

The University in Franeker (1585-1811): A Case Study of the Consumption of History

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This is a case study of consumption of the history of a small city in the Netherlands. Specifically, it examines the memory of the main institution in that city, an important university. Correlates of the living memory of that university were found with the consumption of "high culture." The conclusions dispute the causality of education on memory of history. The work concludes with some suggestions for those wishing to use history as a marketing instrument.

The concept of 'consumption' has spread to aspects of life far outside the use of conventional products and services. Here, we present the results of research about the consumption of history in a small Frisian city. As a heuristic, we have concentrated on aspects of memory of history as forms of consumption.

Why is this research turning up in a marketing conference? The obvious reason is that consumption and the history of consumption is of interest to marketers, even if this stretches the envelope of the definition of 'consumption'. The less obvious reason is that there may be some practical uses for our learning, particularly among marketers who use product history or history in general to market products and services.

FRANEKER

We selected Franeker as the ideal test city for this, our initial research. The reasons will become apparent as this section unfolds.

Franeker is a small city in Fryslân the province in the northwest of the Netherlands. At present, it offers a few attractions to the casual visitor. There is an orrery ("Planetarium") built by a self-educated wool comber in 1795; it still functions perfectly in the ceiling of his living room. There also exist an elegant Northern Renaissance town hall, a museum of local history and art, and a number of other old buildings.

A major claim to fame for Franeker lies in its past. In 1585 a University was established there almost immediately after the triumph of the Reformation in Fryslân (Zijlstra 1996, p. 92); it was the second university formed in what is now the Netherlands. It existed for almost 225 years until the French closed it in 1811. In its time, the University in

Franeker was powerful (Israel 1995), of some political importance (cf. Shama 1992, p. 121), and international (de Ridder-Symoens 1985, Postma 1999). In fact, one may well claim that the single historical event or institution of note in Franeker is its University and its past glories.

It is possible to find some tiny traces of the institution. A student café almost as old as the University operates even today. Some large houses are marked with plaques to note the professors or foreign students who lived there. Some plaques from the University are part of a wall on Vijverstraat. A few streets are named after professors. However, the main physical remains of the University, two of the original buildings (Karstkarel and Terpstra 1985) are surrounded by and integrated into the walls of a modern psychiatric hospital; they cannot be seen from any part of the city.¹

The University continues to be mentioned as part of the fabric of Franeker. From Michelin guidebooks to touristic statements on the Internet to more learned travelers' notes, the University remains as something noteworthy about the city:

Franeker, a little town ... which once had a university, is so small a place that we can pass through it in a few moments, or spend the rest of our lives in its vacuum. We chose the former course, or we would still be in Franeker, walking into the church late in the autumn afternoons to contemplate the great tomb slabs of the learned professors set upright against the walls of red sandstone (Sitwell 1948, pp. 84-85)

Our interest in the University stemmed from a general interest in shared (or social) memory and the consumption of the past. Much has been written on the subject (Halbwachs 1976 (1925), Irwin-Zarecka 1994, Olick and Robbins 1999 (Forthcoming), Sutton 1998); we do not plan to review the field here. The specific question that interested us was: given that the University is such a major part of Franeker's past, to what extent does it exist in the minds of people in the city? We wondered if the memory exists as a living part of daily life as in some traditional societies (Sutton 1998) or is it "history", something cold and dead as in more nominally forward looking societies in Europe and America. Marcus summed up the latter feeling:

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It means that there is no such thing as history, a past of burden and legacy. Once something ... is "history," it's over, and it is understood that it never existed at all. (Marcus 1995, p. 22)

It could even be that people in European and American societies have grown up without a consciousness of history as flowing into the present (Hitchens 1998, Schorske 1998).

Our specific goal was to determine if memory of the University existed, and, if so, among what part of the population of Franeker and in what forms? To answer this question, we conducted a survey in that city.

METHOD²

A telephone survey of the population of Franeker was conducted in two phases, a pre-test in March 1998, and a completion survey in June 1998.³ The sampling frame was adults (18 years old or older) who were heads of household in the city of Franeker. For the pre-test, thirty interviews were conducted in Franeker and thirty in Dokkum (the latter to insure that the schedule would work equally well in other parts of Fryslân.) The schedule consisted of the following kinds of questions:

- Free association response when the name, Franeker (or Dokkum) is mentioned. Probe.
- Open end-question about perceptions of what makes Franeker different from other towns in Fryslân.
- What (if anything) makes the respondent proud to reside in Franeker (open-end question.)
- An enumeration of the events or institutions that were important in the history of Franeker. For each event or institution, what the respondent knows or thinks of it (open-end questions.)
- Participation in a selected list of activities, including cultural activities and memberships(checklists.)
- Self-reported command of Frisian
- Demographic and personal information.

The original schedule was written in English, translated into Dutch by staff members of ESOMAR, the European professional market research organization in Amsterdam, and re-translated back into English. An informal schedule administration conducted among five respondents in Amsterdam indicated no difficulties in administration.

Fieldwork for both the pre-test and the complete research was carried out by Rie Schouten Veldwerk Organisatie of Zaandam. The interviews themselves were carried out over the telephone using the local PTT book as a source, with random starting places and a systematic selection of names⁴. Interviews were conducted in late afternoon and evening hours to increase the possibility of recruiting working people. Female and male heads of household were asked for in alternation. The refusal rate was very low, approximately ten percent.

Results from the pre-test, conducted in March, 1998, indicated that the rather straightforward schedule needed no revision. However, two questions were added to the schedule after all other questions were asked; both were asked of anyone who had mentioned the University earlier in the interview. The first question inquired about any remains of the University, the second asked where the person had learned about the existence of the University.

To complete the research, seventy more interviews were carried out in Franeker with sampling done in precisely the same manner as the pre-test. These interviews were carried out in June, 1998. We decided to limit the total number of interviews to one hundred; estimating that there are just over 3,000 households in Franeker, these interviews covered somewhat less than three percent of the households in the city. Given Franeker's small size and stable population, we feared that more interviews would lead to discussion among dwellers. Such discussion might lead, we felt, to the survey becoming more public with possible contamination of results. Of the 100 completed interviews, 96 were deemed usable. Four interviews were rejected because those responding were too young to fit the sample frame⁵.

A possible complication for the interviews was that, at the end of June, public announcement was made that the University of Twente might establish a branch in Franeker (Joustra 1998). The public announcement of the "Cartesian Institute" was made in late June after completion of most of the interviewing and did not markedly affect responses when they were compared with earlier pre-test interviews.

MEMORY AND HISTORY

Before reporting the findings of this survey, we will examine the assumptions about memory and history included in the questions. All questions asked in the schedule (except for activities and demographics) were open-ended; survey participants were not prompted in any way. We believe, however, that there is a major difference in the meaning of certain responses: those reflecting the process of everyday life and salient awareness ("living memory") and those we call "history" responses. The former is elicited by questions about spontaneous associations with the town: defining how Franeker differs from other Frisian cities, pride about the city among residents; these reflect one's feelings about living in Franeker now. "History" responses are those in which people mention the University only when asked about the *history* of Franeker.

This distinction reflects some of the thinking about memory of events and places. Writers from Giambattista Vico onwards have been concerned with the issue. Vico saw three means to keep memory (the past) alive: "[He] declared that there were three great doors that lead into the past: language; myths; and rites, that is, institutional behaviour." (Berlin 1999, p. 97). Others have echoed this: "talking about it" is one way to keep a personal memory

alive as social memory (Fentress and Wickham 1992, pp. 1-2); gathering in groups in which to share a language of remembrance is another (Rapaport 1997); shared ceremonies at given physical places is yet another powerful way to keep alive living memory (Reichel 1995, Winter 1998). Obviously, there is a common thread that runs through these disparate sources.

Based on these and other works, we decided that three such 'threads' appeared to offer a theoretically satisfying way to approach this issue. Each is based on the work of one author.

The first (Klein 1997) states that some 'object' is necessary about which to center the living memory. Klein begins by detailing the rapid and complete extinction in the mind of buildings and neighborhoods in Los Angeles once they are torn down.

The past is contained in a material object, most famously in the scent of tea on a madeleine that releases a chain of associations (impressions), but in a conflicted, coexistent way. This conflict—the present fading into the object that brings the memory—is essential to Proust's technique⁶, despite his belief in pure memory. (p. 309)

That is, once the object goes, the memory disappears as well (although surrogate objects may serve to keep the memory alive.)

The second work, by Connerton (1989), emphasizes that the living social memory depends upon doing something with the body.

If there is such a thing as social memory...we are likely to find it in commemorative ceremonies, but commemorative ceremonies prove to be commemorative only in so far as they are performative. {e.g. only through body performance} (pp. 4-5) [emphasis added].

That performance can be the ritual joint celebration of a sacred work (Heilman 1983), reading appropriate books, or even attendance at an event commemorating a past event (as in the memorial parades in Northern Ireland). Connerton implies that the "body performance" can range from overt physical activity to relatively passive performance. This and in other works (Olick and Robbins 1999 (Forthcoming), Winter 1998) also state that such activity is best (but not exclusively) performed in some sort of group.

A third criterion also seems important. In his work on 'heritage,' Lowenthal proposes that "The worth of heritage is ... gauged not by critical tests but by current potency." (Lowenthal 1998, p. 127) That is, there must be some kind of reason important enough to a person or group to keep the memory alive. These three criteria were considered when evaluating the results off the survey of residents of Franeker.

FINDINGS

Does the Populace of Franeker Retain Some Sort of Memory of its University?

The majority of people in Franeker include the University as part of their thoughts of the city. Seventy-four percent mentioned the University, hogeschool, or "academic town" in response to at least one question in the schedule. The largest part of those responses (56 percent of the sample) mentioned the University in response to the question about the *history* of the city. Eighteen percent thought of the University as living memory, something that affected their lives today; as something that comes immediately to mind when Franeker was mentioned, something that differentiates Franeker from other Frisian cities, or something that makes them proud of Franeker. Twenty-six percent had no memory of the University in Franeker.

History

Let us look first at those people for whom the University is history but not living memory. The University is salient in the history of Franeker. It is the most frequently mentioned response to the question about the history of the city. As Table 1 indicates, the University is noted in the history of Franeker by twice as many people as those mentioning either Eisinga's planetarium or Kaatsen and the Kaatsen PC⁷. There may be a reason for this; both the planetarium and Kaatsen are living entities, not primarily historical ones. The Kaatsen field and the PC come to touch daily life, particularly in the summer. The Planetarium is in working order and it attracts tourists; it is likely that most citizens pass by the planetarium at least once a week.

TABLE 1
INSTITUTIONS OR EVENTS RECALLED IN THE
HISTORY IN FRANEKER*

	% mentioning** N=56
University, hogeschool, academic town	67%
Kaatsen, PC	37
Planetarium	35
Elfstedentocht	12
No Response	5

* Among those responding to the question about the history of Franeker, not the questions about living memory..

** Multiple mentions add to more than 100 percent.

In contrast, the University does not touch daily life. Its buildings are hidden, only a few plaques and street names

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Living Memory

mark its existence. For most, it is only 'history' --- a mention in a tourists' guide book.

For this quite large group the University apparently does not provide three criteria for living memory cited earlier, not the nucleus (physical object) nor the bodily activity nor the potency.

First, the University does not exist as an object for many. Among those people who remembered the University as history, well over half noted that, in essence, it does not exist in daily life (see Table 2). For those people, the University is hidden or consists of a professor's house (turned to other uses) or a plaque. Only the Bogt fan Guné, the ancient student tavern, still active now, obtains any substantial mention. That is, for most of these people, the University as object does not serve as a touchstone for living memory.

TABLE 2
COMMENTS ABOUT UNIVERSITY IN FRANEKER
AMONG THOSE RECALLING IT AS HISTORY

	Category	Percent	Percent
		(N=56)	
Bogt fan Gune		24%	24%
Buildings only, professors' houses		17	
Buildings surrounded, not visible		17	
Only a few buildings		11	
Street names, plaques		9	54
Stichting		8	
Annual student gathering		6	
"Promotie" in Martinikerk		4	16
Twente, new university		9	9
Other answers		16	16
No answers		12	12

NOTE: Multiple answers total more than 100 percent.

Second, there are few 'activities' to which these people might subscribe to keep the memory alive. Turning again to Table 2, only sixteen percent mentioned any activity and none of those could be expected to touch the daily lives of most people in the city.

Finally, there is little 'potency' in the idea of the University. At the risk of tautology, the very fact that the University is mentioned by this group only in response to 'history' questions is an indication that, for these people, the University has sunk into that "dustbin of history." (Marcus 1995) In brief, for those people for whom the University is history, there is apparently little to which they can attach their daily lives and little need to do so.

For the smaller number of people for whom the University is living memory (18 percent), it is in some way a part of daily life. How can that be given that, for many of their fellow townspeople, criteria for living memory have not been met?

Considering possibilities available in Franeker, one could hypothesize that the physical remains do exist in the city, if only in an attenuated form: the Bogt fan Guné, the local museum, those professors' houses. In addition, survival in artifacts such as books could also be physical remainders.

The physical activities that the theory implies could be those of association (e.g., going to meetings) or perhaps even having the University included as part of a more general activity (such as reading books or belonging to a cultural club.)

The 'potency' of the living memory might lie with the need of these people or groups for self-definition. This could be as a self-defined group within Franeker or perhaps as a degree of self-importance in relation to the outer world because these people come from Franeker (which had the only university in Fryslân.).

If we assume that the memory of the University has a "halo" effect implying culture and learning, then the three criteria for living memory could be that the University:

- Exists physically, either as architecture or in some surrogate form such as in books,
- Serves as the focus of some sort of activity, whether that activity is engaging in some cultural event or organization or individual activity such as reading or listening to classical music.
- Is 'potent' in that people in Franeker can define themselves as some sort of elite, special in a self-defined way. If so, then it would be wise to return to Halbwachs (1976 (1925)) who defines social memory as formed by social class and personal concern with tradition.

Other Possible Reasons for Variations

Given the three criteria -- some form of object as a "core", body performance, and "potency" -- for an active, living memory, can we explain variations in the memory of the University in Franeker by demographic differences? To answer this question, we examined whether any major demographic differences existed among those with different forms of memory of the University. One possible explanation is that more older people (as keepers of tradition) and perhaps more people in higher level occupations would tend to have living memories of the University.

However, Table 3 indicates few demographic differences among those with different types of memory. Somewhat surprisingly, a significantly larger proportion of males (vs. females) remembered the University as history; on the other hand, more women either had no memory or

had a living memory. We find it difficult to explain this difference (except for the difference in educational levels between men and women in Fryslân.)

On the other hand (and despite small base numbers) a significantly larger proportion of those having a living memory of the University had some university education, either the respondent or in his /her immediate family. This could be explained, according to Halbwachs (1976 (1925)), by memory being defined and carried by social class. However, as we moved further into the data, other relationships also emerged to explain variations in the memory of the University.

TABLE 3
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND
MEMORY OF THE UNIVERSITY IN FRANEKER¹

	No Memory	History	Living Memory
Mean age	51	48	48
Mean years in Friesland	38	42	38
Mean years in Franeker	23	28	22
Occupation: Middle-level ²	40%	34%	31%
Males	18%	67%	16%
Married	46%	68%	63%
Univ. education for respondent or family	18%	20%	53%

NOTES: 1. Small bases. Numbers in bold are significant at $p < 0.1$ using Chi-square. 2. In complete analysis, no difference found between occupation level and memory.

Command of Frisian and Memory of the University

Another possible explanation for different kinds of memories of the University is whether people wish to perpetuate tradition (possibly as a form of self-identity.) We thought that command of the Frisian language might be associated with such an effort to perpetuate a Frisian tradition. However, there is a disjunction between the University in Franeker and Frisian tradition. The University was an elite institution; its language of instruction was Latin, certainly not Frisian nor even Dutch. In addition, Frisian now as a primary language belongs to the countryside, much less to the towns of Fryslân (See Gorter, et al. 1988, p. 5).

Of all aspects of the language, we thought that the ability to write Frisian might form part of a more general and learned approach to preserve a general Frisian tradition, of which the University would be a part. To explore this, we separated those people who said that they could write

Frisian from all those who claimed to be able to speak, understand, or read the language. (Recall that these are self-reports of ability with the language and that numbers are quite small. Only four people reported no ability with Frisian at all. They are not reported here.) The data suggest that being able to write Frisian is positively related to memory of the University, both living memory and memory as history.

Why could this be so? One possibility is that being able to write Frisian has something to do with preserving Frisian as a literary language; writing Frisian must be learned formally as contrasted to merely speaking or even reading it. Even though Frisian is now taught in most schools, Gorter *et al* report that only ten percent of Frisians report some proficiency in writing the language (p. 38). So, learning to write Frisian may be part of an effort as well to preserve the heritage of Frisian history (including the University.) In turn, it suggests that the ability to write Frisian could be associated with higher levels of education. Gorter (1988, Table 24) shows this to be true in contrast to everyday spoken Frisian which is associated with lower educational levels. The data also indicate some slight positive relationship between writing the language and university education.

Command of the Frisian language is probably not an integral element in retaining a living memory of the former University. It is possible that the relationship between writing Frisian and memory of the University is a spurious one. More likely, as we shall see later, both might reflect a more general concern with culture, and possibly high Frisian culture.

Searching for Living Memory

A third possible explanation for variations in the memory of the University has to do with culture, and particularly 'high culture.' One would expect from the work of Bordieu (1984, Holt 1998, p. 21) that certain cultural activities would distinguish those people with living memory of the University from others. Consider again those three criteria for living memory outlined above --- object, activity, and potency.⁸ Books and interest in history could serve as the surrogates for the physical university. Other cultural activity (such as listening to classical music or visiting museums) could serve as the "body activity." And the issue of "potency" is reflected by the University as an aspect of daily life in Franeker.⁹

Therefore, we would expect people with living memory of the University to have these characteristics more than others in Franeker:

- People whose educational level is higher might be more aware of the flow between history and the present, or those people
- Concerned actively with local traditional identity and cultural activities (e.g., those belonging to an historical

society or who visit museums or even those who normally read books.)

The data show a positive relationship between university education and living memory of the University. Fifty-three percent of those with living memory have a university education in the immediate family. The comparable percentages for history and no memory are, respectively, 20 and 18 percent.

Table 4 compares the cultural activities of those people who have no memory of the University, those consigning the University to the dust bin of history, and those with living memory of the University. The general indication is that of a relationship between active consumption of cultural activities and living memory of the University. Other, more general activities (e.g., reading a book or interest in politics) exhibit no such clear relationship.

TABLE 4
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND MEMORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FRANEKER

	No Memory	History	Living Memory
Listen to classical music	42%	55%	77%
Read poetry	19	32	53
Visit a museum	27	30	35
Member of a historical society	0	8	12
Member of a chess club	0	2	18
Read books	77	72	77
Have serious political discussions	35	59	47

NOTE: Small bases, indications only.

Therefore, we might regard a living memory of the University as part of a more general cluster of culturally-oriented activities, related to education and, more generally, to social class. These social class defining activities have 'potency.' If Bordieu (1984) is correct, social class defines "culture" (that is, high culture) and the memory of the University could be a personal aspect of high culture.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

At this point, we could stop, satisfied that a relationship has been uncovered and that this relationship fits with some existing theory. However, this is not a completely satisfying conclusion. Even though a relationship exists, it does not (to our minds) explain the findings to our satisfaction. Consider the 53 percent of those with living memory which reads poetry; 47 percent of those people do not read poetry. Almost 80 percent of these people do not belong to a historical society. One-fourth of these people

do not listen to classical music. That is, the relationships uncovered here do not explain completely the memory of the University.

We wish to suggest an alternative theoretical approach. Frow (1997, p. 222 ff.) suggests that memory is a narrative; one which will differ from person to person. Although it is not clear just how these narratives might be formed, a clue is supplied by deCerteau. In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (deCerteau 1984) he discusses people's needs to resist the raw world about us by constructing our own meanings from bits of what we see, hear, and know. It is "everyday creativity" against the overwhelming weight of the everyday. In that "everyday creativity," of course, what we see, hear, and (perhaps most important) know, determine how individuals will construct their own realities¹⁰.

Going somewhat beyond the insights of Frow and deCerteau, we propose that living memory of the past is a similar construct of fragments of experience. Obviously, if those fragments are offered by education, social class, consumption of 'high culture', the greater the opportunity that they will be incorporated into the living memory. That, in turn, means that people who are educated and well-off financially will be more likely to have, for instance, a living memory of the University. On the other hand, that does not preclude others with other 'life chances'¹¹ from assembling their own fragments from whatever sources to form an idea of the past that is unique to them; it is only that the opportunity may be smaller. The actual choice lies with the individual. Social factors count mainly as to provide sources of these fragments; the assemblage is more personal. As Raymond Aron put it: "Everyone, according to his idea of himself, chooses his past" (Aron 1938 (1986), p. 70).

If our insight is correct, it raises an interesting set of questions. Why do some people have living memories of events or institutions while others do not? Why do some people live in a time-space consisting only of the 'now' while others live in one that includes living memory of the past? To put that question in other words, why is some people's time-space narrative mainly the present while others see their existence as a moment in a flow of time that extends well into the past? Who are those different people? Social factors can give a partial indication but there are undoubtedly other explanations, singular or in combination.

Several researchers (e.g., Hall 1983) have pointed out that some people live in a holistic time-space consisting only of the "now" of today while others live in a linear time-space where past events or places are categorized as the "then" of a history that continues into the present. Hall explained these differences as being primarily due to different cultural backgrounds. It is also possible, as we have hinted above, that people with different time conceptions coexist in the same culture, or apply different concepts of time to different situations. Personality, perception, religion, gender, and other (perhaps deeper) causes may also give an explanation. Simmel (1922) provides a clue when he refers to the individual as "the

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intersection of social circles"; individuals may represent all of the tiny subcultures in which they live. At this point, however, the identification of the sources of deCerteau's 'fragments' is not answered by current theory and is worth exploring.

This is not a trivial issue; it can have practical as well as theoretical implications. Groups with different mental constructs of past events would be expected to have different self-concepts. Their sense of who they are within the broader context of history can have a direct bearing on their emotions, their decisions and their actions: what upsets them, what kind of clothes they will buy, what kind of events they will attend, whom they will vote for, why some think of victories while others remember only injustices.

We recall an interview last year with a prominent citizen of Franeker. He had served on the City Council but resigned because:

All these people [on the Council] can think about is roads and canals and trash. ... There is so much more here -- history, culture -- and they do not care. They have no sense of where they live, no depth, no feeling.

That person put the issue clearly. Who has "a sense of time" and who has not? Why? What are the implications for action of these differences? The answers may have interest beyond the University and beyond Franeker.

SOME PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

We propose that some findings can be generalized far from the sleepy city of Franeker. Some interesting possibilities lurk there for our use. Our research suggests that, if history can present meaningful consumer benefits, it can be an effective adjunct to advertising and marketing. There is a segment of the population that is a consumer of history. Incorporating history into a brand image can add value for that segment.

There are several ways in which history can add value to a brand. For example, companies in the United States with long histories might consider telling those histories to young students who are obliged in their coursework to be consumers of the past. Such companies might distribute historical 'take-homes' to children as part of their history courses. These take-homes (pamphlets or pictures or videos) can provide historical fact and also show the company's products in use at that time. For instance, Procter and Gamble sold both soap and candles to the Union forces in the Civil War; the company could tell the story of the importance of sanitation in that war. Newer companies, such as Ben and Jerry's, can explain their corporate philosophies in the context of the sixties.

It is likely that many choices are made in youth about which fragments of culture to include in one's personal portfolio. Those students who incorporate historical

fragments might also assume some degree of interest in the companies associated with those fragments.

Other companies may wish to make history a part of their normal appeal when marketing to adults. An example is a recent campaign in Japan for Kentucky Fried Chicken. Here, the history of the brand was used to add prestige; because of the expense, prestige is an important aspect in selling fast food there. This campaign depicted Colonel Saunders as a boy, one with whom one could empathize. The advertising also offered some glimpses of late nineteenth century Kentucky. For at least some viewers, the history of the company and the history of (exotic and foreign) Kentucky could be personified by Colonel Sanders as a boy. Thus, prestige could come to this brand from his history.

Contrast this to current advertising in the United States in which the Colonel has nothing to do with history. Instead, he is shown as a cartoon clown-like dolt, ungainly, frenetic, and talking in a Southern accent that owes more to rap than to Lexington. In the Japanese advertising, the Colonel is incorporated as history (if only the history of fast food). Conversely, in the American advertising, Sanders is taken out of his historical context, turned into a hip-hopping contemporary, and into a cartoon figure rather than an appealing spokesperson. History can add value to a brand only if it is done right.

Our research also suggests that history may become even more important when the product touches 'high culture'. There are many examples of high culture companies which have incorporated history into their message. For example, Tiffany subtly announces its age. The Economist often refers to Walter Bagehot, one of its nineteenth century editors. Steinway pianos advertise in formats that look old and emphasize the bulky, unstreamlined contours of the instruments.

Our findings, however, also raise a difficulty. In Franeker, only one of five people had a living memory of the university. More generally, history as something alive, as a meaningful part of people's lives appears to be declining. Newspaper reports tell of the ahistoricity of young people and even their elders. In Franeker, for instance, the City Council has just announced plans to close the local history museum because it takes funds from roads and sewers. With this, of course, some of the tangible history of that town departs.

Perhaps one answer is for marketers to make history come alive in their advertising. To do this, marketers would find it useful to present history as something more than a joke. The Honest Abes who sell cars in February, the Teddy Roosevelt-caricatures who lead cavalry charges up piles of bills for loan companies, the Washingtons who (thanks to Parson Weems) could not lie: all can be consigned to the same rubbish heap as the thrifty Scots and shifty Jews of past marketing. Rather, it may be useful to use these characters and historical events as fragments which still retain some positive meaning. If brands

represent certainty and a history of quality as equities, then history, treated seriously, may bolster those equities.

NOTES

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1. Thanks to Dr. W. Hiddema and Mrs. T. Hiddema-de Jong who conducted us within the psychiatric hospital to see the two remaining buildings of the University.

2. Please note the small size of the sample in this research. Except for large subdivisions of the data, the findings must be regarded as qualitative and suggestive rather than definitive.

3. We will provide a copy of the schedule on request. We will also supply on demand complete tables and analysis for which this article gives largely summarized material.

4. According to ESOMAR, about 96 percent of homes in the Netherlands have telephones with very few outside of Amsterdam having unlisted numbers. Specifics were not available for Friesland, but we were assured that the numbers would be only marginally lower.

5. Results from the Dokkum pre-test interviews are not reported here.

6. Proust's method, of course, was that a sensation reminiscent of other sensations can revive the original event in memory. An example (beyond the famous madeleine) is that the glint of sunlight on a shard of green glass reminds the narrator of his lost love, Albertine.

7. Kaatsen is an ancient game similar to 'jeu de pelote', a game played in Belgium, France, North Italy and in the Basque Country. The Frisian version is followed avidly and, in August, a championship game is played in Franeker under the sanction of the PC (the Permanente Commissie.)

8. Remember that we are now dealing with a small group of people; our results must therefore be suggestive only.

9. This may be a tautology but is an accurate reflection of the issue of "potency" as defined by Lowenthal (1998). He noted that it was a term to describe importance and, in particular, the importance to set apart a person or group.

10. This is not far from Tuan's (1998) romantic notion that all culture, personal and general, is an escape from raw reality.

11. This phrase is obviously derived from Weber's definition of social class.

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