeds in capturing Schenk. Despite his exaggerated stories of his merits, he is a good man and he is loyal to De Bassenveldt and the good cause.

Don Diego Leonis is not the only Spaniard in De Bassenveldt's troops. The Moriscoe siblings are two half Spanish characters in his troops. One negative feature of the Spanish 'education' Aben Farez had is that assassination of

the enemy is attempted. The Spaniards often try to assassinate their enemy at night, instead of defeating them in a fair battle. That is why Aben Farez attempts (in vain) to murder don Trovaldo at night and De Bassenveldt prohibits him to do such treacherous actions in the future. The section 'Orientalist Images' will further elaborate the description of the Moorish characters, since they fit better in the category of Moor than in the category of Spaniard.

Further, Grattan mentions the historical sovereigns of the Habsburg Netherlands, the archdukes Albert and Isabella. Albert VII was the archduke of Austria and Philip II of Spain's nephew. He went to Brussels in 1595 to strengthen the position of the Spanish army in the Netherlands and married Philip's daughter Isabella. Isabella's image in the novel is rather advantageous, while the image of her husband Albert is unflattering. Grattan describes Isabella as literally his better half. He is a cold, haughty, taciturn and bigoted sovereign, while she is a warm, independent and admired one. Despite the fact that she is opposed to the patriots and tries to force Theresa to marry Lyderic, her overall representation is a positive one. In addition the personal guilt of both archdukes is lessened,

since “[t]hey are but the puppets of Spain” (p. 107).

Finally, with the exception of don Trovaldo and some other Spaniards, the Spaniards are described as cowards. For instance during the siege of Welbasch Castle the Spanish assailants do not retreat from a hopeless attack, not because of their courage, but because they fear the reaction of their Spanish chiefs. On another occasion, two Spaniards are fighting against Lambert and the Moriscoe and they realise they will be killed and therefore “throwing aside their weapons they dropped on their knees, and cried aloud for mercy” (p. 384). This shameful behaviour is punished by the proud Trovaldo and they are killed anyway. Moreover, it often occurs that the royalist troops flee from a minority of the patriots, certainly when they see De Bassenveldt or when they think they see the ghost of René The Wizard, one of De Bassenveldt’s ancestors. Sometimes even a few shouts ‘De Bassenveldt a boo!–Whoop!’ already frighten a whole group of Spaniards. On account of this, it seems that the Spaniards show some signs of weakness and lack of courage, while the patriots and Maurice of Orange are depicted as fearless heroes. This does not seem a faithful display of the historical situation. It is true that the Dutch

soldiers had the reputation of being “disciplined soldiers” and “[t]he key to this Dutch superiority lay in the drill, discipline, and volley fire” (Parker 356), but Maurice of Orange was not entirely fearless and for instance “tried to avoid battles with the Spanish veterans who were reputed, even by their enemies, to be ‘the finest soldiers at this day in Christendom’” (Parker 347).

Despite some overt signs of (rather mild) Hispanophobia, some signs of Hispanophilia can be discerned. Throughout the novel Grattan alludes several times to some admirable aspects of the Spanish culture such as fashion, music, wine, education and animals. For instance, Van Rozenhoed wears a rug after Spanish fashion, there’s a reference to a “Spanish guitar” (p. 58), Maurice of Nassau praises the excellence of Van Rozenhoed’s Spanish wine, there is a reference to education in Spain: “Like most of the young nobles of Brabant, he [Lyderic] was educated in Spain” (p. 111) and “mules of the finest race of Spain” (p. 208) are mentioned. However, the Spanish education has a negative reputation in the novel, given that Lyderic did not turn out to be a good person, and mules are not considered as refined animals. Accordingly, the Spanish culture is not

admired to a large extent.

In general, Grattan does not let the Black Legend lead him astray from a positive representation of the Spaniards. The Spaniards are not reproached for their conquest of the New World and the Inquisition is only mentioned in a small section of the novel. Catholicism is not seen as the hated religion of tyrannical Spain and there is a plea for religious tolerance. Spain is the enemy of the freedom-fighters, but this does not mean that Grattan represents the Spanish-Dutch struggle in a narrow-minded way. The Spaniards are not all evil and cruel persons. There are brave Spaniards in the Dutch troops as well and some Flemings and Walloons serve don Trovaldo. It is striking that Grattan describes De Bassenveldt as a Walloon who spent his youth serving the archdukes and the Spanish capital. Only later on does he join the Dutch cause. Mme Marguerite de Lovenskerke, Theresa's aunt, ends up marrying the Marquess of Assembourg, who has Spanish sympathies. In other words, there are no strict boundaries between the Dutch/Flemish/Walloon side and the Spanish side. In addition, the biggest Spanish villain, don Trovaldo, is not represented as a treacherous coward. He is represented

as a bad man, but the representation could be worse. Archduke Albert is not sketched as an amiable person, but his wife can be more appreciated. In addition some aspects of the Spanish culture seem to be appreciated, ergo Grattan surely does not represent Spain in an exclusively negative way. The immoral Spanish actions are not exaggerated.

6.4 Orientalist images

This section discusses the Oriental setting and the two main black characters in *The Heiress of Bruges*, Beatrice and her brother Aben Farez. Both are very close friends with De Bassenveldt and are represented in a very positive way. Grattan's work does not show the negative influence of Romantic Orientalism.

Grattan used Welbasch Castle to provide an Oriental setting for his readers. One of De Bassenveldt's ancestors, Count Gerard, nicknamed the Saracen, had participated in a crusade. He had spent some years in slavery in Egypt, then regained his freedom and returned to his native land. There he was "seized with a frenzy, quite unique. He believed himself to be a Turk; adopted the Asiatic costume; decorated his château in the style of an eastern harem; filled

it with the daughters of his villagers, whom he forcibly seized from their fathers and lovers” (p. 86).

[He] metamorphose[d] the exterior of his castle, in complete unison with its internal masquerade. Over the fine substratum of gothic architecture, he had placed a layer, as might be said, of that entitled saracenic. Towers and turrets, ogives and eyletholes, were all intermixed and surmounted with decorations suited to the minarets of the East; and under the cornices and parapets were rows of turbaned heads looking grimly clown, in different burlesque expressions, as suited the pleasantry of the sculptor. (p. 86 - 87)

Though Grattan did not locate his novel in an Eastern country, he still touched upon Eastern themes such as the harem and Eastern architecture. It is not a Turk, however, who forces young girls to be part of his harem, it is a Western man who has gone mad. Grattan refers to the harem without putting Muslim women in a passive position and without putting Muslim men in the position of tyrants.

Beatrice, the main Muslim female character, is not

represented as a passive being, enclosed in the sensual atmosphere of a harem. Beatrice is everything but a yielding, subservient woman. She escapes from her passive condition in the convent and chooses a life full of risks at the side of the brave De Bassenveldt. She is a courageous woman with an almost manly attitude. She has “pride and almost unfeminine force of character” (p. 458). Her manliness is emphasised even more by the contrast with Theresa’s feminine nature and behaviour. Theresa “embodies the submissive and weak virgin who is looking for her charming prince and keeps this rather stereotyped role throughout the story” (Dessouroux 40). Beatrice, on the contrary, is a real warrior with a “powerful mind and force of feelings” (p. 528) and takes an oath to wear male clothes until Theresa is Ivon’s wife. She opposes the traditional female roles concerning clothes, deeds and attitude. When her brother meets her in the castle of Welbasch, he sees her “in the habiliments of manhood and by the side of her seducer, shamelessly joining in orgies unsuited to her sex” (p. 101). She exclaims for De Bassenveldt and his officers: “I cast aside from this moment all the weakness of womanhood and I live but for his glory and his country's

freedom!” (p. 110). Beatrice also states that men and women should be treated equally. She despises different rules for men and women, “as if gender were of the spirit and not of the body” (p. 299). Different loathsome men have been impressed by her and she is the only thing in the world that makes those immoral men, such as don Trovaldo and Lyderic, show some feelings. Beatrice tells her friend Theresa in the convent: “I grew up, Theresa, as you see me, with form and features too like, alas! to my wretched mother's not to excite the vile desires of my master” (p. 42). The evil men are attracted to her beautiful appearances, but Beatrice’s beauty is not connected to the idea of Eastern sensuality.

The moment that Lyderic saw Beatrice, on her arrival at the castle of Welbasch under Ivon's triumphant care, a passion apparently deep as it was violent took possession of him. In a few days, it seemed wholly to absorb him. She appeared imbued with a spirit of female heroism, which in those times exerted such powerful sway; and the male attire which she constantly preserved threw a barrier, as it were, before her charms, without communicating any

notion of indelicacy, which, in our days, would have weakened their effect. (p. 113)

Lyderic is not attracted to her because she is a sensual, Eastern woman, but because she has a spirit of female heroism. She surely proves her heroism on different occasions, for instance, she remains faithful to her Muslim religion throughout the whole process of the Inquisition, even when she is buried alive. She is a powerful character and depicts her own race as a warm race, whereas the Flemings are rather cold. “Thou [Theresa] art a Fleming, by nature cold, by feeling and education a Catholic. I [Beatrice] am a Moriscoe, warm and glowing as the climate of my birthplace, and by very instinct of the faith of my fathers” (p. 40).

Beatrice is a converted Muslim. She was even forced to live in a convent, until she escapes with De Bassenveldt’s help. “Trovaldo had no alternative but to force me into this convent, sure that his power over the abbess would leave me at his mercy” (p. 42). After her escape from the convent,

[t]he dress of the novice lay upon the floor; and as Theresa groped around her feet struck against several

small articles. Among others which she stooped to pick up was the crucifix of ebony, which used to hang at Beatrice's girdle, and which she had thus flung behind her, as if to mark her contempt for the faith which she renounced and fled from. (p. 44).

Beatrice's conversion and the time she spent in the convent did not make her a better Christian. She overtly adheres to Islam, which she frequently invokes. For example: "Holy Alla preserve him!" murmured Beatrice (p. 338) and "And now, Alla! now, holy Prophet! to ye and the destiny taught me [Beatrice] by your sacred creed I commit myself" (p. 343). Despite her conversion, Lyderic hands her over to the Inquisitor dom Lupo with the following words: "'Summon hither on the instant,' said he, 'Dom Lupo and his attendants. A Moriscoe maiden, in the guise of manhood, a relapsed, an avowed follower of Mahmoud, a fugitive from her convent, awaits her doom at the mercy of our holy mother church, into whose hands I resign her.'" (p. 450).

Her brother, Aben Farez, who was christened Gaspar, was Trovaldo's slave and was given the mission by Trovaldo to kill De Bassenveldt to retrieve his sister, but instead he joins his army of Black Walloons and becomes

De Bassenveldt's completely trusted chief agent. Trovaldo promises him freedom if he kills De Bassenveldt, but Aben Farez cuts his own path to freedom. He takes his fate in his own hands and evolves from the position of a slave to the position of a free man. He has a "reflective temperament" (p. 68) and proves his courage several times throughout the novel. For instance, he volunteers twice in perilous actions to destroy the machine which floods the castle and he saves his sister from the Inquisition. He would have "die[d] as a hero might" (p. 367) when he was attached to a battery, had his sister not saved him. Aben Farez and Count Ivon are close friends, but there is no mentioning of anything more than friendship between them. The homoerotic feature, typical of Romantic Orientalism, is completely absent. The Eastern Other is associated with a violent conduct, but the violence that Aben Farez uses is mainly to support De Bassenveldt's fight for freedom.

Now the appearances, costume, pride and religion of Aben Farez's will be examined. His appearances are compared to Trovaldo's. When Gaspar stands next to his fearful master, he looks like a small and weak man, yet

some of his features betray his firmness and decision and show that he has a keen and strong mind.

His pale olive complexion looked mean in comparison with the bronzed face that confronted him, particularly from the want of beard and whiskers, which so profusely covered it; and while Trovaldo's frizzled hair curled thickly on his shoulders, according to the fashion of the time, Gaspar's black locks hung sleekly down his back. His stature was of the middle size, but it looked diminutive beside his master's commanding height; and the large and swarthy features of the latter were markedly opposed to the thin-edged outlines which were presented by Gaspar's profile. Yet his aquiline nose, curved nostrils, and well-cut mouth, spoke a firmness and decision more than common: his eye looked piercingly bright in its dark tranquillity; and his high clear forehead bespoke a mind, far keener and stronger than that of the personification of power and passion who stood before him, and whom he held in awe. (p.51)

Aben Farez's costume changes throughout the novel as it follows his changing position. When the Moriscoe served Trovaldo, "[h]e was dressed in the usual costume of a Spanish serving man, without any visible badge of slavery, except an air of degradation in his mien and countenance" (p. 51). Later on, on his way to Welbasch Castle, "Gaspar bore the uniform of a Spanish dragoon" (p. 70). The inhabitants of the castle consider him a Spanish soldier, because of his "plumed morion" (p. 96). Finally, when he has assumed the function of De Bassenveldt's chief agent, he is dressed "in the graceful costume of his ancient race" (p. 327). The costume of his ancient race must include a turban, because Trovaldo "saw the turbaned, pale-faced miscreant look into the very curtains of [his] tent" (p. 334). He thinks it is the ghost of the Moriscoe's father who haunts him, but actually it is the Moriscoe himself.

Just like his sister, Aben Farez is very proud of his race. Contrary to Moke's black character, this man is not ashamed of his origins. When Trovaldo asks him whether he fears De Bassenveldt, he answers: "[t]he question dishonours my whole race" (p. 54). Another example of his proud is that when Trovaldo asks him to murder De

Bassenveldt for him, he answers: "I am your slave, 'tis true, but not your sword blade. I kill, senor, but for myself" (p. 56). The Moriscoe race is represented as a proud, courageous and passionate race. Aben Farez is often compared to a wild animal. When he was Trovaldo's slave, Trovaldo told him that he had to attack De Bassenveldt in the same manner as a lion follows his prey. "Ere the sentence was thus broken, the half maddened Moriscoe, who had, step by step, enacted his master's words, as the latter paced the room, leapt forward, as if in the very act of the fierce animal's [lion] bound, so theatrically described by the governor" (p. 54). When Aben Farez meets the Picaroons on his way to Welbasch Castle, he acts as follows. "Like a wild beast bounding from his lair into the very toils of the hunters, did the Moriscoe now dart forward" (p. 70). Later on, in the battle against a group of Trovaldo's soldiers, "[t]he Moriscoe, like an unsated tiger, rushed on one of them, and was on the point of smiting him" (p. 384). Aben Farez might be compared to wild African animals to emphasise his exotic and courageous nature.

Finally, the religion of the Moriscoe plays an important role. The term 'Moriscoe' already indicates that

Aben Farez is a converted Muslim. Beatrice tells Theresa that “[her] brother (...) Gaspar, as they christened him, but whose true and early name is Aben Farez, the last descendant of a race of chieftains, is to this day [Trovaldo’s] slave” (p. 42). Aben Farez means ‘son of a knight’¹⁴. It is no coincidence that the brave Moriscoe bears such a chivalrous name. Throughout the book, Grattan alternatively calls this character ‘the Moriscoe’, ‘Aben Farez’ or ‘Gaspar’. The use of the first term does not seem to have a special meaning, but the choice of the latter ones depends on his position. When he is at Trovaldo’s mercy, he is called Gaspar, but when he is a free man, he is called Aben Farez. For instance, while he is volunteering for brave deeds in De Bassenveldt’s army, he is always called Aben Farez. When he is captured by Trovaldo after the failed nightly attempt to kill him, the author calls him Gaspar. “Gaspar, as we must now again call him, shorn of the honours of his brief season of freedom” (p. 353). Then he is freed by his sister and “Aben Farez, once more at liberty, turned his thoughts to some new enterprise to wipe away the stain of his last failure” (p. 369). The

¹⁴ Sources: <http://jewishmoroccanarchive.co/meaning-names-abensour-evenzur-tsur-zur/> and <http://www.babynamespedia.com/meaning/Faris/m>.

Moriscoe has in his heart never ceased to be Aben Farez. Officially, he is a christened man, but he has never accepted his Christian name. “This person was Gaspar, as he was commonly named, but, in his own calling, Aben Farez (p. 47). This corresponds with the historical reality of the sixteenth century.

In the mid sixteenth century, most of the European nations were threatened by the Ottoman Empire of Turkey. Philip II was afraid that Spanish Moriscos would rebel against Spain and help the Ottomans. Therefore, he took severe measures against the Moriscos, including making them convert to Catholicism and banning the Arabic language and the Islamic religion. These measures provoked the Morisco communities’ revolts of 1568, which were suppressed by don Juan of Austria, Philip II illegitimate half-brother. (Dessouroux 42)

Most Muslims had nominally become Christians, but they maintained their clothing style and still spoke Arabic. Some of them secretly continued Muslim practises (Trueman). Aben Farez seems to be one of those persons. When he

finally has the occasion to kill De Bassenveldt, he starts to doubt and shouts: “‘Shades of my fathers, guide me!’ (...) again raising his dagger ‘can guilt assume this aspect can infamy wear looks like these?’” (p. 122). He does not ask guidance from God, but from his (Muslim) forefathers.

At the end of the novel, when De Bassenveldt has married Theresa, Beatrice and her brother leave to return to their roots in Africa.

Demanding from Prince Maurice a passage for herself and her brother, in one of the many Dutch vessels bound to Africa, they took together their way to that original clime of their unhappy race, in the hope of joining their fate with some of those expatriated tribes, who still cherished the idea of reconquering the Alpuxarras from Spain. (p. 528)

Just as in *Le Gueux de Mer*, the Oriental characters disappear at the end of the novel. It is possible that Grattan just got rid of the black characters to follow the structure of Moke’s novel. On the other hand, it is also possible that Grattan did not envision a place for them in either ‘Belgian’ of ‘Dutch’ seventeenth-century society. In any case Grattan

lets his Oriental characters disappear in a less drastic way than Moke did, since Beatrice and Gaspar do not die. Until the end they remain dynamic figures, who, apart from their support for De Bassenveldt, have a purpose of their own as well.

Finally, only two persons utter negative statements regarding the Moriscoes. The first one is don Trovaldo, who has killed Aben Farez's father, has abused his mother, treats him as his low slave and calls him a Mahommedan dog. It is clear that the writer does not sympathise with the figure of don Trovaldo, his actions and his utterances. Don Trovaldo is depicted as a horrible man, accordingly this despiser of Aben Farez does not corrupt the reader's positive image of this man. The second person with a disapproving attitude towards a black character is Theresa, because she cannot overcome her "repugnance to the Moriscoe" (p. 430). This is a negligible argument, however, because Theresa does not mistrust him because of his colour, but because she believes that he has deceived Lambert Boonen and he has led her as a prisoner to De Bassenveldt's castle.

The Oriental Other is represented in a very positive way. The Moors are fully trusted by De Bassenveldt and

enjoy his friendship. Both black characters, although converted to Christianity, remain faithful to Allah in their hearts. They are strong, honest, courageous characters who fight on the right side of the battlefield. This unprejudiced, or maybe even positively biased, picture of the Oriental characters contradicts the stereotypical picture of the violent, aggressive Eastern man and the passive, obedient, sensual woman as can be found in some Romantic Orientalist literature.

One of the factors which is linked to Grattan's positive representation of the Moors are his Whiggish politics. Grattan shared the liberal ideology of his relative Henry, who became a Whig Member of Parliament for Dublin at Westminster in 1805 (Dessouroux). Given that Whigs were more democratic, they possibly were also more tolerant of different cultures. Yadav points out that Tories belonged to the conservative, royalist side, while Whigs were democrats who wanted progress and change in the religious and political domain.

Irish disorders centred, as they had since the Act of Union in 1801, on the issue of Catholic Emancipation, a favourite cause of the Whigs (...).

During the 18th century, Catholics in England had achieved a measure of unofficial toleration, but in Ireland restrictions against Catholics holding office were still rigorously enforced¹⁵. (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

The Whigs also favoured electoral reform and Irish Home Rule, which the Tories all opposed.

Tories are thus identified with a system of hereditary power - exercised especially by monarchs and the established Church - while Whigs are associated with a system of popular power, though generally in the hands of the propertied rather than the populace at large. (Yadav)

The Whigs tolerated Nonconformists, also called Dissenters, consequently they might also have been more tolerant to Muslims. They wanted the common people to have a voice, subsequently why not give a voice to the black people as well? The religious tolerance and liberal sentiments of the Whigs may have induced writers like Thomas Moore and Thomas Colley Grattan to be rather

¹⁵ In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act passed.

positively oriented towards the East. Yet, both Moore and Grattan were more positive about the Orient than a radical Whig like Byron¹⁶. Whiggish politics constitute only one factor.

The origin of the author constitutes an additional significant factor. Grattan and Moore were both Irishmen and therefore they may have felt themselves ‘Orientalized’. For Irish writers, the Oriental was sometimes a reminder of how they themselves were treated. Lennon points out that the Irish believed for centuries in an ancient historical connection between Ireland and Asiatic cultures based on origin legends and pseudo-histories. Although this connection is never proved, there existed a discourse composed of images, tropes, narratives and arguments that linked Ireland to Asia. Ireland was supposed to have an Oriental heritage. In addition, parts of the Orient, for instance India, were colonized by England in the nineteenth century and in the same period the Irish struggled for independence from the English. The Indian and the Irishman

¹⁶ Sharafuddin notes that Edward Said counted Lord Byron “among the Romantics who misinterpreted and ‘restructured’ the Orient and were not ‘guided’ by their dealings and interaction with it” (Sharafuddin ix). Lord Byron had sympathy for the Orient, but he also was a product of his imperialist culture.

are both “one of a conquered race, and the conqueror is the same for both” (Subramaniam qtd. in Lennon xxx). Given that the Orientals and the Irish were both in the underdog position, Irish Whigs could easily identify with Orientals. “[M]any Irish writers recognized themselves in anticolonial representations of an Oriental other” (Lennon 373). Not only Ireland compares herself to the Orient, the British Empire also had her reasons to make this comparison:

Imperial British texts had long compared Ireland with other Oriental cultures, at first to textually barbarize Ireland and later to discover intra-imperial strategies for governing its colonies. (Lennon xxiii)

This meant that Irish writers used the Orient “as an allegory for Irish issues” (Lennon 2) and subverted the imperial stereotypes of Orientalists and Celticists.

Although some pieces of literary Orientalism by Irish authors merely extended the discourse of Orientalism to Ireland (...), a larger number worked against the dominant representations of Anglo-French Orientalism and Celticism, exposing the

Orient's constructed and politicised nature. (Lennon
xxiii)

It is thus plausible that Grattan's nationality influenced his atypical representation of the Orient to a great extent.

7 Comparison

7.1 Introduction

There are many similarities between *The Heiress of Bruges* and *Le Gueux de Mer*, which indicate Grattan's indebtedness to Moke. Moke knew that Grattan had been inspired by him, because he was familiar with Grattan's novel, given that he revised the novel's translation.

The first similarity between the novels is that the geographical and temporal setting are the same. After Charles V's abdication in 1556 his son Philip II became king of Spain and of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands. He took away the privileges and traditions of the Dutch, took severe measures against Protestantism and imposed heavy taxes on the population. Consequently, the Dutch, guided by William of Orange, opposed Spanish domination from 1568 until 1648. This is called the Dutch War of Independence, also known as the Eighty Years' War. Both novels are set in the sixteenth century in the Netherlands. Secondly, as Dessouroux suggested, the main characters in both novels can be put into five stereotypes: the patriotic hero and lover (Louis - De Bassenveldt), the young pious virgin who opposes the patriots and then

changes her mind (Marguerite - Theresa), the Spanish enemy (don Sandoval - don Trovaldo), the Moors (don Alonzo - Beatrice and Aben Farez) and the conservative aunt (Baroness of Berghes - Marguerite de Lovenskerke). In both novels, the rich baroness symbolises the Flemish elite of the Southern Netherlands who need to revise their attitude about the Northern Netherlands and realise that a union with the north would be beneficial. The similarities between both novels are so numerous that one could even speak of a form of plagiarism. Ingelbien and Eelen suggest to speak of *refraction*, which is a form of rewriting a text across the boundaries of languages and borders.

Of course these similarities are localised on the surface. Dessouroux points out some differences between the juxtaposed characters as well. For instance, the Flemish Louis puts his fatherland first, while the Walloon De Bassenveldt puts his beloved first. In addition, Marguerite has a rather passive role in *Le Gueux de Mer*. She is constantly captured by the Spanish and needs to be saved by Louis. Theresa, on the other hand, is a more assertive woman. She looks at the battlefield with great interest. Moke does not give much attention to the love of his

protagonists, while Grattan dedicates many pages to the developing love between Lambert/De Bassenveldt and Theresa. Finally, Moke emphasises in the title the battle, while Grattan emphasises the female protagonist. All these differences can be accounted for. Ingelbien and Eelen point out that Moke and Grattan have different concerns. Moke wants to highlight the Orangist ideals and therefore minimizes the sentimental plot. Grattan has been inspired by Moke, but he is less involved in Dutch history and therefore his novel contains a more moderate Orangist propaganda. He wants to entertain his audience and gives more attention to the love plot and the battle scenes.

Next, the authors' way of writing differs as well. Moke prefers quick sequels of (predictable) actions without many descriptions and the characters' psychology is not described in a profound way. In other words, one finds "de voorkeur voor een snelle handeling, de oppervlakkige psychologie" (Weisgerber 39). Moke wants to profile himself as an historian and therefore he refers to many historical figures and events and he has added a long list of footnotes and some extra historical explanation at the end of the novel. Grattan writes in a less predictable way, for who

could have predicted that De Bassenveldt and Lambert are the same person: “Grattan had als romanschrijver een voorliefde voor uitgesponnen, complexe verhalen vol bruuske en onwaarschijnlijke wendingen” (Ingelbien and Eelen 251). In addition, his novel includes more humoristic and poetic descriptions and limits the descriptions of nationalistic battle scenes.

Finally, the public is different. Dessouroux notes that Moke wrote for the Francophone nobility and bourgeoisie in the Southern Netherlands (to convince them of the benefits of a union between north and south), while Grattan wrote for the English-speaking middle-class.

What is most interesting for the scope of this thesis, is to examine how both authors represent their Spanish and their Oriental characters. The question arises whether the Spaniards or the Orientals are represented in a better way in one novel and whether the Spaniards in both books are depicted more positively or more negatively than the Moors. The following sections will resolve these questions.

7.2 The Spaniards

Moke mentions Spain's evil actions in America, he dwells on the horrible deeds the inquisitors committed and makes a distinction between the benevolent Flemish God and the tyrannical, merciless Spanish God. Grattan, on the other hand, does not mention the atrocities of the Spanish deeds in the New World, he touches the subject of the Inquisition only briefly and does not exaggerate its severity. He is very tolerant to all kinds of religion, but Spanish Catholicism is a less tolerant religion, though Flemish Catholicism has its flaws as well.

Moke represents the Spanish characters in general in a negative way. They correspond to the characteristics of the Black legend as they are represented as cruel, haughty, deceitful, greedy, fanatical, corrupt cowards. Don Sandoval is the merciless stereotypical bad guy. The duke of Alba is as cruel in his private life as he is in his public life, but he regrets some of his horrible deeds and his son turned out to be a good person. Philip II is a severe monarch who enjoys seeing heretics tortured and inquisitor don Ignacio helps the patriots and becomes a better man when he meets his daughter. Grattan's character don Trovaldo can be compared

to don Sandoval. Both characters, as Dessouroux points out, oppose the patriots and the Moorish characters. They both try to possess a woman who refuses them and they are both killed by the heroes. An important difference between both characters is that don Trovaldo comes off better. He has many negative features, but he is a brave warrior and he advocates fair play. In addition, he first fancied Theresa because of her wealth, but then he changes his opinion and decides to conquer Beatrice. Don Sandoval wants to force Marguerite to marry him, so that he will become a wealthy man. His motives to conquer a young lady are economic, while don Trovaldo's motives are Beatrice's powerful personality. The archduke Albert is described rather negatively, while his wife is put in a more favourable light. There are even some good Spanish characters in Grattan's novel such as the two Moriscoes and don Leonis, a proud but brave Spaniard who fights in De Bassenveldt's army. Grattan thus does not make a rigid distinction between the Dutch/Flemish/Walloon side and the Spanish side and some aspects of the Spanish culture are even admired.

In short, Moke's novel glorifies the Prince of Orange and a union between the Northern and Southern

Netherlands. He tries to seem less biased by giving some human characteristics to the duke of Alba and by letting don Ignacio help the patriots, but his overall representation of the Spaniards contains obvious traces of the Black Legend. Grattan, on the contrary does not exaggerate Spain's misdeeds and he presents a much more nuanced picture of Spain and the Spaniards. Grattan partly based his plot on Moke's novel, but he obviously does not agree with Moke's representation of the Spaniard and therefore he puts them in a better light in his novel.

The reason why Grattan is less severe towards Spain than Moke is that "Grattan's English-speaking audience felt little direct concern for those foreign political matters affecting the Netherlands" (Dessouroux 27). Dessouroux points out that the wealth and leisure of the growing English middle class was increasing and travel literature was a popular subject. Grattan's main motives were not to spread Orangist political ideals, but to entertain his audience and make a living. He placed the love story between Theresa and Lambert on the foreground, because his readership would be more entertained by the sentimental plot than by the historical one. Grattan gives a more favourable

representation of Spaniards, because his audience is less concerned with the historical events. It is not Grattan's aim to blacken Spain's reputation and glorify the Dutch; he uses the background of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century as exotic setting for his sentimental plot.

7.3 The Orientals

The main black character in Moke's novel is don Alonzo, who is half African and half Spaniard. He is unjustly despised and humiliated by other characters around him. Only Louis immediately recognizes his personal worth. He is described in a very positive way as a handsome, well-mannered, honest, loyal young man who dies as a hero giving his life for the protection of Marguerite and the baroness. The Romantic Orientalist stereotypes do not overly affect his representation.

The main black characters in Grattan's novel are the siblings Beatrice and Aben Farez. In contrast to Moke's character, the colour of these characters does not arouse aversion from their environment. Both Beatrice and her brother defy the Romantic Orientalist stereotypes. Beatrice is a powerful, active and even manly woman with a feminist

spirit. Her brother first serves don Trovaldo, but changes to De Bassenveldt's side and becomes a loyal and courageous friend of his. He is not extremely violent and no homoerotic relation between him and another character can be discerned. The similarities between don Alonzo and Aben Farez are striking. Dessouroux notes that they are initially both flat characters who seem to develop into round characters as the novel unfolds, they are both African and Spanish at the same time, some of their relatives are murdered by a Spaniard and they both change from the royalists' side to the patriots' side and thereby symbolise African opposition against Spain.

From 1568 until 1570 the Revolt of the Moriscoes also known as the Rebellion of Alpujarras took place (Trueman). Grattan possibly suggests that the Moriscoe siblings have taken part in this revolt. When Theresa has fled from the Marquess's house and she is driving with her aunt and Lambert to a safe place, the driver of their litter suddenly ascends a heap on the road.

No sooner was he [Aben Farez] on the summit than Theresa heard him utter a wild and plaintive cry, which she immediately recognised as a fragment of a

Moorish ditty chanted at times by Beatrice, in suppressed tones, as they wandered in the convent garden at Bruges; and which she had explained to be one of the signal cries of the revolted Moriscoes among the recesses of the Alpuxara hills. (p. 282)

This is one of the passages which indicates that the Moriscoes had joined the revolted Moriscoes in their youth. At the end of the novel, they will join the rebels again.

Moke as well as Grattan represent the Oriental characters in a very positive way. Moke's Moorish character lives in an environment which - except for Louis - does not accept skin difference, while Grattan's Moorish characters encounter much less racist reactions. Both authors sketch trustworthy, honest, courageous and even heroic black characters, which enjoy the confidence of the most important patriots. Grattan has created Moorish characters which are similar to Moke's. He agrees with Moke's positive representation of the Moor and presents the Moors in his novel in a positive way as well. It goes without saying that in both novels the Moorish characters are represented in a far more positive way than the Spanish ones. Romantic Orientalism does not seem to have influenced the

representation of the Moorish characters in both novels. In Moke's case, one can attribute the favourable representation of the Moors to the fact that it needed to make the Spaniards look worse. In Grattan's case, the positive portrait of the black characters might be considered a counter-reaction to the prejudiced representation in Romantic Orientalism. He might have, as a Whig, a more democratic vision of society which tolerates all its members, even the black ones. In addition, Irishmen can identify themselves easily with Oriental characters. It thus seems that each author had his own reasons to refrain from stereotyping the Moor in a negative way.

8 Conclusion

Henri Guillaume Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* (1827) and Thomas Colley Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges* (1830) both question Said's insights. Said sees "Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 4). Western men consider themselves as superior human beings and their writings about the East "polarize the distinction [between West and East] - the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western - and limit the human encounter between different cultures, traditions, and societies" (Said 47). According to Said, Orientalist discourse widens the gap between East and West: "Orientalism assumed an unchanging Orient, absolutely different (...) from the West" (Said 97). He notes that "many of the stereotypes of Islamic and Arabic sensuality, sloth, fatalism, cruelty, degradation and splendor, to be found in writers from John Buchan to V. S. Naipaul, have also been presuppositions underlying the adjoining field of academic Orientalism" (Said 346). Hence, Said argues that "every European [during the nineteenth century], in what he could say about the Orient, was

consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric” (Said 205). This is a hasty generalisation. There surely are some works which stereotype the Orient negatively, but more variety can be found in the field of Orientalist literature as this thesis has shown.

Moke’s and Grattan’s novel confirm the studies of Leask and Sharafuddin. Both argue that there are some Romantic Orientalist works which present a better picture of the East. They criticise the lack of variety within the Orientalist domain in Said’s thesis.

Despite my admiration for Said's project, however, I have chosen in this book to focus upon anxieties and instabilities rather than positivities and totalities in the Romantic discourse of the Orient. It seems to me that whilst Said is right in asserting the links between knowledge of the East (...) and the history of colonial power, he is wrong in denominating it ‘a closed system’. (Leask 2)

Not all Romantic Orientalist works intend to dominate the East or express their superiority over the Oriental Other. “For Said the West is so systematically prejudiced that it

distorts everything. Said tries to expose distortions, but he does this so systematically that he falls into the same trap” (Sharafuddin xvii). Or, as David points out:

It is clearly important to not simply consider the more recent conceptualisation of the Orient as argued by Said (1978) and others that created a negative construct supported by notions of power and hegemony and that interpreted the East through an imagined gaze and maintained a binary view of superiority and difference, but to understand the longer and more complex history of the term. Its extended history indicates a more sympathetic notion of interest in the East, as historian John Mackenzie describes, of a “scholarly admiration for diverse and exotic cultures” (Mackenzie 1995, p.xii) (...) The influence of the Orient had a profound effect on Western cultural expression, and we know now that within Orientalist thought, there was a complexity of Western approaches to the East that was not a simplified, monolithic understanding of domination and hegemony. (David 4)

Moke's and Grattan's novels, for instance, bridge the gap between West and East and soften the distinctions between Western and Oriental characters. Their novels provide an exception within Romantic Orientalist literature and thereby challenge Said's homogeneous representation of that discourse.

Said states that some essential characteristics about the Orient recurred, such as "its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habits of inaccuracy, its backwardness" (Said 206) as well as its cruelty and its splendour. Some additional characteristics are the harem, the homoerotic and Islam. It is correct that Oriental Tales often represent the Oriental male as a tyrant and the Oriental female as a submissive, sensual member of the harem, but not all the Orientalist elements are present in every Orientalist work. In some novels there is barely any sign of "racial oppression delivered by Orientalism" (Aravamudan "Enlightenment Orientalism" 2). In Moke's novel there is no Eastern female, the harem is not mentioned and the Oriental male is not cruel or despotic. There is not any kind of homoerotic tension between the Oriental character and the Flemish hero or any other character. In addition, Islam is

surprisingly absent in his novel. In Grattan's novel, there is an Eastern female character, but she is not a passive, weak woman. On the contrary, she is a handsome, dynamic, proud, courageous, heroic woman who wears male clothes and adopts a male attitude. Her brother is not a dictatorial man, but a courageous, good person. Both characters have been converted to Christianity, but actually still adhere to Islam. Moke probably sketches a positive image of the Moors to make the Spaniards come off worse and to highlight the open-mindedness and greatness of the Flemish hero who – as opposed to the other characters - does not criticize the Oriental character. Grattan's refusal to stereotype the Oriental negatively is probably linked to his Whig policies and Irish identity. Grattan's Moorish characters are partly modelled on Moke's Moorish characters. They have an ambiguous relation with Spain in that they are partly Spanish and nevertheless fight against Spain's domination. They stand for African opposition against Spain. The main differences are that Grattan has put his characters in a more race tolerant environment and he does not let the characters die in the end. Grattan's portrayal of the Moorish characters is thus even more positive than

Moke's one.

Concerning the Black Legend, two elements of this legend are absent in both novels: hatred for Catholicism and racial antagonism. Moke regards Spanish Catholicism as the religion of a merciless God, but Catholicism in general is not looked down upon. Grattan even advocates tolerance towards all kinds of religions. The term the *Black Legend* stands for "Spain's cruelty and greed in the New World, yet it often refers in unambiguous terms to Spain's racial difference, its essential Moorishness" (Greer 94). There even was a discourse that considered Spain as a part of the East. As Tofiño-Quesada points out, nineteenth-century travel writing and literature "transformed ultra-Catholic Spain into a mythical Muslim space, exotic and foreign" (p. 143). Hence Orientalist stereotypes constituted a part of the Black Legend. Moke's and Grattan's versions of the Black Legend contradict the kind of discourse that links Spain with the Orient. Their versions of the Black Legend do not seem to include Orientalist clichés, but rather play off the Orient against Spain.

Other important elements of the Black Legend are the Inquisition, rivalry for America and the representation of

the Spaniard as “unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent and authoritarian” (Weber qtd. in Horwitz 2). Moke’s novel includes all these ingredients of the Black Legend. Spain’s greed and misdeeds in America are emphasized, the atrocities of the Inquisition are described in detail and almost all the Spanish characters in the novel are arrogant, haughty, greedy and vain men. Moke does not only make the Spanish characters look evil, he also links their moral turpitude to ugliness. The negative description of the Spaniards is strengthened by contrast with the flattering description of the patriots, who are noble, honest, goodhearted and courageous. Grattan’s novel presents a more moderate picture of Spain and the Spaniards. The Conquest of the New World is not used to depict the Spaniards as a greedy and cruel population and the Inquisition is only mentioned sporadically. In addition, his novel contains some brave, honest Spaniards who fight against the oppression of the Low Countries.

Thus both authors challenge the typical attitude of the West towards the East by putting the Oriental characters in a good light and thereby question Said’s generalisations

about Orientalism. Moke's novel is fairly influenced by the Black Legend, but Grattan's novel is more lenient towards the Spaniards. I suggest that further study is needed about the less well-known Orientalisms of Europe and about the different versions of the Black Legend.

9 Dutch summary

Deze thesis onderzoekt de invloed van de Zwarte Legende en het Romantisch Oriëntalisme op twee romans uit de negentiende eeuw: Henri Guillaume Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* (1827) en Thomas Colley Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges* (1830). Beide romans spelen zich af in de Verenigde Nederlanden tegen de achtergrond van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog.

Moke was een Belg en een aanhanger van het Huis van Oranje. Zijn roman verheerlijkt daarom de samenwerking tussen de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden en schildert Spanje en de Spaanse personages erg negatief af. Moke benadrukt de Spaanse uitbuiting van de inheemse bevolking van Amerika. Hij beschrijft hoe de Inquisitie onschuldige burgers veroordeelt, meisjes verkracht en zelfs senioren en religieuzen foltert. Hij beeldt het Spaanse Katholicisme af als de godsdienst van de Duivel. De Spaanse personages zijn wreed, gierig, onbetrouwbaar, fanatiek, bijgelovig, laf, corrupt, decadent, lui en arrogant. Hun slechte karakter wordt weerspiegeld door hun onsympathieke uiterlijk. Lijnrecht tegenover de Spaanse personages staan de knappe, eerlijke en moedige

Vlaamse en Nederlandse helden. Een vergelijking tussen de Spaanse personages en de Oosterse personages speelt opnieuw in het nadeel van de Spanjaarden. Het Oosters personage don Alonzo is een heldhaftige, knappe jongeman die zich schaamt voor zijn wrede vader, de hertog van Alba, en die zich aansluit bij de patriotten. Hij geeft zijn leven voor het welzijn van twee Vlaamse vrouwen. Moke's roman gaat hierbij in tegen de algemeen geldende negatieve representatie van Oosterse personages in zijn tijd.

Grattan was een Ierse Whig die toen hij *The Heiress of Bruges* schreef waardering had voor het Huis van Oranje. Hij wilde echter eerder succes hebben bij zijn Engelstalig publiek dan politieke ideeën verspreiden. De invloed van de Zwarte Legende op zijn roman is gering. Grattan heeft geen gebruik gemaakt van de Spaanse koloniatiegeschiedenis om de Spanjaarden slecht af te beelden. De Inquisitie komt nauwelijks aan bod in de roman en Grattan idealiseert het Protestantisme niet. Hij pleit via één van zijn personages openlijk voor religieuze verdraagzaamheid. De Spaanse personages zijn niet allemaal slechteriken. Er zijn wrede, arrogante Spanjaarden, maar ook Spanjaarden die met de patriotten meevechten tegen de Spaanse overheersing in de

Verenigde Nederlanden. Grattan schetst een nog positiever beeld van de Oosterse personages. Het zijn loyale, dappere Moslims die een goede band hebben met de patriottische held, De Bassenveldt. Het vrouwelijke personage, Beatrice, is geen zwakke, onderdanige, sensuele vrouw die in een harem thuishoort en haar broer, Aben Farez, is geen tiran. Grattan ontkracht dus de stereotypen van Romantisch Oriëntalisme en zet een geheel nieuw beeld neer van de Oosterse bevolking.

Zowel Moke's *Le Gueux de Mer* als Grattan's *The Heiress of Bruges* bevatten dus sporen van de Zwarte Legende, maar volgen de stereotiepen van het Romantisch Oriëntalisme niet.

Deze thesis bestaat (exclusief samenvatting en bibliografie) uit 144 521 tekens.

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