Lotte Jensen
»Drunken Swines«
The Representation of Westphalians in Dutch Literature from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*

One of the funniest caricatures of a German can be found in De lotgevallen van Ferdinand Hayck [The adventures of Ferdinand Hayck], a historical novel by Jacob van Lennep, published in 1840: it is Caspar Weinstüb, an immigrant from the region of Westphalia. He is the perfect stereotype of the German immigrant: he is clumsy, bad-mannered, and, as his name already indicates, he drinks all the time. He makes a complete fool of himself when he tries to mingle with the upper class circles. On a boat trip he tries to ingratiate himself with the well-mannered, wealthy Henriëtte Blaek:

»Wel de Juffrouw niet een klaasje nemen?« vroeg hij aan Henriëtte, die in stille aandacht de kust zat te beschouwen, die langzaam voorbijgleed:
»ik kan 't wel anpelfen: ofschoon ik aan Blaek [=Lodewijk Blaek, host] keeleg ep, dat hij nicht aan 't peste gandaor lesch. Nis of die witte Pieter Plutz en Sooene lesch ein gnappke fest; maar ie heeft keen koete gecorrespondens: en wie wil er nou mienderen wein trinken, as men de peste kriegen kan? Du iest Peter Trauketrof, die hat koeten wein; und nicht mejiert: — wel tierder, ja! — dat ist waar; aber was kan das schelen, wie tier de wein iest as tie maar goet iest? — fooral fooral sseie bliz als Plaek iest.«

Obviously, Caspar Weinstübe is unable to utter a single intelligent phrase. The only thing he can talk about is the quality and the price of the wine his host has brought along for the boat trip.

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1 »Missy, would you like a drink?« He asked Henriëtte who was quietly observing the coast slowly passing by: »I can really recommend it: although I have told Blaek [the host], that he isn’t buying at the boat dealer. The widower Peter Plutz is a clever guy, but he doesn’t have good connections: and then, who wants to drink wine of lesser quality, when you can get the best? There’s Pieter Trauketrof, who sells good wine, and not blended: — it is more expensive, yes! — that’s true; but what does the price of wine matter, when it’s good? Especially for a rich fellow like Blaek«. Jacob van Lennep: Ferdinand Hayck, Haarlem s. a., II, S. 32-33.

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Van Lennep’s sketch of this immigrant worker is in accordance with a large body of Dutch literary texts in which Westphalians are ridiculed for their unmanly manners, clumsiness and excessive drinking and eating habits. These characteristics were also attributed to people from other German regions and derive from a long European tradition of texts in which Germans are depicted as a voracious, diaspomaniacal and unmanered people. This image can be traced all the way back to Tacitus’ *Germania* (98 A.D.), which was rediscovered around 1500 by humanist scholars, and then distributed throughout Europe through many editions and translations.² Tacitus describes the Germans as a hospitable people of great drinkers and brave warriors. Whereas he attributes several positive characteristics to the Germans, subsequent authors mainly used his description to render a negative image of the Germans. To mention just one example: in 1578 the humanist Justus Lipsius wrote to one of his friends:

> [Gaet ghy] Nae Duutschland? sie deër slayperen en dronkenschap. Welcke ghedreecck ich wel weet dat sy verschoonen, en nomensen valschelijk beleefheydt, getrouwigheydt, deligtgheydt en vrolickheydt: maer ghy, vermijdtse: noch en laet die vleyende pest niet in u au’t een sluypen, door den wint van een verkeert oordeel.³

Another source for the widespread stereotype of the unmannered, drunken and voracious German was the climate theory, which claimed that the diversity among people was determined by differences in national climatic conditions. The characteristics attributed to Germans are part and parcel of the ideas about Northern people in general.⁴ Logically, these characteristics would also apply to the Dutch, but Dutch authors interpreted the climate theory for their own ends. Thus, they depicted the Dutch people as brave, clever, courageous and honest, and made light of their supposed diaspomaniacal feelings.

³ »You are going to Germany? Be wary of glutony and drunkenness. I know they justify their own misbehaviour by wrongly calling it politeness, seemliness and cheerfulness: but please avoid them and don’t allow their bad influence by misjudging them.« Quotation taken from a reprint of this letter in ANNA FRANK-VAN WESTREINEN: De Grootste Toorn. Tekening van de educatieres der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw, Amsterdam 1983, S. 323.

Research by, amongst others, F.K. Stanzel and G. Blacher, has shown that the image of the unmannered, drunken and voracious German was derived from a long-standing literary tradition, rather than from actual experience.⁶ This was the case for the majority of national stereotypes in the early modern period. In one of his studies on this topic, Stanzel states:

> Es mißt daher angenommen werden, daß die den einzelnen Völkern zugeschriebenen Eigenschaften aus einem traditionellen Fundus, nämlich aus einer ethnographisch-literarischen Rezensionen für National- charaktere stammen.⁷

In this paper I will take a closer look at the Dutch image of one particular group of Germans: the Westphalians. I will discuss three case studies, two from the seventeenth and one from the nineteenth century: a farce by Isaac Vos, pamphlets about Bernard von Galen (Bishop of Münster) and *De lotge- vallen van Ferdinand Hayck* by Jacob van Lennep. In the first two cases, I will argue that the representation of the Westphalians in these texts can indeed be traced back to the abovementioned literary tradition. But I intent to show that their representation was equally determined by current social and political issues. The third case is slightly different: Van Lennep’s sketch clearly fits in a long tradition in which Germans are being portrayed as diaspomaniacal people. Interestingly enough he makes an effort to unmask this stereotype, but in this, he is only partly successful.

1 **KLICHT VAN DE MOOT [FAERVE OF THE KRANT] BY ISAAC VOS**

Before discussing the first case, some preliminary remarks about immigration of foreigners, especially Germans, to the Dutch Republic, are necessary. From 1600 onwards, the Dutch Republic witnessed a rapid increase of immigrants. German immigrants were the second largest group of immigrants settling in the Dutch Republic; only inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders came in larger numbers. Germans left their country mainly for economic reasons, but the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War in 1618 also led to an influx of political refugees. Most of these German immigrants settled in Amsterdam. Between 1601 and 1630 nearly 25,000 Germans were registered for intended marriages in Amsterdam; the total number of German immigrants during this pe-
roid is estimated to be twice or even three times as high. Most of the German immigrants came from Frisian-speaking or Low German (Niederdeutsch) speaking areas, such as Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, Rhineland and Westphalia. Some of them stayed permanently in the Dutch Republic, while others only visited as seasonal workers, and helped to mow the grass and cut the peat. The temporary migrants were often called "hannenkameraers", in reference to their occupation as grass mowers.

Contemporary literature reflects these demographical changes, which obviously had an impact on daily life in the Dutch Republic. Permanent German immigrants and temporary migrants were often ridiculed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century farces, written by well-known playwrights such as Thomas Asselyn, Pieter Bernagie, Pieter Langendijk and Isaac Vos. Most plays were situated in Amsterdam and ridiculed the behaviour of Germans living there permanently. Only a few plays dealt with the group of seasonal workers or "hannenkameraers". One of these in particular became very popular: Klicht van de Mof by the Amsterdam playwright Isaac Vos. It was published in 1644, reprinted many times and frequently staged at the Amsterdam Schouwburg during the seventeenth century. The play is about three Westphalian "hannenkameraers" who travel to the Dutch Republic in order to make a living. They are extensively ridiculed for their uncivilised behaviour, foolishness, and eating and drinking habits. One of them, Jochim Bueleke, is completely obsessed with eating pork. When he arrives in Amsterdam, he tells about the horrible trip he has had. Before entering the track boat, he had eaten a nice piece of pork, but he got violently sick while aboard:

> Ick hed soo eyn hechtken strock spek gevreet, ont al de lude
Dit lached of se rosorinde dol weiren, Ick vroochte en woorom,


9 In the first decades of the seventeenth century nearly two third of the total number of German immigrants came from these areas. See Kuijpers: Migrantenstad (s. Anm. 8), S. 91–93, 112–113.


11 A survey of seventeenth and eighteenth-century farces about German immigrants and migrants can be found in Lucassen: Poepen, kneuten, mieren en moffen (s. Anm. 10).


Dat weeste wol wijs worden seden se, kom
Man eyn luttick wyder in Seet, Dat Speck moetter wedder oet. 13

He feels really sorry for himself, but not because of his sickness, but because of the loss of this "huchsb swijne vlees" (nice peace of meat). His two companions, Hans and Michel, are not one jot better: both are dead drunk all the time.

Jochim manages to find a job at a shoemaker’s, and falls in love with his employer’s daughter, Breechje. He tries to impress her by pretending to come from a rich family. At the same time he is reluctant to accept the consequences of marrying her:

> Ick moet me Hollandt loeren, mit om schaffen oock beter wie hier [...] door steyt men oock niet te libben
Libben en eyn strocke swijne vlees. 14

Breechje feels no affection for Jochim at all, and plays a trick on him. She lets him sleep in her father’s bed. Jochim thinks that Breechje will come and get into bed with him, but it is her father who lays down beside him. He gives Jochim a severe beating and fires him. The lesson to be learned from all this:

> Soo moettem de moffen verleeren, Die 'er al te veel laten voorstaen, en ruycken niet in wat lant sy zijn. 15

The representation of the three migrant workers as unmanned, drunken folk partly goes back to the literary tradition started with Tacitus’ Germania. Yet, there are also contemporary elements to be found in their representation. Jochim’s excessive pork eating has everything to do with his local roots: Westphalia was well known for its pig farming. Pigs from this area were said to be extra tasteful, because they were not fattened up in boxes, but could range free in the open air. The word "swine" therefore became practically synonymous with an inhabitant of Westphalia. However, "swine" also functioned as a term of abuse for persons who were associated with barbarism, dirt and immorality. In this way Westphalian people automatically became associated with all kinds of negative characteristics.

13 I had eaten a piece of bacon, and all the people were laughing as if they had gone crazy. I asked them why: "You will soon find out, they said, if you go farther at sea, the bacon must out again!". Isaac Vos: Klicht van de Mof, Amsterdam 1660 [1644], S. A 2r.

14 I will have to learn Dutch, in our country we eat better than here [...] No sucking on a piece of pork here, "Vos: Klicht van de Mof (s. Anm. 13), S. C2 1r.

15 "We have to teach those krants a lesson, who are too proud of their own country, and do not even notice what country they are in." Vos: Klicht van de Mof (s. Anm. 13), S. B3, 2v.

16 ZINSEN: Libben libben (s. Anm. 12), S. 23.

17 See the entry "zwijin" in: Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal (internet version, 20/03/2007, wn.int.nl).
2 Bernard von Galen, Bishop of Münster

The second case I would like to discuss is Christoff Bernard von Galen (1606–1678), who became Bishop of Münster in 1650. At first sight, the case of Von Galen has little to do with the migrant workers in the Knecht van de Mof. However, the migrants and the Bishop had their Westphalian background in common, and as a consequence, the same negative characteristics were attributed to Von Galen.

Von Galen twice made an attack on the Dutch Republic. The first time was in September 1665, when troops of the Bishop invaded the eastern provinces Overijssel and Drenthe. In short time Enschede, Oldenzaal and Ootmarsum were conquered. The Bishop was financially supported by King Charles II of England, but when his payments ceased, the Bishop had to concentrate his attacks on the more northern parts of the country. In April 1666 the Bishop had to withdraw all his troops, and under strong international political pressure peace was restored between Münster and the Dutch Republic. The second invasion took place in 1672, when the Bishop, in alliance with England, France and Cologne, invaded the eastern parts of the Dutch Republic. Von Galen was defeated in Groningen, and in 1674 a new peace treaty was signed. This left Von Galen with empty hands once again.¹⁸

During both wars many pamphlets were published in the Dutch Republic in which the Bishop was heavily lampooned for his actions.¹⁹ Most of these pamphlets had a radical satirical character and were meant to paint the enemy in the blackest terms possible. Von Galen’s German background as well as his Catholicism made him an easy target for ridicule. As for his Catholicism, a long list of terms of abuse can be compiled, in which his religious orientation is mentioned. He was, for instance, called an »onsaligen Myer-drager« (miserable / sinful Bishop), »Klooster-Mof« (monastery krant) and »sinnelozen Paap« (insane papist).²⁰ An even more powerful tool in the hands of authors, however, was his German, or more specifically, Westphalian background. His bellicose character was, for instance, explained with references to his ancient German roots, and the influence of climate conditions in the northern countries:

»een slecht Vorst, oft Lant, sal meer na den oorologh hijgen, als den geene die de root daer toe niet en pragt, dit sit men in de Gotten, Wandaalen, Cimbri, Sarmaten, Syczien, en andere Noordische Volcken, die door het kou Climaet, onvruchtbare rozen, weynigh vrucht-dragen- de landen, en daer soo nootnauwijk onstond, gedaunte armoede, alle Zuyder en Rijkeren Volcken gedaunte hebben komen plagen, en veel-tijds overwommen«.²¹

The continuity between the ancient German tribes (all of them mentioned in Tacitus’ Germania) and Von Galen’s belligerent behaviour is obviously taken for granted by this author.

Von Galen was also ridiculed for his eating and drinking habits. He was described as an abominable man, constantly eating pork and drinking litres of wine or beer in order to stay on his feet. Let me give two examples of the way the Bishop was portrayed. In the first one, Von Galen wants to offer his Catholic Spanish friends some golden chains, but the links turn out to be made of sausages. Before he can carry on with his speech, he first needs a stiff drink:

»Geript Spanje goude keete, Honig'houde ick van wel eteen, Als ick Woorst voor schaeckels kies. [...] Meer wilde hij [e*Von Galen] redenieren, Maer by most syn keell eerst smeereen Met een pul van tachtig pond. [...] Das laat ons, naer beheeren, BARENDT in sijn dronck niet stooreen, Maer wensen hem een goede naghtë«.²²

²¹ A bad ruler or country will have a greater desire for war, then those who do not feel the necessity. One can see this among the Gotta, Wandaalen, Cimbri’s, Sarmates, Syczien, and other Northern tribes who, due to a cold climate, infertile rocks, poor soils, which cause permanent poverty, have pestered the Southern, richer tribes, and conquered them many times». ANONYMOUS: De intentie van den Heer Christoffel Bernard, Bisschop van Munster [...] (Knuttel, s. a. Haarent 19, 9117)

²² Give Spain golden chains / I am hungry and would like to eat / Therefore I choose sausages as links [...]. He wanted to say more / But he had to wet his whistle / With a tankard of eighty pounds [...] . So let us be well-behaved / And let us not disturb Barend in his drinking / But wish him a good night». ANONYMOUS: Een stichtelijk Nieuwe-Jaarsliedt Ter Eeren van den Eestel-meeldighen Kristoffel Bae-


¹⁹ An inventory can be found in WILLEM PIETER CORNELIS KNUTTEL: Catalogus van de pamfletenverzameling bestaande in de Koolklijke Bibliotheek: 1549–1570, "s-Gravenhage s. a. The pamphlets about Von Galen are listed under the numbers 9177–9190 and 9402–9406.

²⁰ These quotations are taken from ANONYMOUS: De geest van Barentjes van Galen, anders Bisschop van Munster [...] s. 1, 1665, S. 10 (KNUTTEL 9180) and ANONYMOUS: 't Gewonde Zegel, des Prioores van Nimwegen-Zwijn en orden by den Lant-Verwaarder Jan Moller, anegoon Post-gast van den Munsterschen Bisschop [...] s. 1, 1666, S. Bl r. (KNUTTEL, s. Amn. 19, 9405).
In the next example, Mars, the god of War, is invited to join Von Galen's banquet:

»Vernoegdhe Mars, ontrol uw oorlogsh-vanen,
   Tree Barent voor, die Munsters klooster-kraken
   Heeft uytgetapt, en al zijt krueck en vol,
   Zuyt nu als dol.
   En slinger in 't vught van rijnsoche druiven
   [...] 
   Voegh u ter dis, daar verkenens en kappoenen
   Gaun in triomf om Stoffel [= Von Galen] te verzoenen
   Alwaar gy zult met Nomen vrolijck zijn
   By spiek, en wijp.
   't Is tijdt, hoogh tijdt uw lasten te verzaad,
   De swynen, en kalckoenen zijn gebraden.
   [...] 
   En Barent met de Krijgsgodt ruypt, en brazt,
   By hem te gaat.« 23

Many other fragments can be added in which the drinking and eating habits of the Bishop are satirised. The abundant references to swine are, of course, no coincidence. As said before, he came from Westphalia. Consequently, the way he is depicted shows many similarities with the way the Westphalian »hannekemaaiers« are represented in the faeces of Vos. The comparison between Von Galen and a swine can also be seen in a painting, made in 1672 by the engraver and caricaturist Romys de Hooghe (1645—1708). If one turns the picture around, one sees the head of a swine instead of Von Galen (ill. 1a + 1b). One of the funniest pamphlets shows the bishop backwards on a swine (ill. 2). He is dressed half as soldier, half as a Bishop. A swine is not a very effective mode of transportation, and sitting backwards will certainly not improve the matter, so all of this emphasises the Bishop's stupidity. He is accompanied by a servant, a monk, who is carrying ham, beer, and the Bible.

23 »Satisfied Mars, unroll your flags of war / Go before Barent, who has emptied the taps of the Munster monastery / And filled his bottles / Come, booze like a madman / And swing in the juice from the Rhine grapes [...]. Sit down for the dinner, where pigs and roosters / Are being served to please Von Galen / There you will enjoy yourself with the rums / With bacon and wine / It is time to satisfy your desires / The pigs and turkeys are roasted [...]. And Barent and the god of war, who is his guest, are boosting and bingings. ANONYMOUS: Triomfzang over de Heldenaarden, en Victoriaen van de onoverwinnelijke Ketter-dregger Dne. Christophorus Bernardus à Galon Geestelijke en Weerachtijcke Krijgar, S. A3v. Published together with ANONYMOUS: 't Gevende Zegel (s. Ann. 20).

while dragging two pigs along. In the motto Von Galen and his servant are compared to the Spanish Don Quijote and his clumsy servant Sancho Pancho. The situation is commented upon in the poem. His mode of transportation is extensively ridiculed, as well as the food supplies the servant is carrying for his master:

»Hy draught de Keucken, Worst en Schink, 
   Het Bier, en op zijn sijt een Flinck. 
   Oock hught een Boex op zijnen Stuyt, 
   Daar Preeckt hy staagh Orenus uyt.«

The poem ends like a prayer: »Dit was d'Oratie, en een keder kreg wat Worst / Wat Schicken en een Puter Noster op zijn Borst«. 24

In short, the bishop is represented as warmongering, barbarous, foolish, bilious, and voracious. All these stereotypes can partly be traced back to the literary tradition and partly to the scientific tradition of climatological thinking. Many of these stereotypes were also attributed to German people in general. The Westphalian background, however, gives an extra impulse to some of these characteristics, because swine (with all their damning connotations) symbolised the inhabitants of Westphalia.

3 Unmasking the stereotype: Caspar Weinstiib in Ferdinand Hueck (1840)

The negative Dutch image of the Westphalians remained current for a long time. The stereotype can also be found in several eighteenth-century satirical weeklies and faeces, as has been shown by W. Onnës and L. Lucassen. 25 At this point I would like to return to the figure of Caspar Weinstiib in Van Lennep's novel Ferdinand Hueck. This mid-nineteenth-century caricature of the Westphalian immigrant shows how persistent the image was. However, Van Lennep deliberately tries to unmask the stereotype, in which he only partly succeeds.

Ferdinand Hueck is one of the few nineteenth-century historical novels set in the eighteenth-century. Authors usually preferred the Middle Ages or the seventeenth century, as they considered the eighteenth century a period of economical and moral decline in Dutch national history. Nevertheless, Van

24 »He's carrying the kitchen, sausage and ham, there's also a book on his back, from which he constantly says his prayer [...] This was the oration, and everybody received some sausage, ham and a pat of butter.« ANONYMOUS: Soo d' Ridder Don-quischot, met Sancho was verreeene, soo moes 't den Bischoap, met sijn Brave Lijf- Knecht weese, s., s. a. (KNOTTEN, s. Ann. 19, 9189).

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Lennep obviously derived much pleasure from depicting eighteenth-century life. His book is filled with typical eighteenth-century characters such as the dandy (Reynhove), the hack (Lucas Heding), the religious fanatic (aunt Lefje) and the libertine (Lodewijk Bleek). Terwey has shown that Van Lennep made use of De Hollandsche Spectator (1731–1735) by Justus van Effen, while other characters seem to be inspired by the novels of Beetje Wolff and Aggie Dekken. However, Van Lennep’s use of stereotypes is ambiguous. On the one hand he uses them to paint a familiar picture of the eighteenth century; on the other hand he is constantly trying to unmask these stereotypes. For instance, the dandy ends up being a very well-mannered man, the religious fanatic shows a tolerant side, and the hack decides to quit writing in order to find a more profitable way of making a living.

Caspar Weinstübe also goes through a radical change. In the end, he understands that he will never be accepted in upper-class circles. He decides to marry his kitchen maid, fathers several children, and gives them a proper education. These children all get proper jobs, and create the opportunity for own their children to climb the social ladder. So Weinstübe’s grandchildren finally make his dream come true, as they gain good relationships with people of high esteem.

The question arises: why did Van Lennep systematically reverse stereotypes, including that of the Westphalian immigrant? I can think of two explanations. First, Van Lennep tried to change the contemporary view of the eighteenth century by unmasking all kinds of stereotypes characteristic for this period. Second, the reversal of stereotypes is closely connected to one of the main themes of the novel: the relationship between appearance and reality, or fiction and fact. One can see this theme at the level of the contents of the novel, as well as at a more abstract level.

As for the contents of the novel, the main character, Ferdinand, gradually acquires the insight that he can never judge a person by appearances. Out of good will he helps a trouble-stricken gentleman and his daughter. However, this gentleman turns out be a hard-headed criminal. Ferdinand then meets all sorts of criminal and immoral people. He tries to hide this from his father, a police officer, but he gets trapped into a web of lies. Everything turns out well in the end, but the message to the reader is obvious: appearances are deceiving. Never judge a person by appearances; he might be completely different from what one would assume at first sight. This is especially true for all the abovementioned stereotypical characters: the dandy turns out be a decent man, the religious fanatic a tolerant person, and the drunken German a respectable citizen. The main lesson that can be learned from this is that the world cannot simply be divided into good and bad persons. Good persons sometimes show unvirtuous behavior, and there is a good side to every villain. The same lesson can be found in Henry Fielding’s Tom Jones (1749), a novel Van Lennep clearly was very much inspired by. Van Lennep is also playing with the theme of appearance and reality on a more abstract level. This is clear from the many references to the make-belief world of novels in general. In the introduction Van Lennep has two persons quarrel extensively about the relationship between fact and fiction in novels. One of them is Marie Staufacher, who has the ambition to become a writer herself. She is extremely annoyed by the large number of improbable events in most present day novels. The other one, Mr. X, replies: “tu trouveras-t-on le roman-esque, si ce n’est dans les romans?” (if one cannot find the roman-esque in novels, where should we look for it then)? He continues: “Je claim that many things that seem strange, coincidental or rare, happen in daily life. They would be called improbable if they would occur in a novel.” Staufacher admits that he has a point: “Le vrai peut quelquefois n’être pas vraisemblable” (the truth sometimes seems very unlikely). Nevertheless she strongly disapproves of novels which contain too many impossibilities. Ironically enough, it remains unclear whether Marie is the author of Ferdinand Huyck. And, even more ironically, the story of Ferdinand Huyck largely consists of impossibilities: it is an ongoing stream of unusual events and unlikely incidents. At one point, even one of the characters sighs: “c’est un monde de merveilles!” One of the most

28 The final chapter is very similar to the epilogue in Sara Burgerhart (1782) by Beetje Wolff and Agatha Dekken, one of the most popular novels in the eighteenth century. It is my impression that Van Lennep is deliberately playing a (literary) game with this novel.
29 The similarities and differences between the abovementioned novels is extensively discussed in LOTTE JENSEN: De verheerlijking van het verleden. Helden, literatuur en nationale, Nijmegen 2008.
remarkable things in *Ferdinand Hueck* is, of course, the reversal of so many stereotypes, including Weinstibe's miraculous metamorphosis at the end.

Thus, at the heart of the novel lies the paradoxical nature of stereotypical images in general: they are not real, but at the same time they refer to some kind of reality, because turned upside down, they become even more unreal. The unmasking of the stereotypical image of the Westphalian immigrant illustrates this paradox: Caspar Weinstibe is an improbable character, because he is made up of clichés. Unmasking this stereotype, however, turns out to be a difficult or even an impossible task, because it leads to an ever greater improbability.

4 Concluding remarks

Let me end this brief overview of the Dutch image of the Westphalians by pointing out three things. First, it is no coincidence that (negative) representations of Westphalians are abundantly present in satirical texts: both the farce by Vos and the pamphlets about Von Galen are of a satirical nature. Satire is, of course, one of the most powerful tools in criticizing certain persons, groups or practices in society, and automatically leads to the exaggeration of typical characteristics of these persons or groups.

Second, the farce by Vos and the pamphlets about Von Galen are clear examples of xenophobic thinking. They not only express hatred against foreigners, but, so it seems to me, also a fear of losing one's own identity. By extensively ridiculing the behaviour of the *intruders* or *others*, the message is implicitly spread that the Dutch themselves are not like that. In other words, stereotypes tell as much about the observer as they do about the observed: *auto-images* and *hetero-images* are two sides of the same coin.32 Therefore, one should always take the political and social circumstances into account when studying national stereotypes. Although national stereotypes are clearly rooted in a long-standing literary tradition, current issues often explain why they are used in a particular way, and at a particular time. National stereotypes seem to be used most frequently whenever people feel their identity is at stake. This might, for example, be the case when large groups of immigrants are settling in a country or during periods of war. One can still see this mechanism in today's world: the present-day political debates on Dutchness, double nationality, and loyalty are closely connected to the issue of immigration and integration.

Finally, Van Lennep's sketch of Caspar Weinstibe shows how persistent the negative image of the Westphalians was. In 1840 readers still immediately recognized the typical characteristics of this particular group of Germans.