

**LITERARY TOURISM AS A DEVELOPING GENRE:  
SOUTH AFRICA'S POTENTIAL**

by

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| <b>CONTENT</b>                                               | <b>PAGE</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| List of Tables                                               | iv          |
| List of Figures                                              | v           |
| List of Appendices                                           | vi          |
| List of Abbreviations                                        | vii         |
| Acknowledgements                                             | viii        |
| Summary                                                      | ix          |
| <br>                                                         |             |
| <b>Chapter 1</b>                                             |             |
| <b>Introduction</b>                                          | 1           |
| <br>                                                         |             |
| <b>Chapter 2</b>                                             |             |
| <b>Defining literary tourism</b>                             | 4           |
| 2.1 Literary tourism as cultural and heritage tourism        | 4           |
| 2.2 The literary realm: text, landscape and literature       | 9           |
| 2.3 Approaches to the study of literary tourism              | 13          |
| <br>                                                         |             |
| <b>Chapter 3</b>                                             |             |
| <b>The consumers of literary heritage and culture</b>        | 24          |
| 3.1 The power of creative literature                         | 24          |
| 3.2 Literary tourists                                        | 26          |
| 3.3 Literary pilgrims and general literary tourists          | 33          |
| <br>                                                         |             |
| <b>Chapter 4</b>                                             |             |
| <b>Characteristics of literary tourism attractions</b>       | 42          |
| 4.1 The preservation, celebration and creation of literature | 43          |
| 4.2 The birth, life and death of the author                  | 45          |
| 4.3 Touring fiction                                          | 51          |

|                                                                               |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <b>Chapter 5</b>                                                              |     |
| <b>History and development of literary tourism</b>                            | 59  |
| 5.1 Early modern literary tourism                                             | 59  |
| 5.2 Literary tourism in the Romantic era                                      | 65  |
| 5.3 From grand tourist to exotic African explorer                             | 77  |
| 5.4 Southern African sightseeing through a literary lens                      | 82  |
| <br>                                                                          |     |
| <b>Chapter 6</b>                                                              |     |
| <b>Literary tourism in South Africa</b>                                       | 91  |
| 6.1 Groot-Marico and Pelindaba                                                | 95  |
| 6.2 The Western Cape, Richmond and Kimberley                                  | 99  |
| 6.3 Bloemfontein and the Grahamstown region                                   | 107 |
| 6.4 Cradock, Nieu Bethesda and KwaZulu-Natal                                  | 113 |
| <br>                                                                          |     |
| <b>Chapter 7</b>                                                              |     |
| <b>Drawing on cultural capital: South Africa's literary tourism potential</b> | 121 |
| 7.1 The northern region                                                       | 124 |
| 7.2 The western region                                                        | 137 |
| 7.3 The central, southern and south-eastern region                            | 141 |
| 7.4 The post-development potential of literary tourism in South Africa        | 153 |
| <br>                                                                          |     |
| <b>Chapter 8</b>                                                              |     |
| <b>Conclusion</b>                                                             | 163 |
| <br>                                                                          |     |
| <b>Sources</b>                                                                | 169 |

| <b>LIST OF TABLES</b>                                                                            | <b>PAGE</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Table 1: Publications on literary sites                                                          | 17          |
| Table 2.1: The age range of literary tourists                                                    | 29          |
| Table 2.2: Occupations of literary tourists                                                      | 30          |
| Table 2.3: Literary awareness regarding author's work                                            | 35          |
| Table 2.4: Awareness of other literary places                                                    | 37          |
| Table 2.5: Reasons for visits to literary sites                                                  | 38          |
| Table 3: Cultural villages in South Africa                                                       | 148         |
| Table 4: Findings of Fairer-Wessels's study of young adults' potential literary tourism behavior | 160         |

**LIST OF FIGURES**

**PAGE**

|                                                                                                         |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1: Approximate geographical distribution of current literary tourism development in South Africa | 94  |
| Figure 2: Geographical division of South African regions                                                | 123 |

| <b>LIST OF APPENDICES</b>                                | <b>PAGE</b> |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Appendix A: Map of J.R.R. Tolkien's Middle Earth         | 189         |
| Appendix B: Map of Hardy's Wessex                        | 190         |
| Appendix C: Map of Hardy's South Wessex                  | 191         |
| Appendix D: Pamphlet of the Alan Paton literary trail    | 192         |
| Appendix E: Pamphlet of the Rider Haggard literary trail | 193         |
| Appendix F: Map of Jock's routes                         | 194         |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|        |                                                                    |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ANC    | African National Congress                                          |
| ATLAS  | European Association for Leisure and Tourism Education             |
| BBC    | British Broadcasting Corporation                                   |
| ECTARC | European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures              |
| FAK    | Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge                        |
| HCBLS  | Herman Charles Bosman Literary Society                             |
| IOB    | International Organisation of Book Towns                           |
| IPAP2  | Second Industrial Policy Action Plan                               |
| ITT    | International Travel and Tours (now Inspirations Travel and Tours) |
| KZN    | KwaZulu-Natal                                                      |
| MTSF   | Medium-Term Strategic Framework                                    |
| NALN   | National Afrikaans Museum and Research Centre                      |
| NDT    | National Department of Tourism                                     |
| NDTI   | National Department of Trade and Industry                          |
| NELM   | National English Literature Museum                                 |
| NOCCI  | Northern Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry                     |
| OECD   | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development             |
| SRPB   | Southern Rhodesian Publicity Bureau                                |
| UK     | United Kingdom                                                     |
| USA    | United States of America                                           |
| WTO    | World Tourism Organisation                                         |

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## SUMMARY

This dissertation investigates the broader genre of literary tourism and the current extent and potential of this tourism mode in the South African context. It shows what an inscribed landscape South Africa has and how rich it is in literary association. The profile and motivations of literary tourists, as well the kinds of tourist attractions encompassed by literary tourism are initially explored. The history and development of this type of tourism is then considered, from its earliest known manifestations, its growth during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and its transposition to Africa and southern Africa. An overview of current literary tourism products in South Africa is conducted in order to determine the extent to which it has been developed in the country. Although not exhaustive, the potential of literary tourism within South Africa is subsequently considered by identifying places and writers that could be targeted for tourism development. This examination is then extended to the post-development or intangible potential literary tourism holds in terms of its educational capabilities, its capacity to catalyze an interest in reading and learning, as well as promote South Africa's literary heritage.

Keywords: literary tourism, South Africa, culture, heritage, literature, literacy, reading, niche tourism

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Literary tourism, as a form of niche tourism based on sites and events that are associated with writers and their works, is a phenomenon growing ever more popular in the contemporary tourism milieu. This study aims to investigate this tourism genre in its historical and international context, and then to consider its manifestation in South Africa through an exploration of the extent of development and existing literature, both academic and popular, on literary tourism in this country. The potential of literary tourism within South Africa will also be examined by identifying both as yet unutilised resources that could attract reader-tourists and the latent socio-cultural benefits it holds for the country.

Before analysing the current state and potential of literary tourism in South Africa, this tourism mode is scrutinised in terms of a delineation of this particular field of tourism studies; those who participate in it as a recreational activity; the range of products that constitute this genre; and the history of this cultural practice from its earliest known beginnings. The concept ‘literary tourism’ and how this field of study has been approached in the past are discussed as part of the outline of this genre, thereby showing that publications on literary tourism in South Africa in the way of tour guides and scholarly material are still limited. The common characteristics of literary tourists are examined, as well as whether or not these travellers can be considered as literary pilgrims who are thought to be more discerning than other tourists and seek to be educated through tourism. Literary tourism attractions and the way they are presented to tourists are explored, from physical texts (books and manuscripts) which usually set this type of tourism in motion, to sites related biographically to writers and physical manifestations of imaginative landscapes and characters.

The history of literary tourism is chronicled from its earliest manifestations in ancient Rome, the way it flourished in its modern form in Britain and other parts of Europe, to its migration to Africa and the southern end of the continent. The significant influence of

ideals formed during the Romantic era on literary tourism, leading to substantial growth, is given particular attention in this chapter. As indicated by the literature review, literary tourism has only received scholarly attention relatively recently on an international level, and in South Africa this is an even newer field as it has been a focus of scholarly study for not much more than a decade. This extensive historical overview is therefore conducted to show that literary tourism has nevertheless long been a part of tourist practices, and has been present in the southern African region for just over a century. More importantly, it serves to provide context for this newly emerging field in South Africa where the background to literary tourism has as yet not been given extensive attention.

In these initial chapters, there is a particular emphasis on the literary tourism phenomena in Europe and more especially the United Kingdom. This is, however, both relevant and justified as this section provides an overview of literary tourism's basic elements and aims to develop a set of generic criteria or characteristics which can be applied to the South African scenario. In terms of tourism as a whole, Britain has played a key role in the creation and formation of modern tourism. As the country that led the way in the Industrial Revolution, its economic advantage during the nineteenth century "translated swiftly into the evolution of a tourist infrastructure which, for the first time in history, served a mass market" (Berghoff and Korte, 2002:2). Aside from the invention of the modern package tour, Britain was also responsible for other pioneering tourism innovations in club holidays and charter air travel (Berghoff and Korte, 2002). As for literary tourism in its modern (or Romantic) form, here the British also took the lead and even prescribed its orientations (Hendrix, 2009; Berghoff and Korte, 2002). This is evidenced by their invention of the *Homes and Haunts* textual genre, their re-creation of writers' houses into literary shrines, and their conversion of whole regions in accordance with their literary depictions (Hendrix, 2009).

The latter part of this study focuses exclusively on South Africa. The country's current state of literary tourism is first analysed through a review of existing developments that could be identified. Literary trails and tours are given particular attention, as these provide the tourist with an easier way of accessing an area with literary associations and expose

them to a wider range of interrelated products, in both promotional and experiential terms, with a contextualising background. Here, it will be shown that this tourism genre is still growing in South Africa as new, successful products are created and established for literary tourist consumption. South Africa's literary tourism potential is then explored, as reflected in the title of this study, through the identification of sites and products that may yet be developed to attract literary tourists. This discussion will illustrate that this tourism mode has as yet not reached its full potential and that there is a substantial amount of literary resources that can still be utilised. But another dimension of this potential will also be considered – its capability of serving as an alternative pedagogic medium, as a way of inspiring and encouraging participants to learn more and read more, and as a means further to popularise South African writers and their literature. For literary tourism was, after all, born of a tradition incorporating education, culture and heritage whilst travelling through a physical landscape. This study will, therefore, begin by examining literature and literary tourism within these contexts.

## CHAPTER 2

### DEFINING LITERARY TOURISM

#### 2.1 Literary tourism as cultural and heritage tourism

In order to define the concept of ‘literary tourism’, the concept of ‘tourism’ must first be considered. The most widely accepted definition of ‘tourism’ is that of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), as amended in 1993. The WTO defines ‘tourism’ as “the activities of persons during their travel and stay in a place outside their usual place of residence, for a continuous period of less than one year, for leisure, business or other purposes” (Richards, 1996:20). Moreover, tourism specialist Dean MacCannell (1993) argues that all tourism is a cultural experience, while John Urry (1990) takes this further and asserts that tourism *is* culture. Thus it would be relevant to investigate literature and subsequently literary tourism within the wider context of culture.

‘Culture’ remains a much more difficult concept to define. Finding one all-embracing definition of culture is problematic because it endeavours to describe the deferential and varying ways of life in existence all around the world. It has also been argued that “[t]rying to define ‘culture’ in a single broadly acceptable definition therefore produces a level of generalization which renders the act of definition useless” (Richards, 1996:21). However, cultural tourism specialist Greg Richards (1996:21) uses the solution provided by J. Tomlinson (1991) in that one should focus on the way that the concept of ‘culture’ is used today. He identifies two current uses, that of ‘culture as process’ and ‘culture as product’.

Culture as process can be described as an indication of a specific way of life. It is the codes of conduct which regulate people’s lives in a particular society and sign systems through which they make sense of themselves and their lives. On the other hand, culture as product can be defined as “the works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity” (Richards, 1996:21), and such products, produced individually or in groups, have certain meanings ascribed to them. Thus it is clear why Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen

(2002b:12), experts in the fields of cultural and literary tourism, argue that literature, as a part of culture, “occupies a dualistic role in cultural terms” since it is an object of culture as well as a process of creative activity and development which results in such an object. They go on to state that literature is in fact a defining element of culture: “It is reflective of our way of life, but also a marker of collective achievement and social identity” (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:12). Literature is considered as part of the set of cultural resources which forms the basis of what D. Wynne (1992) calls the ‘cultural industries’ – those products of the creative and decorative arts that are perceived as having significant economic and social value. Literary works can also be included in what MacCannell (1976) calls ‘cultural productions’, since they are created objects that can be bought or sold, which form part of the cultural industries (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b).

Interestingly, cultural tourism itself has caused the concepts of culture as process and culture as product to integrate with one another to a certain extent. Tourists, seeking out authentic, meaningful experiences, seek culture as process, which leads to the creation of cultural manifestations explicitly for tourist consumption (Cohen, 1988; Richards, 1996). In other words, culture as process such as the way of life of a prolific writer becomes the cultural tourism product. Admittedly, the writing process itself is not very interesting to observe, and cannot be displayed in the same way as other artistic processes like glass-blowing or painting, but physical manifestations of the writing process, such as pens, typewriters and desks, are ascribed great significance by tourists (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b). They become what can be considered markers of the literary individual’s life and production.

In line with this interpretation, the European Association for Leisure and Tourism Education (ATLAS) launched the Cultural Tourism Research Project in 1991. The Project’s aim was to define both a process-based approach and product-based approach. “A product-based definition was considered to be necessary for the measurement of cultural tourism, whereas a process-based definition was also needed to describe cultural tourism as an activity” (Richards, 1996:23). ATLAS created both a conceptual or process-based definition, and a technical or product-based definition, and the main difference between

these is that the conceptual definition considers the motivation of tourists as central. The conceptual definition reads: “The movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention of gathering new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs” (Richards, 1996:24). And the technical definition is: “All movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence” (Richards, 1996:24).

Richards (1996:22) uses a list provided by the European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures (ECTARC) in 1989 to describe typical types of cultural attractions:

- Archaeological museums and sites
- Architecture (famous buildings, ruins and whole towns)
- Art, crafts, sculpture, galleries, events and festivals
- Music and dance (classical, contemporary and folk)
- Drama (films, theatre and dramatists)
- Language and literature study, events and tours
- Pilgrimages and religious festivals
- Complete (folk or primitive) cultures and sub-cultures

This list consists mostly of what is in fact seen as ‘high culture’ – traditionally associated with classical art forms and generally regarded as having educational merit – as opposed to popular culture, characterised by high mass consumption and possessing entertainment (but no educational) value. However, in recent decades the meaning and scope of culture and cultural tourism have altered significantly – the rock band U2, for example, a clear purveyor of popular music, was designated as a cultural tourism attraction in Ireland during the 1990s (Richards, 1996). This widening scope reflects the ever greater indistinguishability between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ culture, as well as the growing need to popularise the cultural tourism product in order to attract a wider audience (Richards, 1996). According to Hewison (1987), this increasing exploitation of cultural resources for commercial purposes has led to the creation of the ‘heritage industry’. Since much of

literary tourism is centred on cultural products that also fall within the ambit of heritage, such as house museums, graves, and literary monuments, it is imperative to also investigate literary tourism within the wider context of heritage, as well as the relationship between culture and heritage.

The National Heritage Conference held in 1983 in the UK defined ‘heritage’ as “That which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of the population wishes to hand on to the future” (Hewison, 1989:15). This definition indicates a form of cultural choice (Herbert, 1995a), and it can be accepted that a certain meaning and particular significance were ascribed to the heritage product or heritage practice selected for preservation. B. Graham (2002:1004) supports this view, noting that “heritage is more concerned with meanings than material artefacts. It is the former that give value, either cultural or financial, to the latter and explain why they have been selected from the infinity of the past.” Whilst considering the meanings ascribed to both tangible and intangible heritage, Graham (2002:1004) provides a few examples of what can be considered heritage products:

The list of European and North American World Heritage Sites is dominated by walled cities, cathedrals, palaces, transport artefacts and national parks. Conversely, however, heritage in Africa and Asia is often envisaged through intangible forms of traditional and popular – or folk – culture that include languages, music, dance, rituals, food and folklore (Graham, 2002:1004).

These examples, and those of cultural tourism products listed earlier, show a clear overlap in content, containing many of the same products. Moreover, just as Richards (1996) notes the change in what is viewed as culture and cultural products, so does the nature of heritage change. “Heritage is capable of being interpreted differently within any one culture *at any one time*, as well as between cultures and *through time*” (Graham, 2002:1004) [my emphases]. Culture can thus be regarded as alive and ever-changing, which is also why heritage and the meaning ascribed to heritage products change, since the latter is a product of the former. Heritage is simply those aspects of culture which we chose, and still choose, to preserve and present to future generations because they hold a certain value, they have meaning ascribed to them. A fitting example of this would be



William Shakespeare and his plays that have been read, studied, translated, performed and filmed for centuries. This view is supported by Graham (2002:1006), who argues that heritage is knowledge (the meanings certain aspects of culture have been ascribed) and a cultural product. Heritage can therefore be seen as an off-shoot or subset of culture.

When considering the term ‘literary tourism’, it appears that no formal definition exists, but only general descriptions or informal definitions pertaining mostly to literary tourism destinations. A widely used description is that of literary tourism specialist D.T. Herbert (1995b:33), who describes ‘literary places’ as “both those places associated with writers in their real lives and those which provide the settings for their novels.” K.A. Smith (2003:84) also uses this description to define literary places, as does literature scholar Lindy Stiebel (2004:33), who uses it in relation to the act of literary tourism, in that it involves visiting these ‘literary places’ as described by Herbert. Although this description encompasses much of what is involved in the scope of literary tourism, there are some aspects which it does not account for. To begin with, it does not include physical manifestations or staged reproductions of fictional characters and/or fictional settings since these did not actually exist at the time of writing except in the author’s imagination. Such reproductions are usually found in the form of theme parks, such as the Gulliver’s Kingdom amusement park in Japan and the Hans Christian Andersen theme park in Denmark.

Literary tourism scholar Shelagh Squire’s (1993:5) description of literary tourism as “travel to places famous for associations with books or authors” does seem to take physical manifestations of fictional characters and settings into account. But the term ‘books’ seems somewhat limiting since certain poems have made particular places well-known and worth visiting to the reader, like Wordsworth’s ‘Lines Written a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey’ (1798). This is why Squire’s (1996:119) later description of literary tourism as “that associated with places celebrated for literary depictions and/or connections with literary figures” appears more apt. Literary tourism specialist Nicola Watson (2009:2) describes ‘the business of literary tourism’ as “the interconnected practices of visiting and marking sites associated with writers and their work.” Clearly, there is a ubiquitous emphasis in all

these descriptions on ‘sites’ or ‘places’, but they do not take into account literary attractions of a temporary nature, or what can be termed ‘events’. Once again, Shakespeare can serve as an illustrative example. Even though his stage works can only partly be described as ‘literature’, it could be argued that he is one of the leading and most respected figures in world literature. Moreover, the reader-tourist encounters his work not only on the page or drama theatre, but his plays, such as *Romeo and Juliet*, are also presented in the form of ballet, opera, film and television (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b). ‘Events’ also comprise literary festivals, whether these are focused on a single writer, like the many Shakespeare festivals in the UK and USA, or celebrate literature in general, such as the Edinburgh International Book Festival to which writers are invited for live readings, book discussions and book signings. The latter event also serves to indicate that books (writers’ works in their physical form) can in themselves also form a motivating factor for travel, hence the appeal of noted centres of books like the town Hay-on-Wye, Wales, and literature museums. Robinson and Andersen (2002b) also consider creative-writing summer courses, where the tourist engages in the act of writing creative literature, another specialised form of literary tourism.

Thus, even though literary tourism is largely based on tangible aspects of writers’ lives and works, such as homes, graves and landscapes depicted in their works, event-based manifestations of literature, like stage productions, festivals, book signings and creative writing courses, can be included in the realm of literary tourism. In the light of the above discussion, and in bringing these aspects together, it would be apposite to attempt a more comprehensive definition of literary tourism. Literary tourism can be defined as a form of cultural tourism involving travel to places and events associated with writers, writers’ works, literary depictions and the writing of creative literature.

## **2.2 The literary realm: text, landscape and literature**

Over the past few decades the definition of the term ‘text’ has become significantly extended. Aside from the so-called traditional texts, such as poetry, drama and fiction commonly in published form, it today encompasses a far greater range of subjects from

advertisements, pieces of art, architecture, movies, television and radio programmes to more abstract concepts such as ideas, experiences, traditions, gender and race (Silverman and Rader, 2003). Texts can therefore include all subjects that can be validly analysed and interpreted to determine how they correspond to or influence wider economic, socio-cultural and/or political realities. Indeed, the term has become as all-encompassing as the title of J. Silverman and D. Rader's semiotic, cultural study *The World is a Text* (2003). In his discussion of the relationship between tourism/tourists and literature that exists beyond the page, Mike Robinson (2002) argues that all texts are prone to the cultural processes of 'transmutation' and 'transvaluation', so much so that it is currently very problematic to speak of literature only in terms of the 'written word'. In light of this he uses the example of Winnie the Pooh:

*Winnie the Pooh* is the charming children's book by A.A. Milne, but it also exists as, and represents, a range of other joined-up forms and objects. Therefore, Winnie the Pooh *is* Ashdown Forest in Sussex ('Pooh's Forest'), *is* Pooh Sticks Bridge, *is* the game of 'Pooh Sticks', *is* a spiritual treatise (Hoff's 1998 *The Tao of Pooh* and *The Te of Piglet*) and, most notably through 'disneyfication', *is* a 'classic' cartoon, *Tigger the Movie*, a comic book, a cuddly toy, a Piglet pencil case, an Eyore balloon, a brand of honey, and cardboard packaging for a Big Mac meal (2002:41).

This illustrates how imaginative literature can be manifested as different texts. Therefore, the different facets of literary tourism such as literary tourists, their practices and literary attractions can also be regarded as texts. In this study, although these facets will be analysed in a similar fashion to other texts, the term 'text' will be confined to so-called traditional texts, the "verbal work of art" (Robinson and Anderson, 2002b:6), in order to avoid confusion, especially since literary tourism is founded on and actuated by such verbal works of art.

The way the term 'literature' is used in this study refers to what is usually presented to the everyday person, reader or potential tourist as creative writing. In other words, the traditional genres of creative writing, such as the short prose narrative (the short story) and the novel, drama and poetry, which also form the main focus of this study. The common feature shared between these genres is the use of the written word to create "literary works

of art” (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:5). What gives literature its ‘literariness’ is the deliberate patterning of words, for example rhyme, rhythm, meter or rhetorical structure, and the deliberate use of style, which is “the vocabulary selected and the ways in which meanings and sounds are combined, patterned and integrated” (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:7). These are features of creative writing which make these genres of literature distinct from other types of ‘linguistic events’ (words arranged to form a verbal message such as machinery instructions), but are not exclusive to them (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:6). This has been pointed out in the case of tourism promotional brochures utilising a wide range of literary devices, linguistic features and techniques such as metaphor, rhyme, alliteration and onomatopoeia (Dann, 1996). However, Robinson and Anderson argue (2002b:7) that although tourist brochures may contain such features of ‘literariness’, they are not accepted literary works of art like, for example, the works of Charles Dickens, since “the functions which language performs in creating literature cannot be [sic] sole defining characteristic of literature.”

There should then be other internal literary elements of creative writing that make literature texts ‘literary’. These are elements which other types of literature generally utilise with very little depth, if at all, such as: presentation, relating to the narrator’s identity, from what position and with what authority he or she is narrating; focalization, the point of view or with whose ‘eyes’ the story is seen; and characterisation, the invented personalities with their own traits and histories, which readers perhaps identify with and react to emotionally, as in liking or disliking them (Robinson, 2002).

However, it should also be noted that the genres of prose, drama and poetry are not the only types of literature which could inspire a reader to become a literary tourist and seek out attractions that are associated with the writer. Biographies and autobiographies can exert the same kind of influence. L. Miller (2002) illustrates that public interest in Charlotte Brontë, the author of the popular novel *Jane Eyre* (1847), increased significantly after the publication of Elizabeth Gaskell’s biography *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857), which also led to an increase in visitor numbers at the Brontë Parsonage in Haworth. The same can be said of biographies and autobiographies of non-literary figures. For example,

it is quite likely that the 1994 autobiography of former South African president, Nelson Mandela, entitled *A Long Walk to Freedom*, inspired readers to visit his former home in Soweto, Johannesburg, and has indeed inspired some to visit Robben Island off the coast of Cape Town where he was imprisoned for eighteen years (Fairer-Wessels, 2005). Moreover, stage productions, television series and film adaptations of literary works not only increase accessibility to and awareness of these works, but they can in their own right also inspire tourism, especially to those places where the productions were filmed. For example, at Lyme Park in Cheshire, UK, there was a tenfold increase in visitor numbers in the first week after the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) 1995 serialisation of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (Holloway, 1998). Of course, productions not based on literary works can also inspire tourism to filmed locations. Television and film-induced tourism (see for example Beeton, 2005; Roesch, 2009), is important to keep in mind in any discussion of literary tourism since television and film productions of literary works can inspire and increase tourism to literary attractions not necessarily related to the filmed locations.

One of the practices of literary tourists is seeking out the settings of or places mentioned in creative literature, whether these are accurate portrayals, 'disguised places' (Robinson, 2002), or the sources that inspired fantastical geographies. Discussing the criticism directed at the 'reality' of real places mentioned in fictional works, Robinson and Andersen (2002a) note that critics usually point out that a location in a narrative is not the same as the actual location because it is, by definition, part of the narrative or fiction. They use the example of Kronborg Castle in Elsinore, Denmark, which is associated with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Although the alleged historical model for Hamlet, Prince Amleth, lived elsewhere and would have died long before its construction, they contend that it is not only real to the reader-tourist, but real in a specific way:

It exists on two levels at the same time: both as a castle originally constructed to perform a particular strategic function and as a location associated with one of the great stories in world literature...The literary critic might not agree but the cultural geographer and the tourism studies specialist would (2002a:xv).

Elsinore and Kronborg Castle have therefore been conferred a second reality or meaning through a literary text (as cultural product). This indicates the way in which the term 'landscape' is used and the concept of landscape is approached in this study, resembling that of the cultural geographer or, more specifically, humanistic geographer. D.N. Jeans (1979:208) maintains that meaning is the central concept of humanistic geography and defines 'place' as "coming into existence through men according meaning to locations." This reflects J.H. Miller's (1995:21) argument that "landscape is not a pre-existing thing in itself. It is made into a landscape, that is, a humanly meaningful space, by the living that takes place within it." In his investigation of how a sense of place can contribute to or distort one's knowledge and perception of a specific region, cultural geographer D.C.D. Pocock (1982:4) argues that the novel "may be an important source of secondary knowledge, contributing to the general process whereby attitudes, values and expectations are acquired" and thus "[o]ur cognitive frame of reference for viewing the world...may well be a literary frame of reference." Humanistic geography focuses "on man's awareness and experience of environment" (Pocock, 1982:40) and in relation to literary tourism/tourists this awareness is created through portrayals of places in creative literature, and is further coloured by the actions and experiences of fictional characters in these locations which the reader-tourist ostensibly experiences with them.

### **2.3 Approaches to the study of literary tourism**

The study and documentation of literary tourism has been approached from various perspectives, including academic research as well as writing aimed at a more general audience such as travel writing and travel guides. Travel writing, featuring authors and literary places, grew increasingly popular during the 1800s and was well-established by the turn of the century (Conner, 2003). These publications focused on either an individual author, for example W. Rideing's *Thackery's London: A Description of His Haunts and the Scenes of His Novels* (1885), or on a number of authors collectively, such as E.M. Bacon's *Literary Pilgrimages in New England to the Homes of Famous Makers of American Literature and Among their Haunts and the Scenes of their Writings* (1902). This trend was, however, probably set by William Howitt's highly popular *Homes and Haunts*

*of the Most Eminent British Poets* (1847) in which he combined the formats of tour guide, collective literary biography and personal travelogue (North, 2009). Besides the Penguin series of Literary Companions to various European cities, other recent publications include the popular books of D. Daiches and J. Flower (1979) and M. Drabble (1979) on the literary landscapes of Britain. Additionally, in 2008 there was the launch of S.M. Schmidt and J. Rendon's *Novel Destinations* and the third edition of D. Hahn and N. Robins's *The Oxford Guide to Literary Britain and Ireland*. Many of these publications, like that of Schmidt and Rendon on literary sites in the UK, US and Europe, serve as a visitor's guide, listing business hours, contact information and other relevant details. Perhaps the most important feature of this approach to the study of literary tourism, or rather its products, is that it increases the awareness of potential literary tourists about literary places and further promotes the mode of literary tourism.

From an academic perspective, the study of literary tourism also necessitates the study of the entire socio-cultural phenomenon that is tourism. The scholarly study of tourism really only began in the 1970s, and before this tourism scholarship was mainly historical and focused on particular phenomena such as the Grand Tour and travel in classical Rome (Graburn and Jafari, 1991). Echtner and Jamal (1997:871) show that up to the late 1980s the study of tourism had been isolated within different disciplines and such "interdisciplinary isolation creates barriers for the development of a more holistic understanding of tourism." Scholars concerned about methodological and conceptual problems within tourism studies (see for example Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988) therefore began to argue in favour of more cross-disciplinary research (Echtner and Jamal, 1997). This was lent further support by concurrent arguments (for example Gunn, 1987; Tribe, 1997) illustrating that tourism is a field, as opposed to a science or a discipline, which is formed by focusing on a certain phenomenon and investigating and explaining it through a variety of disciplines (Tribe, 1997). The disciplines that tourism studies call on include: political science; economics; law; business; urban and regional planning; ecology; geography; sociology; psychology; anthropology and history.

The ability to provide new insights is evident in the impact of such cross-disciplinary research. Two studies influential to both tourism and literary tourism will be highlighted in this regard. First, Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976) draws on the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and semiotics. He set himself in opposition to predominant, negative academic views at the time about tourism and tourists, in particular D. Boorstin (1964) who held that tourists, as opposed to genuine travellers, move within safe, familiar 'environmental bubbles' like the American-style hotel and contact with the outside world is limited to inauthentic 'pseudo-events' which tourists willingly seek out. MacCannell, however, argues that all tourism is a quest for authenticity apparently absent in our everyday lives. He noted a particular touristic fascination with the 'real lives' of other people, like the toil of Parisian sewer workers, and to guard against intrusion, these 'real lives' or backstages are set-up and contrived for tourism. Therefore, the tourist, instead of wilfully seeking out inauthenticity, is presented with what he calls 'staged authenticity'. Moreover, MacCannell is neither negative nor positive about tourism but rather emphasises it as a meaningful form of social action reflective of major socio-cultural shifts. Also, he set academic discourse on a path to where the distinctions between the so-called genuine traveller and superficial tourist became all the more irrelevant.

Second, John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (1990) adapts the philosopher Michel Foucault's notion of the disciplinary or clinical gaze and subjects his concept of the 'tourist gaze' to social, historical, economic, visual and cultural analysis. The binary opposition between the everyday and the extraordinary, he explains, is why tourism happens, why tourists find it pleasurable and is what produces a distinct tourist gaze. One of his points of departure is that the study of tourism (as deviation from normal behaviour) or how social groups construct their tourist gaze can reveal important aspects of 'normal' societies, subsequently illustrating that changing tourist patterns are connected to wider cultural changes, especially postmodernism. He shows that central to tourism is daydreaming or fantasy which is partly 'socially organised' through various media including literature. Urry's work intimates interesting points of reference for the study of literary tourism and "has continued to suggest to scholars from



both the social sciences and the humanities ways of thinking about literary tourism as travel into the extraordinary realms of the virtual ‘for real’” (Watson, 2009:7).

Even though the visiting of places with literary associations has a long history, as will be shown in the fifth chapter of this study, the scholarly study of literary tourism only gained prominence in the late 1980s. Literary tourism scholar Nicola Watson (2009:3-4) speculates that its virtual invisibility may be due to “its troubling interrogation of the boundaries between those disciplines and sub-disciplines” between which it is located. These she cites as literary and cultural studies, cultural geography, history and heritage studies, and tourism studies. As shown earlier, however, tourism studies as such is rather a field drawing on numerous disciplines, including those she mentions. Watson (2009:5) also provides another explicit reason for literary tourism’s invisibility in that it was an embarrassment related to the predominantly negative assumptions made about tourism as a whole:

The embarrassment of literary tourism is encapsulated in the very phrase, which yokes ‘literature’ – with its longstanding claims to high, national culture, and its current aura of high brow difficulty and professionalism – with ‘tourism’, trailing its pejorative connotations of mass popular culture, mass travel, unthinking and unrefined consumption of debased consumables, amateurishness, and inauthenticity.

Cultural geographers, especially humanistic geographers, mentioned earlier, appear to be the first to have connected literature and place more closely in the academic sphere and eventually began to take note of touristic travel to these places in their investigations of human-environment relationships through literature. This led to such publications as *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place* (1981) edited by D.C.D. Pocock. Of particular interest in this collection of essays is P.T. Newby’s (1981:130-141) investigation of the way literature (that of Wordsworth, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Laurence Durrell) influenced tourist tastes as to where and in what season to travel, their practices at these destinations and how destinations and fashions changed as they became more democratised or less fashionable.

Due to massive growth in tourism and heritage preservation since the late 1980s (Watson, 2009), there have been a number of diffuse publications investigating literary tourism phenomena in primarily North America, Europe and particularly the United Kingdom. A number of these have been collated in the following table:

| <b>Geographic region</b>     | <b>Associated writer</b>      | <b>Place/site</b>                                                                    | <b>Featured theme/s</b>                                                                                       | <b>Source</b>               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| United Kingdom (and Ireland) | Austen, Jane                  | Jane Austen's House Museum, Chawton, Hampshire                                       | Heritage presentation, visitor experience, authenticity                                                       | Herbert, 1995b              |
|                              |                               |                                                                                      | Literary tourists' characteristics, authenticity, heritage conservation                                       | Herbert, 2001               |
|                              | Brontë sisters                | Haworth, West Yorkshire                                                              | Literary and media influences on tourists' pre-visit expectations and how these conform with their experience | Pocock, 1987                |
|                              | Christie, Agatha              | South Hams district, Devon                                                           | Host community awareness of and reactions to literary and film-induced tourism                                | Busby, Brunt and Lund, 2003 |
|                              | Cookson, Catharine            | 'Catharine Cookson Country', South Tyneside                                          | Tourists' pre-visit expectations and experience of place, perceived authenticity                              | Pocock, 1992                |
|                              | Hardy, Thomas                 | 'Hardy's Wessex', southern England                                                   | <i>Tess of the d'Urbervilles</i> and sightseers' handbooks, feminist psychoanalysis of a tourist landscape    | Nunokawa, 1992              |
|                              |                               |                                                                                      | The novel's influence on people's experience of the environment                                               | Pocock, 1982                |
|                              | Joyce, James                  | Dublin, Ireland                                                                      | Interpreting city geography through fictional presentations, literary tourists' interaction with city space   | Johnson, 2004               |
|                              | Martineau, Harriet            | The Knoll, Ambleside, Cumbria                                                        | An author's intentional promotion of literary tourism centered on herself                                     | Easley, 2006                |
|                              | Milton, John                  | Milton's birthplace, Bread Street, London                                            | Tourist gaze, imaginative interaction with a writer's birthplace                                              | Santesso, 2004              |
|                              | Potter, Beatrix               | Hill Top Farm, Ambleside, Cumbria                                                    | The meanings made by reader-tourists of text and setting                                                      | Squire, 1993                |
|                              |                               |                                                                                      | Gender and tourist experience in relation to social-cultural frameworks                                       | Squire, 1994a               |
|                              |                               |                                                                                      | Visitors' interpretation of a literary place, the social and cultural meanings of literary tourism            | Squire, 1994b               |
| Scott, Sir Walter            | Central and northern Scotland | Romantic presentations of and the development of modern tourism in Scotland, Scott's | Glendening, 1997                                                                                              |                             |

|               |                                                                              |                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                       |                           |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | exoticism of Scottish otherness                                                                                                                       |                           |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | The portrayal of Scotland in tourist promotional literature, travel accounts and films, creation of the Highland myth and Scott's propagation thereof | Gold and Gold, 1995       |
|               | Shakespeare, William                                                         | Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire (and London)                      | Comparative analysis of literary and religious cults                                                                                                  | Dhávidházi, 1998          |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | Historical development of and literary pilgrimage to a literary site                                                                                  | Ousby, 1990               |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | The development of Shakespeare tourism in relation to print culture                                                                                   | Watson, 2006              |
|               | Thomas, Dylan                                                                | Laugharne, Wales                                                    | Literary tourists' characteristics, authenticity, heritage conservation                                                                               | Herbert, 2001             |
|               |                                                                              | Swansea, Wales                                                      | Cultural policy, place promotion through a literary theme                                                                                             | Watkins and Herbert, 2003 |
|               | Wordsworth, William                                                          | Dove Cottage, Grasmere, Cumbria                                     | Romantic ideals and the formation of a literary/tourist landscape                                                                                     | Squire, 1988              |
| Europe        | Proust, Marcel                                                               | Cabourg, Normandy, France                                           | Heritage presentation, visitor experience, authenticity                                                                                               | Herbert, 1995b            |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | Place promotion, tourist characteristics at literary and artistic attractions                                                                         | Herbert, 1996             |
|               | Stoker, Bram (particularly his novel <i>Dracula</i> )                        | Bran Castle, Transylvania, Romania                                  | Heritage interpretation and marketing, heritage tourism in a transitional economy                                                                     | Muresan and Smith, 1998   |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | Readers' motivation for and experience of seeking out places linked to imaginative literature                                                         | Reijnders, 2011           |
| North America | Jackson, Helen Hunt (particularly her novel <i>Ramona</i> )                  | Ventura and San Diego counties, California, USA                     | The creation of a new social memory, practiced by tourists and locals, inspired by a novel                                                            | DeLyser, 2003             |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | Touristic reception of a social problem novel                                                                                                         | Stevens, 1998             |
|               | Montgomery, Lucy Maude (particularly her <i>Anne of Green Gables</i> novels) | Prince Edward Island, Canada                                        | Authenticity and presentation of biographical and fictional literary heritage                                                                         | Fawcett and Cormack, 2001 |
|               |                                                                              |                                                                     | Cultural heritage interpretation and policy, sustainable tourism development                                                                          | Squire, 1996              |
| Twain, Mark   | Mark Twain's Boyhood Home Museum, Hannibal, Missouri, USA                    | Heritage interpretation and presentation, contested (social) memory | Shackle, 2011                                                                                                                                         |                           |

Table 1: Publications on literary sites

Other publications not focused on a particular place or author that bear mentioning include James Buzard's (1993) investigation of tourism's appropriation of literary reputations and texts, in particular the way that Lord Byron's poetry, through John Murray's 'handbooks', affected grand tourists' experiences and practices in the nineteenth century. Also, Harald Hendrix's (2008) edited collection of essays investigating the way writers' houses, specifically in continental Europe, are fashioned by writers themselves and processes of cultural memory.

Three publications, of particular significance to literary tourism studies, can be highlighted. These focus mostly on the three geographical areas in the northern hemisphere referred to earlier. *Literature and Tourism: Essays in the Reading and Writing of Tourism* (2002), edited by Mike Robinson and Hans-Christian Andersen, shows that literature is a consequential facet in the structuring and development of tourism and tourist behaviour. It explores the inter-relationship shared by tourism and literature in detail. Especially significant is the first chapter by the two editors and the second by Mike Robinson, as these attempt to explain the entire multi-faceted phenomenon of literary tourism in its contemporary form. In their explorations they focus on the ways that literature is commodified for tourism, the development and transformation of tourist spaces and how people are inspired through literature both internally and by the tourism context to travel.

Nicola Watson's *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (2006) is the first full-length scholarly study that deals with literary tourism. She traces the commencement and development of literary tourism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through primarily British sites, arguing that literary places are produced by writing mediated by readers' acts of visitation, along with specific inter-texts, like biographies, and other publications, like the guide books mentioned earlier. She also investigates the emergence of literary tourism as a secondary effect of cultural nationalism, resulting in the creation of a national literary map or mythic geography representing the national literary heritage. Watson has also edited a collection of essays that make up *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (2009). As the title implies, these essays approach literary tourism from a generally historicist perspective, investigating such

aspects as the gendering of sites and experiences, the role of populist publications in promoting a taste for literary tourism, the connections between national heritage and national identity and, in general, how Victorians and subsequent readers experienced and lived out their encounters with literature. These publications, especially the latter two, indicate that the new, cross-disciplinary field of literary tourism is becoming more established within academia and tourism studies.

In South Africa, relatively very little has been published about literary tourism with regard to South African writers and sites that are associated with them or their work. One publication that aids in bringing South African literature, writers and their associated sites to the attention of readers and potential visitors is Jeanette Eve's *A Literary Guide to the Eastern Cape* (2003). She describes it as "a book of journeys" (2003:2) and states:

Each journey focuses on literature associated with a specific part of the country, and a selection of poems and quotations from short stories, novels, travel writing, autobiographies, myths and legends has been chosen to reflect some of the varied landscapes and townscapes of the Eastern Cape (2003:2).

Eve deals extensively with such prolific writers as Guy Butler, Athol Fugard, Marguerite Poland and Thomas Pringle, and dedicates almost an entire chapter to Olive Schreiner, author of the well-known *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), and her writings on the Karoo. She provides short biographies of most of the writers and brief historical accounts of the places that are described in this guide.

Another South African literary guide is that of J.C. Kannemeyer called *Kaap van skrywers* (2000), which can be literally translated as 'Cape of writers'. From 1993 onwards, the late Professor John Kannemeyer and Professor Wium van Zyl presented a number of literary tours based on the best-known writers of Afrikaans literature. The most popular of these tours is the one-day tour that takes in the literary sites of Cape Town, Dal Josafat and Paarl. Kannemeyer's guide focuses on the literary sites in Cape Town that form part of this one-day tour. Some of the sites that are included in this guide are the former and current homes of some of the most famous Afrikaner writers, such as D.J. Opperman, N.P. van

Wyk Louw, Ingrid Jonker and Antjie Krog. Kannemeyer (2000:1) states that Cape Town is the most “described” or “written about” city in Afrikaans literature, and thus he also includes a great number of extracts from many Afrikaans writers which describe Cape Town itself, specific areas in the city, and particular sites, such as Table Mountain and the lighthouse at Green Point. But this guide differs from that of Eve, as Kannemeyer provides little biographical information on the writers and hardly any historical data on the places he discusses.

Regarding scholarly research on literary tourism in South Africa, only a very small number of scattered publications have appeared. Lindy Stiebel’s article ‘Hitting the Hot Spots: Literary Tourism as a research field with particular reference to KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa’ (2004) introduces the ‘Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal research project’. It was started in 2002 with the aim of researching, establishing and promoting literary tourism in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Province. In this article she considers questions of methodology and definition prompted by the project, particularly how a writer can be regarded as belonging to specific region. Obvious connections include being born in particular place as this has a formative influence on a writer, as well as writing about it. But at the same time she also considers aspects of self-ascribed identity as opposed to identity ascribed by others, such as the government. Due consideration is also given to a sense of belonging to a specific place regarding writers who were forcibly relocated or exiled from the country under the apartheid government’s legislation. She concludes her article with a number of suggestions for possible literary trails relating to such writers as Roy Campbell, Lewis Nkosi and the poet Mazisi Kunene. Stiebel has also published an essay ‘On the trail of Rider Haggard in South Africa’ in the afore-mentioned collection edited by Watson (2009). Here, she explores the nature of literary trails and, drawing on Robinson (2002), states that such trails can be seen as encouraging a ‘new literacy’. She discusses the Rider Haggard self-guided trail created by the project and how it engages with and relates to the ‘new South Africa’. She concludes this essay with a brief discussion of an area-based trail in Grey Street, Durban, and makes suggestions for others in, for example, Inanda and Cato Manor. Aside from the creation of such trails, Stiebel (2004:35) states that the project also intends:

To collect a database of all published KwaZulu-Natal writers past and present in all languages of the region on CD-ROM; to link this database to a literary tourist map of the province on a website such that places associated with writers are highlighted; and to produce five documentary films on selected, representative writers aimed at literature students and literary tourists alike.

Over the past few years many of these aims have already been achieved in that a database has been set up on the World Wide Web (<http://www.literarytourism.co.za>) which contains both biographical and bibliographical information on over a hundred KwaZulu-Natal writers. The documentary films have also been produced, focusing on individual writers such as Douglas Livingstone, Lewis Nkosi, Marguerite Poland and Aziz Hassim. On the KZN literary tourism website there are a number of academic papers, some of which have been presented at conferences and other events. Not all of them specifically discuss literary tourism. Some are largely literary criticism, whereas others discuss specific aspects of the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project, such as the Haggard trail, mentioned earlier, the Alan Paton trail and the Grey Street Writers trail, also established by the project. The research project and the trails it developed will be explored in greater detail later on in this study.

Although only of peripheral interest, Felicité Fairer-Wessels's article 'A literary pilgrimage to Robben Island as inspired by Nelson Mandela's "Long Walk to Freedom"?' (2005) can also be noted here. The title, however, is misleading and, as she states, 'inaccurate' since her assumption that "people visit Robben Island on a literary journey" (2005:16) was not confirmed by her on-site fieldwork. Even though she expressly states that the focus of her article is literary tourism or "pilgrimage within a literary context" (2005:2), the questions she posed to her respondents indicate that she was rather more interested in the nature and forms of pilgrimages. The content of and research drawn upon for her article deal with the relationship between religion/pilgrimage and tourism, and how these inform one another in a contemporary context. However, as some of her questions relate to tourism motivated by reading a specific text, her article does hold some relevance to the study of literary tourism in South Africa.

Fairer-Wessels later produced another article, entitled ‘Young adult readers as potential consumers of literary tourism sites: a survey of the readers of two of the Dalene Matthee forest novels’ (2010), that is of significance to the study of this field in South Africa. In it she investigates the effects of two prescribed school texts, Dalene Matthee’s *Kringe in ‘n bos* (1984) and *Fiela se kind* (1985), on the potential travel behaviour of young adults/adolescents. She considers questions related to the authenticity of presenting fiction through tourism and geographical approaches to the way place and landscape interact. This particular research is of relevance to this study and will be addressed in chapter 7.

In light of the above, it is clear that a relatively limited amount of research has been done on literary tourism and its associated products in South Africa, especially from an academic perspective. Stiebel and the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project have done much to further research in and create awareness of literary tourism, although this is limited to the KZN Province. The same goes for Eve and Kannemeyer’s guides, focused on the Eastern and Western Cape regions respectively. This reveals a clear imbalance and a wide space, both literally and figuratively, for further research. No study has, as yet, attempted to deal with all existing manifestations of literary tourism in South Africa, potential tourism developments, especially in the northern regions of the country, or the possible social and cultural rewards this type of tourism could hold for a developing country like South Africa. This study intends to address some of these aspects.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE CONSUMERS OF LITERARY HERITAGE AND CULTURE

The tourist's milieu often orientates itself towards reading. Robinson (2002:41) states that “[a]irports, railway stations and bus terminals are significant arenas of literary engagement. Along with the consumption of newspapers and magazines, casual observation shows us that travellers and tourists read books and novels in particular.” He concludes that the act of travel may indeed positively encourage literary engagement. This ‘reader-friendly’ environment could be seen as a contributing factor to the growth and continuance of literary tourism. To shed further light on this, an investigation of who literary tourists are and what motivates them to travel is required. However, the first question that must be answered is, what is it in creative literature that exerts such an influence over readers so as to inspire them to travel to places or events associated with authors or their work?

#### 3.1 The power of creative literature

Aristotle, the fourth century BC Greek philosopher, held that all ‘imitation’ or art provides people with pleasure because of its imitation of life (mimesis), rhythmic order and didactic character, and further that the poet must be more than merely a maker of verse but a maker of plots (Aristotle, 1982) or, in other words, stories. Hence, people enjoy stories because they give them pleasure. But literature in particular is unlike other art forms such as music or the visual arts. This is because, as Robinson and Anderson (2002a:xiv) argue, it can be engaged with at a personal level by anyone who can read and grasp the conventions used by the writer to arrange the words to create an aesthetic and semantic pattern or tell a story – the “author and the reader are closer to sharing the art, you might say, than the sculptor or ceramic artist and their audience.” Since we all commonly use *words* on a daily basis, and literature is *word-based*, “we are already in the world of the author, we already share some understanding of the author’s linguistic raw material” (Robinson and Andersen, 2002a:xiv). They conclude that readers, in sharing the author’s interests in conveying emotions through words and telling stories, have greater and more immediate access to the

work of art, they can comprehend how it can be used formally and stylistically, and can thus formulate a view on it. D.H. Lawrence, writing on literary criticism, advances a somewhat different view of literary style and form, but emphasises the primacy of emotion:

Literary criticism can be no more than a reasoned account of the feeling produced upon the critic by the book he is criticizing. Criticism can never be a science: it is, in the first place, much too personal, and in the second, it is concerned with values that science ignores. The touchstone is emotion, not reason. We judge a work of art by its effects on our sincere and vital emotion, and nothing else. All the critical twiddle-twaddle about style and form...is mere impertinence and mostly dull jargon (Maxwell-Mahon and Titlestad, 2001:90-91).

What is clear from this is that creative literature elicits emotions from the reader, and that emotions are crucial in the appreciation of literature. In fact, Novitz (1980:279) reasons that “one can *only* properly understand fiction if one is in a position to be appropriately moved by the fortunes or misfortunes of its characters.” But the obvious question then is: how can a reader experience *real* emotions, like pity, sympathy or loathing, because of characters and events that are inherently *not real*? There is no simple answer, but two aspects seem to frequently re-occur in the relevant discourse. The first reason, originally formulated by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1817, is the reader’s willing suspension of his or her disbelief. E. Schaper (1978), more specifically, contends that readers hold truth or first-order beliefs which are entailed by their understanding that they are dealing with fiction and not statements about the actual world. Second, the reader makes use of his or her imagination – they take it as if there are particular people who do particular things in particular places in imaginary worlds (Novitz, 1980). By responding imaginatively to creative literature, the reader can then share or participate in the emotional trials and conflicts of the characters and become immersed in the tensions and intrigues of the plot.

The product of the writer’s imagination must of course be inventive enough and convincing enough to draw the reader into these imaginary worlds (Robinson, 2002). This agrees with the point D.H. Lawrence makes about the novel:

In the novel, the characters can do nothing but *live*. If they keep on being good, according to pattern, or even volatile, according to pattern, they cease to live, and the novel falls dead. A character in a novel has got to live, or it is nothing (Maxwell-Mahon and Titlestad, 2001:88).

This indicates that fictional characters and events must be believable, both intrinsically and in their presentation, so as to ‘come to life’ in the reader’s mind. Readers can then imagine along with the writer (Novitz, 1980), and through their imaginative involvement it enables them to feel real emotions. This is where the power of creative literature lies: it not only captures our imaginations but, by extension, captivates us emotionally as well.

The conditions of inventiveness and believability also extend to the settings in which a writer places a story or poem, thereby figuratively transporting the reader to these places, whether real or fictitious. In this regard Robinson (2002:45) comments: “even the most undesirable of places and events can be enlivened when embroidered by incident, accident, drama, surprise, mystery, puzzle-solving, suspense, humour and action.” The reader may then be so inspired by what they have read as to visit these places, if extant, that have been imaginatively transformed by the dramatic events and emotional turmoil the reader experienced with and through the characters. Fictional events and characters indeed seem to create the strongest imagery (Herbert, 2001), for as Pocock (1987:138) noted in his studies at Haworth, a number of tourists to this site, when crossing the moors, experienced emotions that were concerned “less with excitement in treading in the Brontës’ steps than with the thought that Heathcliff might appear”.

### **3.2 Literary tourists**

The first use of the word ‘tourist’ as a synonym for traveller has been traced back to the late eighteenth century when it first occurred in the dictionaries of the time (Buzard, 1993) and in the writings of eighteenth century travellers (Ousby, 1990). Ousby (1990:18) notes that we still use the word ‘tour’ today for actors, musicians and lecturers, and for soldiers who perform tours of duty; however, we do not call them ‘tourists’ because “the word now implies a leisure activity, incompatible with work or even seriousness of purpose.” The

difference between the concepts ‘tourist’ and ‘traveller’ became more and more significant as tourism began to extend beyond the rich and privileged minorities. Various scholars have attempted to make distinctions between types of tourists, and make sense of the tourist experience.

One of the earliest theories on the nature of tourists is D. Boorstin’s (1964) formulation of the tourist as the passive victim of the media and advertising, who travels with almost no information to ‘pseudo-places’ in search of, and then naively enjoys, ‘pseudo-events’ and disregards the ‘real’ world beyond these contrived attractions. P. Fussel (1980), expanding Boorstin’s views, identifies three types of figures within travel and advances this argument through historical analysis. These are the explorer who belonged to the age of the Renaissance; the traveller who belonged to the ‘bourgeois age’; and the tourist who belongs to the contemporary ‘proletarian movement.’ However, Ousby (1990:6) argues that the boundaries of these historical epochs seem suspiciously portable in Fussel’s hands, and from his analysis it appears that “the ‘genuine’ traveller – in touch with the mind working in history and hard at work at ‘real’ experiences in ‘real’ places – still lives in the person of the author himself, died at some undefined point between the two world wars and fell victim to the railway in the nineteenth century”. What Fussel proposes, Ousby continues, is not a historical definition, but instead a vision of a Golden Age of travel, and such an alleged Golden Age is nothing more than a phantasm, composed of “modern self-dislike, intellectual snobbery and sentimentality over the past” (1990:7).

Urry (1990) makes a useful distinction between tourists of the ‘romantic gaze’ and tourists of the ‘collective gaze.’ The romantic gaze belongs to a more elite social group, who possess the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) to draw meaning from objects and places, and who value and appreciate solitude and marvellous scenery. The collective gaze is that of the less discriminating majority, what one might refer to as mass tourists. This type of gaze “necessitates the presence of large numbers of people...Other people give atmosphere or a sense of carnival to a place. They indicate that this is *the* place to be and that one should not be elsewhere” (1990:45-46). Drawing on Urry’s distinctions, Buzard (1993:6) also differentiates between travellers and tourists, and argues that travellers seek to distinguish

themselves from the ‘mere tourists’ they perceive around them, and authentic culture is represented as lurking in secret precincts outside the conventional tourist areas. This authentic culture can only be discovered by the sensitive ‘traveller’, or what Buzard calls the ‘anti-tourist’ who is a practitioner of the romantic gaze, and not by the vulgar tourist who practises the collective gaze. In post-modern analyses the concept of the ‘post-tourist’ (Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1990) has also been developed. Post-tourists know that they are tourists (or visiting outsiders) and that they cannot elude this condition. They see tourism as a game with no authentic tourist experience in the ever-increasingly staged tourist space. They are not constrained by a particular tourist role – they can move effortlessly from the pursuit for ‘high culture’ to the pursuit of the ‘pleasure principle’ and “can gain pleasure from the contrasts between the two” (Urry, 1990:100).

Others have also sought to develop typologies of tourists, such as Erik Cohen (1974) who identifies four types of tourists: the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter. Valene Smith (1989), extending the work of Cohen, has developed a typology consisting of seven different tourist types: explorer, elite, off-beat, unusual, incipient mass, mass and charter. The explorers, at one end of the spectrum, arrive in very limited numbers and adapt fully to host cultures, whereas charter tourists, at the other end, arrive in massive numbers and demand Western amenities. Even though this study does not permit a more detailed exploration of these typologies, what the above discussion indicates is that there are many different types of tourists who possess different degrees of interest in heritage and culture, and have varying ideas about how they want to experience it. However, when referring to literary tourists, Herbert (1995b:34) argues that it is generally “expected that we are dealing with travellers rather than tourists, with the romantic rather than the collective gaze.” A closer investigation of the characteristics of literary tourists is thus required to determine whether there is a sufficient basis for this assumption.

The majority of literary attractions entail what is generally classified as heritage, such as museums, historic sites, monuments and graves. Literary tourists can therefore be regarded as a particular kind of heritage tourist. Most heritage tourists are drawn from what is called

the service class, which includes professional and business people, as well as white collar workers. “As a broad group, the service classes enjoy superior work situations and have educational credentials that distinguish them from other groups” (Herbert, 2001:314). This is supported by Thrift (1989), who holds that it is those in white collar occupations of the service class and their families who visit heritage attractions. A number of case studies that focus on literary tourists will be explored in order to form a more detailed profile of them, especially with regard to the age range, gender and occupation.

The case studies that will be utilised focus on the following British and European literary sites: Beatrix Potter’s Hill Top Farm in the Lake District village of Sawrey where the writer’s house museum is located and which served as the setting for her children’s tales (Squire, 1993; 1994a; 1994b); Jane Austen’s residence at Chawton in Hampshire, also turned into a museum, although Chawton never features, as such, in her works (Herbert, 1995b; 2001); Laugharne in South Wales, believed to be the setting of Dylan Thomas’s *Under Milk Wood* (1954) and where the Boathouse is located in which Thomas lived, now turned into a museum about the artist (Herbert, 2001); and the seaside resort Cabourg in Normandy, believed to be ‘Balbec’, the resort which features prominently in Marcel Proust’s work *Within a Budding Grove* (part of the novel *A la recherche du temps perdu*, translated as *Remembrance of Things Past* and published between 1922 and 1931), although Proust never resided here permanently (Herbert, 1996). These studies are collated in the following two tables:

| Place                        | Hill Top       | Chawton                                           | Laugharne                                         | Cabourg                                           |
|------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Associated writer</b>     | Beatrix Potter | Jane Austen                                       | Dylan Thomas                                      | Marcel Proust                                     |
| <b>Number of respondents</b> | 626            | 223                                               | 218                                               | 151                                               |
| <b>Age range</b>             | 55% 25 to 44   | 40.5% 35 to 54<br>23.4% under 34<br>10.4% over 64 | 48.3% 35 to 54<br>25.1% under 35<br>10.9% over 64 | 32.2% 35 to 54<br>31.5% under 34<br>23.5% over 65 |
| <b>Gender</b>                | 72%            | No data                                           | No data                                           | No data                                           |

Table 2.1: The age range and gender of literary tourists  
 Sources: Squire (1993; 1994a; 1994b), Herbert (1995b; 1996; 2001)

| Place                            | Hill Top       | Chawton     | Laugharne    | Cabourg       |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <b>Associated writer</b>         | Beatrix Potter | Jane Austen | Dylan Thomas | Marcel Proust |
| <b>Number of respondents</b>     | 626            | 223         | 218          | 151           |
| <b>Managerial/white collar</b>   | 63%            | 60%         | 49%          | 35.4%         |
| <b>Student/retiree/housewife</b> | No data        | 30%         | 30%          | 46.6%         |
| <b>Blue-collar/unskilled</b>     | No data        | No data     | No data      | 16%           |

Table 2.2: Occupations of literary tourists

Sources: Squire (1993; 1994a; 1994b), Herbert (1995b; 1996; 2001)

The above tables clearly show corresponding data between the findings at Hill Top Farm, Chawton and Laugharne, whereas the findings from Cabourg deviate somewhat. This is due to the nature of the site – a popular seaside resort that would obviously attract more than just tourists with literary interests, even though it promotes its connection with Proust’s life and works quite vigorously.

From these case studies it is clear that the majority of literary tourists are of a more mature age – 35 years and older. The studies further suggest that consumers of literary heritage are mostly drawn from the service class, since approximately 56% of the respondents from all the sites were engaged in managerial, professional or white collar occupations. Given that they do indeed enjoy ‘superior work situations’, it also implies that these tourists have higher levels of education and discretionary income. Squire’s findings also intimate that literary tourism attracts more women than men, as 72% of her respondents were female, although this may be specific to interest in Beatrix Potter. Within the greater context of cultural tourism, these findings are also reflected by T. Silberberg (1995:363), who argues that cultural tourists generally earn more, and spend more money whilst on vacation, that they are more highly educated than the general public, that cultural tourists included more women than men (thus supporting Squire’s findings at Hill Top Farm), and that cultural tourists tend to be older than other types of tourists. Based on a survey conducted in 1998, the Travel Industry Association of America came to the same conclusion that cultural tourists have higher household incomes compared to other travellers, they have higher levels of education, and are more likely to be in professional or managerial positions (Lord, 1999). There thus appears to be sufficient evidence to support the assumption that literary tourists conform to the notion of what it is to be a traveller rather than a tourist.

Now that a basic profile of literary tourists has been established, the motivations of these tourists need to be explored in order to determine whether literary tourists employ the ‘romantic gaze’ or the ‘collective gaze’. Herbert (1995b:34) suggests that “visitors to literary places are more purposeful and have more specific reasons for making their visits.” Hence, the question is: what are these more specific reasons? Herbert (2001) identifies both the general and exceptional qualities of literary places that could serve to motivate tourists to visit such sites. One general quality is geographical convenience, in that the literary place can be a stopping point along a general tourism itinerary. In addition, there is also the setting of the site, as it may be situated within a scenic environment, and the range of facilities it has to offer such as restaurants or coffee shops and souvenirs.

The exceptional qualities, those that are more specifically concerned with literary connotations, are what make such places unique. First, tourists are attracted to places that have connections with the lives of writers. Such places, especially the former residences of writers, where they lived and worked, where their stories came into being, may “create a sense of nostalgia and inspire awe and reverence” (Herbert, 2001:314). Second, visitors may be attracted to places that serve as the settings for novels. Authors often write of real places, and then “there is a merging of the real and the imagined that give such places special meaning” (Herbert, 2001:314). Adapting Pierre Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire* (sites or structures, for example, that validate the collective memory), Stijn Reijnders (2010; 2011) argues that the locations and settings of books, films and television series are *lieux d’imagination* – “physical locations which serve as a symbolic anchor for a society’s collective imagination” (2011:234). He further contends that tourists visit these places to search for tangible references to an event that in fact occurs in the mind. His research into Dracula tourism to Transylvania, Romania, and the town of Whitby, England, both settings of Bram Stoker’s novel *Dracula* (1897), showed they were first inspired to travel there when they discovered these were real places, thus serving as “tactile references to an imagined universe” (Reijnders, 2011:238).



Third, tourists may be drawn to literary attractions because of some broader, deeper emotion rather than a writer or their work. Squire's (1993; 1994a; 1994b) research on Beatrix Potter's Hill Top Farm indicates that for many tourists, this site evoked emotions and memories of their childhood, notions of Englishness, and rural nostalgia for the countryside. Similarly, Reiinders (2011:243) found that many Dracula tourists were attracted to the story "because of its dark-romantic mix of eroticism and violence" – their 'inner experience' largely consisted of 'sensual pleasure', possible only because "it takes place far from home...in the liminal twilight of Transylvania or Whitby." Fourth, tourists may be motivated to visit a literary attraction because of a dramatic event in a writer's life. This is certainly true in the case of sites that are related to the death of a writer. Take for example the case of L'Hôtel (previously Hôtel d'Alsace) in Paris where Oscar Wilde died as well as the Hotel Chelsea in New York where Dylan Thomas stayed before he was rushed to a hospital and died after a night of heavy drinking. Both of these establishments mark the respective events with a plaque at their entrances (Schmidt and Rendon, 2008). There appears to be a persistent interest in the more sensational aspects of the lives of literary and even non-literary celebrities, be it in their morbid deaths or their sensational social behaviour. The tourist industry can indeed play on these aspects, as is done in the case of the Dublin 'Literary Pub Crawl' which relishes the drinking exploits of some of the city's best-loved authors like James Joyce, Brendan Behan and Flann O'Brien (Robinson, 2002).

To extend this discussion of literary tourist motivation, it would be useful to take cognisance of what Ousby (1990:8) has to say in this regard:

Tourists don't visit country houses or ruins or nature just for fun but out of the belief that the experience will in some way educate or uplift them – terms that express our own secularised, more vaguely defined equivalents of those precisely felt spiritual demands which impelled medieval pilgrims on their journey.

This alludes to the phenomenon of the 'literary pilgrim', whom, it may be safe to assume, would be motivated to travel by the exceptional qualities of literary places, especially those related to the lives of authors and the settings of their novels. In order to establish further

what the nature of literary tourists is, this notion of the dedicated literary pilgrim warrants further investigation.

### **3.3 Literary pilgrims and general literary tourists**

The idea of comparing tourism to religious pilgrimage has existed for some time within the realm of tourism studies. Some oppose this notion, arguing that tourism is an inauthentic pseudo-event (for instance Barthes, 1984; Boorstin, 1964), whereas others support it, maintaining that tourism is a search for authenticity or meaning (for example MacCannell, 1976; Nash, 1981). There are also those who feel that there is no clear distinction between tourism and pilgrimage (such as Passariello, 1983; Turner and Turner, 1978). However, as one scholar asserts: “A journey through boundaries both spatial and spiritual, the pilgrimage often appears in the guise of tourism” (Dávidházi, 1998:63).

More specifically, in the case of literary tourism, Ousby (1990:8) argues that “the cult of literary shrines translates the cult of pilgrimage into the secular language of tourism with remarkable fidelity.” In his comparative, anthropological study of literary and religious cults, focused particularly on Shakespeare, Péter Dávidházi (1998:63) not only finds that eighteenth century literary tourists themselves applied the term ‘pilgrimage’ to their journeys, but also states:

If one analyses the behaviour of a rapidly growing number of people, from the eighteenth century onwards, as they travel to Stratford, as they collect and treasure souvenirs with a devotion fitting for relics, or as some of them explicitly testify to having experienced a kind of mystical illumination at Shakespeare’s grave, one is reassured that everything falls into the latent pattern of the pilgrimage.

Nor was this unique to Shakespeare. Others have also noted the type of devotion, verging on the spiritual, which authors can engender, as with Charlotte Brontë after the publication of her 1857 biography by Elizabeth Gaskell:

The almost religious awe in which she was held soon came to be focused in the place where she had spent nearly all her life [Haworth], and a fully-fledged cult developed complete with pilgrims and relics. Although literary cults were not confined to the Brontës in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Charlotte inspired a uniquely intense devotion (Miller, 2002:98).

Since both forms of behaviour involve “a journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place or state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal” (Morinis, 1992:4), it seems logical that scholars would draw comparisons between literary and religious pilgrimage. But this raises the question, what distinguishes the literary pilgrim from other tourists? The term ‘literary pilgrim’ is used by Pocock (1992) on the “assumption that this type of visitor is seeking to learn and be educated in a discerning way” (Herbert, 1995b:34). Herbert (2001:312) states that the idea of the literary pilgrim engenders the image of a “dedicated scholar prepared to travel long distances to experience places linked with writers of prose, drama, or poetry, including the cemetery in Rome where the remains of Keats and Shelley lie or Rupert Brooke’s grave on the Greek island of Skyros.” He further characterises the literary pilgrim as a well-educated tourist, who is versed in the classics and has the cultural capital to understand and appreciate this form of heritage.

One way to determine whether those who visit literary attractions can indeed be regarded as literary pilgrims is to test their cultural capital and general literary awareness in order to ascertain their cultural competence (Herbert, 2001), as well as their motivations for visiting the site. Once again reference will be made to a number of case studies. Those that have not yet been mentioned focus on Haworth, Yorkshire, site of the Brontë Parsonage, a museum since 1928, and places in and around the locality that served as models and/or settings for a number of the sisters’ novels (Pocock, 1987); and the South Tyneside Metropolitan Borough, redesignated as Catherine Cookson Country in 1985, entailing numerous places connected to Cookson’s life, a Cookson exhibition at the Borough Museum, and which served as the setting for most of her novels (Pocock, 1992).

The first aspect relates to the cultural capital of the literary tourist, or more specifically, the degree of knowledge they have regarding the particular author’s work. It would be reasonable to assume that if someone is so inspired to take a pilgrimage to the home, grave,

or setting used in the literature of a specific author, then they would at least have some measure of intimacy with their work. Visitors at Chawton, Haworth, Laugharne, Cabourg and a group tour to South Tyneside were asked how much of the associated authors' work they had read. The following table collates these findings:

| Place                        | Chawton                                                                                                                    | Haworth                                           | South Tyneside                                                                  | Laugharne                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Cabourg                                               |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Associated writer</b>     | Jane Austen                                                                                                                | Brontë sisters                                    | Catherine Cookson                                                               | Dylan Thomas                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Marcel Proust                                         |
| <b>Number of Respondents</b> | 223                                                                                                                        | 37                                                | 57                                                                              | 218                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 151                                                   |
| <b>Amount of works read</b>  | 60% three or more<br>28.2% six or more<br>13.5% none                                                                       | 50% three or more<br>50% some poetry<br>2.7% none | 70.1% one or more<br>10.5% sixty or more<br>(Median number of novels read = 20) | 60% two or less<br>25% four or more                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 6.8% a lot<br>43% a little<br>47% none<br>2.6% unsure |
| <b>Specific works read</b>   | 80.3% <i>Pride &amp; Prejudice</i><br>58.3% <i>Sense &amp; Sensibility</i><br>56.5% <i>Emma</i><br>40.8% <i>Persuasion</i> | No data                                           | No data                                                                         | 78.6% <i>Under Milk Wood</i><br>43.6% <i>Collected Poems</i><br>39% <i>A Child's Christmas in Wales</i><br>27% <i>Quite Early One Morning</i><br>12.8% <i>Fern Hill</i> (poem)<br>8.7% <i>Do not go gentle into that good night</i> (poem) | No data                                               |

Table 2.3: Literary awareness regarding author's works  
 Sources: Herbert (1995b; 1996; 2001), Pocock (1987; 1992)

At Chawton, the respondents were found to possess a high degree of literary awareness. The amount of works read by visitors to this site indicate that almost 90% had read at least three (but likely more) of Austen's novels. Regarding individual works, the least read novel, *Persuasion* (1818), was still read by 40.8% of the visitors, and in addition there were 42 mentions of 'other works', for example, the unfinished *Sanditon* (1817). However,

due to their popularity, Austen's novels have frequently been presented on film and television, which would further raise awareness of them (Herbert, 2001). At Haworth, over 50% of the interviewees had read three or more of the Brontë sisters' novels and some of their poetry. Significantly, whilst studying visitors' pre-visit expectations at this site, Pocock (1987) found that the novels, particularly Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, rather than other literature or media presentations, had the greatest influence on visitor preconceptions of Haworth as 'isolated', 'bleak' and 'windswept'. In Catherine Cookson Country, the reader-tourists were clearly familiar with the writer's works as the majority were already Cookson readers, with the average number of novels read at an impressive 20. Thus, both at Haworth and South Tyneside the visitors demonstrated a high level of literary awareness. At Laugharne, the degree of literary awareness was less impressive in comparison with the previous sites as the majority had read only up to two of Thomas's works. Although *Under Milk Wood* was Thomas's best-known single work, Herbert (2001) mainly attributes this to its frequent use in school curricula, on radio and the stage. The findings from Cabourg, however, paint an entirely different picture since the majority of these respondents had read no Proust and the second-largest grouping had read but a little. As opposed to the previous four sites, these figures indicate a very low level of literary awareness and do not support the idea of the culturally competent literary pilgrim.

However, an important variable that must be kept in mind is the nature of the above-mentioned authors' literature, particularly with regard to its accessibility. Both Jane Austen and the Brontë sisters wrote in a clear and accessible style, and many of their works, as already mentioned, have been adapted for film or television (Herbert, 2001). Catherine Cookson's novels are popularly classified as historical romantic novels, and in the words of the author herself, her works are "*readable* social history interwoven in the lives of the people" (quoted in Pocock, 1992:238) [my emphasis]. On the other hand, Dylan Thomas's literature, especially his poetry, is "memorable but often difficult" (Herbert, 2001:324). Marcel Proust's major work, *Remembrance of Things Past* (1922-1931), is regarded as one of the most important novels in French literature. According to Herbert (1995b:35), it is meant for the serious student of literature, "its length is daunting, its language dense, and its plots require careful attention". Thus Proust's work is not very accessible.

Whereas the previous aspect focused on the cultural capital or rather specific literary awareness of literary tourists, the second concerns their general literary awareness. Testing tourists' knowledge of literary places would serve to indicate whether they have a general interest in writer-place connections, and therefore literary tourism. Respondents at Chawton and Laugharne were asked to identify other places associated with writers in the UK, and those at Cabourg to identify such places in France. These findings are collated in the following table:

| Place                                          | Chawton                                                                                                                                        | Laugharne                                                                                                              | Cabourg                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Associated writer</b>                       | Jane Austen                                                                                                                                    | Dylan Thomas                                                                                                           | Marcel Proust                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Number of Respondents</b>                   | 223                                                                                                                                            | 218                                                                                                                    | 151                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Number of respondents that named places</b> | 95.3% one or more<br>4.7% none                                                                                                                 | 79.8% one or more<br>20.2% none                                                                                        | 45.7% one or more<br>54.3% none                                                                                                      |
| <b>Specific places named</b>                   | 35% Shakespeare and Stratford<br>35% Brontës and Haworth<br>40% Dickens and London<br>20% Wordsworth and Lake District<br>20% Hardy and Dorset | 49% Shakespeare and Stratford<br>22% Brontës and Haworth<br>14% Dickens and London<br>28% Wordsworth and Lake District | 5.9% Victor Hugo and Paris, the place des Vosges, Jersey, Guernsey, Villequier, Aisnes<br>5.9% Maupassant and Rouen, Etretat, Fécamp |

Table 2.4: Awareness of other literary places  
 Sources: Herbert (1995b; 1996; 2001)

The above table shows that at both Chawton and Laugharne the respondents displayed a high level of general literary awareness since those that could name at least one literary place formed an overwhelming majority – although many could name more than one (Herbert, 2001). The most frequently cited places include the Lake District (Wordsworth), Haworth (the Brontës), London (Dickens) and Stratford (Shakespeare). Herbert (1995b) does however point out that the latter two writer-place connections tend to be common knowledge. Moreover, the extent to which Chawton interviewees' exhibited detailed knowledge was also impressive, as several were familiar with the names of particular houses, such as Virginia Woolf's Monk's House (Herbert, 1995b). At Cabourg, on the other hand, more than half of the respondents could name no literary places. Regarding

specific writer-place associations, both Victor Hugo and Maupassant (each connected with several places) were mentioned only nine times. Therefore, the Cabourg interviewees demonstrated a low level of general literary awareness and thereby did not conform to the common characteristics of the dedicated literary pilgrim.

The third and last aspect under consideration is whether literary tourists are indeed “seeking to learn and be educated in a discerning way” (Herbert, 1995b:34). Once again we return to tourist motivation. The general qualities of a literary place cited earlier – scenic environment, facilities/services, geographical convenience (Herbert, 2001) – indicate that not all tourists at literary sites necessarily have a literature-specific motivation for travel. Herbert (1995a; 1995b; 2001) investigated both the tourists’ general and specific reasons for travelling to Chawton, Laugharne and Cabourg. The following table collates these various studies:

| Place                 |              | Chawton                                              | Laugharne                                              | Cabourg                                                                                                |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Associated writer     |              | Jane Austen                                          | Dylan Thomas                                           | Marcel Proust                                                                                          |
| Number of Respondents |              | 223                                                  | 218                                                    | 151                                                                                                    |
| General reason        |              | 56.9% informed/ educated                             | 64.2% informed/ educated<br>13.8% relax                | 6.5% informed/ educated<br>90% relax                                                                   |
| Specific reasons      | About author | 46.1% ‘fans’ of author<br>38.1% learn more of writer | 21.2% they read his work<br>34.4% learn more of writer | 5% because of writer                                                                                   |
|                       | Other        | 32.8% a day out, saw sign in passing                 | 28% happened to be in area<br>17.4% a day out          | 50% a day out<br>20% on holiday in area<br>15% shopping/ business trip<br>10% visiting family/ friends |

Table 2.5: Reasons for visits to literary sites  
 Sources: Herbert (1995b; 1996; 2001)

To be informed or educated, as the above table indicates, was clearly the primary motivation for the majority of the Chawton and Laugharne interviewees. Additionally, well over half indicated that they came due to literature-specific motivation directly related to Austen and Thomas and/or their work. It should be noted that 85% of the respondents at Chawton revealed that they had also visited other heritage or general interest places in the

area, such as Winchester, Salisbury and Stonehenge. These tourists are thus the kind who patronise “heritage sites in general and see literary places as part of that experience” (Herbert, 1995b:39). The Cabourg interviewees again provided entirely different results. Only 6.5% went to be informed or educated and a mere 5% did so because of a marked literary interest in Proust. This reflects Cabourg’s status as a seaside resort, since most of the respondents were attracted by the “more conventional combination of seashore, promenade, gardens, old buildings and an attractive shopping centre” (Herbert, 1996:81).

Taken as a whole, the above case studies do not fully support the notion of the dedicated, single-minded literary pilgrim who exercises the romantic gaze, who possesses a fair amount of cultural competence, and whose primary motivation for travel is exclusively concerned with writers and their work. A significant influence on the data concerns the nature of the places that were visited, and the nature of the places’ link with the authors. South Tyneside, Chawton, Laugharne, Hill Top Farm and Haworth each have very strong connections with their associated authors. In each case the author lived there for several years, and their residences have been transformed into museums. These are, therefore, sites dedicated exclusively to their former literary occupants and so form a clear focal point for the literary tourist. Cabourg, however, has a less solid connection with the writer it promotes. Its link with Proust’s life is based on the fact that it was a favourite haunt of his, and its claim to be the ‘Balbec’ of his novels could also be questioned, as many critics agree that Balbec is a composite of memories of several towns, not just Cabourg (Herbert, 1996). In fact, another town in France, Illiers, appears to have a much more strongly felt connection with Proust. Here, he spent his childhood holidays at the home of his aunt and uncle, now a museum to the writer. And as the imagined place called Combray which features significantly in his writing, the town’s municipality chose to change its name to Illiers-Combray. Moreover, Cabourg is a seaside resort, as stated earlier, and although it does attract some Proust devotees, the literary connection is but a “useful adjunct” (Herbert, 1995b: 43).

One can therefore deduce that places whose literary connections are not their primary attraction will attract more general tourists of the collective gaze, rather than literary



tourists of the romantic gaze. This may seem obvious, but what is far more difficult to pinpoint are tourist motivation and their experience at the site. Just because a tourist's principal motivation is to relax and they happen to be in the area of the literary attraction does not mean that a secondary motivation could not be to be informed or educated. Herbert (2001:326) addresses this same problem in his analysis of Austen tourists:

There was widely held interest in the literary connotations of Chawton. For some, this was the specific motivation for being there; for others, it was much more peripheral. Many were able to combine interest and relaxation in ways they found to be acceptable and pleasurable and these were not mutually exclusive features of the visit.

Leisure and learning can therefore be part and parcel of the same experience. What this further suggests is that there are many different types of literary tourists with different degrees of cultural capital, and different ideas of leisure and how their leisure time should be spent. It can be concluded that relaxation and education are not necessarily mutually exclusive in the mind of the tourist, and he or she might in fact have gained an educational experience even if they did not intend to. But this does not necessarily make a literary pilgrim. To be considered a literary pilgrim, sites with literary associations must be actively and purposefully sought out, and to learn or be informed must form a major part of their general motivation to travel. There are of course still literary pilgrims. The above case studies show that more than half of the respondents at sites where the literary connotation is the primary attraction possessed the necessary characteristics. However, as literary sites are now being created, packaged and promoted for the purpose of attracting as many visitors as possible, the number of general interest tourists may likely come to outweigh that of the literary pilgrims. It must also be noted that simply because a tourist does not perhaps have the cultural capital fully to appreciate these literary sites, and did not purposefully seek them out, does not mean that they cannot have a meaningful experience:

It is...quite likely that tourism involving locations with literary associations can *ignite an appreciation and understanding of literature* as means of reflection and self-reflection and as a portal to innumerable realities: we read, and by sharing the author's insight and understanding of the real world, our insight and

understanding is also broadened (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:2) [my emphasis].

Visiting a literary attraction could, therefore, further stimulate or instil an inherent interest in reading, and in so doing increase the tourist's cultural capital. Greater light will be shed on this subsequent result later on. Not all literary attractions would necessarily lead to a worthwhile or learning experience as they vary in nature, characteristics and content. These aspects will be scrutinised in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERARY TOURISM ATTRACTIONS

Tourism came to be absorbed into the capitalist system during the first half of the nineteenth century, leading to an increase in different types of tourism or leisure activities (Chambers, 2000). This was reflected in a concurrent increase in the varieties of tourism sites and destinations. According to Robinson and Andersen (2002b:14), “the tourism industry has long claimed literary sites and associations as part of its increasingly diverse resource base”. This growing demand for greater diversity in tourist attractions and sites has led to such notions as the ‘production of space’ (Lefebve, 1991) and ‘staged authenticity’ (MacCannel, 1976) in the quest for capital accretion. Consequently, encounters with literary attractions are no longer passive, informal, perhaps even incidental in nature, and limited to the travelling minorities primarily interested in literature and places with literary associations, but are in fact deliberate creations of literary spaces to be consumed by the travelling majorities (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b). These processes of consumption and commoditisation, as well as the consequent apparent loss of meaning and authenticity, has received much attention in tourism studies (see Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1989; MacCannell, 1976; Wang, 1999), as well as within the specific context of literary tourism by such authors as Herbert (1995b), Squire (1994b), and C. Fawcett and P. Cormack (2001).

The commoditisation of cultural expressions has also given rise to arguments claiming that that meaning and authenticity is lost in the process (Greenwood, 1989). Robinson and Andersen’s (2002b) differing opinion is of particular importance here. They assert that such arguments seem weak and sometimes even irrelevant in the case of literature, especially when one considers the “openness of interpretation which creative writing invites” (2002b:15). However, they acknowledge the validity of arguing that interpretation and presentation in the form of tableaux and theme park rides are a distraction from the actual written text, similar to the way that film adaptations of novels or plays are said to force a specific interpretation on the audience. Other scholars have also questioned the

authenticity of the way certain authors are presented at literary house museums, often taking a form consistent with widely accepted views of the author (see Fawcett and Cormack, 2001; Watson, 2006). However, Robinson and Andersen (2002b) point out that this is a necessary risk in such attempts at communal interpretation, rather than demanding that literature can only be experienced on an individual level. They further note that such an argument is particularly irrelevant when considering drama: “the interpretation amounts to a ‘staging’ or ‘production’ of an aspect of the literary universe and must stand and fall by its reception by visitors and critics” (2002b:15).

Just as literature is commoditised in a variety of ways in the contemporary tourism milieu, so literary tourism attractions are also marked by various means. Plaques and signs mark such places physically; in the absence of such tangible markers the guide book or tour narrative may serve the same purpose. But ultimately the process of touristic marking of, and touristic engagement with, literary sites is usually initiated by creative literature itself – a play, poem or novel. Readers conventionally encounter such works in the form of the physical book, presenting an apt starting point for exploring literary tourism products. Other products that will be subsequently addressed include: literary festivals and creative writing holidays; writers’ houses, birthplaces, graves and monuments as physical markers of the birth, life and death of the artist; themes parks that incorporate, or are wholly based on, the stories, settings and characters of literature; literary landscapes that inspired or serve as the settings of literary works; and literary tours and trails as an enhanced literary tourism experience.

#### **4.1 The preservation, celebration and creation of literature**

Books can obviously be seen as commoditised objects themselves to be borrowed or bought and consumed. The millions of independent bookstores, chain bookstores, second-hand bookstores, book exchanges and libraries all over the world reflect the state of books as items with trade, cultural and personal value. However, internet technology has eased the purchase of books and allowed for the ever greater availability of literary works in electronic format. These new developments do not only increase access to these works,

but also increases the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) of readers and internet users (as potential literary tourists). Yet, this does not necessarily mean that book production and consumption will diminish, as indicated by several book-centred phenomena. Literary museums, like the Dublin Writers Museum, the Writers' Museum in Edinburgh and the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia, USA, celebrate not only the national and/or local literary heritage, but the books (and manuscripts) themselves are preserved and celebrated as historico-literary relics. Antiquarian and second-hand book fairs and auctions attract large numbers of visitors, which is indicative of the "status of books as collectors' items with a life well beyond the one they enjoy when they are new in the market" (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:14). The appeal of 'book towns' lie in their status as noted centres of bookstores, such as Hay-on-Wye in the Welsh Borders which draws an estimated half a million tourists per annum (Seaton, 1999). Such bibliophilic sites and events show that the book in its physical form remains a potent attraction for readers and tourists.

Literary festivals and events are another way, though much more interactive, of experiencing and celebrating literature. Even though these are usually fashioned for local communities, the performances, live readings, lectures and discussions (often including well-known contemporary writers and literary critics), and literary tours entailed within their programmes can attract both domestic and international tourists. The Alabama Shakespeare Festival, for example, draws over 300 000 visitors from more than 60 countries every year (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b). Literary festivals most often celebrate books/literature in general or one writer in particular, but there are a few dedicated to a single literary work. Celebrated annually on February 28, Kalevala Day in Finland is one such festival. This occasion includes parades and ceremonials dedicated to the *Kalevala* – an anonymous epic poem about three legendary Finnish heroes' adventures – and its nineteenth century editor-compiler, Elias Lönnrot. The *Kalevala* is based on a number of songs that were transmitted orally from generation to generation, and Lönnrot's version, published in 1835, consisted of 12 000 lines (Gregory, 2002; Microsoft Encarta Reference Library, 2002). Literary festivals also often feature events focused on distinct biographical or literary aspects, for example: the HATitude brunch and fashion show

celebrating Hurston's fondness of hats during the annual Zora Neale Hurston Festival in Eatonville, Florida; the marlin fishing competition during the annual Ernest Hemingway birthday celebrations in Key West, Florida, as Hemingway himself was an avid fisherman and marlin fishing features centrally in his novel *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952); and the Grand Regency Costumed Promenade during the annual Jane Austen Festival in Bath, UK, when participants attire themselves in fashions worn by Austen and her characters (Schmidt and Rendon, 2008). Such festivals allow the literary tourist to celebrate, experience and learn more about general and particular aspects of a writer's life and literature through an elaborate and varied series of formal and informal events in a carnivalesque atmosphere for a consecutive number of days.

Another interactive but more specialised kind of niche tourism relates to the art of creative writing itself. Creative writing holidays, where tourists may attempt to become practitioners of the art themselves (Robinson and Andersen, 2002a), are often included in the umbrella term 'educational tourism'. Such tours usually focus on a particular genre, like travel writing or a more general literary theme. The tour itinerary often includes one or multiple daily coaching sessions led by a professional writer, as well as free time to write. Various outings to interesting locations are also incorporated to spark ideas and provide material for writing. Becoming increasingly popular, creative writing holidays go beyond merely visiting literary locations and serve as an explicit example of the way that literary tourism can function as an educational experience.

#### **4.2 The birth, life and death of the author**

However, as verification and celebration of writers' lives and literary production, biographical sites (houses, birthplaces, haunts, graves, and monuments) remain the most common attractions encountered in the literary tourism industry. This reflects the pervasiveness of modern audiences' desire to know who the person is behind the productions and facades they present for public scrutiny. Sensationalist tabloid journalism has noticeably capitalised on this personality-based interest. The tourism industry has been similarly accommodating, with the coach tours and maps that point out the homes and

haunts of the so-called rich and famous in, for example, Hollywood. Arguably, most writers are not as visible as actors in today's ocular-centric society, but the fact that readers and literary tourists want to learn more about the personalities of writers, as well as the times and surroundings they inhabited that shaped and inspired them, is becoming increasingly prevalent and therefore increasingly available.

Readers who are impelled to “go beyond their intellectual exchanges with texts and long for some kind of material contact with the author of those texts or the places where these originate” (Hendrix, 2008:1) are attracted to writers houses and birthplaces. They offer this kind of physical interaction – a tangible connection “between the created and the creator, allowing tourists to engage in a variety of emotional experiences and activities” (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:15).

Writers' houses and birthplaces are presented to literary tourists in different ways. Some properties are simply marked with, for example, a plaque – an external marker that varies in size, shape, material and prominence – that explicates who lived there and at what time in history. However, such attractions are rather more of peripheral interest, to be noted rather than experienced, in comparison with more developed literary properties. These are usually open to the public with designated operational hours, entrance fees, artefacts and exhibits along with ancillary facilities, such as souvenir shops, tea rooms or coffee shops.

Literary birthplaces are somewhat curious among tourist attractions as they do not really celebrate a writer's works or career success, that which interested the reader in the first place, but rather their time before literary accomplishment, that of ‘genius in the making’. This is often reflected in the interior presentation of such sites, especially the actual birth rooms, as empty, bland, domestic spaces that celebrate a writer's source and potential (Watson, 2006). Watson (2006) notes that very few writers' birthplaces are accorded the expensive treatment of preservation and/or ‘museumisation’, most are usually marked only by a plaque, many are not marked at all, whereas others were destroyed or redeveloped before a writer achieved sufficient significance. All literary birthplaces, furthermore, do not have the same “hold over the sentimental tourist's imagination, and this derives from how

important the circumstances of their birth are to the individual writer's mythos" (Watson, 2006:58). Visiting a literary birthplace can, nonetheless, provide the literary tourist new insight into the life and work of a writer as they get a sense of the domestic and environmental stimuli that helped shape him or her.

But the places in which writers *chose* to live as an adult could be far more illuminating, as not only can these be regarded as "a reflection or extension of their character" (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:16), but may also "be read as alternative autobiographies or self-portraits" (Hendrix, 2008:4). Numerous writers have, unsurprisingly, applied a very active hand in the designing, building and/or decoration of their homes. As a medium of expression, the house enables individuals "to link this particular space to what they consider their inner self, their emotions, memories and psychological disposition" (Hendrix, 2008:4). Keeping in mind the fact that these houses are first mediated by the writers themselves and subsequently the site guardians, visiting a writer's house allows the literary tourist to discern something of the former literary inhabitant's personality and frame of mind. Certain writers' houses are designed as parallel expressions to their literary worlds, granting the tourist access to "the author's world of imagination...fixed in matter" (Hendrix, 2008:3). Abbotsford, the manor Sir Walter Scott built between 1811 and 1834 near Melrose, Scotland, is such a narrativised site. Scott decorated it with various items that pertain to his novels, often before writing them. Ultimately, the house is a "meta-narrative derived from and referencing material things" (Watson, 2006:99).

In terms of presentation, writers' homes have gradually discarded the conventional museum approach and its characteristic arrangement of objects in formal displays in favour of more realistic, 'lived-in' surroundings (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b). This may well be a strategy to satisfy the literary tourist's sense of authenticity by generating an atmosphere of domesticity and presenting the 'real' life of the author beyond the solitary process of writing. Ordinary household objects are not only fundamental to creating this 'homely' setting, but are "conferred with hyper-significance and reverence" (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:17) as these are pivotal to the tourist's sense of connectivity and emotional engagement with the author. This reflects E. Durkheim's (1971 [1915])



argument, whilst considering questions regarding the relationship between the individual and society, that contemporary society constantly creates sacred things out of ordinary ones. Herbert's (1995b, 2001) research at Jane Austen's home in Chawton provides a noteworthy example. Visitors were asked what they thought were the most interesting features of Austen's home. The 'creaking door', which warned her someone was coming where upon she should put her writing away, was among the 66 items mentioned. This was something seemingly unimportant and ordinary, and yet of sufficient significance to capture the interest of the reader-tourist. As mentioned earlier, pens, desks and typewriters, evidentiary markers of the writing process, are naturally particularly significant among these sacralised objects, as is the space where the literary works came into being, often the study or library. Robinson and Andersen (2002b:16) observe that writers' spaces usually share various common characteristics:

Internally, writers' spaces display some hybrid order between home and office, often located within libraries reflecting their craft, and reminding them of their bookish heritage. Desks and chairs are surrounded by accumulations of collected material from travelling as sources of on-hand knowledge.

These writing spaces could disclose how they physically and mentally approached the protracted, pensive and private activity that ultimately produced the poetry or narrative which drew the tourist there: "[T]o the outsider the work and the spaces of that work are imbued with mystique" (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:16).

Not all writers necessarily go to the same lengths in fashioning their private spaces. Aside from their evident documentary worth, such places also have meaning for their literature, especially in cases where places known to be familiar to the writer can be connected to the description or suggestion of places in his or her literary works (Hendrix, 2008). As Hendrix notes, authors' houses may

be a source of inspiration in its own right, or a material frame necessary for the production of literature...Factual spaces in various ways condition the author's mental map, and thus return, be it directly or metaphorically, on the pages of his poetry or narrative (2008:4).

This may well also be true of places that writers visited or frequented during their lives, called writers' haunts. The literary associations of writers' haunts are admittedly more superficial, but this does not necessarily mean that such sites are not charged with symbolic meaning. Herbert's (1995b:42) research provides a fitting example of a property that capitalises on such transitory associations. As a child, Marcel Proust stayed at the Grand Hôtel in Cabourg, Normandy, with his grandmother during summer holidays, and again during visits as an adult. It is in this hotel that he wrote his book *A l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, translated under the title *Within a Budding Grove*, in which the fictional town of Balbec features prominently. Balbec is modelled principally on Cabourg, and the character, Marcel, from Proust's novel stays in the Grand Hôtel de la Plage in Balbec. The Grand Hôtel in Cabourg now features a Marcel Proust room, a casino bar called Du Côté de Chez Swann and a restaurant called Le Balbec. The hotel not only promotes itself on the strength of having been a haunt of Proust's, but is also of literary significance as it serves as a disguised setting for his work.

Although exceptions exist, a common factor that makes access to and the development of literary properties possible, is the fact that the writer has passed away. This is not to say that living authors do not attract literary tourists, as book signings, book tours and guest appearances at literary events, for example, have proven appealing. Under the apt heading "Better a dead author...", Robinson and Andersen explain one of the ways in which the death of the author facilitates tourism:

Once the lives of authors have passed, they acquire that sense of completeness and distance that allows them to be institutionalised, subjected to formal celebration through anniversaries of births and deaths and festivals, stimulating the tourist industry to greater creativity in presentation and interpretation...on their death authors can become heroes, icons, focal points for generations, and symbols for an age. This lends itself well to an industry that trades on symbols, icons and anniversaries, *where writers do not really die, they just become more powerful brands* (2002b:19) [my emphasis].

This clearly suggests that writers on their death undergo the same process as those common every-day objects in their homes, they become icons charged with symbolic meaning. Another obvious way that the death of the author facilitates tourism is the fact that their

privacy cannot be invaded and, since their homes are also their offices, they cannot be disturbed while at work, in the manner that Wordsworth had to suffer the incursions of 500 visitors a year at Rydal Mount in the English Lake District (Ousby, 1990). When authors die and their properties are appropriated for tourism purposes, those private spaces become public places intended for the tourist gaze.

The graves and memorials of authors are other additions to the stock of literary tourism attractions left behind after the death of the writer. Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, London, is perhaps the most comprehensive site in this regard as it contains the graves and memorials of over 120 poets, writers and dramatists (Watson, 2006). Describing his visit to the site, American author Washington Irving observes in his *Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon* (1820) that visitors linger longest amongst the graves and memorials in Poets' Corner rather than those of non-literary figures located elsewhere in the Abbey:

A kinder and fonder feeling takes place of that cold curiosity or vague admiration with which they gaze on the splendid monuments of the great and the heroic. They linger about these as about the tombs of friends and companions; for indeed there is something of companionship between the author and the reader. Other men are known to posterity only through the medium of history, which is constantly growing faint and obscure: but the intercourse between the author and his fellow-men is ever new, active, and immediate (quoted in Watson, 2006:37).

Irving pinpoints the inherent appeal of all authorial shrines, but especially graves, in that the literary tourist is roused by a feeling of personal intimacy with a writer, which is made possible by reading (Watson, 2006).

The graves of authors can form a very important part of any literary tour, especially in cases where the artist committed suicide. In 1963 the American poet Sylvia Plath, at thirty years of age, took her own life and was buried in the cemetery of the church of St Thomas à Beckett in the village Heptonstall, England. Her suicide “projected her as a feminist icon of betrayed womanhood, and her grave remains a site of pilgrimage for many of her followers” (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:20). Thus, what these writers who succeeded in taking their own lives leave behind for the literary tourist, as opposed to a home filled

with artefacts and relics collected throughout their lives, is simply a tombstone. Certain writers' graves, like Plath's, 'mean' more than that of others as their deaths are constitutive of the writer's mythos. In other cases, it is the siting of the grave that is important as it is "powerfully iconographical of the poet as locked into a national landscape" (Watson, 2006:38-39). Some writers' graves, like Thomas Gray's and Wordsworth's, therefore become emblematic of the writer, their works and the literary landscapes they created.

### **4.3 Touring fiction**

Literary theme parks, places where reality meets the imaginary, also form part of the range of literary products for their assimilation, whether wholly or in part, of literary themes. And there is much to draw on, for the boundless imaginations of numerous writers have produced for readers remarkable creatures and characters, evocations of bygone eras, exciting narratives and adaptations of fairy tales and folklore, many of which have become a common part of our cultural frame of reference. Some writers have even ventured so far into their imaginations as to create complete and independent geographies, replete with their own cultures, politics and histories, as in Anne McCaffrey's dragon-inhabited world of Pern, or the elaborate landscapes of J.R.R. Tolkien's Middle Earth (see Appendix A). Such imaginative creations are present at almost all theme parks (Phillips, 2000) – safe, contrived, multi-purpose environments that reference aspects of the literary world:

The tourism industry continues to respond to consumer preferences for activity, interaction, adventure, high visibility, education and sensory experiences all within increasingly compressed time-scales. In this sense, perhaps the ultimate way of packaging literature is presented by purpose-built attractions; theme-parks and heritage parks that have sought to condense elements of imaginative writing – characters, story and setting – within a created, controlled and largely artificial environment (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b:23).

This kind of theme park presentation of literary themes (three-dimensional manifestations of fictional characters and geographies) are developed at different spatial scales. Smaller scale theme park developments include the 'Wind and the Willows Attraction' in Rowsley, Derbyshire, the 'Alice in Wonderland Centre' in Llandudno, North Wales, and 'The World

of Beatrix Potter' in the English Lake District (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b), where the reader-tourist can encounter large or life-sized manifestations of fictional characters within re-created settings from the books. 'Moomin World' in Nantaali, Finland – a recreation of Moomin Valley with roaming costumed characters based on Tove Jansson's series of books – and 'Dickens World' in Catham, UK – a sensory recreation of Victorian London built in a 71 000 square foot warehouse with a town square, a Newgate Prison, and a Great Expectations Boat Ride (Booth, 2009) – are examples of large scale literary theme parks. Both these theme parks focus exclusively on the works of a single writer as their theme and content. But many theme parks without such a singular focus, especially in North America, Western Europe, and Japan, follow the paradigm instituted by Disneyland in Anaheim, California. That is to say, they organise the theme park space into different sectors or 'lands'. For example, at the Universal (Studios) Orlando Resort in Florida, the Islands of Adventure theme park features two 'islands' or sectors explicitly derived from imaginative literature, these are 'Seuss Landing', based on the children's books by Dr Seuss, and 'The Wizarding World of Harry Potter', based on J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series (1997-2007).

D. Phillips's (1999:96) research on narrativised space shows that each park area usually "corresponds to a popular narrative genre". These genres, along with some of the most often-referenced corresponding authors or works, are as follows: science fiction (H.G. Wells and Jules Verne); folk and fairy tales (Hans Christian Andersen, the Grimm brothers and Charles Perrault); Arthurian/chivalric legends (Thomas Malory, Alfred Lord Tennyson and T.H. White's *The Sword and the Stone*); the Gothic (Edgar Allan Poe, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*); westerns (Zane Grey and Owen Wister's *The Virginian*); explorers and treasure islands (Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*); and, although rather a sub-genre, anthropomorphic narrative (Beatrix Potter, A.A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind and the Willows* and Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*) (Phillips, 1999). If these writers are not directly acknowledged in the theming of park areas, "variations of their stories are to be found in Disneyland, and in almost all other Western theme parks" (Phillips, 1999:98).

Most of these authors or works hail from children's literature, but adult literature that has been adapted for children is also utilised. This is not surprising, since children are often their primary target market. But adults, including those unaccompanied by children, also form a large part of theme parks' market segment, sometimes far outnumbering visiting children. The utilisation of narrative genres in the theming of parks and park areas serves multiple purposes in relation to both adults and children. Many of these stories are familiar to us from childhood, whether through the actual text, illustrated children's anthologies, film or animation, and have become part of the "global cultural vocabulary" (Phillips, 1999:98). The use of such literary themes consequently renders the unfamiliar space of the theme park at the same time familiar, comfortable and desirable to visitors of various ages (Phillips, 1999). Moreover, precisely because we were told or read these narratives as children, references to them calls to mind both the story itself and contextual memories of the listening or reading experience (Phillips, 2000). The use of narratives in theming, therefore, appeals to adults as it invokes nostalgic memories of childhood, and to both adults and children through stories as a source of pleasure.

It is interesting to note that during the opening ceremony of the London 2012 Olympic Games, allusions and references to British literary works pervaded much of the spectacle, again underlining the key role of literature. With the over-riding theme, 'Isles of Wonder', inspired by Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, imagery and extracts from J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series, Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) to J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1904), were evident in this composite visual panoply (London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games, 2012). These literary references, especially those from children's literature, are recognisable in many parts of the world. They were used to celebrate British culture and, it might be argued, engender a sense of familiarity and kinship with the host nation among people of other nationalities.

The fantastical geographies that writers evoke in their literature can sometimes be traced to existing locations, such as Coleridge's depiction of Xanadu in his unfinished poem *Kubla Khan* (1816) which was traced to Shangdu in the Republic of Inner Mongolia (Dalrymple,

2006). On the other hand, fictional geographies can find a more overt basis in reality. This is not to say that they are complete and factual reconstructions of existing places, instead they are ‘disguised places’ (Robinson, 2002) – an invented landscape mapped according to a real one. The fact that such settings are inherently imprecise in objective geographical terms, can stimulate the curiosity of the literary tourist and encourage them to seek out these physical sources of inspiration that provided the author with a geographical space for his or her narrative. There are many such disguised places in literature, but the degree of ease with which they can be traced to reality depends on how detailed such place-descriptions are (Ousby, 1990).

Thomas Hardy’s Wessex is an often-used example of such a disguised place. But it will be utilised here as it is of particular significance to literary tourism (his Wessex novels attracted large numbers of reader-tourists even before the last one’s publication), and to illustrate the important role landscape as setting can play within literature. Hardy’s Wessex novels include *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), *The Return of the Native* (1878), *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (1891), and *Jude the Obscure* (1895). For their setting, he re-invented southern and south-western England, and named it after the old Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex (Daiches and Flower, 1979). The places within his fictional Wessex were furnished with either contemporary, ancient or fictional names, for instance Glastonbury became Glaston, Dorchester became Casterbridge and Exeter became Exonbury (see Appendix B and C). And even though Hardy requested his readers not to believe in the existence of Wessex, the map that he created appeared in all of his Wessex novels from 1895 onward, thus continuously re-imprinting it on the minds of his readers (Pocock, 1982). The manner of place-presentation in fiction varies in terms of depth, detail and symbolic value, in some works place and setting “are very much in the foreground, shaping and feeding the characters and their behaviour or even assuming an importance as great as the characters” (Robinson, 2002:54). This is certainly true of Hardy’s literature, for his landscapes are as saturated with meaning as the emotions of and interactions between his characters:

The remarkable poetry, as it might be called, of *The Return of the Native*, as much of Hardy's work in fiction and in verse, is topographical poetry. Or rather it is a poetry of the exchanges between human beings and the landscape. Each personifies and at the same time depersonifies the other. It would be almost as true to say that *The Return of the Native* is a prose poem about [sic] topography of the heath, the people in their tangled relations standing for this, as it would be true to say that it is a novel in which the human relationships are symbolized by the features of the heath (Miller, 1995:40).

Since Hardy's re-invented landscape is so entangled with his narratives, and because locations within the novels like Casterbridge (Dorchester) were relatively easily locatable within the existing landscape, it is not surprising that this part of England became a focus for literary tourism. Of course, not all settings are as symbolically significant as in Hardy's works, and may simply serve as a backdrop to create atmosphere for the narrative and characterisation (Robinson, 2002). But this does not necessarily disqualify them from the reader-tourist's attention, for real or disguised landscapes are mediated through the imagination that also creates the characters and story within this setting. Such a landscape is thus provided with some measure of meaning, especially since "wholly value-neutral communication of information through literature is rare" (Robinson, 2002:55).

Portrayals of existing places in popular literary works can rapidly lead to increased touristic interest and a range of tour offerings, as was the case with Dan Brown's mystery novel *The Da Vinci Code* (2003) and the host of literary tours that are available in such cities as London, Paris and Rome that are depicted in the novel. One noteworthy example of a text set in a real place that led to substantial literary tourism developments is James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922). This modernist novel describes one day, specifically 16 June 1904, in the life of two characters, Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom. The focus is mainly on Bloom who makes an approximate eighteen-mile journey through Dublin, imitating the journey of Odysseus (rendered as Ulysses in Latin) in Homer's epic poem *The Odyssey*. Joyce presents early twentieth century Dublin in minute detail, his "authorial voice recedes into the background and it is through the thoughts and actions of his characters that the cartographies of the city are presented" (Johnson, 2004:98). By accurately portraying the physical space of Dublin through the eyes of its citizens, he layers it with additional meaning, presenting the reader with the emotional space the characters inhabit.



Joyce's descriptions of the city in the novel are in fact so accurate, it has been suggested that *Ulysses* can be utilised as a guide book to Dublin (Allen, 1958). Such views inevitably led to the development of guide books and tourist maps of 'Joyce's Dublin' which highlight the locations of the novel's principal episodes. Cultural geographer N.C. Johnson (2004:101) argues that these maps are an exercise in spatial semiotics: "Episodes of the novel become symbolically represented by specific sites in the city...[hence] the metaphoric space of the literary text itself and the material space of the city are united." This kind of union is further represented by the various plaques related to Joyce and *Ulysses* that have been brought about within Dublin marking, for example, Joyce's birthplace, Leopold Bloom's birthplace as well as a series of bronze plaques set into the pavement that trace Bloom's route through the city. Similarly, during 'Bloomsday', celebrated on 16 June annually, Dubliners and fans of *Ulysses* retrace the steps of Bloom and other characters in the novel. "Sometimes dressed in the period costumes, scenes from the novel are re-imagined and re-enacted and the ordinary, everyday activities of the city-dweller take on a significance as Joyce's characters did in his novel" (Johnson, 2004:101). Bloomsday is also celebrated in other large urban cities outside Ireland, such as Melbourne, New York, Buenos Aires, Tokyo and Toronto, illustrating the popularity and influence of the novel. From the tourist's perspective, Robinson (2002:55) states, "close detail of place becomes an *aide-mémoire*, an opportunity for almost spiritual absorption." This notion of detailed place description as memory-aid is reminiscent of Reijnders's (2011) insightful formulation of *lieux d'imagination* discussed earlier. Dublin sites and structures depicted in the novel (or places chosen to represent these in the case of other cities) serve as *lieux d'imagination*, tactile symbolic anchors to an imagined universe. In line with this, such places and structures also function as mnemonic devices, aiding in the recollection of events that occurred in the reader-tourist's imagination. Events like Bloomsday and literary landscape tours therefore act as explorations of the imaginal memory, allowing for this spiritual absorption or, in other words, a deepening of their emotional connection with the story.

Themed tours and trails, a commonly recognised feature of the tourism industry, can bring all the above-mentioned sites, attractions and events, in conjunction with a contextualising narrative, together in one product. Robinson and Anderson (2002b:22) argue that by linking such places of interest together, it “creates a more potent and penetrative tourist product, not just in promotional terms but in a wider intellectual sense too.” In terms of promotion, packaged or established tours allow for the collective marketing of several sites through one product, the ability to appeal to a wider tourism market, as well as greater cooperation and opportunities for collaboration between sites, attractions and events with a similar tourism market segment. As for being a product with a general kind of intellectual potency and penetration suggests that literary tours and trails offer a more insightful tourist experience, providing new information and building upon prior knowledge regarding a writer, his or her milieu and literary works. Because such tours usually comprise a variety of sites connected to a writer’s life or literary oeuvre, the tourist gains a more complete understanding about a writer’s life and/or literature as well as particular aspects thereof. This kind of experience is something the tourist might not be able to achieve when travelling alone or unguided. Literary tours and trails also provide a way of accessing and making sense of a geographical area portrayed within a literary work or linked to a writer (Stiebel, 2009).

Currently, literary tours are presented by a growing number of tourism and non-tourism bodies. Literary societies, usually dedicated to a particular author or literary work, initiate opportunities for their members to retrace the lives of authors or explore literary settings, like the London-based Dracula Society that organised two tours to Transylvania and Whitby respectively during 2009 (The Dracula Society, n.d.). Study tour organisations, like ‘The Tailor-made Groups Company’ ([www.thegroupscompany.com](http://www.thegroupscompany.com)) and ‘Classical Pursuits’ ([www.classicalpursuits.com](http://www.classicalpursuits.com)), offer tours of a more formal nature, comprising classes and opportunities to read, write and discuss literature. Within the commercial sector, there are also a number of non-specialist and specialist operators with different degrees of literary knowledge that offer literary tours (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b) such as ‘Novel Explorations’ ([www.novelexplorations.com](http://www.novelexplorations.com)) and ‘Travel-by-the-Book’ ([www.poshnosh.com](http://www.poshnosh.com)).

Now that the parameters, participants and products of contemporary literary tourism have been addressed, it would be useful and pertinent for this study to consider how and why it took its current form. Present-day literary tourism, and tourism in general, is largely descended from European travel practices and pursuits. It is a form of travel that has evolved since classical times in terms of the way literature is pursued through travel, what to visit and view and how such destinations are perceived. This will be explored in the following chapter, with reference to the development of the writing profession, the publishing industry and particular literary genres.

## CHAPTER 5

### HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF LITERARY TOURISM

The earliest known occurrence of literary tourism practices has been traced to the ancient Roman world. Cicero (106-43 BC) wrote of it in his *De legibus*, stating that he contemplated writers' tombs with reverence (Hendrix, 2009), and Virgil's tomb in Posillipo outside Naples was reputedly a touristic lure after the poet's death in 19 BC (Watson, 2006). Harald Hendrix (2009:14) locates ancient literary tourism as part of a more "comprehensive practice dedicated to honouring illustrious men whose intellectual heritage was considered particularly present in the places where they lived, worked and died." He argues that the practice originated in both "admiration for the author's work" and "dissatisfaction with the limits of that very work", thus resulting in "a desire to go beyond it." This combination, he maintains, is not paradoxical as "the dissatisfaction is caused by the desire to have more of the same" (2009:14). Many ancient Roman writers, like Horace, Cicero and Martial, certainly achieved widespread fame and high esteem in their own lifetimes. This was no doubt aided by a bookselling industry hinged on slave labour for speedy transcription that provided copies of literary works at low cost relatively quickly to virtually all corners of the Roman Empire (Mumby, 1956). Therefore, the practice of literary tourism, especially where graves are concerned, was likely more prevalent than what contemporary records can account for.

#### 5.1 Early modern literary tourism

Finding the precedents for literary tourism in medieval Catholic culture, which resulted in the Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land, Ousby (1990:22-23) discusses the fundamental reasons for its popularity and addresses a historically significant cultural transition beginning in the early sixteenth century:

When the Reformation purged saints from the calendar, stripped idols from the churches and denuded the landscape of shrines, the public need for these things had to find secular equivalents. The statesman and the soldier could fill this

role, at least until the memories of their deeds faded into the recesses of history. The scientist and the explorer could serve their turn as well, until their discoveries became mere commonplaces of knowledge. But the writer could best endure, kept alive by his living book, his achievement at once majestic and familiar to later generations. He proved the ideal hero for a secular culture, the most satisfying object of national pride.

It is this mixture of patriotic and religious feeling, he continues, that led to the creation of what can be considered the forerunner of literary shrines, Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, London, which is discussed in greater detail further on.

It was also during the early sixteenth century that openly secular modes of tourism were first systematically practised by European elites, a practice that came to be known as the 'Grand Tour' (Adler, 1989). This phenomenon lasted through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, remaining extant in varying forms into the first half of the nineteenth century and has received much scholarly attention (see Hibbert, 1987; Black, 2003; Towner, 1985, 2002). The Grand Tour was born primarily as an educational experience, as young aristocrats and scholar-courtiers travelled abroad to study at universities in Padua, Bologna or Paris and also included the pursuit of culture, pleasure and health (Adler, 1989; Towner, 2002).

The early manuals of advice regarding the 'art of travel' indicate that aristocrats travelled abroad for 'discourse' rather than picturesque scenery. This entailed the learning of foreign languages, gaining access to foreign courts and conversing gracefully with eminent and expert men (Adler, 1989). This discourse-centred concept of travel is what Aaron Santesso (2004) calls 'interrogatory tourism' – as opposed to the modern notion of travel which emphasises *looking* at managed sites. This approach is evidenced by the acquisition of letters of introduction (during the preparatory stage) which was prerequisite to gaining access to "high status settings of conversation" (Adler, 1989:10), including audiences with culturally important figures. In this way the writer James Boswell and the historian Edward Gibbon met with the French writer Voltaire, whose home was not only an established stop on the Grand Tour, but was visited so often that he called himself "the innkeeper of Europe" (Santesso, 2004:379).

Reading was one of the *most* important and fundamental facets of travel preparations (Adler, 1989). Due to the dominance of neo-classicism in cultural taste at this time, the literature which had the most dominant bearing upon the Grand Tour were the ancient classics of Greece and Rome such as the writings of Caesar, Livy, Virgil, Polybius, Horace and Tacitus. These are held to have “helped shape their choice of destinations as well as the sentiments expressed when viewing people or places” (Towner, 2002:232). Not only did references to classical literature permeate travel accounts, but its influence was also reflected in the Grand Tour’s spatial patterns, which remained more or less the same throughout its existence (Towner, 1985; 2002). Apart from the cultural centres in France and locations on the return journey through Germany, it included the cities of northern Italy, such as Milan, Turin and Venice, and “Florence, Rome and Naples formed the climax of the tour” (Towner, 1985:301). In fact, Santesso (2004:380) asserts that the route of the Grand Tour was formed partially to accommodate sojourns to destinations with “familiar literary connections”. Although the tour’s primary function, duration and tourist designation changed over time, this classical influence did decrease but it never vanished completely (Towner, 2002). Travelling scholars, writers and Grand Tourists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century eagerly absorbed the topographical settings of Homer’s epic poem *The Iliad* and the journeys from Troy to Ithaca that are borne out in *The Odyssey* (Robinson and Andersen, 2002b).

According to Hendrix (2009:15), the “first manifestation of a comprehensive literary tourist industry” emerged during the 1520s and was centred on the poet Francis Petrarch. Hendrix maintains that Petrarch himself had reinstated the classical practice of visiting places, mainly graves, associated with writers in the late medieval period. One such trip included visits to sites depicted in Virgil’s *Aeneid* near Baia, Italy. What makes the sixteenth-century touristic developments around Petrarch so distinctive is that it was no longer purely, although still largely, author-oriented and was marked by a new “interest in the literary work and the imaginative world of fiction it suggests” (Hendrix, 2009:15). Literary interest became focused on Petrarch’s Italian poetry which portrays his infatuation with a woman named Laura. As she is observed only from a distance, she remains fairly

mysterious both in historical terms as well as to the reader. Hendrix (2009:15) maintains it was this mystery coupled with Petrarch's admirers interpreting "his predominantly fictional emotions as real" which led to "an essentially new kind of readerly interest dominated by curiosity." Reader-tourists began visiting the house in Fontaine-de-Vaucluse, where Petrarch apparently wrote these lyrics, as well as various locations around Avignon in the South of France, which served as the settings for these poems. Maps indicating these locations were published as early as 1525, and "more or less organised tours of these attractions" (Hendrix, 2009:16) also occurred. In the 1540s Petrarch's house in Arquà near Padua, also the location of his tomb, was turned into a 'memorial place' featuring fresco cycles exalting Petrarch's poetry and infatuation with Laura, eventually sporting such items as the poet's library, chair and mummified cat. Today this is held as "the oldest literary museum still in existence" (Hendrix, 2009:16). Hendrix (2009:16) indicates that "a visit to Petrarchan locations in Provence became standard for poets and other literary fans travelling in the South of France" and Petrarch's house museum "appealed particularly to foreigners" travelling in Italy on the Grand Tour. He finds this largely author-oriented approach, characteristic of early modern literary tourism, evidenced in a similar contemporaneous development when the alleged birth house of the writer Desiderius Erasmus in Rotterdam, Netherlands, was turned into a tourist attraction of sorts right after his death in 1536.

These were still isolated endeavours attempting to create museums and monuments of authors and their works (Hendrix, 2009). But this is not surprising when one investigates the broad trends governing the uses of and motivations for travel during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Against the backdrop of the Scientific Revolution and later the Age of Enlightenment, reason and the scientific method of systematic, rigorous observation and experimentation was promoted by its leading thinkers and soon applied "to all fields of knowledge" (Perry, 2001:291). It was, not surprisingly, also extended to methods of travel, therefore marking the ascendancy of sight, and by implication sightseeing, during this period of the Grand Tour. Gentlemen-travellers, regarded as amateur scientists, were instructed through treatises on travel to be curious but detached observers and that accurate observation, and the collation thereof, was the primary use of

travel (Adler, 1989). Standards of travel discipline were codified and propagated in service of “the great project of humanist learning” (Berghoff and Korte, 2002:10) by scientific societies and royal academies established during the seventeenth century in numerous European countries. The culmination of this endeavour, according to Adler (1989:21), was “an outgrowth of techniques developed to rationalize the information-gathering practices of absolutist states”, and she explains how these techniques were implemented:

Pre-formed questionnaires, and tables for compactly recording the kind of information deemed relevant to the “political arithmetic” of the period, became appended to many travel guides. The blank tables now commanding the traveller’s attention, bade him observe not only climate, minerals and soil, but also population, housing, livestock, clothing, agricultural produce – in short, all the “things” which would permit him to judge the relative poverty or prosperity of a region.

This disciplined, utilitarian approach also permeated travellers’ style of report – an austere, minimalist style, serving as a testament to their “affiliation with the new scientific culture and its stark, technical language...[s]horn of rhetorical flourish and personal romance” (Adler, 1989:20). With the state and intellectual community directing the tourist’s gaze, it further indicates why the arts (except architecture), landscape beauty or places associated with contemporaneous writers and their works received so very little attention.

There were nonetheless some literary tourism developments during this time, intimating that a gradually increasing cultural value was being placed on contemporaneous writers and the writerly profession as a whole. A landmark development in the literary tourism domain is that of the afore-mentioned Poets’ Corner in Westminster Abbey, which can be used as a measure to trace writers’ increasing cultural stature. As the “unofficial church of the nation” (Ousby, 1990:23) where the British monarch is crowned, housing the remains and monuments of sovereigns and national heroes, it suggests that writers buried or commemorated within its walls are afforded a similarly exalted stature. The first literary figure to be buried in the Abbey was Geoffrey Chaucer in the year 1400. This was, however, more likely due to his service as Clerk of Works to the king and the fact that he passed away within the Abbey’s precincts, rather than his literary achievements (Ousby,



1990). Since 1556, when Chaucer's remains were moved to a new tomb in the south transept by literary admirers, his grave has been the heart of Poets' Corner (Watson, 2006). Watson (2006:25) comments: "Appropriately, it is the presence of this creator of literary pilgrims which resulted in the Abbey becoming the destination of so many others over the ensuing centuries." The addition of Edmund Spenser's grave nearby in 1599 (specifically so that he could rest near Chaucer as his Latin epitaph indicates) (Watson, 2006), "was an important step in the forging of authorial identity" (Santesso, 2004:381). After playwright Francis Beaumont's burial close-by in 1616, it has been argued that "the little group around Chaucer's tomb became a landmark, at least to fellow writers. It gave pride to a profession still struggling for its dignity to be recognised" (Ousby, 1990:23). With the additional interments of Michael Drayton in 1631, and Abraham Cowley and John Denham in the 1660s in this nationally significant site, it suggests that the reputation and appreciation of the writerly profession had grown substantially. It also appears as if this attitude was not confined to the British citizenry. Foreign visitors to London during the seventeenth century spent the majority of their time at court, but would also explore the city's cultural holdings and "as today, almost everyone went to plays and visited Poets' Corner" (Santesso, 2004:381). Writers' cultural stature seems to have been firmly cemented by the early 1700s which saw the introduction of the "otherwise unprecedented practice of memorialising the poet *in absentia*" (Watson, 2006:26-27) in Poets' Corner. Thomas Shadwell's was but the first of many memorials to writers buried elsewhere to be installed in the Abbey, a practice that continued well into the twentieth century (Watson, 2006).

A further indication of writers' enhanced standing was the growing attention to places associated with writers, in addition to their graves, which was largely due to increasing publications of the biographies of writers "as explanatory supplemental inter-texts" (Watson, 2006:383) such as Dr Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets* (1779-81). By the middle of the seventeenth century "English surveyors and writers of guidebooks were busily locating the birthplaces of important English literary figures" (Santesso, 2006:33). The documentation and publication of such literary locations also suggests that there was a market of readers (as potential tourists) who sought this type of information. Drawing on a

series of biographies written by the antiquarian John Aubrey (1626-1697), later published under the title *Brief Lives*, Santesso (2006) shows that he recorded several authors' places of origin, death sites, frequented locations, and tied particular events in some writers' lives to specific locations, especially in London. Although not all these biographies contain an equal level of detail, Santesso points out that the topographical nature of Aubrey's rhetoric indicates that he expected readers to actually visit such biographically significant literary locations.

## 5.2 Literary tourism in the Romantic era

As tourism is a cultural practice, it was, and still is, necessarily influenced by broader and more pervasive socio-cultural tendencies as well as technological developments. In the history of literary tourism, perhaps the most influential of these were the Romantic Movement and the Industrial Revolution, relating not only to innovations in transport, but especially advancements in the print and publishing industry. Although Romantic propensities in especially art and literature gradually increased throughout the eighteenth century, the beginning of the Romantic era is traditionally traced to the 1780s and came to dominate European cultural life during the initial half of the nineteenth century (Glendening, 1997; Perry, 2001). Romanticism, a "historically unwieldy and contested abstraction" (Glendening, 1997:6), is regarded as a reaction against the excessive rationalism of the Enlightenment. Whereas the latter's proponents valued scientific rules and standards, and viewed feelings as an interference with clear thought, the Romantics emphasised the primacy of the imagination and viewed unrestricted, spontaneous emotions as the road to grasping the intricacies of human nature (Perry, 2001). Cultural and literary historian John Glendening (1997:7) points out:

Although the romantic sensibility asserts itself in opposition to the modern world, it is the direct outgrowth of that world: romanticism expresses a binary opposition, an epistemology of desire, necessarily produced by the socioeconomic disruptions of modernity as intensified by its need for continual expansion and change.

This continual expansion and change was undoubtedly magnified by the Industrial Revolution starting in Britain from the 1760s and influenced culture in various ways. Capital accumulation through expanded trade allowed for the growth of an industrialised manufacturing sector. This in turn enabled individuals of common birth to engage in such capitalist enterprises and grow both affluent and influential, thereby creating the middle classes or bourgeoisie (Perry, 2001). Book production became highly mechanised, facilitating the production of an immense number of books at relatively little expense. The reading public, especially from within the middle classes and female readers in particular, grew dramatically due to far greater access to and the affordability of texts, as well as the advent of circulating libraries. Literary theorist Fred Botting (1996:47) shows that these developments further allowed for writing to become a professional activity rather than a leisure pursuit, making writers “dependent on the market that consumed fiction.” More importantly, literary production was increasingly ‘controlled’ by the reading public (or what the majorities preferred to read), rather than the guardians of taste, as evidenced by the popularity of Gothic novels. Advancements in book production also facilitated the wider and faster dissemination of the ideals of Romanticism, whose leading figures included such writers as Percy Bysshe Shelley, William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Victor Hugo, Francois Chateaubriand, Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, and Friedrich Schiller (Perry, 2001). Incidentally, each of these writers came to be integrated in the literary tourism domain.

The new cultural movement was necessarily made manifest in cultural productions. Romantic literary output differed fundamentally from the other predominant contemporaneous forms of literature – the novel of manners and neoclassical poetry. The latter, being more social in its concern, led readers to consider “the exterior actions of life”, whereas Romantic writing and its offshoot (or dark twin) Gothic writing, were more concerned with the individual, often leading readers to contemplate “internal mental processes and reactions” (Hume, 1969:288).

Similar transformations were brought to bear on the Grand Tour in its tourist designation, travel motivations and spacio-temporal patterns. As the educational motives began to fall

away during the 1760s, more professional people, often travelling with their families, now made the tour's circuit rather than landed aristocrats, while the average duration of the tour changed from four years to four months (Towner, 1985). The influence of Romanticism resulted in the inclusion of locations with sublime and picturesque scenery in tourist itineraries, as well as a revitalised interest in medieval history and related sites (Towner, 1985). This is because, according to Glendening (1997:7), Romanticism is a search for authenticity, much the same as what scholars like MacCannel (1976) propound as the goal of tourism:

Central to romanticism is the idea that through nonnormative phenomena – places, things, persons, conditions – one can subjectively, through intensified imaginative and emotional involvement, experience authentic internal and external nature.

Romantic grand tourists were therefore more concerned with “the emotional effect of scenes on their own feelings” (Towner, 1985:314) and “[t]he more overwhelming and emotionally colored the experience, the more travel could fulfil its new function of affording escape from sensory immersion in degraded realities” (Adler, 1989:23). Tourism and Romanticism therefore proved to be naturally compatible. As Glendening (1997:7) argues, they reinforce one another in their escapist overtones since “tourism promotes that which can be perceived as fundamentally different from the everyday world” and Romanticism celebrates “whatever seems to stand in absolute opposition to the mundane, disruptive and ultimately unsatisfying tenor of modern society.”

However, Adler (1989:22) notes the limitations of trying to convey the spiritual significance of such non-normative travel experiences:

Only through communicative enthusiasm could they be transferred to the stay-at-home audience of a travel performance, and even then only in weakened and diluted form. In its aesthetic transformation, sightseeing became simultaneously a more effusively passionate activity and a more private one.

Adler avers that the aesthetic traveller could never fully communicate the emotional experience resulting from what they observed, which leaves one to deduce that the stay-at-

home audience could not fully grasp it, therefore encouraging them to go and experience it for themselves. Previously, tourism had to be legitimised, at least officially, as a serious and practical pursuit, primarily concerned with collecting knowledge (Berghoff and Korte, 2002). Ideologically its intrinsic value therefore focused on a very large group of people, as it appears that those who ultimately benefitted from it were the travellers' home country and, more indirectly, its people, or all of human kind. But during the Romantic era tourism became a subjective, emotionally charged, recreational activity, an "adventure of the self" (Chard, 2002:60). The value of travel came to focus on the individual, a view that has changed little over the ensuing centuries. It can therefore be argued that the modern view of travel as a private, personally significant experience, of value (not in financial terms) only to those who actually participated in it, in fact encouraged travel. By narrowing the focus of its benefits, travel itself seemed to widen its appeal, and as a motivational factor, could also account for the sharp rise in tourism during the following decades.

These overall changes in tourist sensibilities naturally led to concurrent changes in literary tourists' practices and sentiments. The 1780s witnessed a surge of interest in the graves of writers, especially on the part of British tourists. Various scholars point to the popularity of Gray's poem 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard' (1751) to show the significance and general cultural reception of meditation upon tombs by the mid-eighteenth century (Ousby, 1990; Watson, 2006). This particular interest in writers' graves has been conventionally explained as part of the over-all increase in the practice of visiting graves and graveyards (also called 'necro-tourism') during the mid-1700s, and by using the argument that literary pilgrimage emulates religious pilgrimage (see Ousby's argument noted at the start of section 4.1 for example). However, Watson posits two additional reasons. First, it was the emergence of writers' biographies "that began to connect authorial body and text more intimately" (2006:33), in effect earlier in the century, as mentioned, but prototypical by the 1780s. Other scholars have noted a similar phenomenon at sites related to such authors as Emily Brönte (Miller, 2002), Jean Jacques Rousseau and Goethe (Hendrix, 2009) and Shakespeare (Watson, 2006). Second, occurring at precisely the same time of general anxiety surrounding print-culture, Watson (2006:37-38) maintains that this anxiety has heretofore been largely examined by way of the romantic author's anxiety over the

alienation of their mass-audience, but she argues that it also “by contagion, infected the romantic reader, who similarly became anxious over the alienation of the author, and the promiscuity of the text”.

Due to the multiplicity and portability of the published book, grave-visiting therefore became regarded as a way of achieving a more personal connection with the deceased author (Watson, 2006:38). But the closely packed writers’ graves and memorials in Poets’ Corner, where visitors had seemed content to pay homage to the notion of the poets who had collectively created a national English literature (Watson, 2006), could not adequately provide this new desire for personal, sentimental writer-tourist connectivity. A tourism model marked by a growing desire to “locate the author within a place or places conceived of as organically connected both to the physical person and to the literary corpus” (Watson, 2006:31) therefore emerged. The touristic interest in the grave of Thomas Gray in Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, towards the end of the eighteenth century, even though there was a memorial dedicated to him in Poets’ Corner, is evidence of this new tourism model. During the Romantic era there was thus a general outward movement in both cultural thought and physical travel to sites regarded as more natural and authentic to a writer and his or her work. The latter sentiment or perception may also be said to govern the motivations behind the creation and visitation of other sites related to authors, such as birthplaces, houses and haunts.

Another landmark event in the development of literary tourism during this time was the Shakespeare Jubilee. A large public celebration in 1769, comprising a medley of varied entertainments, of the playwright’s two hundredth birthday staged by the Shakespearian actor David Garrick in Stratford-upon-Avon. Santesso (2004:379) unequivocally states: “It is a truism that literary tourism as we know it was initiated in England by David Garrick’s Stratford Jubilee.” Its significance lies in the fact that it connected the writer’s biographical narrative to a series of sites in a specific location, centred upon the birthplace, with the express intention of presenting them to the visitor’s gaze. The Jubilee and tourism development in Stratford has been well document (see for example Dhávidházi, 1998;

Halliday, 1960; Ousby, 1990), and hence only some of its features and consequences relevant to this study will be highlighted.

A significant result of the Jubilee was to establish Stratford as the ‘natural’ location of a Shakespeare cult, which is curious because he was essentially renowned as a London playwright and Stratford and its surrounds feature almost nowhere in his works. This was done by both invoking him as a local and by theatricalising actual locations in and around the town, thereby imbuing them with additional meaning, and lining them together as a backdrop to the narrative of the playwright’s birth and life (Watson, 2006). It became a narrative of location leading from the birthplace to the tomb in Holy Trinity Church, which still underlies the itinerary of the annual Shakespeare Birthday Procession today (Watson, 2006).

The most important of these theatricalised locations is undoubtedly the birthplace, even though Garrick’s choice for the actual birth room had no basis in scholarly evidence. Watson (2006:62) maintains that the allegorical banner “representing the sun bursting out from behind the clouds to enlighten the world”, which was to be hung from the birth room window, suggests it is not possible to make a birthplace stand for itself: it must be marked. By marking and theatricalising it, Shakespeare’s birth and more especially the birth room was invested with the appropriate romantic sentiment and meaning necessary for a touristic audience to engage with them. Although it would take over a century before the collective that makes up ‘Shakespeare Country’ was fully established, what Garrick’s Jubilee did was to set this process in motion. Moreover, it fashioned “a prototype tourist sensibility and the protocols to animate it” (Watson, 2006:62), thereby creating a pre-existing template for the much speedier creation of other literary loci.

Watson (2006:63) reasons that Garrick’s Shakespeare Jubilee could be regarded as the “founding festival of romanticism” as it established the first signs of a nineteenth century tourist aesthetic. Romanticism, especially in its glorification of unspoiled nature and the medieval past, refashioned tourism forever. Simply put, it changed what people perceived as beautiful or admirable, thereby altering and enlarging the range of sights people pursued

through travel (Ousby, 1990). Before the eighteenth century, nature was regarded as a trial or enemy, but as more of it was tamed, people began to suspect that “the wilderness might hold pleasure as well as danger, and that even danger might offer vicarious excitement” (Ousby, 1990:131). This cultural reconstruction of nature and perceptions of the past were manifested in different aesthetic approaches such as the sublime, picturesque and Gothic. The sublime was associated with grandeur, magnificence, vastness and obscurity (Botting, 1996). Under its auspices, natural wonders or curiosities like caves, forests, rushing waters, raging storms and mountainous landscapes were no longer merely displeasing or frightening but also impressive (Ousby, 1990), providing “delightful versions of terror” (Stilz, 2002:86). The Alpine mountains likely provide the foremost example of this process of cultural (re)construction from a landscape of dread to a sublime experience. They were conventionally seen as a frightful and deadly barrier between southern and northern Europe, so much so that many who journeyed through these mountains travelled either blindfolded or in darkness to guard against the terrifying sight of gaping precipices (Squire, 1988). But Romantic artists and writers were able to revalue the Alps as a sublime experience (Berghoff and Korte, 2002; Stilz, 2002). Botting (1996:3-4) asserts that mountainous landscapes, especially the Alps, “stimulated powerful emotions of terror and wonder in the viewer. Their immense scale offered a glimpse of infinity and awful power, intimations of a metaphysical force beyond rational knowledge and human comprehension.”

The poet Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole, who set out together on their Grand Tour in 1739, appear to be literary forerunners who contributed to this sublimated image of the Alps. Their narratives suggest “a thirst for the awe-ful, the shivering pleasure of being half scared to death, a roller coaster by mountain chair” (Schama, 1995:449-450). The sublimation of the Alps was subsequently continued by such writers as Shelley with his praise poem ‘Mont Blanc’ (1817), Byron with *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812-18), and Wordsworth with his autobiographical poem *The Prelude*, published posthumously in 1850. They formed part of a great many later eighteenth century Grand Tourists who incorporated the Alps into their itineraries, and nineteenth-century tourists took these



poets' texts along on their travels, some of whom "expressly followed the routes which the poets had taken or recited poems on reaching a summit" (Berghoff and Korte, 2002:5).

Among theorists of taste and writers, the sublime and the picturesque constituted a substantial area of debate during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, each developing a highly sophisticated aesthetic discourse. A seminal work in this regard was Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757). In addition, William Gilpin, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, their works too numerous to mention here, can be regarded as the key contributors to the debate on the picturesque. An aesthetic that is perhaps easier to grasp but more difficult to explain, the picturesque approached nature in a more critical "spirit of painterly appraisal" (Ousby, 1990:154). Gilpin simply defined picturesque beauty as "that kind of beauty which *would look well in a picture*" (quoted in Ousby, 1990:154). It was rather concerned with the subtler effects of nature, and focused on such elements in a scene as the interplay of light and shade, subtle colour gradations and harmony between its different elements (Ousby, 1990:152). Proponents of the picturesque often compared landscapes to the paintings of Nicholas Poussin and Claude Lorraine, masters of the ideal or classical landscape, in which nature is presented as harmonious, ordered and serene.

These aesthetic approaches manifested themselves in tourist practices in the form of 'stations', a precise spot which affords the viewer with the most picturesque or sublime prospect of a landscape. This sightseeing paradigm would come to affect literary tourism practices in the form of "sentimental landscape tourism" (Watson, 2006:132) and gave rise to a distinctly literary orientation in tourism promotional literature. Sentimental landscape tourism, through which the narrative and fictional characters of a literary work are pursued with a focus on particular sites that make up a literary landscape, emerged near the end of the eighteenth century. Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Julie: ou, La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) was likely the first novel to be engaged in this manner, as Watson (2006:133) states that it was Rousseau's writings and his readers "that invented this new way of looking at landscape through literature...it was *La Nouvelle Héloïse* which delineated the shape of sentimental landscape tourism". Set in Switzerland at Lac Léman, also known as Lake Geneva, the

narrative of this tragic love story between the protagonists, Julie and St Preux, continually re-emphasises specific sites around the lake, reinvesting them with emotion and sentiment:

[T]his tourism of past emotions is throughout the novel strongly associated with finely detailed and particularised landscape settings. The landscape is at once sentimental; the style of description suggests that this is a real place, but also that place serves as a reservoir of externalized passion and emotion, to which a sensitive soul, a new St Preux, could return again and again, drawing upon its emotional energies (Watson, 2006:139).

Therefore, the literary tourist – the ‘new St Preux’ or indeed the new Julie – sought out ideal ‘stations’ around the lake, these places of externalised emotion, in order “to get the classic Rousseauistic sentimental experience” (Watson, 2006:137), thereby emulating the practices of sublime and picturesque landscape tourists. This novel evidently served as both sourcebook and guidebook since tourists took the multiple volumes of this lengthy novel with them to Lac Léman and read aloud from it passages relevant to specific sites (Watson, 2006). Resultantly, Romanticism spawned tourism centred primarily on the setting of a novel, the literary landscape, anchored by natural landmarks turned memorials to fictitious, yet nonetheless emotionally profound, events and memories. During the following century, numerous tracts of land would be claimed for the world of imagination created through literary works, like ‘Brontë Country’ in Yorkshire, ‘Hardy’s Wessex’ in Dorset, and ‘Doone-land’ in Exmoor based on R.D. Blackmore’s *Lorna Doone* (1869).

The practice of visiting stations to appreciate landscape aesthetically also led to the incorporation of literature in tourism promotional literature from the first half of the nineteenth. Tourism, especially in particular regions, thus became a decidedly more literary activity. The English Lake District appears to be a region that prompted this transformation. A varied landscape, it was a focus for both the sublime and picturesque. This may seem contradictory, but as Ousby (1990) points out, writers applied the labels of ‘sublime’ and ‘picturesque’ to separate facets of a single scene or different modes of deriving pleasure from it. The stations recommended in Thomas West’s *Guide to the Lakes* (1778) remained the most popular way of visiting the Lake District for almost four decades onward (Ousby, 1990). But this would radically change with Wordsworth’s introduction of

an entirely new method of encountering the region in his *Guide through the District of the Lakes*, published in several expanding versions from 1810 to 1842. There are various reasons why his guide differed fundamentally from others, but the foremost of these is that he studiously avoided references to the pictorial arts or artists and instead drew on poetry to describe and impart the emotional essence of Lakeland scenery. When he did not quote from the work of other poets, such as Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590-6), he resorted to his own verse, quoting lines later to be published as part of *The Prelude* (1850) and *The Excursion* (1814) for example (Ousby, 1990). By the mid-1800s other writers of travel guides began to adopt the same literary approach, directing not only the tourist's footsteps and gaze, but also their emotions. These works were indeed easy to incorporate as much of it was very specific to certain places. Although not entirely as geographically specific as stations, this approach similarly led the tourist to a particular place or feature in a landscape and, through a certain piece of literature, guided them in how to view it. Ousby (1990:184) provides a brief sampling of such place-specific poetry in his discussion of Charles Mackay's *The Scenery and Poetry of the English Lakes* (1846):

[H]e quotes [Wordsworth's] *The Excursion* at Blea Tarn, 'The Somnambulist' at Aira Force, the *River Duddon* sonnets in the Duddon Valley and 'Fidelity' (as well as Sir Walter Scott's poem) at Helvellyn. Where Wordsworth has left a gap in the scenery, another poet can usually be found to fill it: hence...Southey's verses about Lodore Falls and...Sir Walter Scott's *The Bridal of Triermain* [at]...Castle Rock in St John's Vale.

Nor was this literary approach peculiar to the Lake District. Buzard (1993) offers a lengthy exploration of the way John Murray III interlaced quotations from Byron with his tourist 'handbooks' on, especially, Italy and Switzerland. Similarly, the firm of Thomas Cook and Son drew considerably on the work of Sir Walter Scott in its promotional literature of Scotland (Gold and Gold, 1995). This already idealised vision of landscape was therefore further propagated through tourist literature, the upshot of which is that ever since "even those unfamiliar with romantic literature are encouraged to see particular landscapes from a literary perspective" (Squire, 1988:237).

Moreover, as public fascination with these mythologised landscapes grew through literature, so did interest intensify in the people who wrote it. As early as 1802 Coleridge's residence in Keswick was marked as an additional attraction, and by the 1840s, as mentioned, Wordsworth was receiving about 500 visitors per year at Rydall Mount (Ousby, 1990). Since their residences were already part of the Lake District's physical landscape, and they themselves were progenitorially part of the cultural landscape, it seems inevitable that the poets, their homes and haunts would be absorbed into the tourist landscape. This reflects S. Connor's (2003:3) argument that such tourism developments attempt to topographise the person because it personalises the place and seeks "to ground the experience and image of certain writers in particular places, places which are held to determine and preserve the quality of their imaginations, even as a particular authorial imprint also marks and preserves the identity of the place."

The Gothic, a literary genre that emphasises mystery, horror, and the supernatural, first emerged in 1764 with Horace Walpole's novel *The Castle of Otranto* and exploded in the 1790s in Europe, the British Isles and the United States (Hogle, 2002). To eighteenth-century readers, Gothic writing was exciting rather than informing: it "chilled their blood...and fed uncultivated appetites for marvellous and strange events, instead of instructing readers with moral lessons" (Botting, 1996:4). This genre is partly a result of the Romantics general re-evaluation and glorification of the past, especially the Middle Ages. Gothic writers drew on the folklore, myths, legends and imaginative descriptions of the natural and supernatural contained in medieval romances and thereby "conjured up magical worlds and tales of knights, monsters, ghosts and extravagant adventures and terrors" (Botting, 1996:3). The major influences on and characteristics of late eighteenth-century Gothic literature were:

The marvellous incidents and chivalric customs of [medieval] romances, the descriptions of wild and elemental natural settings, the gloom of the graveyard and ruin, the scale and permanence of [Gothic] architecture, the terror and wonder of the sublime (Botting, 1996:24).

Castles, cathedrals and monasteries – medieval edifices that were models for evocations of sublimity – commonly served as settings for Gothic novels. Literary theorist Fred Botting's

(1996:32) assertion that “*literary works* provided the impulse for the new taste” [my emphasis] in Gothic architecture, leading to the Gothic Revival, suggests that by extension these works also awakened touristic interest in intact and ruined original Gothic structures, especially since castles with dungeons became common tourist targets (Seaton, 2009). Night time visits to ruins, both medieval and classical, also became a popular tourist practice, as at Tintern Abbey, Wales, and the Roman Colosseum (Dekker, 2005; Ousby, 1990). This combination of darkness and ruins seems to have held a particular allure, for as Botting (1996:32) testifies: “[n]ight gave free reign to imagination’s unnatural and marvellous creatures, while ruins testified to a temporality that exceeded rational understanding and human finitude.” Partial obscurity, as in a site that is partially obscured due to nocturnal darkness or inaccessible areas or too vast to view in its entirety, is an important feature of the sublime and Gothic because it allows the “fictionalizing imagination to rise to and transcend the material occasion” (Dekker, 2005:50).

During the nineteenth century the Gothic genre also began to incorporate new modes and settings, moving into the domestic sphere, as with Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* (1847) and Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), as well as the modern city with its labyrinthine streets and criminal element, as in *Oliver Twist* (1838) and *Bleak House* (1853) by Charles Dickens (Botting, 1996). Haunted houses and nocturnal ghost tours have since become a common component of the tourism industry. The city of York, UK, is perhaps the most notorious example in this respect, with the numerous ghost hunts, ghost walks and ghost tours offered by various providers in the city.

The above-mentioned writers, such as Brontë and Dickens, have achieved a significant and long-lasting popularity, though not necessarily as practitioners of Gothic literature; public awareness of tourism related to them reaches beyond only those who actively engage in literary tourism. But many other writers of the Gothic genre have been incorporated into the tourism realm. Strawberry Hill in Twickenham near London, the home of Horace Walpole which he renovated from 1747 in the architectural style of Georgian Gothic Revival, had already become a tourist attraction in Walpole’s own lifetime (Strawberry Hill Trust, n.d.). It has recently been restored and turned into a museum and various

scholars have suggested that Strawberry Hill served as his inspiration, identifying similarities between it and the eponymous castle in Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (Hogle, 2002; Botting, 1996). E.T.A. Hoffman is considered one of the leading representatives of the Romantic Movement in Germany with his ghostly and macabre tales such as 'The Golden Pot' (1814), 'The Sand-Man' (1815) and the novel *The Devil's Elixir* (1815-16). The rooms he inhabited in the house in Bamberg were turned into a museum in 1930 and later encompassed the entire house. Among the many displays which reference his life and work one can view the 'mirror cabinet', representative of Hoffman's mirror motifs in many of his tales (E.T.A. Hoffman-Gesellschaft, n.d.). Hoffman's work also had a strong influence on American writer Edgar Allan Poe who is perhaps best known for his poem 'The Raven' (1845) and the short story 'The Tell-Tale Heart' (1845). His tales of the mysterious and grotesque came to "influence all...subsequent Gothic writing" (Botting, 1996:123). Not including a number of other attractions, such as statues, shrines and plaques, there are an impressive five historic sites in the United States dedicated to Poe, including the dormitory room at 13 West Range that Poe occupied during his studies at the University of Virginia. Space does not allow for a more detailed exploration of the exhibits, tours and events presented at these sites, but the extent to which Poe's memory has been preserved testifies not only to the attraction his life and work hold for the literary tourist, but the popularity of the Gothic genre.

### **5.3 From grand tourist to exotic African explorer**

The nineteenth century also witnessed the rise of literature focusing on Africa, a continent that proved to be fertile soil for the imaginations of both writers and readers. Like the partially obscured ruins and other sites pursued by Romantic tourists, so too was the African continent partially obscured by the unknown. By 1831 there were but a few uncharted areas remaining on the world map, with the largest still in Africa (Brantlinger, 1988). Even as a cartographic image, incomplete and obscured by 'blanks', the vast African continent appears to have been an ideal subject for the sublime, its uncharted areas allowing for the cultivation of various myths, fantasies and imaginative conceptions. For "[s]ince classical times, Africa has exerted a powerful hold on the European imagination"

(Hammond and Jablow, 1992 [1970]:12). European interest in the African interior gained momentum towards the end of the eighteenth century due to a combination of motivating factors: the search for new commodities to trade, interest in scientific geography and a fascination with exploration (Hammond and Jablow, 1992). This was reflected in the numerous elite societies dedicated to geographical science and exploration that emerged during the subsequent decades, such as the African Association, subsumed in 1830 by the Royal Geographical Society, and comparable organisations in Germany, France and the Netherlands.

The majority of the texts produced on Africa during the nineteenth century were exploration narratives, missionary narratives and adventure fiction. Cultural theorist Patrick Brantlinger (1988:180) explains that the books written by the explorers “took the Victorian reading public by storm” and cites several examples. In particular, David Livingstone’s *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857) which sold seventy thousand copies in its initial months after publication, making him not only wealthy but so famous “that he was mobbed by admirers” (Brantlinger, 1988:180). The aesthetic approaches of the picturesque, sublime and Gothic were by this time wholly familiar to European and British culture through imaginative literature and travel writing. These approaches also “informed colonial travellers overseas with the perceptions and discursive strategies of coping with alien realities. And...play a formative role for the touristic appreciation and appropriation of the ‘new worlds’” (Stilz, 2002:85).

Literary scholar Amber Vogel (2002), in her essay on an ‘African Sublime’, makes a compelling argument for the transference to and formation of an alternate form of the Grand Tour in Africa. Her ‘African Sublime’ consists of the following common elements: “solitude and wilderness, travel and ruin, regret and desire, memory and lament...that form rhetorical patterns put to use by African travellers, commentators and literary artists presenting Africa to a growing, evolving audience” (2002:281). Drawing from such travel narratives as that of Richard Lander, John Speke and Henry Morton Stanley, as well as other documentation on Africa’s exploration, Vogel (2002) points out several

corresponding elements between the Grand Tour and nineteenth-century travel in Africa. However, only three key points relevant to this study will be highlighted here.

First, the way these traveller-authors applied the vocabulary and aesthetic of the picturesque, sublime and Gothic to the landscapes they traversed is distinctly similar. African landscapes were often compared to standards of picturesque beauty (like the paintings of Claude Lorraine or Nicholas Poussin); or portrayed through such common sublime terminology as vast, dark, solitary, oppressive, majestic and romantic; and particular features, like rock outcroppings and forest interiors, were often described as resembling ruined Gothic structures. Vogel (2002:292) states that “Africa’s connection with a tradition of tourism in the eighteenth century that was fed by, and fed into, an interest in the Gothic, and related interests in the graveyard and in ruins and ruination, opened the way for an African Sublime.” The latter intimates the second important parallel – the almost obsessive search after ruins, especially those of lost or extinct civilisations. This indicates the extent to which travellers and readers had assimilated the conventions of the Grand Tour and Gothic aesthetic, coming to “hunger after...the glamour and terror of lost civilisations and their artefacts...[which] memorialized the poignancy of human effort that had come to nothing” (Vogel, 2002:282). Third, the way the records of the African Association “serve as a remarkable travel brochure for the would-be explorer”, proposing a new location for the Grand Tour and formulating a new motive for it, is especially significant. The following extract from the records of the African Association explicitly posits this transference of the Grand Tour from Europe to Africa, and indicates the appeal ruins held:

To the British *traveller*, a desire of changing the usual excursion from Calais to Naples, for a tour more extended and important, and of passing from scenes with which all are acquainted, to researches in which every object is new, and each step is discovery, may recommend the kingdom of Fezzan. If antiquities be his favourite pursuit, the ruins which shadow the cottages of Jermah and of Temissa promise an ample gratification...Or should he be willing to join the Cairo caravan, the discovery of the ancient site, and of whatever else may remain of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, may perhaps be attempted with success (Hallet, 1964:100).



The question then is why readers of African travel narratives found them so appealing and whether or not these inspired readers to emulate their traveller-authors and come to Africa. These accounts “are almost overburdened by descriptions of the varied and awe-inspiring landscapes, the incredible rivers, the rich vegetation, and the many strange animals” (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:61). Added to this are descriptions of the local inhabitants they encountered, their dress, appearance, arts and customs – all quite different from that of the reader. To the audience first encountering Africa through these texts, it could be argued that the sheer ‘otherworldliness’ of the content must have read much like fiction. R. Phillips (1997:8) notes how even geographers and historians have come to reinterpret exploration narratives as “quest narratives, in which heroes encounter the unknown – adventure” and “illustrate the possibility of reading...geographical narratives as adventure narratives.” Indeed, to read the observations of literary commentators on these texts, it could easily seem as if they are describing a host of exciting, fantastical adventure novels:

The great explorers’ writings are nonfictional quest romances in which the hero-authors struggle through enchanted, bedevilled lands towards an ostensible goal...The humble but heroic authors move from adventure to adventure against a dark, infernal backdrop where there are no other characters of equal stature, only bewitched or demonic savages (Brantlinger, 1988:180-181).

The authors were the heroes of their own narratives in which every incident appeared as a life-or-death event and genuine courage and fortitude took on an operatic bravura (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:56).

Such heroism and bravery, such adventure and novelty – along with the attendant promises of social advancement, glory, fame and riches to be had – might well have seemed very appealing to the potential African traveller, whether as explorer, missionary or tourist. Furthermore, African travellers certainly seem to have read the works of those who had come before them. For example, George Thompson (1827:8) writes: “[A]t daybreak [I] found myself near a place called Pampoen-kraal [Cape Colony], being the identical spot where the celebrated Vaillant pitched his tent, and penned his romantic descriptions of this part of the colony.” Like literary tourists, many travellers to Africa brought other travellers’ accounts with them, such as Elizabeth Melville who took a number of books with her to Sierra Leone in the 1840s, and specifically mentions F. Harrison Rankin’s book

*The White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone, in 1834* (1836) (Vogel, 2002). It appears that a number of African explorers were inspired by the works of their predecessors to travel to Africa. René Caillié, for example, was encouraged to become a traveller as a youth by Daniel Defoe's adventure novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and after reading the work of explorer Mungo Park determined that he would seek out the city of Timbuktu (Caillié, 1968 [1830]; Keltie and Gilmour, n.d.). In a similar vein to the way literary tourists seek writers' biographical sites to form a more personal connection and verify their existence and deeds, so too were some explorers subjected to the same treatment. When Richard Lander and his brother John set out in 1830 to explore the Niger River, part of their mission was the recovery of the relics of Mungo Park who had died at Bussa, Nigeria, in 1806. On an earlier expedition "Richard Lander had already found traces of lost explorers to be African landmarks as important as anything native to the region" (Vogel, 2002:290). David Livingstone also seems to have inspired a particular devotion, as Hedley Chilvers (1929:341) notes almost fifty years later: "To judge by the number of those who have since made the pilgrimage to Chitambo [Northern Rhodesia]...the spot where his heart lies buried, the world is not disposed to forget the man."

The practices of these African travellers – reading their predecessors' books, travelling to and through the places portrayed in their pages, seeking out physical traces of the traveller-author – correspond with the elementary characteristics of literary tourist practices and could therefore be regarded as a kind of rudimentary, less focused form of literary tourism. There are also distinct similarities between this stage of travel in Africa and the Grand Tour, as evidenced by the promotional literature, the pursuit of similar attractions and the application of aesthetic genres conventionalised through tourism and creative literature. By the 1870s, Vogel (2002:293) concludes, "the familiar Grand Tourist had been wholly transformed into the exotic African explorer: a contemplative, essentially solitary figure set down in a beautiful but alien landscape cluttered with...artefacts signifying danger, dissolution and darkness."

#### 5.4 Southern African sightseeing through a literary lens

The southern African site of Great Zimbabwe, towards the end of the nineteenth century, was such an artefact or ruin that embodied the allure of an ancient lost civilisation. Located in what is today Zimbabwe, it is discussed in conjunction with South Africa as these two countries have invariably shared exceedingly close ties since the 1890s. The areas known as Mashonaland and Matebeleland were colonised between 1890 and 1895 by Cecil John Rhodes's British South Africa Company – a step toward his dream of connecting Cairo to the Cape under the British flag – and was subsequently named Rhodesia. Seen as an outpost of South Africa, it was settled by numerous Britons and white South Africans and inevitably developed along the same lines as its southerly neighbour in multiple respects (Sprack, 1974; Mlambo, 2002). Both Rhodesia and South Africa, and particular features of their landscapes, have been tied to the imperial adventure literature of British writer H. Rider Haggard (Stiebel, 2001a). Moreover, many travellers to southern Africa structured their itineraries in such a way as to journey first to or through South Africa and then on to Rhodesia. Therefore, these two countries shared close connections socially and politically, as a tourist destination and as a literary landscape associated with the works of a highly popular writer.

Rhodesia, but one of a number of southern African territories colonised during the 1880s and 1890s, was occupied largely due to reports of rich gold deposits in the area (Kuklick, 1991). This and the discovery of diamonds in 1867 in the Kimberley region and gold in the 1880s on the Witwatersrand led to the rapid establishment of a fast-growing industrial infrastructure, especially the construction of railways. By 1902 Cape Town was connected by rail with the mining hubs northwards, Bulawayo and Salisbury in Rhodesia, and the Mozambican port of Beira (D'Erlanger, 1938; Ross, 1999). These developments would come to affect both travel and literature, revealing their close cultural connection:

From the 1880's through the first decades of the twentieth century more Britons than ever before came to Africa...Interest in the new possessions stimulated the first wave African tourism, and many came just to observe and report on their observations. The floodgates were raised for a tidal wave of literary

production...everybody wrote: the “men on the spot”, their wives, the tourists, the self-appointed experts, biographers, and novelists (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:76).

Fictional writing on Africa also started gaining momentum from the 1880s to become the dominant form of popular literature about the continent by the end of the century (Hammond and Jablow, 1992). These imaginative writings “tended toward discredited forms, Gothic romance and boys’ adventure story” (Brantlinger, 1988:189), and readers commonly found it more exciting than domestic novels and non-fiction because these novels emulated the exciting journals of the African explorers (Hammond and Jablow, 1992). Brantlinger (1988:189) echoes this and elaborates: “For the most part, fiction writers imitated the explorers, producing quest romances with Gothic overtones in which the heroic white penetration of the Dark Continent is the central theme...[and] H. Rider Haggard’s stories fit this pattern.” Haggard, one of the most successful and well-known adventure writers of the high imperial period, is also claimed for the Gothic because of his literary forays into fantasy or “landscapes of the mind” (Brantlinger, 1988:245). There were of course other successful authors writing on southern Africa during this period, such as Thomas Mayne Reid, Harriet Ward, R.M. Ballantyne, Mary Ann Carey-Hobson, G.A. Henty, Bessie Merchant, John Buchan and Percy FitzPatrick. Elwyn Jenkins (2002:42), in his study of the English-language children’s literature of South Africa between 1814 and 1912, brings together a representative sample of about one hundred and fifty publications. He asserts that of all the books he mentions “it should be apparent that for modern tastes, [Haggard’s] *King Solomon’s Mines* [1885], [FitzPatrick’s] *Jock of the Bushveld* [1907] and [Buchan’s] *Prester John* [1910] are the big three, outstanding for their individuality and skilled writing.” He further specifies that these three, along with Haggard’s *Allan Quatermaine* (1887), are the only novels of the period remaining in print. This obviously does not include adult novels of the time such as Haggard’s *She* (1886). Important to note, however, is that these four works all form part of the adventure genre and “[a]dventure, although often marketed as boys’ stories, attracted readers of both sexes, and (almost) all ages and classes” (Phillips, 1997:11).

However, Haggard is counted among the most significant and influential figures in the tradition of British literature on Africa. This is because he assimilated into his writing most of the literary themes predominant during the late nineteenth century and the “Haggard stamp appeared on almost every one of the hundreds of exotic adventure tales that were written after *King Solomon’s Mines*” (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:102). Literary historians Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow, in their investigation of Africa’s depiction through primarily British literature from its initial exploration to the 1950s, identify these prevailing nineteenth-century themes. As previously mentioned, a common and often-debated theme was the metaphor of Africa as the ‘Dark Continent’. Reflecting not only geographical ignorance, this theme presents Africa as a vast place of danger and death and bespeaks the exotic allure of the continent, harking back to the oxymoronic notions, such as ‘horrid beauty’ and ‘delightful terror’, of the sublime. Another common but contrasting theme, originating in writings on South Africa since the early 1800s, is that of the ‘land in amber’. This Africa is a beautiful, sun-drenched, golden land with fertile, open spaces and a temperate climate that preserves older and simpler ways of life (Hammond and Jablow, 1992). This image of Africa was a nostalgic fantasy that, much like certain aspects of the Romantic sensibility, was “born of a distaste for the present...[and] glorifies the past” (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:157; Curtin, 1965). An extension of the ‘land in amber’ theme is the presentation of Africa as a place of freedom and independence: “the call of Africa is the pull toward action and adventure. The envisioned freedom of Africa provides the excitement of challenge, the thrill of a brush with danger and even death” (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:158). Hunting, believed to demonstrate character and the virtues of bravery and action, provided ideal opportunities for such excitement and danger. The theme of ‘hunter’s paradise’ was so ubiquitous that Africa and big-game hunting became almost synonymous with one another (Hammond and Jablow, 1992). Hunting, as narrative episodes and contextual omnipresence, certainly features frequently in Haggard’s works, for his protagonist in *King Solomon’s Mines* and over ten other novels is Allan Quatermain, the great white hunter.

As in the explorers’ journals, the African environment was still sufficiently exotic to warrant exhaustive descriptions of the fauna, flora and scenic wonders. As for the native

populace during this period, they were unfortunately either completely ignored or egregiously stereotyped as uncivilised savages (Curtin, 1965; Hammond and Jablow, 1992). Some characters, like Haggard's Zulu warrior, Umbopa, in *King Solomon's Mines*, were cast into the romantic ideal of the 'noble savage'. Determined by European attitudes toward nobility, the virtues of the 'noble savage', courage, intelligence and physical beauty for example, were often matched with an aristocratic lineage, like Umbopa who turns out to be the rightful king of Kukuanaaland. Lastly, the most ubiquitous theme of all is that of travel or journeying. Practically all the books on Africa, including *She* and *King Solomon's Mines*, were either wholly centred upon a journey or include it as an integral part (Hammond and Jablow, 1992), indicating that through literature Africa also became synonymous with travel. Another noteworthy feature of Haggard's works is "the littering of his African topography with ruins" (Stiebel, 2001a:95), indicating the durable impact of Romanticism's fascination with lost civilisations.

Many of these themes are admittedly racist, ethnocentric, patronizing and idealistic. However, it could be argued that these themes and images, forming part of a shared cultural background of aesthetic conventions and inculcated through the highly popular exploration narratives, produced an image of Africa that was familiar, accepted and appealing to readers and was therefore successfully deployed in imperial adventure fiction. It was, so to speak, a tried and tested formula. The literature, furthermore, appears to have depicted southern Africa in particular as an inviting destination – a scenic land of sunshine, good weather, ideal for travel, freedom, independence, and danger if one were so inclined – that would attract any travel-hungry reader.

There are unfortunately very few sources that deal with the history of South African tourism, let alone literary tourism, before the advent of democracy in the mid-1990s. A.J. Norval published an essentially technical survey of the tourism industry in 1936; J.B. Wolf's (1991) article investigates American tourism to South Africa between the two World Wars; and A. Grundlingh's (2006) historical article examines tourism under the apartheid regime between 1948 and 1990. Scholarly literature on the history of Zimbabwean tourism, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, is

equally limited, dealing primarily with particular aspects of its industry. For example, R. Craggs (2012) produced an article on the role of Salisbury hotels in the politics of multi-racial hospitality between 1958 and 1962; J. McGregor's (2003) article examines the politics of landscape ideas, identity and memory between 1900 and 1940 through the history of the resort at the Victoria Falls; and A.L. Arrington's (2010) article investigates Zimbabwean and Zambian government involvement in tourism development also at the Victoria Falls. There is however some evidence to be found in travel narratives and tourist guides or 'handbooks' on southern Africa, and general tourism histories. Before the 1880s, there appears to have been some tourist traffic in South Africa: apart from the settlers, officials and missionaries, there were also "gentlemen of leisure who had come to regain their health, to enjoy the unparalleled opportunities for hunting, or to study natural history" (Hammond and Jablow, 1992:39). South Africa had, for quite some time, been promoted as a health destination as shown in A. Wilmot's (1882:5) 'handbook for travellers': "A large part of the Cape Colony, as well as the Free State, forms a perfect sanatorium for patients who suffer from pulmonary disease." It then goes to extol the virtues of the country for businessmen, tourists and sportsmen.

The Royal Mail Steamers, by now plying regularly between England and South Africa, also appear to have picked up on the increased tourist traffic and had adapted their passenger amusements, meals and accommodations so as to cater to both first and second class passengers (Wilmot, 1882). Stopping at various points on the south coast to Natal, Wilmot (1882:53) considers it "the most delightful voyage in the world" – also the title of his 'handbook'. Moreover, Sir Frederick Young (1890:1) wrote that this "three weeks' ocean voyage has become one of the most enjoyable it is possible to take."

The intrepid Thomas Cook and Sons, their African activities mostly known for the virtual monopoly they had over tourism in Egypt, was also active in southern Africa. The first of these was a six-month round trip starting from Southampton, down to the Cape and then to Bulawayo in 1894 (Merrington, 2004). Indomitably opportunistic, they also conducted battlefield tours during the South African War or Anglo-Boer War (Brendon, 1991). In 1908 they mounted three different tours to sub-Saharan Africa: one of the highlands of

British East Africa; a ‘Durban Sea Excursion Program’; and circular tours comprising the leading towns in the Cape and Orange River Colonies, Natal, Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia, including the Zimbabwe Ruins and Victoria Falls (Brendon, 1991). They also organised a four-month trip to South Africa in 1914, which included “peninsular excursions, a train to Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Paardeberg, the Victoria Falls, Bulawayo, Rhodes’s grave..., Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ladysmith, Spioen Kop, Marianhill Trappist Monastery, Umkomaas and Durban” (Merrington, 2004:79). And in 1922 they conducted the first tour from Cairo to the Cape.

Thomas Cook’s tours, as well as contemporaneous travel narratives (such as Agate, 1912; Donnithorne, 1924; Gatti, 1933; Tangye, 1896; Young, 1890), show that travellers visited the growing inland towns and cities of the Free State and Transvaal. These trips included what are still common tourist targets – the Cango caves, battlefields, war cemeteries, museums, botanical gardens, and the diamond and gold mines. They also, especially from the 1890s onward, often combined these with attractions in Rhodesia, like the Victoria Falls and Great Zimbabwe, in the same itinerary.

The Great Zimbabwe ruins became one of the region’s most popular tourist attractions. The first tangible evidence of its existence was provided in 1871 by German explorer Carl Mauch. Its architecture was erroneously considered as too sophisticated to be the work of any indigenous peoples, and was immediately linked to the longstanding, popular myth that this was the Biblical, gold-bearing land of “King Solomon’s Ophir, built for the Queen of Sheba, with a Phoenician substratum” (Stiebel, 2001b:128). A number of scholars have investigated how H. Rider Haggard contributed to and reinforced this myth in the popular imagination that Great Zimbabwe was built by an ancient white civilisation through his novels, especially *King Solomon’s Mines* and *She* (Stiebel, 2001a, 2001b; Hall, 1995; Tangri, 1990). His African adventure stories were of course highly successful: the two afore-mentioned novels sold over six hundred and fifty thousand and one million copies respectively before his death in 1925; both have been filmed numerous times; and *King Solomon’s Mines* became “standard reading in schools in Britain and in English-speaking Africa” (Minter, 1986:3; Tangri, 1990). After their publication, it came to be believed that



Great Zimbabwe served both as the setting for *She* (even though the book's geography indicates an East African setting) and the inspiration for *King Solomon's Mines*.

It did not take the Rhodesian authorities long to recognise and exploit the tourist appeal of this southern African ruin. As early as 1902, twelve years after colonisation, the British South Africa Company instructed Richard Hall, an amateur archaeologist, to undertake preservation efforts at Great Zimbabwe “in order to make the ruins more attractive to tourists” (Kuklick, 1991:143). A local guidebook on the ruins had been published by 1914 (Stiebel, 2001b), the railway to Fort Victoria, located about twenty five kilometres away, was completed in the same year (D'Erlanger, 1938) and visitor accommodation at the site was available to tourists in the form of a simple hotel from at least 1924 (Donnithorne, 1924).

The rhetoric these early twentieth century visitors used to describe their experience of the ruins was in keeping with the nature of the themes and images of nineteenth-century adventure fiction with its Gothic overtones. Italian scientist Attilio Gatti (1933:109) depicts his experience in the early 1930s thus:

To-day the naked ruins expose themselves to our eyes in a grey, monotonous, sinister procession...over all a desolate heavy silence broods...the sphinx-like mystery with which the ruins preserve the secret of their identity, and the hard, cruel aspect they present, affects one strangely.

In spite of archaeological evidence to the contrary, the so-called ‘ancient-exotic theory’ of Great Zimbabwe’s origins remained popular, and served as an effective advertising tool to the Southern Rhodesian Publicity Bureau (hereafter SRPB) (Kuklick, 1991), which also linked the site to Haggard’s works in its promotional literature. During his visit to Great Zimbabwe in 1914, whilst serving on the Dominions Royal Commission, Haggard himself found that “the local guidebook claimed that he used these ruins as the setting for ancient Kôr in *She*” (Stiebel, 2001b:127). Haggard denied this, admitting only to having heard vague rumours regarding the ruins, which did however stimulate his imagination in the case of *King Solomon's Mines* (Stiebel, 2001b). Haggard’s repudiation evidently did not

stop writers or readers from continuing to make this writer-place connection. Hedley Chilvers (1929:318), in his book *The Seven Wonders of Southern Africa*, still makes this connection fifteen years later, stating in reference to Great Zimbabwe's Hill Ruin or Acropolis:

Behind the walls of this towering rock-pile lived Rider Haggard's vivid creation, "She-who-must-be-obeyed"; the heroine of the romance which that master of fiction wrote in the white heat of an inspiration born of the mystery enveloping the Acropolis.

Earlier in the same book, Chilvers's (1929:316) caption under a photograph of Haggard at the ruins taken in 1914 reads: "Rider Haggard, whose famous novel "She" is based on Zimbabwe, and who derived the atmosphere of "King Solomon's Mines" from other relics of a bygone Rhodesia". The SRPB's guidebook on the ruins, published in 1930, makes similar statements. It also describes the scenery of Great Zimbabwe in terms such as "savage beauty" and "absolutely ideal and romantic that the heart is stirred and the imagination given full rein" (SRPB, 1930:10, 14). Thereby, such publications "reinforc[ed] the popular link between Haggard, the ruins and his early fiction" (Stiebel, 2001b:131), as well as sublime conceptions of Africa as a beautiful but wild and dangerous place. Haggard's audience was evidently confident that they could physically visit his African settings, as Hammond and Jablow (1992:108) state:

Readers were often convinced that what they were reading in *King Solomon's Mines* was a true story told by a real person, a white hunter named Allan Quatermain, and the places he told of could be pointed to on the map of Africa.

With the established connection between Haggard's African romances and Great Zimbabwe, a real, locatable place, the promotion of this link in contemporaneous literature, and evidence of tourists visiting the site since the 1890s, it appears likely that Haggard's novels inspired reader-tourists to visit Great Zimbabwe. For, by the 1960s, the national park around Great Zimbabwe contained almost every kind of tourist facility and the ruins received approximately one hundred thousand visitors every year (Kuklick, 1991). But Great Zimbabwe was of course not the only site in southern Africa associated with

Haggard's fictions. In South Africa's Kwazulu-Natal province, Tshaneni or Ghost Mountain at Mkuze featured as the setting for *Nada the Lily* (1892), and near Estcourt lie hills called Queen Sheba's Breasts, which supposedly inspired the mountains of the same name in *King Solomon's Mines* (Stiebel, 2009). Stephen Gray (1973) notes that the Wonderfontein caves, near Johannesburg, Gauteng, provided the inspiration for the 'Place of Death' in *King Solomon's Mines*, whereas A.W. Wells writes in his 1939 travel narrative/guide that the Congo caves near Oudtshoorn, Western Cape, previously mentioned as a common tourist attraction, allegedly served this function. This and Chilvers' comments on Great Zimbabwe noted above, suggest that all of southern Africa was seen through the romantic lens created by Haggard; that the entire region was his literary landscape (Stiebel, 2001a) and therefore virtually any of its features could be symbolic anchors to his romances and the Africa imagined through them. For Haggard-biographer Morton Cohen notes: "For many Englishmen, Africa became the Africa of *King Solomon's Mines*" (Cohen, 1960:94).

This discussion has therefore shown that Haggard-inspired literary tourism to southern Africa (and especially Great Zimbabwe) did occur from the end of the nineteenth century. The creation of a Haggard trail by Stiebel and the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project is indicative of this writer's ability *still* to attract reader-tourists to the region and seek out sites associated with him and his writing. Haggard was the dominant but not necessarily the only writer pursued through tourism during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. There were also other well-known, successful authors writing about southern Africa at the time who could have inspired literary tourists to travel to the region. Further research into the history of tourism to South Africa and Zimbabwe, which has as yet been given little attention, may well reveal further evidence of literary tourism in this part of the African continent. Although this discussion has examined South Africa in conjunction with Zimbabwe, the focus will now be turned fully onto South Africa and the current extent of literary tourism development.

## CHAPTER 6

### LITERARY TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, tourism is identified as a priority economic sector in the government's Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) 2009 election manifesto (National Department of Tourism (NDT), 2011). In addition, the National Department of Trade and Industry's (NDTI) second Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP2) 2010/11-2012/13 focuses on tourism as a core growth sector that would assist in diversifying the country's economy (NDTI, 2010). It further identifies niche tourism development as a key investment area in order to ensure economic growth and tourism performance (NDT, 2011). Since literary tourism is a form of niche tourism, IPAP2's recommendations support the development of this tourism mode. Its rationale for recommending niche tourism development can be summarised as follows. First, it provides the opportunity to create new markets and increase South Africa's competitiveness as a tourism destination. Second, although smaller than mainstream tourism markets, niche tourism generates higher yields by way of foreign exchange earnings and consumer spending and has a higher growth potential. Third, as opposed to mainstream tourism's creation of low or semi-skilled jobs, niche tourism stimulates the creation of quality jobs that necessitate specialised skills. Fourth, as niche tourism is usually located outside traditional tourist areas it encourages greater geographic distribution of tourism benefits (NDTI, 2010).

Literary tourism additionally falls within the ambit of heritage and cultural tourism, which is also regarded as a niche sector or specific product (NDT, 2012). A report published in 2009 by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that nearly six hundred and thirty million international tourist visits were motivated by cultural tourism in 2007, translating into 40% of global tourism. Therefore cultural tourism, and heritage tourism as a sub-set of the latter, occupies one of the largest portions of the world tourism market. This, however, is not reflected in the case of South Africa. The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy document of the National Department of Tourism (NDT) notes that, as a tourist destination, the country is still

essentially positioned around experiences of wildlife and scenic natural environments (NDT, 2012). This document cites a gap analysis conducted by South African Tourism which showed that despite more tourists' desire for historical and cultural heritage rather than wildlife viewing, fewer had experienced it whilst in the country. It further states:

South Africa...has much more to offer as a cultural landscape endowed with a diverse wealth of exuberant heritage and cultural products in the form of the arts, crafts, festivals, oral history, storytelling and folklore, heritage sites, places of historical and cultural significance, archeological remains, paleontological evidence and geological formations...Even though heritage and cultural products are highly desired by tourists...this cultural diversity is underrepresented and under-performing within the tourism market (NDT, 2012:16).

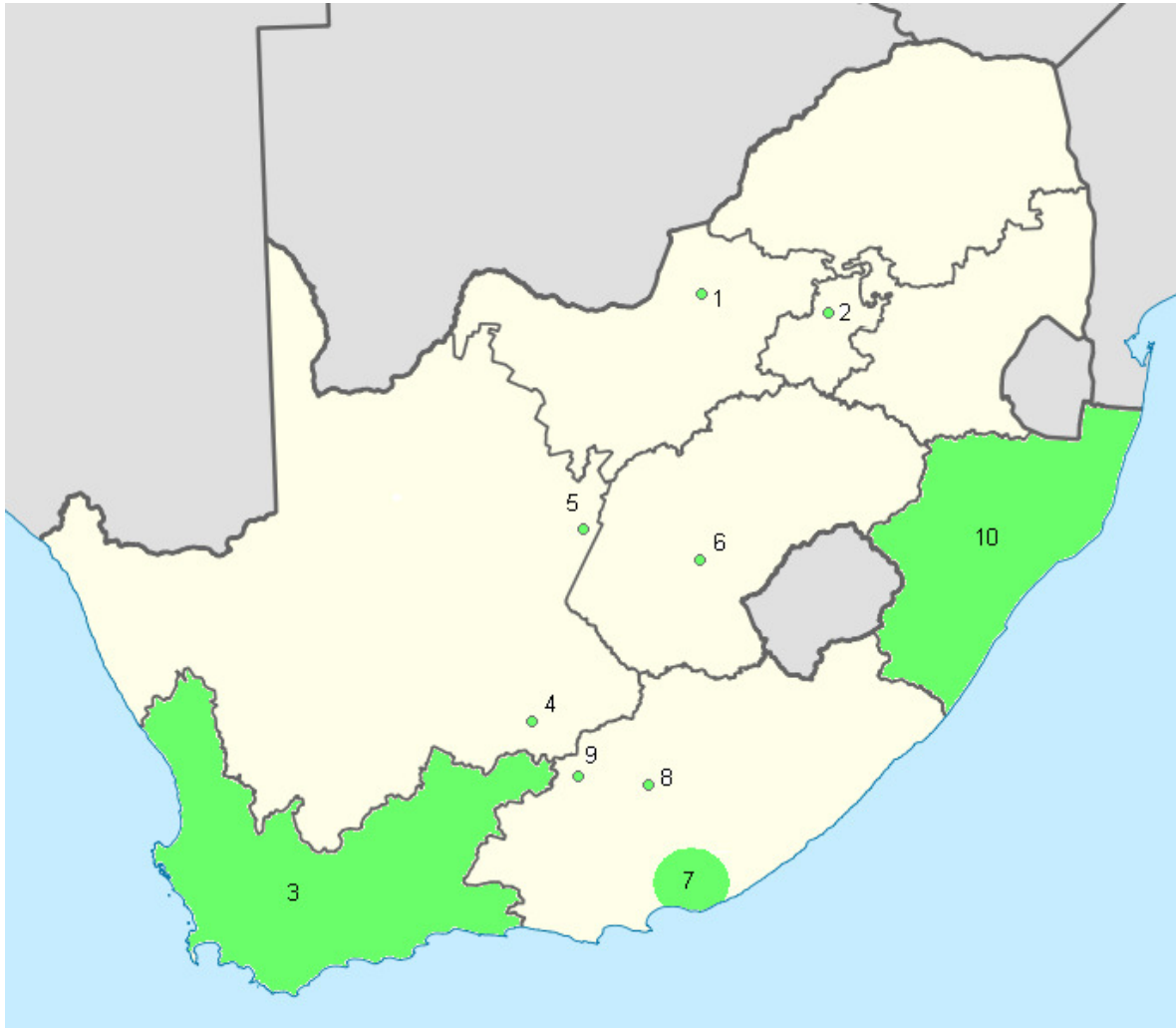
Heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa is therefore seen as a niche market that can aid in diversifying the country's economy and strengthen its global position as a tourist destination. This necessitates the development of heritage and cultural products in order to integrate them into the tourism mainstream, to bring its economic potential to fruition and raise understanding for their conservation needs (NDT, 2012).

This chapter aims to identify a number of heritage and cultural phenomena that focus on writers and literature that have already occurred in South Africa in order to measure the current extent of literary tourism development. Tourism development refers to the supply-side of the tourism industry. This encompasses a vast range of businesses that provide goods and services, both directly and indirectly, to enable business, pleasure and leisure activities for travellers (Smith, 1988). Tourism development, or the network of supplying businesses, includes: accommodation; transportation; travel services; food services; retail goods; and attractions and activities that offer entertainment, recreation and/or culture (Smith, 1988). However, these are relevant to all forms of tourism. The products and services included in this chapter necessarily have a clear focus on writers and literature and are therefore more limited in range. These are events or, more specifically, festivals that fall within the last category of attractions and activities. Tours and trails are also included and can be categorised under travel services, which include businesses or institutions concerned with tourism promotion or tourism development, tourist bureaus, travel agencies

and tour operators (Smith, 1988). But tours and trails can, arguably, also fall under the category of attractions and activities, thereby showing the interrelated nature of businesses and institutions involved in tourism.

With regard to festivals, there exist quite a number of these event-based literary tourism developments in South Africa. There are the large national festivals, like the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown, the Klein Karoo Arts Festival in Oudtshoorn and the Aardklop National Arts Festival in Potchefstroom, that bring together multiple forms of art from music and theatre to visual arts and literature. There are also a growing number of festivals with a more particular focus on books, writers and literature, for example, the Open Book Festival in Cape Town, the Cape Town Book Fair, the *Mail and Guardian* Johannesburg Literary Festival, the Jozi Book Fair, the Knysna Literary Festival, the Franschoek Literary Festival and the Midlands Meander Literary Festival in Howick. The nature of these literary festivals and book fairs are by and large the same, as their itineraries usually feature a series of discussions, dialogues and lectures by writers, literary critics and individuals involved in the publishing industry on such aspects as the writing profession, particular works, literary trends or the current state of literature in the country. These festivals do, however, often vary in their over-all themes from year to year and in the goals they wish to achieve, such as the creation of a sustainable literary industry, the advancement of social cohesion and skills development, and the promotion of literacy and education. Although these literature-focused festivals can certainly be regarded as literary tourism products, they will not be included in this chapter in order to avoid protracted discussions of festival itineraries that are, for the most part, characteristically similar. Festivals that focus on a particular writer are included as these usually provide opportunities for the presentation of events, sites and participatory activities related to specific aspects of a writer's life, works, and historical context. This selection also aligns itself with the broader international trends in literary tourism discussed earlier in chapters 3 and 4. It consistently reflects on the range of established characteristics which make up the stock of literary tourism attractions.

In order to illustrate their geographical distribution and coverage, the literary products and services identified in this chapter are indicated on the map of South Africa in Figure 1.



1. Bosman Weekend festival, Groot-Marico, North West Province
2. Eugène Marais tour in Pretoria and Pelindaba, Gauteng Province
3. Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours, Western Cape Province
4. Booktown Richmond, Northern Cape Province
5. Sol Plaatje trail, Kimberely, Northern Cape Province
6. National Afrikaans Literature Museum and Research Centre, Bloemfontein, Free State Province
7. National English Literary Museum, Grahamstown, Eastern Cape Province
8. Schreiner Karoo Writers Festival, Cradock, Eastern Cape Province
9. Absa Fugard Festival, Nieu Bethesda, Eastern Cape Province
10. Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project, KwaZulu-Natal Province

Figure 1: Approximate geographical distribution of current literary tourism development in South Africa

It should be noted that the following overview is not necessarily all-inclusive, but it does attempt to highlight all the major recent and/or existing developments that have occurred. These developments will be discussed in the same order as identified in the key of the map (Figure 1).

## 6.1 Groot-Marico and Pelindaba

Herman Charles Bosman is one of South Africa's favourite English short story writers, and it is largely because of him that the town of Groot-Marico in the North-West province is known to anyone, barring those who live in the area. Bosman was sent to the Groot-Marico district as a teacher in 1926, and it was here that he gained most of his inspiration for the short stories he eventually published in the 1940s. Bosman utilises the voices of narrators, like the well-known Oom Schalk Lourens, to relate his most famous short stories such as 'In the Withaak's Shade' and 'Unto Dust'. His first collection of short stories was published as *Mafeking Road* (1947). Subsequently, as many of his stories like the 'Voorkamer' sequence were published in various journals and magazines, a variety of anthologies with different selections of stories have been published, such as *A Cask of Jerepigo* (1957) and *Idle Talk* (1999). Bosman himself was an interesting character, for after having stayed in Marico for only five months he visited his family in Johannesburg during the school holiday, where he shot and killed his step-brother during an argument. *Cold Stone Jug* (1949) is a semi-autobiographical account of the four and a half years he spent at the Pretoria Central Prison where he served his sentence (Gray, 2005).

In Groot-Marico there are a number of attractions associated with Herman Charles Bosman, such as the small library which bears a plaque in his honour (Gray, 2005). There is also the Herman Charles Bosman Literary Society (HCBLS) "that keeps alive the spirit of Bosman" (Derwent, 1999:66). This society was founded in 1993 with the aim of making Groot-Marico more accessible to the many local and international Bosman enthusiasts because, as HCBLS member Egbert van Bart (2006: n.p) writes: "Not a few visitors to the Groot-Marico find their way here in the first place as a result of the attraction of that



powerful spell woven by Herman Charles Bosman.” From the outset the society also intended to restore the little farm school in which Bosman taught during 1926. But this was evidently unfeasible as it had fallen into ruin, which led to the construction of an exact replica built with authentic local materials. In February 2005 it was officially inaugurated as the Herman Charles Bosman Living Museum (Van Bart, 2005).

The terrain of the museum has also become the site of the literary festival presented by the HCBL every year since 1994, called the Bosman Weekend. This and other events organised by the society attract hundreds of aficionados to the district each year (Derwent, 1999). The festival’s programme entails a host of varied entertainment inspired by Bosman, such as performances of his stories and readings of his poetry, musical performances using Bosman’s words, and films, lectures and documentaries with his life and/or work as subject matter (Marico Tourism, 2009; 2011). There are also art exhibitions by local artists, as well as demonstrations and ‘hands-on’ activities related in some way or another to Bosman and his works, such as mud and cow dung wall painting and *mampoer* distillation. The cuisine provided, including ‘roosterkoeke’, ‘moerkoffie’ and homemade jams, is also authentic to the Marico Bosveld and reflective of Bosman’s literature. This festival with its period-authentic, Bosman-related events and features is reminiscent of the earlier mentioned festivals focusing on Ernest Hemingway and Jane Austen.

Eugène Marais is a celebrated Afrikaans poet, writer and scientist who published several anthologies, such as *Versamelde Gedigte* (1933) and *Dwaalstories* (1927), and two scientific studies, *Die siel van die mier* (1934), translated as *The Soul of the White Ant* (1937), and *The Soul of the Ape* (1969). He is, however, perhaps best known for his poems ‘Winternag’ and ‘Diep Rivier’. Several tours based on this writer have been hosted by the ‘Literatuur en Lewensin-groep’ based in Johannesburg. This is a group of language and literature enthusiasts that meet regularly to discuss literature and listen to invited practitioners and experts. The group began as an extracurricular course at the Rand Afrikaans University (now the University of Johannesburg), but eventually developed into a popular discussion group. The idea of actually presenting such a tour arose when Dr Johan Lodewyk Marais, a writer and literary researcher, was invited to discuss Eugène

Marais, and mentioned that he had considered taking interested people to Pelindaba to follow in the footsteps of this renowned Afrikaans writer (Bester, 2011). Since 2005, at least five such tours have been presented, led by both Dr Johan Marais and a qualified tourist guide.

The tour, 'Op die spore van Eugène N. Marais na Pelindaba' (In the footsteps of Eugène Marais to Pelindaba), focuses on his life in Pretoria, but more specifically, the few days leading up to and including his death. Marais's morphine addiction is regarded as having played a significant part in his taking of his own life (Marais, 2005). He moved with his benefactors, Gustav and Hannie Preller, to their farm at Pelindaba after Gustav Preller retired from his position as editor of the newspaper, *Die Vaderland*. Two days later, on the morning of 29 March 1936, Eugène Marais borrowed a shotgun from his friend Lood Pretorius and, in rainy weather, shot himself.

The tour's itinerary begins in Pretoria. Biographical data is conveyed throughout the tour to place the sites visited within the context of Eugène Marais's life. The first stop is 176 Blackwood Street, where he initially lived with Gustav and Hannie Preller before they moved to Pelindaba (Marais, 2007). The house itself no longer exists as it was demolished in 1989 to make room for the German Embassy, but the site is nonetheless of significance to the literary tourist. Other information pertaining to location and landscape also includes the streets that the tour utilises en route such as Church, Beatrix and Proes Street, which already existed when Marais lived in the area, thereby creating a clearer picture of the physical environment the writer traversed. Although not stopping points, other places associated with Marais are also pointed out, such as two other residences in Arcadia and Vermeulen Street (Marais, 2007). Marais's connections with Church Square, a site that played a central role in the city's history since its establishment in the mid-nineteenth century, is also included. For example, when working as a newspaper journalist he would attend gatherings at the *Raadsaal* and often clashed with President Paul Kruger; as an advocate he rented an office in the Netherlands Bank building; and in later years, he would often have to cross Church Square to get to the Peacock Pharmacy just past Cafe Riche where he would buy morphine (Marais, 2007). The tour also includes a stop at the Church

Street Cemetery where Marais lies buried next to Heroes' Acre. Here, some other well-known graves are pointed out, such as that of President Paul Kruger, poet Jan F.E. Celliers and H.F. Verwoerd. The restoration and symbolism of Marais's grave is also discussed (Marais, 2007).

The tour then moves on to Pelindaba. On the way to the Preller home, the tour stops at the monument erected on the site where Marais is believed to have committed suicide. However, Dotman Pretorius, Hannie Preller's nephew, indicated to Dr Johan Marais in 1989 that the siting of this monument is inaccurate, and showed him the spot where he himself had witnessed remaining evidence of Marais' suicide (Marais, 2005). This site is about a hundred meters away from the monument and is also viewed during the tour. The Preller house was restored and declared a national monument in 1973. Here, the Preller family, the architecture and aspects of its interior are discussed, some of which were added by Marais himself (Marais, 2007). The closely situated Preller Cemetery is also included in the tour itinerary. The last poignant stop is the *Rondawel* house on the Preller farm where Marais stayed and where he is believed to have spent his final evening (Marais, 2007). It is not open to the public as it is a private residence.

This tour takes into account two of the main reasons why tourists visit a literary site: it moves within the geographical landscape the writer frequented and is linked to the dramatic end of the writer's life. This also reminds one of the enduring interest in Sylvia Plath's grave, significant of her suicide, and sites associated with the death of an author, like Oscar Wilde and L'Hôtel in Paris. This is admittedly a dark or thanatouristic interest, but justifiable as Marais's death, like Plath's, is arguably constitutive of his mythos as a writer and reflective of his 'bleaker' works, like the poem 'Diep Rivier'. According to Johan Marais (2007), new Afrikaans and English publications about Eugène Marais are still appearing almost annually, indicating that interest in this writer is not waning. Similarly, although these tours have been presented only a limited number of times, this private initiative indicates that there is indeed an existing interest in Marais beyond the scholarly realm and could therefore be considered for further development and presentation on a more regular basis by commercial tour operators or heritage institutions.

## 6.2 The Western Cape, Richmond and Kimberley

From 1993, the late Professor John Kannemeyer of the University of Stellenbosch and Professor Wium van Zyl of the University of the Western Cape presented various tours that incorporated literary sites primarily in the Western Cape Province. Unfortunately, with the death of John Kannemeyer in December 2011, no tours are being presented during 2012, but Wium Van Zyl is considering continuing this tourism endeavour in the future (Van Zyl, 2012b). These tours were presented only in Afrikaans and focused exclusively on Afrikaans writers and their literature (Van Zyl, 2006a). The first tour they developed was the one-day tour of Cape Town, extending to Stellenbosch, Paarl and Dal Josafat. This tour proved to be their most popular offering, and was presented every year, often more than once, after its inception. Many Afrikaans writers have lived in and written about Cape Town, and hence the city virtually abounds with literary sites. As a comprehensive overview of these sites and the attendant literary works is provided in the guide written by Kannemeyer, *Kaap van Skrywers* (2000), only a small selection will be mentioned here.

One of the sites included in the one-day tour was the former home of poet D.J. Opperman, where he wrote a number of his works, the most notable being *Joernaal van Jorik* (1949). According to Kannemeyer (2000), Opperman's apartment in Three Anchor Bay is the most important in the history of Afrikaans literature, as this was the gathering place for the greatest Afrikaans literary figures of the time, such as N.P. van Wyk Louw, Boerneef (I.W. van der Merwe) and Uys Krige (Van Zyl, 2006a). These writers, as well as other notable literary figures like W.E.G. Louw, Ingrid Jonker, Breyten Breytenbach and C.J. Langenhoven, had a number of different homes, haunts and gathering places in the Cape Town region which are pointed out during the tour. Various works were highlighted during the tour that describe the cityscape of Cape Town, these include Boerneef's *Teen die helling* (1956), Jan Rabie's *Die roos aan die pels* (1966) and most extensively from D.J. Opperman's *Joernaal van Jorik*. The tour then moved beyond Cape Town to the Documents Centre of Stellenbosch University's J.S. Gericke Library to view various exhibits, including the Louw documents (Van Zyl, 2006a). In Paarl, the tour visited the

Afrikaans Language Museum, housed in the former home of poet, novelist and playwright D.F. Malherbe, and the Afrikaans Language Monument. The final stop on the tour was the *Gedenkschool der Huguenoten* in Dal Josafat, the first school to use Afrikaans as its medium of instruction and produced such literary greats as A.G. Visser, D.F. Malherbe and Totius (Jacob Daniël du Toit). It was built in 1883 to commemorate the arrival of the French Huguenots in the Cape and has been restored and declared a heritage site (Van Zyl, 2006b; Nasionale Afrikaanse Letterkunde Museum en Navorsingsentrum (NALN), 1998).

Aside from the one-day tour, Kannemeyer and Van Zyl annually presented a number of other literary tours ranging from three to nine days in length. They compiled the following variety of diverse tour packages which focused on biographical sites and literary landscapes related to a single writer or a combination of different writers. The Louw tour concentrated primarily on historic Matjiesfontein as an overnight location and Sutherland where the birthplace (now a museum) of the poet brothers N.P. van Wyk Louw and W.E.G. (William Ewart Gladstone) Louw is located. The Loerie tour focused mainly on Waenhuiskrans and Knysna in connection with author Dalene Matthee, and Ladismith and Oudtshoorn associated with C.J. Langenhoven. The Krige-Rabie-Opperman tour included Cape Town and Stellenbosch, connected with all three featured writers, Onrus, Vermont, Stilbaai, Riversdal and Montagu holding links with Uys Krige and/or Jan Rabie, and Franskraal for its ties with D.J. Opperman. The Leipoldt-Boerneef tour largely featured 'Boplaas', the historical farmstead in the Ceres-Karoo in which the poet Boerneef was born and raised, Clanwilliam and the nearby Wuppertal mission station associated with C. Louis Leipoldt, and extended into the Northern Cape with Calvinia as an overnight location (Van Zyl, 2006a). The latter shows that the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours did not restrict themselves to the Western Cape, as was also the case with their Kalahari tour. The latter took in both the Augrabies Falls National Park and the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park with a focus on the Kalahari desert region and the writings of Elizabeth Vermeulen and P.J. Schoeman, as well as those of contemporary writers like Jan Spies, Willem D. Kotzé and Donald W. Riekert (Van Zyl, 2006a). Between two and five of these tours were presented annually, but the same range of tours were not offered each year or more than once a year.

Aside from visits to the Gericke Library's Documents Centre during selected tours, other more formal, educational events such as video presentations about the authors, lectures, and recitation programmes from literary works also formed part of these tours. Although Afrikaans literature formed the thematic framework in terms of these tours' narrative and content, the tourists were additionally supplied with information derived from other disciplines such as geography, history and the natural sciences pertaining to regional fauna and flora, at times by local guides if possible. Lastly, it should be noted that the majority of the former writers' residences included in the these tours are not established tourist sites, in the sense that tourist-oriented developments have not taken place, or are even open to the public. They were visited primarily by the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tour groups (Van Zyl, 2006b). The Loerie tour will be briefly discussed as an example of the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours.

The Loerie tour was a nine-day journey through the arid Little Karoo of C.J. Langenhoven combined with the forests and lakes of Dalene Mathee's lush Knysna. The first overnight stop was near Waenhuiskrans to experience the environment in which Mathee set her last novel, *Die uitgespoeldes* (2005). This was followed by three days in the Ladismith and Oudtshoorn area, Langenhoven's biographical and literary landscape. It is in this area that he set many of his works, such as *Sonde met die bure* (1921) and *Herrie op die óú tremspóór* (1925). Nearby in Meiringspoort, a mountain pass in the Swartberg Mountains, there is a unique monument related to the latter novel. In this fictional tale, Langenhoven describes an epic journey which he undertakes with Herrie, his elephant. At one point in this mountain pass, Herrie had to remove a large boulder. This bit of geological inspiration, now a national monument, can still be viewed today and is known as *Herrie se klip* (Herrie's Stone). In Riversdal, the school Langenhoven attended and the room he occupied were visited, and Hoekovallei, where his birthplace is located, formed part of the tour (Van Zyl, 2012a). Oudtshoorn, home to the Langenhoven house museum called 'Arbeidsgenot' where he lived from 1899 until his death in 1932, was an important stop on the tour. What adds to the significance of the house, open to the public as a museum since 1955, is the fact that here Langenhoven wrote the first three verses of South Africa's former national anthem, *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* (translated as *The Call of South Africa*), which still

forms part of the current national anthem. The museum contains a large number of Langenhoven's personal and household artefacts and the graves of both him and his wife can be viewed in the garden along with a bust of the author. This site is therefore a three-fold attraction, comprising Langenhoven's house museum filled with artefacts, a memorial and his grave. In addition, the underlying itinerary of this Langenhoven section of the tour is reminiscent of the Shakespeare Birthday Procession and many other literary tours focusing on the biographical dimension of a writer, as it drew together sites and attractions as a backdrop to Langenhoven's life, following in his footsteps from birth to death.

The tour then moved south of the Langeberg Mountains for a further three days to experience Dalene Matthee's signature literary landscape. Most of her novels have been translated into multiple languages but Matthee's so-called 'forest novels' – *Kringe in 'n bos* (1984), *Fiela se kind* (1985), *Moerbeibos* (1987) and *Toorbos* (2003) – are perhaps her most famous works. These are set in or near Knysna's ancient forests and often the forest and its people feature as a primary theme. The tour explored the Knysna forest through a walking trail from the Diepwalle Forest Station and then a drive through the forest on which a number of Matthee-related sites were pointed out. A boat ride on the Knysna lagoon is was included. The lagoon functioned as a harbour from which timber was exported before it was closed in 1954, and serves as an important setting in *Kringe in 'n bos* (translated into English as *Circles in a Forest*). Visits to the Knysna Elephant Park and Monkeyland, a primate sanctuary, also formed part of the tour itinerary (Van Zyl, 2012a). The last overnight location, Witsand, was a stop rather of convenience and general interest where the arid Karoo and the Indian Ocean converge (Van Zyl, 2006a). Over-all, the Loerie tour also incorporated other conventional tourist attractions, like the Cango Caves, the C.P. Nel Ostrich Museum, the Safari Ostrich Farm, the Knysna Heads and the Tsitsikamma Khoisan Village. During the Loerie-tour of 2003, which coincided with the first appearance of *Toorbos*, the book was made available to the tour participants before it appeared in stores. Matthee met up with this tour group in Mosselbaai, where she discussed *Toorbos* and signed copies (Van Zyl, 2012a).

This tour also utilised a multi-disciplinary approach, drawing on more than just Langenhoven and Matthee's lives and literary works to inform, educate and entertain the travellers. In the Ladismith-Oudsthoorn area, the world of the Little Karoo was revealed at various levels in terms of its history, soil conditions and warm water sources, mountain passes and caves, farms and ostrich industry, as well as local folklore and ghost stories (Van Zyl, 2006a). In the forests of Knysna, the focus was unsurprisingly on the diverse local fauna and flora, as these also feature significantly in Matthee's novels. Here they learned more about, for example, the dense ferns and tree life, as well as viewed various birds, monkeys and African elephants. The latter is significant as these mammals are central to Matthee's novel, *Kringe in 'n Bos*, with the characters' obsessive preoccupation with the elephant, Oupoot (Old Foot) (Kannemeyer, 2005).

The fact that the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours lasted for eighteen years indicates that there is indeed an existing market for both brief and extended tours based on Afrikaans literature. These tours had also, it seems, fully utilised the literary tourism potential in the Western Cape and, to an extent, the Northern Cape regions. But the fact that these tours focused exclusively on Afrikaans literature means that a large section of South African literature was not taken into account. The development of literary tourism based on non-Afrikaans writers linked to the Western Cape should therefore also be taken into consideration. The Kannemeyer-Van Zyl initiative was, nonetheless, a significant literary tourism development, enriched by the expertise of two authorities in Afrikaans literature. If it happens that these tours do not recommence in the coming years, South Africa's cultural tourism landscape will be the poorer for it.

As South Africa's national book town, Richmond in the Northern Cape Province is a unique development in the South African literary tourism landscape. The process of identifying it as the country's book town was initiated and undertaken by Darryl David, an Afrikaans lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and founder of the Midlands Literary Festival. The idea of a book town began with Richard Booth in Hay-on-Wye, Wales, mentioned earlier, who wanted to create the largest second-hand bookselling centre in the world (David, 2007a). After the establishment of a number of other book towns in



Europe, for example, in Redu, Belgium, Bredevoort, Netherlands, and Fjaerland, Norway, the International Organisation of Book Towns (IOB) was created. IOB's guiding criteria for a book town's necessary characteristics can be summarised as follows: the organisational strength to launch a book town; likely to have marked impact in the regional economy; capable of speedy implementation; the presence of existing book trade expertise; scenic appeal and historic/cultural attractions; capable of tourism infrastructure development; potential/envisaged events programme; and available property for book retailers (David, 2007a; Seaton, 1999). Book towns, in general, are seen as unique tourism developments with the ability to regenerate peripheral areas, provide local employment, stimulate additional tourist services and attract upmarket, educated international and domestic tourist (Seaton, 1999).

Richmond is located in the Northern Cape Province on the N1 highway to Cape Town and the town contains numerous excellent examples of Edwardian and Victorian architecture, many of which are national monuments. It currently has at least thirteen bookshops, twelve guesthouses and eleven guest farms. Other attractions include the Richmond Museum, the Richmond Horse Museum, Vegkop (also known as Flag Hill), the site of two battles during the South African War and the theatre Krip Teater (Connolly, 2010). The year after its establishment as South Africa's book town in 2007 saw the launch of Richmond's annual book festival, called 'Boekbedonnerd'. During the Boekbedonnerd Literary Festival of 2011, such well-known South African literary personalities as Antjie Krog, Ivan Vladislavic, Mongane Walle Serote and Deon Meyer participated in the scheduled talks. After reading a newspaper article about the mural town Chemainus in Canada, Darryl David decided to also make Richmond South Africa's first mural town. He invited two artists to Richmond for Boekbedonnerd 2011, during which they each painted the first two murals in the town. One mural features the late actor Patrick Mynhardt as Oom Schalk Lourens, the character created by Herman Charles Bosman; the other depicts a derelict, vintage tractor with a Karoo background and a number plate that reads 'Moeggeploeg' (David, 2011). Moreover, in May of 2011 Richmond also hosted the inaugural J.M. Coetzee Literary Festival in honour of South Africa's two Nobel literature laureates, Coetzee and Nadine Gordimer. This festival not only focused on the latter two writers, but

also featured discussions by authors who had written about South Africa's other Nobel Laureates, such as Chief Albert Luthili, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela (Baker and David, 2011). J.M. Coetzee himself, however, does not seem to have any ties to Richmond. The nearest biographical tie, geographically speaking, is to Victoria West, about eighty kilometres west of Richmond, where he was born. This, according to Darryll David and Peter Baker (2012), was discovered by John Kannemeyer in the course of his research for the biography he was writing of Coetzee. Although tours of Richmond are offered during the festivals, these appear to be of a more general historical/cultural nature rather than a literary one.

However, Booktown Richmond, as it has been dubbed, is nonetheless a noteworthy literary tourism development as this town has been able use literature or books in general to rebrand itself. Their promotion of a clear, uniquely differentiated image or identity means that this town is likely to prosper even further (Seaton, 1999). Much like Hay-on-Wye, which hosts the Hay Festival of Literature and Arts as well as a host of other smaller festivals, Richmond has been able to launch two annual literary festivals on the back of its newly adopted identity. It has thereby enriched and diversified South Africa's cultural landscape and ensured a large concentration of visitors in the town at least twice a year. Branching out into other tourist attractions, like the murals, also gives Richmond an additional aesthetic appeal that could attract tourists beyond the originally envisioned target market of bibliophiles and literature enthusiasts.

The pioneering black writer Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje made significant contributions to South Africa in the fields of politics, journalism and literature. In 1910 he moved from Mafikeng to Kimberley where he established and edited another newspaper, *Tsala ea Becoana* (The Friend of the Bechuana), but it closed down after two years. Plaatje then helped to form the South African Native National Congress, the forerunner of the African National Congress (ANC), and was elected as its first general secretary (Fortune and Deyzel, 1996). Some of his literary contributions include the novel *Mhudi: An Epic of Native Life 100 Years Ago* (1930), which Plaatje himself described as "a love story after the manner of romances...but based on historical fact" (Willan, 1984:349). He also

translated a number of Shakespeare's plays, including *Julius Caesar* and *A Comedy of Errors*, into Setswana (Fortune and Deyzel, 1996), making these works accessible to a much wider South African public.

Kimberley in the Northern Cape Province is a city with a rich and varied history linked with struggle heroes, mining magnates, the diamond rush and the colonial past. The Northern Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry (NOCCI) has set up the Kimberley Meander website ([www.kimberleymeander.co.za](http://www.kimberleymeander.co.za)) as a vehicle to create awareness and generate interest in the city's tourist offerings (NOCCI, 2008a). On it they have constructed tourist trails by grouping together attractions that relate to a particular theme, for example the Ghost Trail as well as the Cecil Rhodes and the Mining Magnates trail, or attractions located in a particular area, such as the Belgravia Historical Walk and the Great Kimberley North Walk. Two of the Kimberley Meander trails include sites related to Sol Plaatje – the Amandla (Freedom) Trail and the Sol Plaatje Trail. The Amandla Trail incorporates several sites related to Plaatje: a statue of the writer in the Civic Centre; Plaatje's grave in the West End Cemetery; and the Abantu-Batho Hall in the historic township of Galeshewe where he gave his last speech. The Sol Plaatje House and Museum, where he lived from 1910 until his death in 1932, is also included in this trail. In recognition of his efforts in fighting for the rights of black people, a Plaatje Jubilee Fund was established to raise funds in order to buy the Angel Street house for him in 1929. It was declared a national monument in 1992 and is today both a museum and oral history centre with a library of African literature (Voigt, 1995; Fortune and Deyzel, 1996). The Amandla Trail, as the name suggests, also includes other attractions related to the struggle against apartheid, such as: the 1952 Mayibuye Uprisings Memorial and the graves of those who died during the uprising; the statue of trade unionist Frances Baard; the Peace and Justice Memorial in Greenpoint Township; and resistance fighter Robert Sobukwe's house in Galeshewe (NOCCI, 2008b). The Sol Plaatje trail takes in the afore-mentioned Plaatje-related sites, but also focuses on the history and art of cultures indigenous to the region, namely the San, Griqua and Tswana. Additional attractions on this trail include the Ancestors Gallery at the McGregor Museum with displays of the prehistory of the sub-continent, archaeological methods and regional rock art, the William Humphreys Art

Gallery with its exhibits of modern African art and the ethnographic photographs collection at the Duggan-Cronin Gallery (NOCCI, 2008c).

Although the tourist can follow these trails by themselves, NOCCI highly recommends that one should rather take a guided tour and provides the relevant details of qualified guides. While more could perhaps be made of the literary dimension of the Sol Plaatje trail, NOCCI has clearly recognised that Plaatje is a literary and historical personality with the ability to draw tourists. The creation of these trails is not only an excellent method of advertising the city's various attractions, but by grouping them together according to themes provides the tourist with a way of accessing the city in accordance with their own interests, including the literary tourist interested in Plaatje.

### **6.3 Bloemfontein and the Grahamstown region**

The National Afrikaans Literature Museum and Research Centre (NALN) is located in the Free State's provincial capital, Bloemfontein. The museum is housed in the Old Government Building on President Brand Street, the government seat of the Republic of the Orange Free State from the building's completion in 1877 until 1893 and is today a national monument. NALN is a literary tourist attraction in itself, as it has in its collection manuscripts, books, photographs, audiovisual material, newspaper and magazine articles, personal artefacts and other sources on Afrikaans literature and almost every Afrikaans writer of note (Swart, 2009). But the museum is noteworthy for another reason in a sense reminiscent of Westminster Abbey's Poets' Corner – its garden of statues. Aside from the garden of trees at NALN, each tree having been planted by a prominent political figure like Lord Alfred Milner for example, there are also various bronze statues. These statues, principally in the forms of busts, depict a number of South African artists, many of whom hail from the Afrikaans literary realm, such as A.G. Visser, C.J. Langenhoven and C. Louis Leipoldt (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (FAK), 1989). Due to bronze theft, these statues have now been removed to the interior of the museum and copies are currently being cast from synthetic resin for exterior display (Bruwer, 2010).

NALN presents various literary tours and Leana Lategan (2006a), organiser of these tours, states that the idea of Bloemfontein city tours had already formed in the early 1980s when research (as a ‘by-product’ of other research projects) showed that more than a hundred Afrikaans writers had connections with Bloemfontein. Their first Bloemfontein literary tour was presented on International Museum Day, 18 May 1998. NALN presents two types of tours: literary city tours and what they call a ‘Blitstoer’, which can be translated as ‘Flash Tour’. The literary city tours are presented principally according to demand and usually coincide with a particular occasion, such as the commemoration of writer’s birthday, National Women’s Day or Heritage Day and the content is adjusted to reflect these themes. Due to infrastructural deficiencies and more particularly a decreased staff component, NALN has temporarily ceased presenting these literary city tours, the last one having occurred in August 2010. However, continued enquiries from the public indicate a persistent interest in this offering and NALN intends to recommence these activities with a tour opportunity in May 2013 (Lategan, 2012a). The Flash Tours are usually presented four times a year as part of a diversionary programme designed for learners of the Heidedal community by Correctional Services and Social Services (Lategan, 2006a; Lategan, 2012b). These tours have also been presented to primary school pupils (as a practical presentation of their prescribed curriculum) and cultural organisations. The Heidedal learners that participate in these tours are all coloured children who are Afrikaans first-language speakers, but are non-readers and have a very limited frame of reference as regards the writers. Hence, this tour is presented from a historical perspective and the literary aspects are addressed in an understandable and accessible manner. Aside from this, the nature of the Flash Tour is similar to NALN’s literary city tours in that they ordinarily attempt to implement a holistic approach, including not only literature, but also aesthetic, architectural, environmental and social welfare elements as points of interest (Lategan, 2006a; 2006b).

One of the first attractions included in the Flash Tour is the Queen’s Fort Military Museum, with displays of war-time vehicles and artefacts from the Difaqane, South African War, World Wars I and II and the apartheid struggle (Van Graan and Ballantyne, 2002). Whilst here, the learners are informed about the so-called Border literature of the

1980s as well as well-known international writers who were in the city from 1899 to 1902 (the time of the British occupation of Bloemfontein). These writers include Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, writer of the Sherlock Holmes detective novels, who was in command of the Longman Hospital; Erskine Childers, the mystery writer whose most noted novel was *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), who was a volunteer soldier; and Rudyard Kipling, author of the children's novel *The Jungle Book* (1894), who lived here for a time. The Oliewenhuis Art Museum, whose permanent collection of traditional, historical and contemporary South African art includes works by Walter Batiss, J.H. Pierneef and Gregoire Boonzaier (Van Graan and Ballantyne, 2002), is also included in the tour. Here, the architectural detail of the house and the experience of an art museum are brought to the learners' attention and reference is also made to the writer Mabel Jansen. Naval Hill, with its statue of a white horse, has featured in various literary works. Here reference is made to the works of Totius, Maretha Maartens's novel *'n Pot vol winter* (1989) and Karel Schoeman's *Dood van 'n engelsman* (1982). In addition, environmental information on the local fauna and flora is also conveyed to the learners (Lategan, 2006b).

With regard to NALN's literary city tours, there is clearly a copious number of sites and attractions associated with writers and their works in Bloemfontein, and hence only a few examples other than those already mentioned will be discussed. One such attraction is the War Museum of the Boer Republics, containing memorabilia, photographs and research material which focus on the 1888-1902 South African War, and the Womens' Memorial which commemorates the approximately 26 000 women and children who died in the concentration camps during this war (Van Graan and Ballantyne, 2002). Here, works that are referred to include Eleanor Baker's *Groot duiwels dood* (1998), Rykie van Reenen's *Heldin uit die vreemde* (1970), Deneys Reitz's *Commando* (1929) and Elbie Truter's *Tibbie: Racjel Isabella Steyn 1865-1955* (1997) – writers who, in one way or another, wrote about the South African War and women's role in and experience of the war. A number of writers' houses are also included in these city tours, such as that of playwright Gerhard Beukes, children's poet Phillip de Vos and novelist Berna Ackerman. The C.R. Swart and Lebohang buildings are also pointed out, as these feature in Antjie Krog's novel *Relaas van 'n moord* (1995). The statue of former Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd is

associated with Eben Venter's *Ek stamel ek sterwe* (1996) and the work of Marlene van Niekerk. The Volksblad Building, where the newspaper *Die Volksblad* was created, is also part of the tour, since Afrikaans writers such as C.M. van den Heever, Pirow Bekker, J.C. Steyn and Hennie van Deventer were employed by the publication for a number of years. Various schools form part of these tours as well, such as Grey College where well-known literary figures, including Etienne le Roux, Eben Venter and C.M. van den Heever, were educated (Lategan, 1998, 2006b).

Some of NALN's literary tours extend outside of Bloemfontein, as with the C.M. van den Heever tour they presented in 2002 upon the commemoration of his birth year. Besides the Bloemfontein sites associated with Van den Heever, this tour also travelled to Trompsburg where he lived and Norvalspont where he was born. Other elements are also added to NALN's tours, these include: recitations of an author's work; video material; the presence of the writer him/herself on the tour as the guest of honour; or visits to writers in their home environment (Lategan, 2006a).

With such a plethora of literary attractions in the Bloemfontein area, regular tours could be established regarding those writers that seem to generate the most interest. This need not necessarily be only by NALN but also professional tour operators that promote and exhibit the city. The fact that these tours take in places and properties that are already cultural and heritage attractions in themselves, gives them an additional appeal that could make these tours very popular to existing and potential cultural and heritage tourists interested in both literature and other forms of cultural heritage.

The National English Literary Museum (NELM) is located in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, and preserves a vast collection containing: drafts, proofs, diaries, private correspondence and unpublished manuscripts; all genres of imaginative or creative writing published by southern African authors; and critical matter on the lives and works of southern African authors recorded in learned journals and the press. These aspects in themselves make NELM an informative literary attraction. They also present or participate in various established literary tours as part of a diversified outreach programme in order to impart

information about southern African English literature to students and scholars (NELM, 2012). NELM calls these tours ‘Outreach Camps’ as they are aimed mainly at groups of primary and secondary school learners. They vary in length from one to seven days and bring together literary, environmental and historical points of interest. NELM’s established range of packages include: the Thomas Baines Nature Reserve literary and environmental programme; a Boknes Beach and the Dias Cross at Kwaaiohoek excursion; an Olive Schreiner Camp in Cradock; a Thomas Pringle literature camp; and the Addo Elephant Park and Elephant Experience (NELM, n.d.). The latter two camps will be explored in greater detail as examples of NELM’s literary tours.

The Thomas Pringle Literature Camp was first presented in 1996 and usually takes place on a farm in Alicedale, about 40 kilometres west of Grahamstown, but has also been presented on the Pringle farm in the Baviaans River valley. Thomas Pringle, the head of a party of Scottish settlers who were granted land in the Baviaans River valley, was the first English writer to use the South African landscape as the material for his published poetry. Pringle’s major work on South Africa is *African Sketches* (1834) which consisted of two parts, *Poems Illustrative of South Africa* and *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*. NELM’s camp, based on the 1820 settler poet, has a predominantly historical and literary focus. As a practical exploration of the day-to-day lives of Pringle and the settlers, the learners are encouraged to dress in 1820 Eastern Cape styles, both indigenous and pioneer, given a demonstration of how oxen are prepared in order to pull a wagon, an illustrated talk on how oxen were used in ploughing, wagoning and sledge-work, and an ox-wagon ride to the camp site. This is preceded by a narrative on the history of the 1820 Settlers with the use of a selection of original journal entries. Concerning the literary dimension, poetry and short stories linked to the period, storytelling and creative writing are discussed, followed by the planning and presentation of plays derived from stories of the settler period.

After Pringle’s arrival in South Africa, he established and ran two newspapers. But they were so beleaguered with censorship from the colonial government that Pringle eventually resigned. In relation to this aspect of Pringle’s life, the camp also includes an account of



the freedom of the press and practical sessions on the use of a nineteenth-century proof press (NELM, n.d.). Near the Pringle farm there is a San cave containing rock art about which Pringle wrote in his poetry (Eve, 2003), and there is a San cave near Alicedale as well. A visit to these caves is also included in the camp, complemented with a discussion on and stories about the San people.

The Addo Elephant Park and Elephant Experience has been presented twice every year since 1995 by NELM in conjunction with the Addo Elephant National Park. The purpose of this tour is to both view elephants and expose learners to the array of literature inspired by this pachyderm (NELM, n.d). Apart from its literary facet, this camp obviously has an additional dimension rooted in the natural sciences, as it involves a visit to the Reeds' Valley Crocodile Farm; a demonstrative talk on the palaeontology of the district; slideshows on the elephant's life cycle; and close quarter viewing of the Addo elephants. The literary component is realised through a presentation on the poetry, praise poetry, legends and music related to elephants, culminating in environmental plays and mimed elephant body movements (NELM, n.d). If time allows, the Addo Elephant Experience is also linked with Percy FitzPatrick, who in later life lived in the area, and his story *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907). A visit is arranged to the Sir Percy FitzPatrick Library in the town of Addo where a plaque explains that the library was built in 1959 in honour of FitzPatrick and his contributions to the development of the Sundays River valley. The 'Look Out' is the next point of interest, a favourite spot of FitzPatrick's, which he bought in 1915. He is buried here next to his wife and three sons, Oliver and Adam, and a plaque commemorates Nugent, his eldest son. If possible, visits to the local orange industry's packing sheds and Amanzi, the FitzPatrick's farm, are arranged. He bought the farm in 1913 and FitzPatrick's descendants still live and work on this farm. Inside the farmstead Edward Caldwell's original marginal paintings and drawings for *Jock of the Bushveld* can be viewed (Eve, 2003; NELM, n.d.).

#### 6.4 Cradock, Nieu Bethesda and KwaZulu-Natal

NELM has also been involved in two literary festivals based on two individual Eastern Cape writers: the Olive Schreiner Festival and the Absa Fugard Festival. The Olive Schreiner Festival in Cradock is a recent occurrence on the South African cultural landscape. Founded by Darryl David, previously mentioned as the founder of Booktown Richmond, it was first held in 2010. It is hosted mainly at the Tuishuise and Victoria Manor, a historical hotel with ancillary, literature-themed guest cottages decorated in Victorian styles. The programme of the founding festival, then called the Spirit of Schreiner Festival, encompassed a variety of talks and tours focused almost exclusively on Olive Schreiner – a nineteenth-century writer and feminist whose most-noted novel is *The Story of an African Farm* (1883). The scheduled talks for the festival included a number of speakers on a various themes: festival founder Darryl David and Schreiner’s influence on his endeavours to promote South African literary tourism; Rhodes University Professor of English, Paul Walters, on Schreiner’s writing of *The Story of an African Farm* and her family, as well as on her reinterment at Buffelskop; writer and critic Stephen Gray on Schreiner’s routes through South Africa; writer Etienne van Heerden on the influence the Karoo and Schreiner had on his writing; and NELM’s educational officer Basil Mills on the restoration of the sarcophagus on Buffelskop (Antrobus, 2010). As Schreiner lived in Cradock and on various farms in the vicinity and set a number of her novels within the region, like *The Story of an African Farm*, *From Man to Man* (1926) and *Undine* (1929), tours of the biographical and literary world of this Karoo writer were also easily compiled. One tour on the festival programme included the farms Kranzplatz, where she and her husband lived, Klein Gannahoek, where she worked for the Fouché family as a governess and wrote part of *The Story of an African Farm*, and Gannahoek, within walking distance from Klein Gannahoek where she visited with her friends, the Cawoods (Eve, 2003; Antrobus, 2010). A walk through Cradock also formed part of the programme, along with a guided tour through the Schreiner House, a satellite museum of NELM, where she lived with her family from 1868 to 1870.

The last activity on the festival programme was an optional game drive to the Mountain Zebra National Park. One of the park's guesthouses is the restored farmhouse of Doornhoek. Although it has no direct connection with Schreiner, it was used in the television film of *The Story of an African Farm*, and is thus reminiscent of the scenery that she evokes in the novel (Eve, 2003; Antrobus, 2010). The focus of the 2011 festival, however, was extended to all Karoo or Karoo-born writers and was thus renamed the Schreiner Karoo Writers Festival. The scheduled talks were therefore not as exclusive to Schreiner as the previous year, with talks by, for example, Michael Cawood Green on his novel *For the Sake of Silence* (2008, winner of the 2009 Olive Schreiner Prize) and a reading by Chris Mann of his Karoo poems (Die Tuishuise, n.d.). Particular attention was also given to the Cradock Four, four anti-apartheid activists who were killed in 1985, with a discussion by Judge Chris Nicholson of his book *Permanent Removal: Who Killed the Cradock Four?* (2004). There was also a tour by Nyameka Goniwe, the local mayor and widow of Matthew Goniwe (one of the Cradock Four), of the Cradock township, Lengilihle. An optional tour included in this festival is a walk to Schreiner's grave on Buffelskop where she, her husband, child and dog lie buried in a rounded sarcophagus. It has, over the years, become a noted site of pilgrimage for many South African writers and Schreiner enthusiasts (Eve, 2003). Schreiner's grave, its siting and its significance to her followers are akin to that of Wordsworth and Thomas Gray, mentioned earlier. It is greatly iconographical of this writer as fixed within this distinct landscape, a landscape that has come to be known as 'Olive Schreiner Country'. The inclusion of her grave in the festival itinerary as both a tour object and subject of discussion is therefore unsurprising due to its centrality to Schreiner's mythos as a Karoo writer.

Also fairly new, the Absa Fugard Festival has been presented annually since 2009 in Nieu Bethesda by Absa Bank and the Nieu Bethesda Arts Festival Association. Athol Fugard, an internationally renowned playwright whose works usually focus on the injustices brought about by apartheid, is hailed "among [the] geniuses of modern theatre" (Heywood, 2004:181). This festival is held in honour of his highly esteemed plays and through it "Fugard is given recognition for his contribution to the struggle against apartheid and the arts in South Africa today" (Hendry, 2011:n.p.). The Absa Fugard Festival programme for

2011 was a combination of discussion groups, lectures, plays, musical performances and numerous art exhibitions. The musical performances featured well-known South African artists like Nianell and Mathys Roets and various static individual and collective art exhibitions by, for example, sculptor Sieg de Beer and ceramic artist Elsabe Kritzinger were displayed at galleries and other venues in Nieu Bethesda. The array of stage works was unsurprisingly dominated by renditions of Fugard's own plays such as *Boesman and Lena* (1969), *My Life* (1992), and *The Captain's Tiger* (1997). A number of his plays have also been translated into Afrikaans, and two of these were performed at the festival – *Hallo en koebaai* and *Lied van die vallei*, respectively translations of *Hello and Goodbye* (1965) and *Valley Song* (1996) (Fugard Festival, n.d.).

The reason why Nieu Bethesda is such a fitting place for this festival, is because Fugard has both real-life and literary connections with this town as he lived here for a time and it served as the setting for two of his plays, *Valley Song* and *The Road to Mecca* (1984). Also released as a film of the same name starring American actress Kathy Bates, the latter is based on a true story – the life of Helen Martins. She was born in 1897 and returned to Nieu Bethesda in the 1920s after training as a teacher to nurse her ailing parents. After they died in 1945, 'Miss Helen', as she was locally known, became more reclusive and developed a fascination for Oriental mysticism, light and colour. She began to grind up glass with which to cover the walls of her house. She set mirrors at angles to catch solar and lunar light along with dozens of lamps and candles, creating a fascinating illuminated atmosphere. Her creativity also extended into the garden behind the house, which she called the 'Camel Yard'. Here, she created figures from cement, wire and glass of various animals (mostly camels), many birds (predominantly owls), and figures representing different religions like Islam, Christianity and Buddhism, all facing what Martins thought to be East. The house was apparently an object of embarrassment and derision in the small, conservative town of Nieu Bethesda. Martins's sight began to fail as she grew older, and in 1976 she committed suicide by swallowing caustic soda. She called her home 'The Owl House' and wished to have the property conserved as a museum (Derwent, 1999; Eve, 2003). Today it is a very popular tourist attraction and served as one of the festival venues. *Draadwerk*, a play by Daleen Kruger about the friendship between Helen Martins and her

artisan assistant Koos Malgas, was performed on the porch of the Owl House during the 2011 Absa Fugard Festival (Fugard Festival, n.d.). The Owl House is not unlike Whitby Abbey and Bran Castle in relation to Stoker's *Dracula*, as it serves as a physical anchor within a literary landscape to Fugard's imagined universe. Here, it functioned as a tourist attraction, a festival venue and a physical manifestation of a literary setting.

KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is probably the one province where literary tourism has enjoyed the most development in terms of raising awareness of authors and their works linked to this province and providing easy ways of accessing its literary heritage. The 'Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal research project', in collaboration with the National Research Fund and spearheaded by Professor Lindy Stiebel of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, have done this in several ways. As mentioned earlier, a website has been created containing information on KZN writers, but this information has also been linked to an interactive literary map showing the locations with which these authors are associated. Awareness and access has further been facilitated through the creation of several literary trails, beginning with two individual author-centred trails based on Alan Paton (see Appendix D) and Rider Haggard (see Appendix E), as well as a host of other area-based trails which draw attention to particular places associated with several authors or literary works in a designated area.

The Grey Street Writers Trail links together historical and literary sites in and nearby Durban's Grey Street, the KZN Indian community's cultural hub. It is connected to Mohandas Ghandhi and writers of fiction and non-fiction whose works possess political overtones, such as Phyllis Naidoo, Dr Goonam (Kesaveloo Goonaruthnum Naidoo), Fatima Meer, Aziz Hassim, Miriam Akabor, Ravi Govender and Imraan Coovadia (McNulty, 2006). The Cato Manor Writers Trail, focussing on the historically multicultural informal settlement near Durban's city centre whose African and Indian residents were forcibly removed starting in 1959, features writers and playwrights who lived in and/or set literary works in Cato Manor, such as Ronnie Govender, Gladman Ngubo, Lewis Nkosi, Kessie Govender, Mi S'dumo Hlatshwayo and Kenneth Bhengu (McNulty and Stiebel, 2008). The Midlands Writers Trail leads through the area lying between Pietermaritzburg and the Drakensberg Mountains and features eight contemporary writers: Imraan

Coovadia, Wilbur Smith, John van de Ruit, Jenny Hobbs, Jonny Steinberg, John Conyngham, Kobus Moolman and Fred Khumalo. Particular sites highlighted on this trail include two private boarding schools, Hilton College, attended by Coovadia and Conyngham, and Michaelhouse, attended by Smith and Van de Ruit and served as the setting for the latter author's *Spud* novels, as well as Nelson Mandela's 1962 Capture Site where a monument has been erected (KZN Literary Tourism, 2010a). Encompassing the townships of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu, as well as the Phoenix Settlement in Bhambayi, the Inanda Writers Trail highlights ten authors, all with biographical links to the area. These include Mandla Langa, Angelina Ntombizanele Sithebe and Rubendra Govender. Some of these authors have politically significant histories like John Dube and Ellen Kuzwayo, while others have close ties with the Phoenix Settlement established by Mohandas Gandhi, such as his son Manilal, his granddaughter Sita and his granddaughter Ela's husband, Mewa Ramgobin, founder of the Gandhi Museum and Library (KZN Literary Tourism, 2010b). The South Coast Writers Trail focuses on the KZN province's coastal area, a popular tourist destination, bringing together such places and writers as: the South Coast sugarcane fields with the writings of Daphne Rooke; the hilly inland regions (under traditional tribal authority) with the epic poetry of Mazisi Kunene; Adam's College, attended by *Drum* writer Es'kia Mphahlele and other notable figures like Albert Luthuli and Mangosuthu Buthelezi; Sezela with the editors of *Voorslag*, Roy Campbell, William Plomer and Laurens van der Post; and the Marisstella and St Michaels's Missions, the latter serving as the setting for Michael Cawood Green's novel, *For the Sake of Silence* (2008) (KZN Literary Tourism, 2011). These area-based trails also have something of a multi-disciplinary approach as they address the history of the relevant areas, often through the auto/biographies they incorporate and include natural and heritage attractions located nearby. As an example of the trails created by the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project, the Rider Haggard Trail will be briefly considered.

The trail based on Rider Haggard, the author of the well-known African adventure novels as *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *Allan Quatermain* (1887), is perhaps the most extensive trail created by the project as it leads through several cities and towns. It begins in the harbour city of Durban where Haggard arrived in 1875, before moving on to

Pietermaritzburg to join the staff of Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. He also came to Durban on subsequent visits, as in 1914 whilst serving on the Royal Dominions Commission during which he interviewed John Dube, the first president of the South African Native National Congress. Allan Quatermain, Haggard's fictional hero, has a house in Berea and in *King Solomon's Mines* he describes how Quatermain and his companions drop anchor off Durban Point. The next site in this trail is Pietermaritzburg, where Haggard lived in Government House (now part of the University of South Africa's Pietermaritzburg campus), from 1875 to 1876 whilst in the employ of Sir Henry Bulwer. He describes his days in the city during this time in his autobiography *The Days of My Life* (1926). Next is the town of Estcourt, through which Haggard travelled on a number of occasions. There is a photograph of Haggard in the town's Fort Dunford Museum – the caption makes the false assertion that he lived in Albert Street. As previously mentioned, near Estcourt are hills called Queen Sheba's Breasts, apparently the inspiration for mountains of the same name in *King Solomon's Mines*, which also serve as a point of interest on the trail (Coan and Stiebel, 2006; Stiebel, 2007).

Another site included in the trail is Newcastle, the location of the farm 'Rooipoint' which Haggard and his friend Arthur Cochrane bought, intending to farm ostriches. During a brief visit to England he married Louisa Margitson, and they returned to 'Rooipoint', whose farmstead was called 'Hilldrop', where she gave birth to their only son. The farmstead, renamed 'Mooifontein', which refers to and is described in Haggard's novel *Jess* (1887), is today a national monument and a bed-and-breakfast establishment replete with a collection of Haggard memorabilia. From his homestead, Haggard could hear the battle of Majuba during the first Anglo-Boer War as it was fought, and it is also in this house that the peace terms of this war were negotiated and signed. In Newcastle's Fort Amiel Museum there is a display that focuses on Haggard, as well as an axe which belonged to Mhlopekazi, one of Haggard's early travel companions who is depicted as Umslopogaas in his novels *Allan Quatermain*, *Nada the Lily* (1892) and *She and Allan* (1921). Eshowe is also included in the trail, as it features in *Finished* (1917), the final volume of Haggard's trilogy on the history of the Zulu people in the nineteenth century. 'Tshaneni' or Ghost Mountain is the next site as it served as the setting for *Nada the Lily*, a

tale that recounts the adventures of Umslopogaas and Galazi and their love for the heroine, Nada. There is also a Ghost Mountain Inn in this area that emphasises the association with Haggard as a physical visitor to this area. Even though this association is false, as Haggard never actually visited the area, the Inn is suggested as a convenient over-night location. The last attraction that forms part of this trail are the Anglo-Zulu War Battlefields, including Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift, Gingindlovu, Ulundi and Umgundlovu (now known as Emakoshini, the Valley of the Kings). Haggard wrote a number of factual accounts that included some of the battles fought during this war, and the battle of Isandlwana features in *The Witch's Head* (1884), *Black Heart and White Heart* (1896) and *Finished* (Coan and Stiebel, 2006; Stiebel, 2007).

This is a significant literary tourism development as it involved diligent research in terms of the created trails and because information on the trails, as well as a host of additional information on KZN writers, KZN writer-place associations and other literary events, has been made available in a multi-media format on the internet. Equally significant is the fact that the project's research and trails have been utilised by the international tour operator International Travel and Tours (ITT, now Inspirations Travel and Tours). Since 2008, ITT has offered ten-day 'literary safaris' adapted from the various literary trails created by the project (KZN Literary Tourism, 2008). This is undoubtedly an ideal outcome of the project as it exposes South Africa's literary heritage to an international tourism market.

This chapter, illustrating the current state of literary tourism development in South Africa, shows that the majority of these developments are concentrated in the provinces of the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, with little having been developed in the remaining regions. What is also noticeable is that the over-all majority of the current initiatives are concerned almost exclusively with white literary figures, both English and Afrikaans. An essential dimension of South African literature, that of black writers and their works, is largely neglected in the country's current literary tourism landscape. The area-based trails developed by the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project, with the numerous black and Indian writers these include, does however begin to redress this negligence. Another perceptible aspect is the fact that many of these developments



have been initiated by individuals or institutions involved in teaching or researching literature, which suggests that literary tourism in South Africa has indeed developed from an academic base. This further shows that the gulf between the realm of writing and, especially, researching literature and the popular (often disfavoured) pursuit of tourism, as discussed by Watson (2009), has already begun to be successfully bridged in South Africa. There are, however, many more potential opportunities to merge the literature and tourism spheres, which will be the focus of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 7

### DRAWING ON CULTURAL CAPITAL: SOUTH AFRICA'S LITERARY TOURISM POTENTIAL

The multicultural, multilingual country that is South Africa has an extraordinarily rich and varied literary heritage. The numerous languages in which South African poets, playwrights and authors express themselves, from English and Afrikaans to the many indigenous languages such as Xhosa and Zulu, reflect the varied and nuanced cultures within South Africa. This country at the southern-most tip of the African continent also heralds a contentious and thought-provoking past, marked by violence, tragedy and triumph. It was only inevitable that the dramatic events to which the South African soil bore witness would find its way into the minds, imaginations and finally onto the pages of its authors. Hence, South African literature, whether factual or fictitious, documents both the stages of the country's historical development (the era of British colonial rule, the settlement of the interior, the apartheid era and the struggle for freedom), as well as singular significant events like the Great Trek, the South African War, the Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto uprisings. The diverse South African landscape has also had a marked influence on its writers. Their experiences of its multifarious natural environments and the animals that inhabit them, of life and living conditions in its urban cities, townships, rural homesteads and farms, are recorded in their writings.

Unfortunately, a number of prolific South African literary figures, past and present, have resettled beyond the borders of South Africa, such as Nobel Laureate J.M. Coetzee who currently resides in Australia. Moreover, under the apartheid regime numerous writers, like Lewis Nkosi who lived overseas for nearly forty years, were exiled or chose self-imposed exile as they faced severe censorship in the banning of their works. The Group Areas Act of 1950 also led to the removal of peoples and destruction of homes, landmarks and literary landscapes. This does bestow something of a limitation on literary tourism development. For, in the case of writers' houses, "what is presented to the tourist as the writer's home is often their *last home*, and as such reflects an accumulation of fame and fortune, and not the less salubrious steps on the way" (Robinson and Andersen, 2002:16)

[my emphasis]. The exile or self-imposed exile of South African writers presents an obvious vacuity in terms of the signs of a life lived in South Africa, such as houses, haunts and graves. This poses a challenge to the full development of literary tourism that necessitates unique and creative methods to overcome or circumvent.

As has been illustrated in the previous chapter, one dimension of South African literature that has generally received little attention within the country's literary tourism sphere is that of black writers and their literature. The development of sites, trails and tours related to black South African literary heritage is therefore a matter that requires additional consideration. In this chapter, a number of suggestions are made in this regard.

The previous chapter also showed that the majority of existing literary tourism developments are concentrated primarily in roughly the southern half of the country. This chapter therefore aims to highlight writers and places that can potentially be developed for literary tourism purposes in primarily the northern half of South Africa. Consequently, the approach adopted here will be to divide South Africa into three geographical areas and discuss potential literary tourism developments accordingly (see Figure 2). These three areas are: the northern region, consisting of the North-West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces; the western region, comprising the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces; and the central, southern and south-eastern region, entailing the provinces of the Free State, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. The discussion of this tripartite division will however not be entirely insular as references will at times be made to literary tourism developments, both existing and potential, in other regions.



- The northern region
- The western region
- The central, southern and south-eastern region

Figure 2: Geographical division of South African regions

The suggested developments that are made in this chapter generally follow the principle of the identification of sites that can be linked together in a literary trail or tour. As discussed in chapter 4, tours and trails are a particularly powerful tourism product. They enable the collective marketing of several sites at once, have the ability to appeal to a wider market, offer a more insightful tourist experience and provide easy ways of accessing areas in accordance with the tourist's interests. A number of the suggested sites are as yet undeveloped for tourism. But the tourist interest shown through tours and trails (indeed

developments in themselves) may well lead to the conservation and development of these sites uniquely related to South African writers and literature to offer tourist services, like museums, heritage centres or theme park-like constructions. Such conserved and developed sites are not simply for the preservation of documents and artefact, but offer a venue and rare resources to the wider community for, say, conferences, workshops and informal learning events for school pupils.

### **7.1 The northern region**

Groot-Marico, North-West Province, associated with Herman Charles Bosman, is an idyllic small town that presents scope for further literary tourism development. The potent alcoholic beverage *mampoer* is implicated in many hilarious and entertaining incidents in Bosman's fables. The Groot-Marico Information Centre offers both a full-day and (a more limited) half-day *mampoer* tour during which one visits the *mampoer* farms in the district, views the distilling process and can experience the taste of this highly alcoholic drink, as well as visit other local enterprises and natural attractions (Marico Tourism, n.d.). Both these tours offer a lunch accompanied by the reading of one of Bosman's stories about Marico.

A development opportunity here could be to institute established tours that deal exclusively with Herman Charles Bosman and his works. The Information Centre does design custom-made tours for special interest groups (Marico Tourism, n.d.), but it is curious that they have as yet not designed a specific Bosman tour. However, a pre-packaged tour might well promote Bosman, who is one of their main tourism products, much more successfully and provide an opportunity to further promote Marico's Bosman-related events, like the Bosman Weekend. Moreover, D. Goldblatt (1965:53), after a visit to Bosman's Marico almost forty years after the author was in residence, states: "[I]t gradually dawned on me that not only had Bosman used real place names but, it seemed, in blissful disregard of the conventions, the real names of people too." Thus, it would be possible and a good method of promotion to bring about physical markers that point out who lived there during Bosman's time and how they feature in his stories. This would serve a function similar to

the plaques brought about in Dublin related to James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), guiding the tourist through the world of Bosman's stories through markers that link his literary landscape to the physical landscape. In addition to markers, or as an alternative, a literary map providing similar information could be made available at the Information Centre or on their website on the lines of the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project. This would also be beneficial to individual and small groups of tourists who are interested in Bosman, but who do not want or have the time to go on an organised tour or attend the Bosman society's events.

In Mafikeng, North-West Province, there are also a number of sites associated with Sol Plaatje that may serve as the basis for further tourism development. What makes Plaatje's connection with Mafikeng additionally significant is that whilst he worked here as a court interpreter during the Siege of Mafikeng (October 1899 to May 1900), he kept a diary. It was discovered posthumously and published in 1973 as *Boer War Diary: an African at Mafikeng*, which gave a vivid account of the war from a 'native' perspective and the contribution of black people to the South African War (Voigt, 1995). The home of Dr Seetsela Modiri Molema, a political and medical activist, an active member of the ANC and the author of various historic and ethnographic books, is linked with Plaatje as he lived in this house for a time. Today it commemorates both Dr Molema and Plaatje, and is called 'Maritawa', which means 'Feel at home, you are most welcome' (Derwent, 1999:64). Another attraction is the site of Plaatje's home where he lived after the Siege of Mafikeng until he and his family moved to Kimberley. He named the house 'Seweding', but the structure unfortunately does not exist anymore. However, the line of pepper trees that Plaatje planted, as well as his cattle kraal and well, can still be seen (Derwent, 1999). There is also the Mafikeng Museum, located in the old colonial-style town hall, featuring displays on, amongst other things, the Siege of Mafikeng and Sol Plaatje (Van Graan and Ballantyne, 2002). Also, there is Sol Plaatje's newspaper office where the Setswana protest newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana* (The Friend of the Bechuana), the first of its kind, was printed and edited (Derwent, 1999). These Plaatje-related attractions could be joined together to form a literary tour or trail with historico-political elements by combining them with other sites commemorating the Siege of Mafikeng, such as: Kanon Kopje; the

Mafikeng Cemetery; the concentration camp cemetery; and the Kgotla of the Barolong Boora Tshidi Monument that honours the approximate 400 Barolong people who died while defending Mafikeng during the Siege. Moreover, these sites in Mafikeng linked with Plaatje could easily be combined with those in Kimberley, discussed earlier, as it lies within a reasonable distance, and could be conducted with accompanying themes like the South African War or the freedom struggle.

An Afrikaans poet, who finds his place of commemoration in Potchefstroom, North-West Province, is Jacob Daniël du Toit, who also wrote under the pseudonym Jaduto, but is probably best known by the name Totius (Kannemeyer, 2005). Aside from his poetic career, he was also a religious minister, a theological professor and translated the Bible and the Psalms into Afrikaans. Totius was appointed as a professor at the Theological School of the Reformed Church in Potchefstroom in 1911, where upon he moved into the rectory on the school grounds. He wrote a number of his poetry collections here, and his works usually discussed either one of two themes, the national past, such as the collections *By die Monument* (1908) and *Verse van Potgieter's trek* (1909), or his personal life as in *Passieblomme* (1934) and *Skemering* (1948) (Kannemeyer, 2005). His home was transformed into a museum in 1977 and today it houses a library with a large collection of Totius's works. After his death in 1953, a number of people and institutions indicated that Totius should be commemorated at a national level. Consequently, a memorial garden was established in his honour flanking the Wasgoedspruit, a small river alongside which he often strolled. The memorial garden is approximately 27.8 hectare in size and a monument is located within. It consists of a 2.4 metre bronze statue of Totius looking pensively into an ornamental pond and a stone tablet surrounded by three columns of different height (the columns are approximately four times taller than the statue) that are covered in white marble (FAK, 1989:134). The combination of a house museum and such a memorial presents opportunities for further literary tourism development. The fact that the memorial garden takes up quite a large area creates the possibility of using it as a venue for certain literary events such as readings and performances related to Totius's works. These could also form part of larger events, such as a book fair or literary festival. Potchefstroom and the sites related to Totius could also form part of a more extended tour centred around

early twentieth-century poets. This could include Eugene Marais's Pelindaba and Pretoria, discussed earlier, lying about one hundred and fifty kilometres to the north-east, as well as Heidelberg which has literary associations with the poet A.G. Visser.

Approximately one hundred kilometres east of Potchefstroom in Heidelberg, Gauteng, one finds the house of Afrikaans poet A.G. Visser, where he and his family lived from 1917 until his unexpected death in 1929. He won various literary prizes and some of his poetry anthologies include *Gedigte* (1925) and *Rose van herinnering* (1927) (Kannemeyer, 2005). He was also a qualified medical practitioner and ran his practice from his home at 35 Van der Westhuizen Street, where he also wrote all his poetry. The house has been restored and declared a national monument. Currently, it houses the Heidelberg Tourist Information Office which also contains a museum area displaying Visser's personal belongings; a gallery containing local artists' works; and a small coffee shop. A large bust of Visser, located in the garden, can also be viewed. Another attraction is Visser's gravesite, located in the quaint and somewhat derelict Kloof Churchyard. On his grave is an open marble book with the simple inscription: 'Goddank vir jou' (Thank God for you) and other memorials. Other Marais family graves can also be viewed, as well as the grave of Heinrich von Zeppelin, nephew to the inventor of the Zeppelin aircraft.

What greatly enriches the narrative of A.G. Visser in Heidelberg is the fact that Eugène Marais lived here from June 1922 to May 1927, and their friendship is one of the most famous in the Afrikaans literary world (Rousseau, 1982). Marais was instrumental in encouraging Visser, who produced the bulk of his poetry in the last six years of his life, to write and in helping him polish his craft. Visser was also Marais's doctor from mid-1923 and provided him with morphine, but limited his usage and attempted to rid him of his addiction (Rousseau, 1982). From early 1925 to mid-1926, Marais lived but a few houses from Visser in Van der Westhuizen Street, and Marais's law practice was situated in the Standard Bank Building on the corner of Strydom and Ueckerman Street, today a national monument. Whilst living here, Marais wrote his well-known poem 'Diep Rivier' and parts of his two scientific studies (Rousseau, 1982), mentioned earlier. Although Marais had spent only a few years in Heidelberg, this time had left an indelible impression on both his



and Visser's lives. Their association admittedly relates to a more sensational and 'behind the scenes' part of Marais's life, similar to the Dublin 'Literary Pub Crawl' which focuses on the drinking exploits of some famous Irish authors, which would be of interest to many tourists. The renowned friendship between Visser and Marais could form the basis of a very interesting local trail that takes in sites in and around Heidelberg that have links with these two writers and its well-preserved Victorian buildings. The town could also form a component in a biographical literary tour that includes both Pretoria and Pelindaba. This could incorporate aspects of nineteenth-century medical practices, as well as the natural environment in relation to Marais's scientific observations, easily accommodated at the Suikerbosrand Nature Reserve near Heidelberg.

Recently, the film entitled *Die Wonderweker*, directed by Katinka Heyns, about Marais's years in the Waterberg region, Limpopo Province, was released. The film vividly indicates how the area could be connected to the Heidelberg, Pretoria and Pelindaba sites, for an extended tour. Marais lived here from 1907 to 1917, and was fascinated by its environment. It was here that he began making his above-mentioned scientific observations that would eventually be recorded in *The Soul of the White Ant* (1937) and *The Soul of the Ape* (1969). He also provided medical treatment to many local inhabitants and became known as the 'Wonderdokter' or 'Miracle Doctor' due to his ability to cure afflictions through hypnosis (Rousseau, 1982). There are a number of sites in the Waterberg that could be included in such a tour, for example: the farm Rietfontein, where he lived with Gys and Maria van Rooien; the remains of the house he built on the farm Doornhoek; Bobbejaanskloof, where he often went to observe baboon behaviour; and the Eugène Marais Exhibit at the Waterberg Living Museum in Lapalala Wilderness, a nature reserve which also conducts educational tours for children and adults (Walker and Du P. Bothma, 2005). The Waterberg has become something of an eco-tourism hub, and naturally tours related to Marais in this area would include environmental and conservation aspects, as well as historical information related to his life and the development of the region.

Another province in the northern region of South Africa which is also known for its eco-tourism is 'the land of the rising sun', Mpumalanga. It is an area which has already

capitalised on the literary genius of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and his bestseller, *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907). Although Sir Percy FitzPatrick was born, schooled and lived out his last eighteen years in the Eastern Cape, a large part of his life was spent in the northern regions. He began his career in 1880 by working at Standard Bank, but he disliked it, referring to the bank as ‘The Cage’ (Wallis, 1955) and so resigned. After the discovery of gold in South Africa many young men, both local and foreign, flocked to the Eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga), as did FitzPatrick. He travelled to Lydenburg in 1884 to seek his fortune, but met with little success and so became a transport driver. He transported food and other goods from Delagoa Bay (now Maputo) in Mozambique to various inland towns in the Eastern Transvaal by ox wagon over a distance of approximately 400 kilometres. It is during this time that he gained ownership of a Staffordshire terrier puppy that grew up to be a formidable hunting dog. FitzPatrick immortalised him in his adventure novel *Jock of the Bushveld*, which has also been adapted for a younger readership (Simons, 1986). He ended his days as a transport driver in 1888 and only in 1901 did he consider writing the tale of Jock whilst he was bedridden in a London nursing home. At the behest of his friend Rudyard Kipling to have it published, FitzPatrick devoted much of his time to putting his memories down on paper and it was finally published in 1907 (Wallis, 1955).

The developments related to this novel that have taken place include a hiking trail in the area of Graskop (South African Tourism, n.d.a) and a somewhat expensive three-day safari package offered by the Kruger National Park at a luxury lodge with a colonial ambience focused primarily on game-viewing (Siyabona Africa, n.d.). These attractions are however restricted to the Graskop area and the Kruger National Park, while the story of Jock extends beyond them. Given its popularity as a South African classic and with several films having been based on this novel, including a 3-D computer animated version directed by Duncan MacNeillie released in July 2011 and starring the voices of singer Bryan Adams and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, it has greater potential. It could be argued that this adventure tale has a following significant enough to justify greater development based on the routes FitzPatrick and Jock travelled (see Appendix F) as well as other associated sites. Such a Jock tour could start in Lydenburg and, on the way to Pilgrim’s Rest, pass by the

spot where Jock fought Field Cornet Seedling's baboon. From Pilgrim's Rest through to Graskop, Sabie and south-east through the Kruger National Park to Komatipoort, the tourist would encounter such scenes from the novel as the site of Jock's birth at Ship Mountain and the Crocodile River where Jock caught his first prey and fought the enormous crocodile. The tour could even be extended into Mozambique to Maputo, on the way stopping at the place where Jock was finally buried. After returning to Komatipoort, the tour could follow Jock's route to Barberton, once again encountering various scenes from the novel (FitzPatrick, 1975 [1907]). Throughout, the tourist will also be able to view plaques erected by the Lowveld Digger's and Transport Rider's Society where Jock's original routes intersect with contemporary roads.

A significant benefit to basing tours on the transport routes undertaken by FitzPatrick and Jock, is that a number of the places that they passed through now have established museums or are well-known tourist attractions in their own right. Both Barberton, where a statue of Jock can be viewed, and Lydenburg have local museums concerned with the history, pre-history, and mining past of the individual towns (Van Graan and Ballantyne, 2002; Derwent, 1999). Pilgrim's Rest is an entire gold-rush town that has been restored and turned into a museum. The Mac-Mac Pools and Mac-Mac Falls south of Graskop are popular natural attractions. The Kruger National Park is an internationally known tourist attraction, where an abundance of wildlife can be viewed as well as another statue of Jock. It is clear that such a tour holds great possibilities, as it can be combined with a number of other attractions and could specifically be developed for both an adult and child market niche. Similar to NELM's Thomas Pringle Literature Camp, such tours could explore the practical dimensions of transport driving through participatory activities, especially for younger audiences, and explicate its function in late nineteenth century South Africa.

As various kinds of wildlife, like leopards, baboons and porcupines, feature within the novel, the Kruger National Park would form an ideal destination to explore this aspect of the story and learn about the country's fauna. *Jock of the Bushveld* is a South African classic that has, since its publication, been widely read and transmitted, often during childhood of both local and international readers. Much like the appeal of Beatrix Potter's

Hill Top Farm related to the site's evocation of emotions and memories of childhood, literary attractions focused on FitzPatrick's story may also appeal to tourists' childhood nostalgia and memories of family life associated with the reading of this book.

Another internationally acclaimed classic of African literature (Willemse, 2004) relevant to the northern regions is the autobiography, *Down Second Avenue* (1959), written by Es'kia (formerly Ezekiel) Mphahlele. His life story is linked to an area known as Marabastad or the Asiatic Bazaar, north-west of Pretoria's city centre. Marabastad was a vibrant multicultural township where Indian, coloured and black peoples lived and traded until the mid-1900s. During the subsequent decades under apartheid, the residents were forcibly removed to the areas of Atteridgeville, Laudium and Eersterus (Van Dyk, 2004). However, unlike Sophiatown and District Six where other forced removals took place, this area was not destroyed, but rather became a commercial small trader district. Mphahlele, also worked as a writer for *Drum* magazine during the 1950s and is a highly respected essayist, novelist and short story writer. His other works include *The African Image* (1962), *The Wanderers* (1969) and *Chirundu* (1979). *Down Second Avenue*, which remains his most popular work, spans the period 1924 to 1957, tracing his life from childhood in Maupaneng to his self-imposed exile from South Africa to Nigeria. A large part of it recounts his life as a teenager in Marabastad in the 1930s, also the place where he was born in 1919. It vividly portrays the effects of a life burdened with severe poverty and racial segregation. Commenting on his life in Marabastad, Mphahlele stated in a 1981 interview:

[T]here is, perhaps, a weird kind of nostalgia for Marabastad...You saw a sort of patch work – these people were trying to make a life for themselves in a new urban situation...The jazz bands and New Year's Day festival mood when people used to go on picnic, in groups again, in clubs, and then the music of the time...Those are the nostalgic moments I have about Marabastad. I wouldn't want to go back to all those beer raids, which were always upsetting; to all the fights, the street fights...just the kind of life people were bearing up with, trying to live above their conditions (Manganyi and Mphahlele, 2010:465-66).

Many of the buildings in Marabastad have remained standing since their initial construction during the first half the twentieth century, especially along Boom Street which bisects Second Avenue (or 2<sup>nd</sup> Street). Although somewhat rundown, it has retained

something of its nostalgic character from Mphahlele's time and would make for an interesting literary tour. Within Marabastad there also exist a number of landmark buildings of historical interest, such as the Empire Theatre and the Orient Theatre, built in 1925 and 1931 respectively, as well religious buildings, like the Ismaili Mosque, built in 1929, and the ornately decorated Meriammen Hindu Temple, a national monument, built during the 1930s (Le Roux, 1991), some of which feature in the autobiography. Literary tours of this unique, multicultural area, which preserves a measure of authenticity to Mphahlele's 1930s Marabastad, could provide insight into the life, living conditions and acclaimed autobiography of this distinguished South African writer by exploring the physical landscape of his youth.

Moving to the Johannesburg area which Maphahlele also frequented, there is great potential for literary tourism surrounding *Drum* magazine. Started in 1950 in Sophiatown, it was born against a backdrop of great political upheaval: there was the Suppression of Communism Act, passed by the Nationalist government in 1950, and the consequent riots that followed; the Defiance Campaign, a large peaceful movement of non-cooperation with racially prejudiced laws launched by the ANC; the Bantu Education Act passed in 1953, limiting non-white pupils to a Grade 8 education and the resultant school boycotts; the 1955 Kliptown Conference where the Freedom Charter was adopted; and the Treason Trials, when numerous political resistance leaders were imprisoned for the duration of this protracted court case, lasting from 1956 to 1961. As Michael Chapman (1989a: viii), a black South African literature specialist, states:

In the context of the removals, the resettlements, and the race classifications of the first years of Afrikaner Nationalist rule, the *Drum* stories addressed human need and aspiration. Their reality was part of the disorientated romanticism of Sophiatown; their romance was in part a necessary counter-measure to a battery of 'anti-human' laws.

Before the 1950s, not many black writers had published, but *Drum* gave them a forum to publish their views on the living conditions and the vibrant culture of township life. Many of the *Drum* journalists such as Can Themba, Bloke Modisane, Richard Rive and Alex La Guma, would go on to become novelists, poets and literary critics of note. Investigative

journalism, social commentary, poetry and fictional short stories could all be found in *Drum*. Its journalists, in both their content and unique writing style, reflected the lively culture of shebeens (illegal drinking dens), jazz and tsotsis (gangsters) that permeated their existence. But their factual reportage and their creative writing also revealed the harsh, violent reality of living within and attempting to adjust to an oppressive political system. As Can Themba (1989:32) wrote in one of his short stories:

Everywhere there were white policemen, heavily armed. The situation was ‘under control’, but everyone knew that in the soul of almost every being in this area raved a seething madness, wild and passionate, with the causes lying deep. No cursory measures could remedy; no superficial explanation could illuminate. Those jovial faces that could change into masks of bloodlust and destruction without warning, with the smallest provocation! There is a vicious technique faithfully applied in these riots. Each morning these people quietly rise, and with a business-like manner hurry to their work. Each evening they return to a Devil’s Party, uncontrollably drawn into hideous orgies. Sometimes the violence would subside for weeks or months, and then suddenly flare up at some unexpected spot, on some unexpected pretext.

Not all of the *Drum* writers necessarily originated in Johannesburg or Sophiatown, but they all lived there during the 1950s. Lewis Nkosi (2006b:302) recalls how “the most notorious menagerie among the Johannesburg literati” would have lively gatherings in Can Themba’s large barracks-like room, his so-called “House of Truth”. Unfortunately, because of its intolerance of a largely black community inside the boundaries of Johannesburg, the state began the process of the removal of Sophiatown and resettlement of its inhabitants in Soweto. In 1963 the white working-class suburb of Triomf was built on the rubble of Sophiatown (Chapman, 1989a). For the purposes of literary tourism, this presents a problem as much of the area no longer exists. However, the stories that were published in *Drum* at that time did not all revolve around events or were set in Sophiatown. Es’kia Mphahlele wrote a number of stories that described events in the life of the Lesane family in Nadia Street, Newclare, to the south-east of Johannesburg, other stories were set in Alexandra Township also near Johannesburg, District Six in Cape Town and Cato Manor in Durban. Moreover, it can be said that these stories reflect the kind of atrocities that were taking place and the emerging cultures taking shape in many townships prior to the institution of forced resettlement.

The suburb of Triomf was renamed Sophiatown in 2006 as but one measure to reclaim and recall the rich and colourful heritage of the area. There are also a few structures still extant from 1950s Sophiatown. The home of Dr A.B. Xuma, who served as the secretary-general of the ANC from 1939 to 1949, at 73 Toby Street is a national monument and today it houses the Sophiatown Heritage Centre which has a museum area showcasing the history of the area and the culture and experiences of its residents before resettlement. The Centre is administered by the Trevor Huddleston CR Memorial Centre, housed in St Joseph's Home, also a national monument, which served as an orphanage before the forced resettlements. There is also the historic Christ the King Anglican Church with a memorial in front to the late archbishop Trevor Huddleston. He was a pillar of the community, a fierce opponent of apartheid and a Sophiatown resident for over ten years, and his ashes are buried beneath the memorial (Davie, 2011). The Sophiatown Heritage Centre conducts both on-site tours and tours of the Sophiatown area, while numerous other agencies run tours through Soweto. But very few, if any, offer tours with a primarily literary component. Because *Drum* magazine and its writers were so closely tied to the Sophiatown area, as well as historical events concerning political oppression and resistance, a literary tour centred on the *Drum* writers would necessarily include sites of historical significance. Such a tour would therefore incorporate the above-mentioned sites, and whilst the poems and stories from *Drum* are recounted or recited, visits could also be made to the suburbs of Meadowlands and Diepkloof where the Sophiatown inhabitants were mainly resettled (Van Dyk, 2004), as well the Oppenheimer Tower. The tower was built from remains brought from Sophiatown and commemorates Sir Ernest Oppenheimer and the donations he made toward improving living conditions in Soweto (Van Dyk, 2004). The Sophiatown Heritage Centre also provides adult and youth educational programmes concerning, for example, drama, dance, woodwork, sewing, heritage knowledge, computer literacy and business skills (Davie, 2011). Such literary township tours could therefore also coincide with literature-oriented initiatives, such as creative writing workshops.

The significance of the *Drum* decade for literary tourism is not only that its writers were concerned with more than just telling a story: they were concerned with “what was

happening to their people and, in consequence, with moral and social questions” (Chapman, 1989b:183). Thus it can be seen as a true reflection of the social circumstances of that time. These stories can also appeal to the nostalgia of its readers (as potential tourists) who lived in Sophiatown or read the magazine in the 1950s. Also, the size of the coloured and black middle classes in South Africa (not that these would necessarily be the only ones interested in these tours) is constantly increasing, and it seems that there is a growing potential and as yet untapped market for such literary township tours.

Similarly, Soweto poetry can also be utilised as a focus point for such literary tours. Emerging in the 1960s and gaining major ascendancy in the 1970s, Soweto poetry has also been called ‘People’s poetry’, ‘township poetry’ and ‘Post-Sharpeville poetry’ and is defined as “the single most important socio-literary phenomenon of the seventies in South Africa” (Chapman, 1982:11). What distinguishes it from the other types of poetry is its emphasis on ‘Blackness’ and the use of traditional African oral techniques. This unique type of poetry arose after two key historical events: first, what is known today as the Sharpeville Massacre, when the Pan African Congress anti-pass campaign resulted in violence on 21 March 1960 in the Sharpeville township; second, the Soweto Uprising starting on 16 June 1976, when thousands of school pupils protested against the government’s policy of Afrikaans as the only medium of instruction in public schools. It was also during this protest that the young Hector Peterson was killed, who today, along with the 1976 Uprisings, is commemorated at the Hector Peterson Memorial in Soweto. Chapman (1982:11) further elaborates on the nomenclature of Soweto poetry:

Soweto poets do not all necessarily live in Soweto itself. Rather Soweto, especially since the events in 1976, has like Sharpeville before it gathered certain symbolic associations...Fundamental to the cataclysmic events of both Sharpeville and Soweto was the question of black rights in a repressive, white ruled society.

Particularly through poetry, black men and women began to question and criticise their position, both politically and socially, within South African society. Another aspect of why Soweto poetry is so important is that it played a significant part in the struggle for liberation and democracy. Poetry developed into an increasingly popular medium of



communication and during the 1980s it became customary to perform poetry at funerals, trade union rallies and political meetings, thereby affirming their solidarity of purpose and group identity (NELM, 1987). This is confirmed by K. Sole (1982) who argues that black writers saw the communication and performance of their literature as the culmination of the creative process, rather than its publication in book form. This was also a consequence of the strict censorship of protest literature during that time. Some of the anthologies of the Soweto poets who also rose to become prolific South African literary figures include Mongane (Walle) Serote's *Tsetlo* (1974) and *Behold Mama, Flowers* (1978); Siphosiphiso Sepamla's *The Soweto I Love* (1977); Oswald Mtshali's *The Sound of a Cowhide Drum* (1971); and Mafika Gwala's *Jol'iinkomo* (1977). Many of their poems graphically portray the horrors of township life and how it affected township inhabitants as in Mtshali's 'An Abandoned Bundle', where scavenging dogs fight over a baby whose mother left it on the rubbish heap. They also reveal the glaring differences between the black township and white-occupied city, and the restrictions that the pass laws placed on black people, as in Serote's 'City Johannesburg'. Moreover, the Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto Uprising not only shaped this kind of protest poetry, but it also provided much inspiration regarding their subject matter, such as Sepamla's poem 'I Remember Sharpeville' and the poem 'Hector Peterson' by Andries Oliphant.

Another celebrity writer and political figure associated with Soweto is Alan Paton, author of the internationally acclaimed *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948). He served as the principal of the Diepkloof Reformatory for African Boys from 1934 to 1948 where he attempted to reconceptualise the institution and instil it with a reformatory and educative purpose as opposed to confinement and punishment (Fowley, 2005). During his time there he penned a number of pamphlets and articles on penal and social reform and ideas articulated in the latter also made their way into *Cry, the Beloved Country* (Fowley, 2005). Additionally, his thirteen years as principal provided the material for several short stories published in *Debbie Go Home* (1961), and the well-known poem he wrote in 1949 'To a small boy who died at Diepkloof Reformatory', which now forms part of the prescribed poetry in the national curriculum for senior school learners (National Department of Basic Education, 2012).

As stated earlier, there are many tourist agencies that present township tours, but by re-interpreting such tours from a literary rather than a purely historical perspective and by supplementing the tour's narrative with a greater amount of literature than historical and contemporary information, it seems as if area-based tours of this collective literary landscape could be established with relative ease. Through the use of a representative selection of poetry, the tourist could then learn about the country's turbulent past in, it could be argued, a more intimate and emotionally profound way. Often-visited sites such as the Hector Peterson Memorial and ancillary museum, the Regina Mundi Church known for the many mass meetings that took place there, and the Sharpeville Massacre Memorial can still be included in such literary tours as places that provide context for the literary focus. Diepkloof in connection with Alan Paton and his literature could also be included, additionally providing a vehicle for exploring the situation and reactions of the youth during the struggle for freedom.

## **7.2 The western region**

As a continuation of the discussion on the *Drum* writers and Soweto poets, District Six lying at the foot of Devil's Peak in Cape Town, is another location that may prove viable in terms of literary tourism development. Kannemeyer (2000) briefly refers to District Six and the poetry of Adam Small in his guide, but there are various other writers that have moulded it into a literary landscape. *Drum* writer Alex la Guma is one such author who, according to Lewis Nkosi (2006a:262), portrays characters that are so realistic and evokes the atmosphere so authentically "that you can actually smell District Six." An example of such a depiction is drawn from La Guma's short novel *A Walk in the Night* (1962):

Up ahead the music shops were still going full blast, the blare of the records all mixed up so you could not tell one tune from another. Shopkeepers, Jewish, Indian and Greek, stood in doorways along the arcade of stores on each side of the street, waiting to welcome last-minute customers, and the vegetable and fruit barrows were still out too, the hawkers in white coats yelling their wares and flapping their brown-paper packets, bringing prices down now that the day was ending. Around the bus stop a crowd pushed and jostled to clamber into

trackless trams, struggling against the passengers fighting to alight. Along the pavements little knots of Youths lounged in twos and threes or more, watching the crowds streaming by, jeering, smoking, joking against the noise, under the balconies, in doorways, around the plate-glass windows (quoted in Nkosi, 2006a:262-263).

Another *Drum* writer who further enriched District Six as a literary landscape is Richard Rive. A number of his short stories that were published in *Drum* magazine, such as *Black and Brown Song* and *African Song*, were set here as well as his novel *Buckingham Palace, District Six* (1986) about life in and forced removal from this multicultural township. Like Sophiatown, District Six was razed to the ground and its sixty thousand residents resettled because of the Group Areas Act. Today, the area is mostly an empty expanse of land, except for a few religious structures that survived the demolition and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology that was built over a portion of District Six. This is why works such as that by Alex la Guma quoted above are so important – it vividly and emotionally brings to life a tragic but important part of South Africa’s history on a more personal level. A literary tour of the area would not only allow the tourist to relive these stories by seeing their real-life setting, but to simultaneously learn what became of this area and its people after its destruction and their displacement.

One attraction which should be included in such a tour is the District Six Museum, located in the old Methodist Mission and Sachs Futeran buildings on Buitenkant Street. Established in 1994, it commemorates District Six and is dedicated to remembering the events and impacts of forced removal, both in the district and elsewhere. With rotating exhibitions, the museum has a large collection concerning District Six and its people, such as photographs, physical remains like street signs, personal artefacts donated by ex-residents, documents and paintings. It is also a ‘living museum’ providing a space for the community to gather and share their experiences, and it offers tours of the area conducted by ex-resident of District Six (District Six Museum, 2009a; Derwent, 1999). From March 1998 to May 2000, the District Six Museum featured the ‘Buckingham Palace Exhibition’ that used Rive’s novel as a means to interrogate the myths and realities of District Six, and to fulfil an educational need as the novel was prescribed to school learners at the time

(District Six Museum, 2009b; Schroeder, 1998). The museum offers educational programmes on special topics, like Rive's novel, on request (District Six Museum, 2009c).

Literary tours of District Six could therefore also make use of the District Six Museum's staff, knowledgeable about Rive's popular novel and other literary works, to explore the area. Moreover, as District Six is located in Cape Town, it can easily be combined with other sites related to literature and South Africa's racially segregated past. This could include a performance at the Fugard Theatre in District Six, visits to the Race Classification Board Memorial and the Purple March Memorial erected by the Sunday Times Heritage Project (The Times, n.d.), as well as Robben Island, a UNESCO World Heritage Site and the setting of Athol Fugard's play *The Island* (1972). Moreover, Nkosi (2006a:259) states: "A *Walk in the Night*...provided... real fictional insights into what life in Cape Town's District Six and, by extent of imagination, in many other South African ghettos, was really like." The same can be said of many other works that discuss or are set in a township milieu, including much of what is called Soweto poetry. This suggests that such literary township tours could be instituted in many other South African townships, especially those near large cities, such as Khayelitsha near Cape Town, KwaZakhele near Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape and Mamelodi in Pretoria, Gauteng.

Although the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl literary tours have ventured into the Kalahari Desert region to explore this literary landscape of both past and contemporary Afrikaans writers, a very well-known English writer who had a great love for the Kalahari and its people was Sir Laurens van der Post. In addition to his literary career, he was also an avid conservationist and a staunch humanitarian. As a young man, he and two other eminent South African authors, William Plomer and Roy Campbell, founded the short-lived but highly outspoken literary journal *Voorslag* in 1926, which questioned the racially biased views predominant in colonial South Africa (Jones, 2001). Van der Post further explored these aspects of racial prejudice and ideological division in several works of fiction and non-fiction, such as *In a Province* (1934) and *The Dark Eye in Africa* (1955) and became a verbal and financial supporter of the anti-apartheid movement (Jones, 2001). But the Kalahari region and its San (Bushmen) inhabitants seem to have held a particular

fascination for him. In 1955 Van der Post led an expedition into the desert to find the elusive San people. It produced a six-part BBC series called *The Lost World of the Kalahari* and later he published a travel narrative by same name in 1958 as well its sequel, *The Heart of the Hunter* (1961), describing his journey and exploring the myths and folktales of the San. This brought great international attention to bear on the San and their threatened way of life, ultimately leading to the establishment of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana (Jones, 2001). Van der Post also wrote two popular fictional novels set in the border regions of the Kalahari Desert, *A Story like the Wind* (1972) and its sequel *A Far-Off Place* (1974). They tell the story of Francois Joubert and Luciana Monckton's passage to maturity. They are forced to undertake an epic and harrowing journey east across the Kalahari Desert after their homes in Hunter's Drift are attacked. They are accompanied by Xhabbo, a San Bushmen Francois had rescued, and his wife Nuin-Tara. On their quest they encounter much danger, confront death, suffer fear, tragedy and bereavement, and are forced to kill (Jones, 2001).

A tour based on Van der Post's works poses a viable literary tourism development, one in which ethnographic and conservational dimensions could easily be included. It could take in the history, customs and folktales of the San Bushmen and an encounter with the people themselves at the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. It could follow in the footsteps of Van der Post's young characters and the dangers they were confronted with along the way. Such a tour could also include any number of rock-art sites such as those at the Wonderwerk Cave in Northern Cape Province or Wynford, Runeveld, Holkrans and the Golden Gate Highlands National Park in the Free State Province (Derwent, 1999). Moreover, a tour based on Van der Post's life and work could also attract further international interest as it is widely known that he was mentor and spiritual advisor to Charles, the Prince of Wales, and godfather to Charles's son, Prince William (Jones, 2001). Van der Post is obviously not the only English author who wrote about the Kalahari, but he is a very well-known South African author who published several internationally popular books about this region and its people and can thus be utilised as a useful starting-point on which to base such literary Kalahari/San tours. Other works that might be incorporated include, for example: Michael

Cope's collection of poems *Ghaap: Sonnets from the Northern Cape* (2005) and Julia Martin's travel memoir *A Millimetre of Dust: Visiting Ancestral Sites* (2008).

### **7.3 The central, southern and south-eastern region**

Sir Laurens van der Post, the prolific South African English author discussed above, was born in the small Free State town called Philippolis. He was brought up here with his large family of brothers and sisters and this is the place where his grandfather owned and worked a number of farms and where his father, a lawyer, established a large, profitable legal practice. The town began as a mission station started by Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society in 1823 to help and teach the Bushmen and it was the oldest settlement in the Free State. Van der Post lived here from his birth in 1906 until his eighteenth year when he left to be a journalist in Durban and today there are a number of sites and attractions that are associated with this author. The restored Van der Post House located at what is today 7 Colin Fraser Street, is a national monument and its most defining feature, since Van der Post's time, is its large and beautiful garden. It was often described by Van der Post in his literature and is filled with a great variety of fruit trees, ranging from quinces and pomegranates to peaches and cherries (Jones, 2001). The town itself has also maintained much of its early nineteenth-century atmosphere with about 75 houses as declared national monuments, these include gabled houses, a mixture of the flat-roofed Karoo and Cape Dutch architectural styles and Victorian cottages and villas with decorative wrought-iron embellishments.

When Van der Post died in 1996, his family decided to bury him in Philippolis, knowing what close emotional ties he had to this place, but instead of a simple grave, it was decided to build a memorial garden. Central to Van der Post's thinking was that life is a metaphor for a journey both internal and external, and this was the theme incorporated in the memorial garden. This is why several elements representing Van der Post's own journeys were added to it, such as roses from England, sand from the Kalahari, olive trees from Africa and water and stones representing Japan. Some of his ashes were also buried under a tree in the garden of the Van der Post House and a number of Van der Post's family

members are buried in the Philippolis cemetery – his father C.W.H. van der Post for example (Van der Post, 2002; Jones, 2001). Next to the Memorial Garden is a little house which was bought by the Laurens van der Post Foundation and turned into a memorial centre. Inside the museum is a replica of Van der Post’s London study containing various original items sent here by his family, such as his desk, chair, shelving and books. There is a large collection of Van der Post memorabilia and some of his films are shown in the front room of the centre. The Memorial Centre serves as the town’s information bureau and includes a tea room and the Artist’s Retreat Guesthouse. Various farms around Philippolis belonged to members of Van der Post’s family. One of these is ‘Wolwekop’, which was inherited by his mother Lammie and eventually by Van der Post himself. The modest farmhouse at ‘Wolwekop’, where his mother spent her final years, can still be seen today. The adjoining farm, ‘Boesmansfontein’, was the principal base of Van der Post’s grandfather A.P. Lubbe for many years, although the original farmhouse has been demolished (Jones, 2001; Van der Post, 2002).

J.D.F. Jones (2001:82) states that Van der Post’s books were “always biographical whether fiction or non-fiction.” One example is his novel *The Face Beside the Fire* (1953) which Jones (2001:190) calls “intensely autobiographical” and reminiscent of Van der Post’s childhood in Philippolis. Hence, the town and its surroundings can be considered as part of Van der Post’s literary landscape, just like the Kalahari Desert as discussed earlier. With such a well-known writer connected with several sites in and around Philippolis, constructing trails or offering tours with Van der Post as primary theme may well be a feasible development of benefit to the town and its community. Additionally, the town could be included in an extended tour to Van der Post’s Kalahari and the San people he wrote so much about, since the Kalahari starts less than three hundred kilometres to the North-West.

The previously discussed Absa Fugard Festival in Nieu Bethesda shows how eclectic such events can be. Although Nieu Bethesda is a small town with limited infrastructural amenities, like automated teller machines and petrol stations, it is a unique place with a thriving arts community. Tour operators situated outside it could successfully run tours

through the town based on Fugard and the Owl House with a partial focus on art. If possible, such a tour could include a performance of Fugard's work at the local theatre and, for a more hands-on experience, tourists could be given the opportunity to attempt to create their own sculptures in Martin's cement and wire style or otherwise. A tourism initiative like this would promote both Fugard, South African art and provide additional financial proceeds to local artisans through art and souvenir purchases.

Such Nieu Bethesda tours could additionally be extended to include the numerous Fugard-associated sites, both biographical and literary, in the harbour city of Port Elizabeth. Three years after his birth in the Karoo town of Middelburg in 1932, Fugard and his family moved to Port Elizabeth. Whilst there, the Fugard family lived in four different locations: first in Clevedon Road, followed by the Jubilee Hotel at the top of Constitution Hill which his parents managed, they then moved to Devon out on the Cape Road, and then to Newton Park. It is clear through his literature that these places, as well as the St George's Park Tearoom, run by his mother for thirty years, and the general dealer store on the Buffelsfontein Road in Salisbury Park, run for a time by his mother's sister and her husband, all had a strong influence on his life. He received his education at Marist Brothers College, the Port Elizabeth Technical College, as well as many hours spent pouring over books in the Port Elizabeth public library (a magnificent example of Victorian Gothic architecture) on Market Square, and by spending ample amounts of time simply observing people (Eve, 2003).

Fugard left Port Elizabeth in 1950 to study at the University of Cape Town, returning only ten years later, but the affect of the city on the youth of this writer cannot be doubted as many of his works are set here. His play *The Blood Knot* (1961) is set in the township of Korsten, but this has become a more modern, developed area since the 1950s when he wrote it. The Swartkops mudflats are the setting of *Boesman and Lena* (1969), where the two main characters spend their time digging for prawns to sell to the local fisherman and such prawn diggers can still be seen there sometimes. *Hello and Goodbye* (1966) is set in the Baakens Valley and the characters Johnnie and his sister Hester examine their youth spent in Port Elizabeth through sensory descriptions of the city's central part. After



returning to Port Elizabeth with his wife, he became involved with the Serpent Players of New Brighton. It is also here that he set his plays *The Coat* (1966) and *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* (1972). *Marigolds in August* (1980) is set in Walmer township, as well as Skoenmakerskop where Fugard and his wife lived before moving to the Karoo. Two more of his plays feature the city of his youth as their setting, these are *A Lesson from Aloes* (1978) set in Algoa Park and *Master Harold and the Boys* (1982) set in the St. George's Park Tearoom (Eve, 2003). The Sunday Times Heritage Project erected a memorial to Fugard in front of this structure in the form of a kite, thereby referencing an incident from the latter play (The Times, n.d.). The Tearoom itself has been modernised and today serves as a functions venue (Markman, n.d.). However, this structure could be transformed into a tourist attraction by attempting to recreate it as near as possible to what it looked like in the 1950s, the time of the play, and operate again as a commercial dining venue. This would, almost literally, allow tourists to step back into the past and into the world of the play. Moreover, Port Elizabeth clearly has numerous sites linked to the life, literature and legacy of this internationally renowned literary giant. Akin to the literary cityscape of 'Joyce's Dublin' in which James Joyce lived and set several works, such as *Dubliners* (1914), *Ulysses* (1922) and *Finnegan's Wake* (1939), Fugard's connections with the city could be made more apparent through the addition of site markers like plaques and/or signposts that lead tourists to these Fugard-associated sites. The city's literary dimension would be accentuated through such physical markers and promote it to those who are unaware of these literary links. Of course, the potential exists to develop trails and tours based on Fugard and tour operators engaging in such Port Elizabeth-based endeavours could offer special packages that join a Fugard tour of the city with the Absa Fugard Festival in Nieu Bethesda.

The Absa Fugard Festival and the Schreiner Karoo Writers Festival show that literary tourism is a growing genre in South Africa. The latter festival, in particular, indicates that Olive Schreiner and her writing appeals to many South Africans, and goes some way toward elevating her and other South African writers. It does, however, appear as if the town of Cradock could do more to promote itself as both the childhood and inspirational home of this renowned South African writer. Not only did she live in and near the town as

a child and adult, it is believed to serve as the unnamed town, the disguised setting, of her novel *From Man to Man*. Moreover, the farm Klein Gannahoek, now a ruin, other sites and structures in the immediate vicinity and the surrounding landscape are very similar to descriptions of the farmhouse in *The Story of an African Farm* (Eve, 2003). The Klein Gannahoek farmhouse could be considered for preservation and form part of a tour or trail, along with the other sites associated with her life and writing, of Schreiner's Cradock that invites entry into her world of imagination.

There is one particular historical incident in the history of the Eastern Cape Province and the Xhosa people that has inspired the creation of a great number of literary works – Nongqawuse and the Great Cattle-Killing Movement of the 1850s. Nongqawuse, an orphaned girl who lived in the settlement of Chief Sarhili near the banks of the Gxarha, went to collect water one day from the river and there she encountered what she thought to be spirits which she called the 'new people'. They promised that the Xhosa people's dead will rise, they would be provided with new cattle, new corn and other necessities, the sick would be healed and the old would become young, on the condition that Nongqawuse's people put away their witchcraft, killed all their cattle, destroyed their corn and did not plant new crops. This led to the death of an estimated 400 000 cattle in 1857, and through starvation and disease, the death of approximately 40 000 Xhosa people, and the loss of over 600 000 acres of tribal land in the Cape Colony (Peires, 1989). An additional 150 000 Xhosa people were left destitute and entered the colony in search of food, many of whom became dependant on the colonists. Consequently, the powerful Xhosa people lost all their influence through this disastrous incident that was tragically exploited by the colonial government (Peires, 1989). This historic event has featured in and been the subject of many literary works, such as H.I.E. Dhlomo's *The Girl Who Killed to Save* (1936), Credo Mutwa's *Africa is My Witness* (1966), Guy Butler's *Pilgrimage to Dias Cross* (1987), Zakes Mda's *The Heart of Redness* (2000) and Margaret Gough's poem 'Nonquase' (1999) (Eve, 2003). A tour of places related to Nongqawuse, such as the pool on the Gxarha River where she saw these spirits, her grave near Boknes and other sites related to traditional Xhosa culture, as suggested below, is fertile space for the development of a historic-

literary tour. It would provide the opportunity to explore a significant yet baffling historical event through the narratives, interpretations and theories of various South African authors.

Although but a few suggested developments were highlighted here in the Eastern Cape Province, it should be noted that Jeanette Eve's *A Literary Guide to the Eastern Cape* (2003), the result of a decade-long research project, provides a detailed source for the further identification and creation of literary tours and trails in this province. Writer-place associations are key, and she singles out multiple sites associated with the life of a writer and particular works, and provides relevant extracts in which specific sites are described. In this way she connects, for example, William Plomer and the farm Marsh Moor near Molteno among the Stormberg Mountains with his autobiography *Double Lives* (1943), his short story 'Down on the Farm', and his novel *Turbotte Wolfe* (1926); Marguerite Poland and Sardinia Bay with her novel *The Bush Shrike* (1982), Grahamstown with her novel *Iron Love* (1999) and St. Matthews Anglican mission near Keiskammahoek with her novel *Shades* (1993); and S.E.K. Mqhayi, the famous Xhosa poet, with Ntambozuko ('Mount of Glory') where lived and lies buried, and a mountain peak he called 'InTaba kaNdodo', both near King William's Town, which he praised in a poem of the same name. In the case of the Eastern Cape Province, therefore, the painstaking research has been done and needs now to be utilised for literary tourism development.

In line with the central issue of potential literary tourism developments, the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project, as discussed earlier, has also identified other promising resources that may be utilised for literary trails in this province. Stiebel (2004:42), specialist in this field, suggests:

There's a Roy Campbell trail possible starting in Durban where he went to school at Durban Boys' High, his family retreat called Peace Cottage at Umhlanga, and the well known African museum and library of another family home, Meukleneuk through which one can do a tour and which houses the Campbell Collections. A Lewis Nkosi trail would take one from Chesterville township where he was born, to Eshowe where the seminary he attended still stands, and back to Durban's beachfront where *Mating Birds*, winner of the MacMillan Pen Prize, was set...The epic poetry of Mazisi Kunene requires a

visit to the Zulu War battlefields and royal homestead sites at Ulundi and Gingindlovu to bring the characters alive in the narration.

Additionally, Stiebel (2009) proposes a literary trail in Pietermaritzburg, aside from the one based on Paton, that would include Bessie Head's birthplace, a psychiatric hospital, and places linked to writers such as James McClure, Tom Sharpe and the brothers H.I.E. and R.R.R. Dhlomo, who were born nearby (Stiebel, 2007; 2009).

Stiebels' suggestion of trails based on the poet Mazisi Kunene alludes to another potential literary tourism development, one based on writing which evokes life in rural South African settlements: works that provide insight into the histories, beliefs, behaviour, symbols, values, customs and cultural practices of a particular indigenous South African group. Afrikaans writers have given much attention to this theme: P.J. Schoeman wrote *Die swerwer-jagter* (1933) and *Die jagterprins* (1935), a collection of tales and sketches of Zulu and Swazi hunting adventures that include aspects of their legends and folktales. A number of his other works, such as *Mboza, die Swazi* (1939), *Rook op die horison* (1949) and *Jabula, die Zoeloe* (1972), involve similar themes. The Afrikaans writer G.H. Frans focuses on the Basotho culture in his works *Dillo* (1956), *Masilo se oorwinning* (1957) and *Modjadji* (1957). D.J. Opperman's three-part debut poetry anthology *Heilige Beeste* (1945) features the battle of Blood River and an epic poem based on the life of the Zulu king, Shaka (Kannemeyer, 2005). Traditional indigenous ways of life as subject matter can also be found in South African English literature, such as in the work of Soweto poet Oswald Mtshali, and specifically such poems as 'Inside my Zulu hut', 'The moulting country bird' and 'The birth of Shaka' for example (Livingstone, 1982). In fact, the very first works published by black South African authors are concerned with these aspects of South African culture, as in Thomas Mafolo's *Chaka* (1925), originally written in Sesotho, and the biographical studies by R.R.R. Dhlomo of Zulu kings in *Ushaka* (1937), *Udingane* (1936) and *Ucetshwayo* (1950) (Mzamane, 1982).

There is a vast number of sites and attractions in South Africa that focus on the indigenous cultures of this country and they can easily be used in literary trails and tours based on literature that discusses such groups' histories, cultures, beliefs and folktales. Sites of

clashes between these groups in the pre-colonial period, and later with the Voortrekkers and the British colonial forces can be included, such as Isandlwana, mentioned above, and the site of the battle of Blood River near Dundee, where various monuments are located that commemorate this event. Attractions that would be particularly useful in such literary tours are cultural villages that illustrate the history, way of life and/or cultural practices of either one or different indigenous cultural groups. The following table lists a number of cultural villages in South Africa and the cultures they represent:

| Focus             | Province               | Cultural village                  | Detail/cultures                                                               |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Single culture    | Eastern Cape           | Isinanva Cultural Village         | Xhosa culture                                                                 |
|                   |                        | Khaya la Bantu                    | Xhosa culture                                                                 |
|                   | Gauteng                | The Sibaya                        | Zulu culture                                                                  |
|                   | KwaZulu-Natal          | Ecabazini Zulu Cultural Homestead | Zulu culture                                                                  |
|                   |                        | Shakaland                         | Zulu culture                                                                  |
|                   | Limpopo Province       | Bakone Malapa Open-Air Museum     | Bakone culture (sub-group of the Northern Sotho)                              |
|                   | Mpumalanga             | South Ndebele Open-Air Museum     | Ndebele culture                                                               |
| North West        | Mapoch Ndebele Village | Ndebele culture                   |                                                                               |
| Multiple cultures | Eastern Cape           | Kaya Lendaba                      | Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and other cultures                                         |
|                   | Gauteng                | Lesedi Cultural Village           | History and lifestyles of such cultures as the Xhosa, Zulu, Basotho and Pedi  |
|                   | Mpumalanga             | Sudwala Kraal Complex             | Illustrates differences among some Nguni groups (the Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele) |

Table 3: Cultural villages in South Africa  
 Sources: Derwent (1999), Van Dyk (2004)

Visits to such cultural villages where tourists can learn more about and, in many cases, participate in cultural practices can be combined with readings and performances of literature which evoke these cultural ways of life. These sites are highly popular South African tourist attractions, both locally and internationally, and combined with literary tourism, could present significant benefits to tourism development in South Africa.

What would also be apt here is the incorporation of African oral literature, a collective term that encompasses many forms of creative oral expression. This includes praise poems of African chiefdoms (probably the most well-known form); songs to the clan; family songs (for weddings and funerals in particular); work songs; love lyrics; children's verse; lullabies; religious songs; songs of divination; personal praises; songs to animals; and

greatly developed traditions of storytelling in the form of folktales and historical narratives (Brown, 1999). Various collections of oral literature have appeared in print, for example *Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs* (1965) edited by I. Schapera, *Shona Praise Poetry* (1979) edited by A.C. Hodza and G. Fortune, *Words that Circle Words* (1992) edited by J. Opland, *Musho!: Zulu Popular Praises* (1991) edited by E. Gunner and M. Gwala, and *Dassie and the Hunter: A South African Meeting* (2005) by Jeff Opland. Although works such as these have begun to rectify this situation, oral literature is a great deal less known and appreciated in comparison with literary forms. In general, as Ruth Finnegan (1970:1) argues, this is because:

Such forms do not fit neatly into the familiar categories of literate cultures, they are harder to record and present, and, for a superficial observer at least, they are easier to overlook than the corresponding written material.

In South Africa, more specifically, Duncan Brown (1999:4) attributes this to the fact that “the oral tradition has been largely ‘written out’ of cultural and social histories, or has been co-opted by apartheid education to promote fossilised and highly questionable versions of ‘tribal’ history and life.” One of the reasons why oral literature is so difficult to record and present is because the performance aspect counts among its most significant features – the words alone cannot capture it “as an aesthetic experience for poet and audience” (Finnegan, 1970:3). Content and delivery can be affected by such performance features as tone, facial expressions, and gestures, visual elements like dress, accoutrements and observed bearing, and may include singing, a chorus, instruments and dancing. Pieces of oral literature are usually not static, but are often shaped or adapted depending on the nature or significance of the occasion, the time of year, or recent events. What also stands out among the characteristics of oral literature is the often direct involvement of the audience, for example, acting as the chorus, the performer’s references to individual listeners, or interjecting in a performance with additions or queries usually in story-telling situations (Finnegan, 1970). Therefore, in order to more fully appreciate and understand this form of literature, it needs to be experienced.

Cultural villages are suggested here as a platform for exposing tourists to South African oral literary traditions since *izibongo* (praise poems) are evidently being preserved and performed by traditional *imbongi* (praise singers) in cultural villages all over the country (South African Tourism, n.d.b). At these sites there would also presumably be individuals capable of performing other forms of oral literature with an understanding of which pieces would be appropriate to perform to tourists or, essentially, outsiders. Such performances could then be accompanied with discussions on the significance of oral literary traditions in South African culture and how these forms have influenced the work of writers who, especially international, visitors might be more familiar with, such as Athol Fugard, Nadine Gordimer, Sol Plaatje, Mongane Serote, Laretta Ngcobo and Zakes Mda (Heywood, 2004). However, cultural villages are but one suggested space in which to expose tourists to this form of literary heritage and its greater significance in South African literature and culture. For this traditional art form was adapted throughout the decades to social and political uses – in the 1970s, Soweto poets used oral performance to spread their message whilst avoiding state censorship; since the 1980s performances of oral poetry and *izibongo* became customary at trade union rallies (although it has been linked to South African trade union activity as early as the 1930s), funerals and mass political meetings; and new genres of oral poetry have been developed by migrant and mine workers (Brown, 1999). Other avenues beyond the traditional or rural setting should therefore also be explored for the incorporation of oral literature in literary tourism developments.

This chapter has thus far shown that South Africa has a rich literary heritage to draw upon and utilise for literary tourism purposes, from individual popular writers with international and local appeal, to particular areas with a unique character captured or created through the writings of one or multiple authors. Within the confines of a master's dissertation, the extent to which the country's potential can be explored in terms of author-place connections as a focus for literary tourism development is necessarily limited. But there are many more from which to choose, and other developments are briefly suggested. The immensely popular fantasy writer J.R.R. Tolkien has biographical links with Bloemfontein as he was born here in 1896 and his father lies buried there. If found to be viable, the possibility of creating a site related to his famous fictions *The Hobbit* (1937) and *The Lord*

*of the Rings* (1954-1955) trilogy might be considered – a museum or small scale theme park-like ‘Tolkien Experience’. Staged representations of works of fantasy fiction, such as ‘Gulliver’s Land’ in Milton Keynes, UK, and ‘The Wizarding World of Harry Potter’ at the Islands of Adventure theme park in Florida, USA, have proven to be highly successful tourist attractions and may show similar results in the case of Tolkien in Bloemfontein. Such a development could also offer tours of the city and Tolkien-related sites. For extended tours, this could be linked to Hogsback in the Eastern Cape, since there is a persistent myth that Tolkien visited this forested, mountainous area as a child and it inspired the landscapes of Middle Earth.

The adventures of early explorers and travellers still hold a kind of romantic appeal for some modern audiences. The travel narratives of these men and women, as discussed in chapter 5, might also be incorporated into the South African literary tourism landscape. There is already a trail for 4x4 drivers, mountain bikers and hikers based on the route of William Burchell near De Vlugt in the Western Cape Province (Burchell’s 4x4, 2012). This shows that tourism activities linked to these early travellers can make for successful products. Using their narratives as points of reference, such tours or trails would inherently reveal aspects of South Africa’s history and would incorporate information about the country’s fauna, flora, geography and indigenous peoples, which were often the subject of the recorded observations. Based on the travels of perhaps the most famous African explorer, David Livingstone, a ‘Cape-to-Kuruman’ tour could be developed starting in Cape Town and ending at the Kuruman mission station of Robert Moffat, another pioneering traveller, in the Northern Cape Province, which is now a museum. Livingstone lived here for a time and various historic sites, including the almond tree under which he proposed to his wife (Moffat’s daughter, Mary), could form part of such a literary tour. The route of naturalist Françoise Le Vaillant along the southern Cape coast is similar to the scenic Garden Route, presenting the opportunity to explore this world-renowned route through his writings. Near Doring Bay on the west Cape coast lies the Heerenlogenment Cave. Discovered by another pioneering traveller, Olof Bergh, it was apparently a well-known landmark and refuge to numerous early travellers who carved their names into the rock face. One such early traveller was Le Vaillant and this spot has been a tourist



attraction ever since (Mitchell, 2009). Numerous well-known historical figures, such as Lady Anne Barnard, Anders Sparrman, John Barrow, George Thompson and Bertram Mitford, made journeys in South Africa and recorded them for posterity (Maclennan, 2003). Their journeys might well appeal to tourists who, it might be argued, are already attracted to journeying themselves.

Starting with the Haggard trail constructed by the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal research project, this writer's presence in Pretoria can be used as a link in a tour leading north. It could include the site of 'Jess' Cottage' (although the house has been demolished) in Railway Street, Berea which he and fellow Shepstone official Arthur Cochrane built in 1878, then known as 'The Palatial', and Church Square on which he raised the British flag with the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 and from which he served as Master and Registrar of the High Court until mid-1979 (Cohen, 1960). There is an interesting interconnecting historical anecdote that links Haggard and Eugène Marais. Marais's biographer Leon Rousseau (1982) records that, according to family tradition, Haggard and Marais's sister Gezina, called Jessie or Jess, had a love affair, that the house that came to be known as Jess' Cottage served as their rendezvous, and that she may well have provided the inspiration for the eponymous character in Haggard's novel *Jess* (1887). This presents the possibility of including some Marais-related sites. A Haggard tour would then lead to the Limpopo Province and the realm of Modjadji, the Rain Queen of the Balobedu, which literary critics believe to be the closest African source to have inspired the character She-who-must-be-obeyed (Cohen, 1960), and could then extend beyond the border to Great Zimbabwe.

Also in the Limpopo Province, an imperial adventure fiction-themed trail could combine the realm of Modjadji near Tzaneen linked to Haggard, with sites related to John Buchan – the literary landscape of his popular novel *Prester John* (1910) located in the areas of Haenertsburg and Tzaneen. There is also a monument erected in honour of Buchan overlooking the Ebenezer Dam on the Georges Valley Road which could form part of such a tour. The city of Johannesburg can be linked with many renowned South African writers. The house at 19 Isipingo Street, Bellevue, in which Herman Charles Bosman shot his

stepbrother, is now a provincial monument. Not unlike the fascination held by sites related to a writer's death or the more sensational details of his or her life, such as the Chelsea Hotel in New York where Dylan Thomas resided when he died after a drinking binge, this site is also tied to a dramatic aspect of Bosman's life. However, it could be argued that this is not the only reason for its preservation, but that this incident, signified by the site, is also constitutive of Bosman's mythos as a writer, since his subsequent imprisonment inspired his novel *Cold Stone Jug* (1949). Other writers associated with Johannesburg include Ivan Vladislavic and his novels, for example *The Restless Supermarket* (2001), *The Exploded View* (2004) and *Double Negative* (2011), set in and around the city; the Credo Mutwa Cultural Village in Central Western Jabavu, Soweto, containing numerous structures and sculptures related to South African history, indigenous beliefs and cultures created by traditional healer and author Credo Mutwa; as well as many other award-winning writers like Nadine Gordimer, Lionel Abrahams and Ahmed Essop. There have also been reader-tourists who, after reading Zakes Mda's novel *The Madonna of Excelsior* (2002), travelled to the town of Excelsior in the Free State Province to experience the setting of this literary work (Sisulu, 2004), indicating an existing readerly interest that can be harnessed through literary tourism development.

#### **7.4 The post-development potential of literary tourism in South Africa**

This chapter has illustrated the literary tourism potential of the country in practical or tangible terms – the products that can be targeted for tourism development. But what should also be considered are the subsequent or post-development benefits this tourism mode holds. Financial gains, job creation and the empowerment and advancement of local communities are important rewards that can result from almost any kind of tourism development, if approached correctly, and deserve due consideration. However, literary tourism in particular offers other less tangible rewards related to education, multifaceted knowledge accretion, imaginal stimulation and the elevation of literature in general. The remainder of this chapter will focus on these aspects with reference to some of the products, established and potential, discussed previously.

Travel as a pedagogic tool is not a new concept. Education was, after all, the original function of the Grand Tour, and many schools worldwide have incorporated travel into their curricula in the form of field trips, excursions, tours and camps as alternative learning experiences. Today, there also exists a form of special interest tourism called ‘educational tourism’, which is concerned with travel experiences “motivated primarily by an interest in learning” (Kalinowski and Weiler, 1992:15). One distinguishing characteristic of educational tourism is that these tourists are accompanied by a ‘teacher’, also known as a leader, tutor, professor or guide (Kalinowski and Weiler, 1992). The modern tourist guide, according to Cohen (1985), originates from the two historical antecedents of the pathfinder and the mentor. The role of the guide in educational tourism naturally tends toward that of the mentor, as he or she is not usually depended on to deal with the managerial, organisational and administrative aspects of the tour, which are mostly functions of the pathfinder (Kalinowski and Weiler, 1992; Cohen, 1985). This is most obvious in tours led by two guides, as in the case of the Marais tour to Pelindaba and the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours, where one guide largely fulfils the pathfinder role. This illustrates that literary tourism shares common characteristics with educational tourism. Moreover, Cohen (1985:15) allocates the sub-role of information-giver to that of the mentor, and in his review of scholarly literature finds that many consider the “dissemination of correct and precise information...to be the kernel of the guide’s role.” In line with this, Lindy Stiebel (2009:216), of the previously mentioned Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project, states in a discussion of the Rider Haggard trail:

We have...been at pains in the information gathering for this trail to correct popular misconceptions. If one of the aims of literary tourism in South Africa is to foster a ‘new literacy’ for a new generation of readers, then it is important that the information gathered and disseminated is accurate.

Accuracy may seem problematic when it comes to the presentation of fiction, especially in places that also relate biographically to a writer, like Van der Post’s Philippolis and Schreiner’s Cradock. Orientation discussions or multi-media formats may be used before a tour to separate fact from fiction. On tour, site markers or other tourist paraphernalia may be utilised to cue incidents from the author’s fiction. This could facilitate entry into the

fictional world of the literary work, enabling tourists to explore places through the lens of their imaginations. Literary tourism may therefore be said to provide experiences of imaginal stimulation, like literature, necessitating the involvement of the tourist's own creative and imaginative capacities.

The dissemination of accurate information additionally relates to the contextual knowledge imparted to the tourist. As has been illustrated, many of the established South African literary tourism products like NELM's Outreach Camps, the Herman Charles Bosman Festival and the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours, provide a host of contextual information in the form of, for example, the tour narrative, more formal discussions or documentaries, or informal participatory activities associated with the relevant historical epoch and cultural practices. A contextually grounded understanding of literary works also forms part of literature studies (Silk, 1984). This includes an understanding of potentially all exterior forces and factors that acted upon the writer and hence his or her literary work/s, such as the political, economic, social, geographic, environmental and domestic circumstances within which they lived and wrote. As an aid to a contextually grounded understanding, literary tourism therefore appears to be an ideal platform incorporating multiple disciplines, such as history, political science and geography, that could lead to new insights in terms of the relationship between place, time period, writer and literary work. Although biographical literary sites cannot reasonably be expected to function as a substitute to biography or literary criticism, they are particularly suited in this case in that they provide immediate access to an author's surrounding conditions or context. As tour narratives and participatory events usually incorporate information from a variety of disciplines, literary tourism can thus provide a multifaceted learning experience. For as education scholar Rosella Linskie (1977:127) argues regarding concept development, the concept in this case being a writer or literary work: "The more avenues you use in experiencing a concept and the more details you observe, relate, and interrelate, the more accurate will your ultimate concept be."

One of the basic principles on which literary tourism functions, is that it is actuated by reading. The basic process governing participation in this form of tourism can essentially

be described as follows: a person reads one or several literary works, which creates in him or her an interest in experiencing more of this work, leading him or her to seek out sites or events related to the work or its creator. It therefore begins with readers and of course literature, the latter usually suggesting the worded traditional text. However, a reader's initial encounter with a particular piece of literature may not necessarily be through the traditional text, which has perhaps become more prevalent in today's multi-media society. This leads to the concept of 'new literacy' as referred to by Stiebel (2009), cited earlier, in her discussion of the Rider Haggard trail. She draws this concept from the work of Robinson (2002:73), who asserts:

[L]iterary tourism is now part of a 'new' literacy. As tourists, the public now access and encounter writers and their works through guided tours, literary museums, heritage centres, festivals, theme parks...and a vast range of related merchandise. In these popular arenas of literary encounter, new audiences for creative writings are being forged.

Film and television versions of literary works can certainly be regarded as new or alternate ways of encountering literature. More importantly, it is well-known that such productions can generate new interest in the works on which they are based, as well as related works. For example, Lemony Snicket's *A Series of Unfortunate Events* (1999-2006) sold thirteen million copies in its first five years, after the film (based on the first three books) was released in 2004, the books (eleven by this time) and six movie tie-ins sold over eight million copies in just one year. Sales of C.S. Lewis's books rose three to four times higher than the preceding year after the screening of *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* movie trailer in May 2005, based on the first of seven books in the Narnia series (1949-1954). After the 2001 screening of *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring*, not only did sales of Tolkien's three-volume epic increase, but *The Hobbit*, a prequel to the trilogy, sold over two million copies (Association for Library Services to Children, 2006). Literary tourism, like most other enterprises, is demand-driven, and there should first be a viable consumer market to support tourism development. But, like the above-mentioned films, literary tourism can inspire tourists to read more and learn more about an author or literary work, as indicated by the following examples. Pocock's (1992:242) research into coach tours to Catherine Cookson Country shows that

the couriers acting as guides en route aided in igniting literary interest – “courier enthusiasm was sufficient to convert half of the non-readers, some of whom responded immediately by buying their first Cookson volume at the museum bookstall.” Bester (2011), the organiser of the Marais tours to Pelindaba, states that these tours generated a new interest in Marais as a person, his poetry and his life. This implies that these tourists may well go on to read more of Marais’s literature, his biography and other related works. With the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours selling books during tours is a fixed principle. According to Wium Van Zyl (2012b), quite a number of books are sold during the one-day tour and especially during the extended tours, while previous tour participants have also approached them for information about books. The Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours, therefore, also prompted a furthered interest in reading. Additionally, Fairer-Wessels’s (2005) research on literary pilgrimage to Robben Island inspired by Nelson Mandela’s *A Long Walk to Freedom*, showed that although 71% of the respondents had not read his autobiography, 62% indicated that they would like to read it after visiting this island prison-turned-museum. This shows that during experiences of literary tourism, the basic governing process of ‘text-to-tourism’ can be reversed to a progression of ‘tourism-to-text’ – a distinctly significant by-product in social, cultural and pedagogic terms.

This further suggests that literary tourism experiences can generate what educational psychologists call ‘situational interest’ (Renninger, 1992; Hidi and Harackiewicz, 2000) which “denotes certain conditions and/or stimuli in the environment that focus attention...and cause an immediate affective reaction” (Dohn, 2011:339). One way of generating situational interest is by presenting the tourist with new or surprising information that relates to prior knowledge they have already attained (Dohn, 2011). In literary tourism, this applies to tourists who have already read some of an author’s works. But in the case of non-readers or individuals lacking any pre-existing interest, situational interest can be engendered through such strategies as the use of original materials and hands-on activities (Dohn, 2011). These appear to be strategies that could be easily implemented during an organised tour to a museum (or similar) setting. What is important here is that situational interest, which may disappear the moment the tour ends, could develop into individual or intrinsic interest, a more stable and longer lasting motivational

orientation (Renninger, 1992), thereby motivating people to learn more about a particular subject.

In line with this, Elinor Sisulu (2004:n.p.), chairperson of the Book Development Foundation, stated in her keynote address at the Symposium on the Cost of a Culture of Reading in 2004, that “[t]he absence of a culture of reading is a major concern in South African society.” She asserted that if the country were to have a strong reading culture, it “would be a nation of avid, lifelong readers who read widely and who value South African literature and...an education system that...encourages reading for pleasure and lifelong learning.” In the context of bearing in mind the economic value of lobbying for reading promotion and book development, she affirmed: “Literary tourists are a niche market that should be seriously cultivated” (Sisulu, 2004:n.p.). Although Sisulu only considered literary tourism in economic terms, it has been shown that in itself it can lead to an interest in reading and learning. Her statements do, however, confirm that literary tourism and a culture of reading are two intertwining socio-cultural aspects that inform and can be of benefit to one another.

Sisulu also clearly addressed the role of the education system in promoting an interest in reading, and there is existing evidence illustrating that organised school tours or excursions linked to set literary works are beneficial to school learners. The District Six Museum in Cape Town featured a ‘Buckingham Palace Exhibition’ from March 1998 to May 2000, as mentioned previously. As Richard Rive’s novel *Buckingham Palace: District Six* (1986) was a set literary work at the time, the exhibition was an attempt by the museum to fulfil an educational need, growing from a demand by teachers and learners for information about both the novel and District Six (District Six Museum, 2009b). Since Rive’s novel blends fact and fiction, exhibition coordinator André Marais stated that it was used in the exhibition to look at the myths and realities of District Six, and to understand its urban legends (Schroeder, 1998). Scenes of the novel were recreated, such as ‘Moodley’s shop’ stocked with hessian bags of peas, beans and lentils (Schroeder, 1998). This then allowed learners to explore both the historical world of District Six, and the fictions of the novel. The exhibition was enormously successful and generated much interest as schools as far

away as Gauteng arrived in busloads to visit the museum. More importantly, it “was an eye-opener for students, who suddenly grew quite keen to do their projects because they felt this kind of history was so close to home” (District Six Museum, 2009b:n.p.). This clearly speaks to the way that tourism can enliven the literary world of set works assessed in schools, increase understanding of and generate interest in the literary work, as well as other aspects related to it.

This outcome of the ‘Buckingham Palace Exhibition’ also indicates the benefit of using literature coupled with tourism to promote an understanding and appreciation of history and heritage. Educational scholars have long considered historical fiction as an effective means through which to engender an interest in and advance comprehension of history. It captures the human aspect through emotion and dramatises the excitement, problems and conflicts of the time, which historical facts rarely ever do (Yarema, 2002). As Henry Commager notes, the “average reader, past and present, gets his sense and knowledge of history through fiction...rather than through historical monographs” (quoted in Yarema, 2002:393). A tour focussing on history and/or heritage with a literary work as a point of reference can therefore also be regarded as literary tourism.

Dalene Matthee’s two forest novels, *Kringe in ‘n bos* (1984) and *Fiela se kind* (1985), are similarly historical fiction as they are set in nineteenth-century rural Knysna, convey the unique culture of the area and dramatises the ecological, economic and racial issues of time – “[i]ssues that still affect the country today” (Fairer-Wessels, 2010:135). Tourism Management scholar, Felicité Fairer-Wessels (2010), investigated the potential travel behaviour of young adults in relation to these two novels, which have frequently been prescribed for South African schools over the past twenty years. In terms of historical fiction’s ability to assist in an appreciation and understanding of literature, she states in relation to the forest novels:

[They] attempt to convey culture as an instrument to facilitate harmony and understanding among people, and heritage as a means of encouraging an appreciation of the past. Therefore cultural (literary) tourism can be deemed important, as it has positive socio-cultural and economic benefits for the



destination in which the novels are set, and may in addition result in positive educational (or other) benefits and *worthwhile experiences for visitors (as potential readers)* (Fairer-Wessels, 2010:138) [my emphasis].

Although the latter point of worthwhile experiences potentially encouraging visitors to become readers goes unexplored in her study, it does confirm this aspect of the potential benefits of literary tourism discussed earlier. Her findings are nonetheless significant in relation to linking literary tourism to prescribed works in school curricula. She conducted her research through interviews, via semi-structured questionnaires, with 102 undergraduate students enrolled for Tourism Management at the University of Pretoria, who had read the afore-mentioned forest novels as set works in grade 11 and/or grade 12 during 2008 and/or 2009. Of the 102 respondents, 28 had read *Kringe in 'n bos*, 23 had read *Fiela se kind*, and 31 had read both. The questions and resultant findings relevant to this discussion are collated in the following table:

|          | <b>Questions</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>Findings</b>                              |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <b>1</b> | To what extent would reading either or both of the novels inspire them to visit the Knysna Forest on a dedicated school tour to experience the setting of the novels in order to understand/interpret the story better.                                                                 | 61% yes, interested                          |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 31% reasonably interested                    |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 8% not interested                            |
| <b>2</b> | Whether visiting the Knysna Forest in an informal learning setting would help with understanding the setting and characters of the story.                                                                                                                                               | 53% yes, definitely                          |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 29% yes, would help                          |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 11% yes, partially                           |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 7% no                                        |
| <b>3</b> | Whether visiting the Knysna Forest and encountering an imaginary 'Oupoot' (the elephant bull in <i>Kringe in 'n bos</i> ) would make the visit more special.                                                                                                                            | 67 yes<br>(of the 79 who had read the novel) |
| <b>4</b> | Whether linking a book to a place could add value to a person's experience of both.                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 93% adds value                               |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 7% adds no value                             |
| <b>5</b> | The extent to which they would be interested in visiting other places that feature in books read outside a school setting, such as England in relation to J.K. Rowling's <i>Harry Potter</i> series or Forks, Washington, USA, in relation to Stephanie Meyer's <i>Twilight</i> series. | 70% very interested                          |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 29% partially interested                     |
|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 1% not interested                            |

Table 4: Findings of Fairer-Wessels's study of young adults' potential literary tourism behavior  
 Source: Fairer-Wessels (2010)

Fairer-Wessels clarifies that these findings cannot be generalised to a larger population. They do, however, indicate an overwhelmingly positive response in favour of literary tourism both in general and as an alternative learning experience. The responses to question 5 shows that all but 1% of the respondents were interested in engaging in literary

tourism based on literary works that align with their own interests. This largely positive perception is also reflected in the response to question 4, showing that the respondents, on the whole, saw value in the general concept of literary tourism, with literature linked to particular places. Fairer-Wessels (2010) explains this question in more detail, in that the novel infuses the place with additional meaning, making it of value to the literary tourist and thereby motivating tourism. This shows that the majority of the respondents regard the value of this meaning generated by the literary work as mutually beneficial to both the place and literary work and such a visit would provide a more enriching and valuable experience of both. Question 3 is concerned with engaging the imagination of learners on a literary tour. An elephant bull in the Knysna Forest would be a symbolic anchor to Matthee's imagined world. To come across such an animal during a tour was seen by most of the respondents who had read *Kringe in 'n bos* as a desirable experience. It can therefore be argued that such an encounter would allow them imaginatively to step into the world of the novel and deepen their connection with the story. Questions 1 and 2 relate directly to the issue of linking literary tourism to prescribed school texts. The positive responses to these two questions indicate that the large majority was in favour of an organised school tour, that such a tour would provide them with a greater and more nuanced understanding of the story, setting and characters, and that it would be a beneficial learning experience that would aid them in their studies. This implies that had they been provided with the opportunity to participate in such a tour, they would likely have made use of it.

Overall, Fairer-Wessels's research demonstrates that among the young adult demographic there exists a substantial interest in literary tourism, thereby justifying the development of this tourism mode in South Africa. These findings are limited by the fact that these students already had a broad understanding of tourism (Fairer-Wessels, 2010) and that they all had a pre-existing interest in tourism and its various forms as they were enrolled for the subject of Tourism Management. However, over three quarters of these student interviewees (with the advantage of hindsight) perceived literary tourism as a potentially beneficial alternative learning experience that would have assisted in their understanding of the prescribed literary texts in school and therefore the successful execution of their studies. Substitute or vicarious experiences, like reading books and field trips, are an

important feature in education, as lack of experience is one of the most difficult obstacles to surmount in the teaching-learning process (Linskie, 1977). This is because, as Linskie (1977:128) argues, it not only limits one's store of knowledge, but also appears to discourage curiosity: "You cannot yearn for those places or things about which you know nothing." Both reading and travel therefore serve as substitute experiences that translate into curiosity, or in other words, a desire to learn (and read) more.

This serves as an outline of the potential intangible rewards literary tourism holds for South Africa. By promoting South African writers and their literature through tourism development and its concomitant marketing, the importance of South Africa literature, and therefore reading and writing, would be further disseminated to the public at large. As a form of new literacy, it generates new audiences for creative writing and furthers interest in authors and literature. In this way, it advocates and advances the culture of reading, and may well, therefore, increase literacy. Moreover, once the interest of tourists (as potential readers) in learning more about writers and their literature is established, it could last throughout their lifetimes and be carried on to subsequent generations. For, as special interest tourism scholar Chris Wood (2001:190) argues, learning and education "is a process that has no manifest point of completion...because [it] leads us to anticipate and desire ever newer horizons of knowledge and understanding."

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

As a form of cultural tourism, itself one of the largest and fastest growing developing sectors worldwide, literary tourism is an important and growing tourism mode with towns, cities and countries using writers and their literature to distinguish themselves as tourist destinations. Although literary tourism products in one form or another are present or emerging in many parts of the world, it has been most extensively developed in North America, Europe and especially the United Kingdom. This geographic concentration is reflected in the foci of the current body of scholarly publications on literary tourism, which investigate phenomena primarily in these afore-mentioned regions. Literary tourism as a field of study took some time to be taken up in academia, even after tourism in general was adopted as a legitimate focus for scholarly research, as it was deemed something of an embarrassment. But since the mid to late 1980s, there have appeared an ever-increasing number of publications on literary tourism. One particular aspect which the studies seem to be lacking, nonetheless, is a consistent, accepted definition of literary tourism. Such a proposed definition was therefore devised in this study. The overview of scholarly publications on literary tourism in South Africa, however, showed that only a few studies have thus far appeared, even though there are a number of existing literary tourism phenomena in the country. Although it is slowly gaining increased attention in the South African academic sphere, it yet remains a field awaiting further development and research.

In terms of the profile of literary tourists, a comparative analysis of various case studies indicated that the characteristics of literary tourists are much the same as that of cultural tourists: they are more likely to be employed in white collar, professional or managerial positions, they generally earn more and spend more whilst on vacation, and are usually more highly educated. Literary tourists are therefore a profitable market to cultivate. Moreover, the so-called literary pilgrims, who seek to be educated through tourism, have a greater degree of cultural capital and to whom the literary connotations of a site are of primary interest, are more highly concentrated in areas where the literary tourism product

is the main attraction. But as cultural tourism is fast becoming a form of mass tourism, and such attractions are becoming more popular, being packaged and promoted to attract as many tourists as possible, they are also attracting more general tourists to whom a site's literary connotations and an educational experience are secondary motivations for travel. However, learning and leisure are not mutually exclusive features of a tourism experience, and an educational experience can be achieved even if this is not a primary travel motivation.

Just as there are different kinds of tourists with differing levels of interest in literature or literary sites and varying notions of leisure, so too are there different kinds of literary tourism products that vary in their educational and entertainment dimensions. Creative writing holidays, a specialist form of tourism gaining in increasing number of providers, are a primary example of literary tourism as an educational experience. Biographical literary sites can also serve an educative purpose since these provide immediate access to multiple aspects of a writer's context. Literary tours and trails are more potent products as these link together multiple interrelated sites and attractions, and provide a view of authors and/or their work that consists of greater detail, thereby offering a more insightful tourism experience. Literary tours, in particular, can provide a multifaceted learning experience as these can easily incorporate knowledge from multiple disciplines and fields that relate to the life and literature of an author, such as geography, history, literature and the natural sciences. Although literary landscapes can be informative, they also provide the opportunity to stimulate the tourist's own creativity and imagination as he or she recognises and explores physical references to the author's imaginative world within such a landscape.

As has been shown, literary tourism has a very long history, with the earliest recorded incidences dating back to the time of ancient Rome. Contemporary tourism, and literary tourism more particularly, is largely descendent from British and European travel practices like the Grand Tour, regarded as a foundational development in modern tourism. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Grand Tour had a literary tourism dimension as Grand Tourists incorporated sites with familiar literary connections, usually related to

classical writings. But both the popular forms of literature and the nature of tourism changed dramatically with the rise of the Romantic sensibility permeating cultural thought in Europe and Britain from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The untamed natural world and medieval structures were culturally reconstructed by Romantic authors and artists as beautiful, dangerous and thrilling, translating into new sites for the tourist gaze. Romantic aesthetic approaches, especially the sublime and Gothic, propagated through imaginative literature and travel narratives, were transposed to Africa during the nineteenth century, functioning as familiar cultural devices or strategies through which travellers coped with, made sense of, and portrayed this unfamiliar and very different new world. These approaches were subsequently crystallised in common literary themes and images of Africa, such as the 'dark continent', 'noble savage', the 'land in amber' and the ubiquitous quest. In this way Africa was romanticised and exoticised through the widely read nineteenth-century quest narratives and adventure fiction. Within the latter genre, H. Rider Haggard's decidedly popular and successful African romances are counted as highly influential. Haggard is put forth here as a writer who attracted literary tourism to South and southern Africa, and Great Zimbabwe in particular, from the 1890s onward through his adventure novels set in this region.

In South Africa, the government distinguishes tourism as a priority economic sector that should be targeted for development and further recommends the cultivation of niche tourism, which includes literary tourism, in order to diversify South African tourism beyond wildlife and scenic environments. The current extent of literacy tourism development in South Africa illustrates that it is maturing into a genre in its own right. This is indicated by a number of longstanding developments, like the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl tours and the Bosman Weekend festival, as well newer developments, like the trails and website created by the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project and Booktown Richmond. However, its growth as a genre is most clearly exemplified by the quantity of new literary festivals, all of which could not be explored here, that have been established almost annually for the past few years, such as the Schreiner Karoo Writers Festival, the Absa Fugard Festival and the Boekbedonnerd Festival. With regard to the tours that are presented throughout the country, for example the Kannemeyer-Van Zyl

tours and NALN's Outreach Camps, these occur on a relatively small and irregular scale, often specifically by request, as they are presented by individuals and institutions in addition or ancillary to their professional obligations and functions. The involvement of professional tourism operators would therefore contribute significantly to the development of literary tourism in South Africa. This is why the adoption of the Literary Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal Research Project's trails by the international tour operator ITT is such a significant occurrence, which in turn illustrates the importance and necessity of researching and constructing such literary trails in the first place. This chapter also illustrates that South Africa's black literary heritage has largely received little attention within the context of the country's current tourist offering, making this a key area that should be taken into account with regard to development considerations. Another noted aspect of the current state of literary tourism in South Africa is the fact that the development and promotion of this tourism mode is concentrated primarily in Western Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. There is therefore a wide landscape for further development, especially in the northern half of the country.

South Africa's literary tourism potential in terms of suggested writers and their attendant literature that could be targeted for development was therefore explored focusing largely on this neglected geographic region entailing the provinces of Gauteng, North West and Limpopo. This chapter clearly demonstrates that South Africa has a vast reserve of varied literature, popular with both local and international readers, on which to draw as resources for tourism development. The suggestions made in this study, like tours or trails based on the routes of Percy FitzPatrick's *Jock of the Bushveld*, are but a handful of examples from a vast array of well-known writers and works that could be made a focus for tourism. This is also illustrated by Eve (2003) in her guide and that only in the Eastern Cape Province. Although there are a number of existing literary tourism attractions, such as the Van der Post Museum in Philippolis and the A.G. Visser House in Heidelberg, these have yet to be incorporated into tours and trails locally and connected within a greater network of literary tourism attractions. Existing heritage and cultural attractions, for example the Hector Peterson Memorial and ancillary museum in the case of the Soweto poets, could be also utilised for literary tourism by reinterpreting tour narratives and tourist literature from a

literary perspective, rather than, say, a purely historical perspective. Moreover, an aspect which warrants further enquiry is the incorporation of oral literature, an inherent and influential part of South Africa's literary heritage, as a focus for literary tourism development, thereby adapting the conventions of this tourism mode to South Africa's cultural landscape.

The penultimate chapter of this dissertation illustrated the potential literary tourism holds for South Africa in terms of its intangible or post-development benefits. As a form of new literacy, it has the potential to reach new audiences for South African writers and their literature. Several different literary tourism phenomena show that participation in this form of tourism can lead to a furthered or newly ignited interest in literary works. During experiences of literary tourism, therefore, the customary process of reading leading to tourism ('text-to-tourism') can be inverted to an evolution of tourism leading to reading ('tourism-to-text'). Thus, it may be reasonably argued that literary tourism advocates and advances the culture of reading, and may well lead to an increased level of literacy within South African society. By linking this form of tourism to school curricula, similar rewards may be reaped, as learner participation in literary tourism at the District Six Museum indicated an increased interest in subject content related to prescribed literary texts. Additionally, the findings of Fairer-Wessels's (2010) research on the potential travel behaviour of young adults as affected by fictional set works are significant. These suggest that senior learners perceive literary tourism experiences as beneficial to their understanding of a literary work analysed within the classroom, and therefore to the successful execution of their studies. More focused research into the effects of participation by *current* school learners in literary tourism related to prescribed literary texts may yield more concrete and generally applicable results, as well as indicate which strategies may be used to successfully stimulate interest in reading.

As literary tourism is an emerging field in South Africa, there are several avenues for additional research that would aid in developing it further. Researching and composing a general guide, such as 'A Literary Guide to South Africa', as has been done for other countries, can perhaps be regarded as a first priority. There are already a number of general



travel guide classics, for example E. Palmer and G. Jenkins's *A Companion Guide to South Africa* (1978), but this would obviously be a more specifically literary version for which there exists a great deal of material. To draw an example from another sector, D. Lewis-Williams and G. Blundell's *Fragile Heritage: a Rock Art Fieldguide* (1998) explores South African rock art sites on a provincial basis. This approach may be used as a model and could assemble the work of multiple contributing authors/researchers.

As has been shown, literary tourism in South Africa has grown from an academic base and allowing the development of the field to continue along these lines would ensure that well-researched and accurate information is imparted to tourists and other researchers. The feasibility of training courses for tourist guides that present literary tours is another avenue for possible research and development. This could take the form of university modules, for example 'South African Literature for Tourist Guides', through inter-departmental initiatives. Like the case studies utilised in chapter 3 to establish a profile of literary tourists, similar research projects may be undertaken at South African literary attractions to, for example: explore aspects of tourists' relationship, associations and interactions with the country's literary tourism landscape; examine how their tourism experiences correspond to their literary impressions or pre-conceptions of the landscape or specific site; investigate reader reception of literature in South Africa; and examine how South Africans live out their reading experiences. Historical research is indeed another avenue to consider, as chapter 5 of this study shows that scholarly research on the history of tourism in South Africa is sparse and on literary tourism it is virtually non-existent.

Ultimately, literary tourism in South Africa is a genre for which there is scope for growth in terms of both the development of its cultural landscape, which is rich in literary association, for tourism and the advancement of this field of study through further research. Moreover, it holds substantial and valuable potential for South Africa by promoting reading, learning and literacy, while at the same time increasing awareness both in the country and the world at large of South Africa's literary heritage.

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## Appendix A

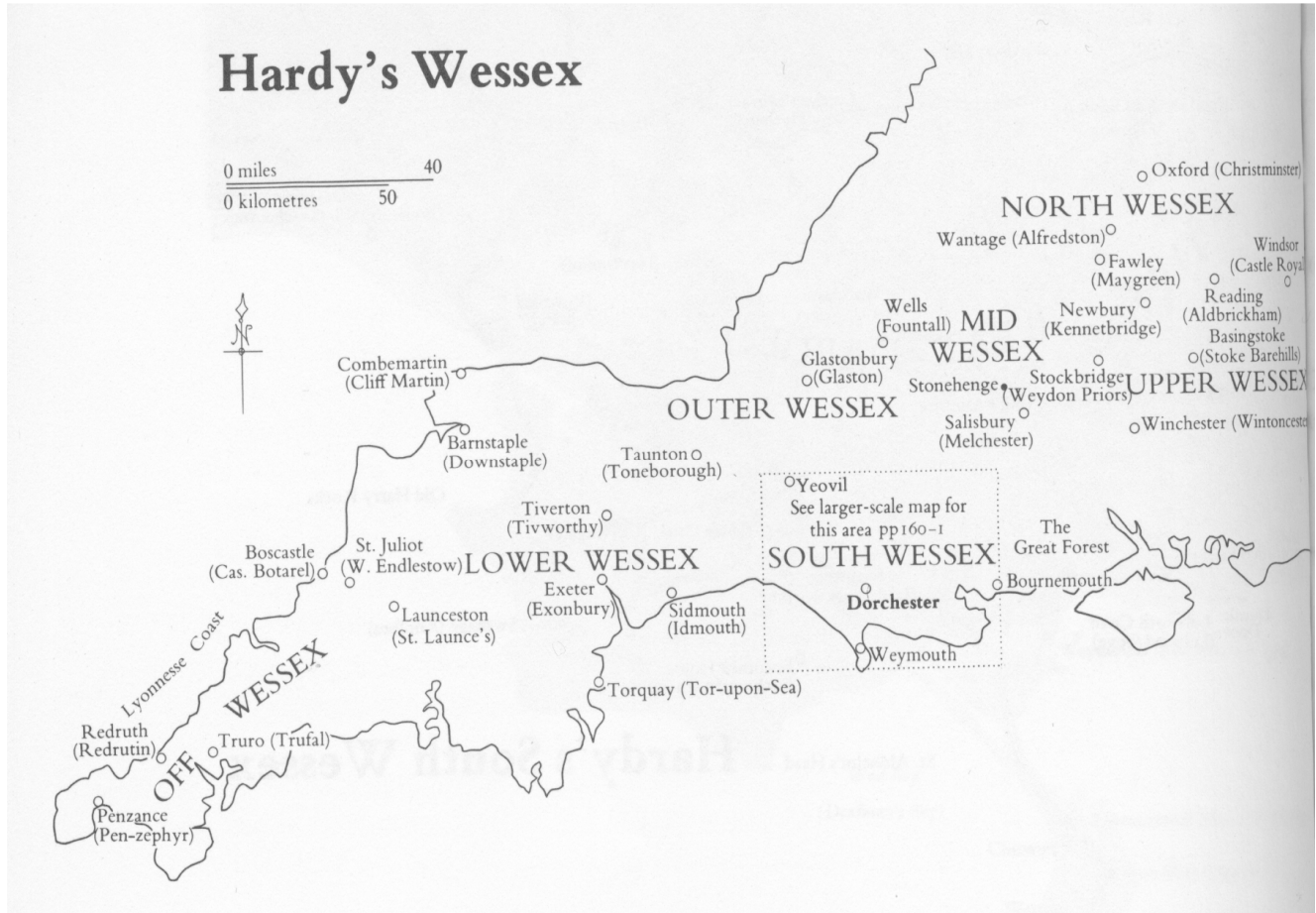


Map of J.R.R. Tolkien's Middle Earth

From: Ring Lord. 2006. Internet: <http://ring-lord.tripod.com/images/middleearthmap2.jpg>.

Access: 24 November 2006.

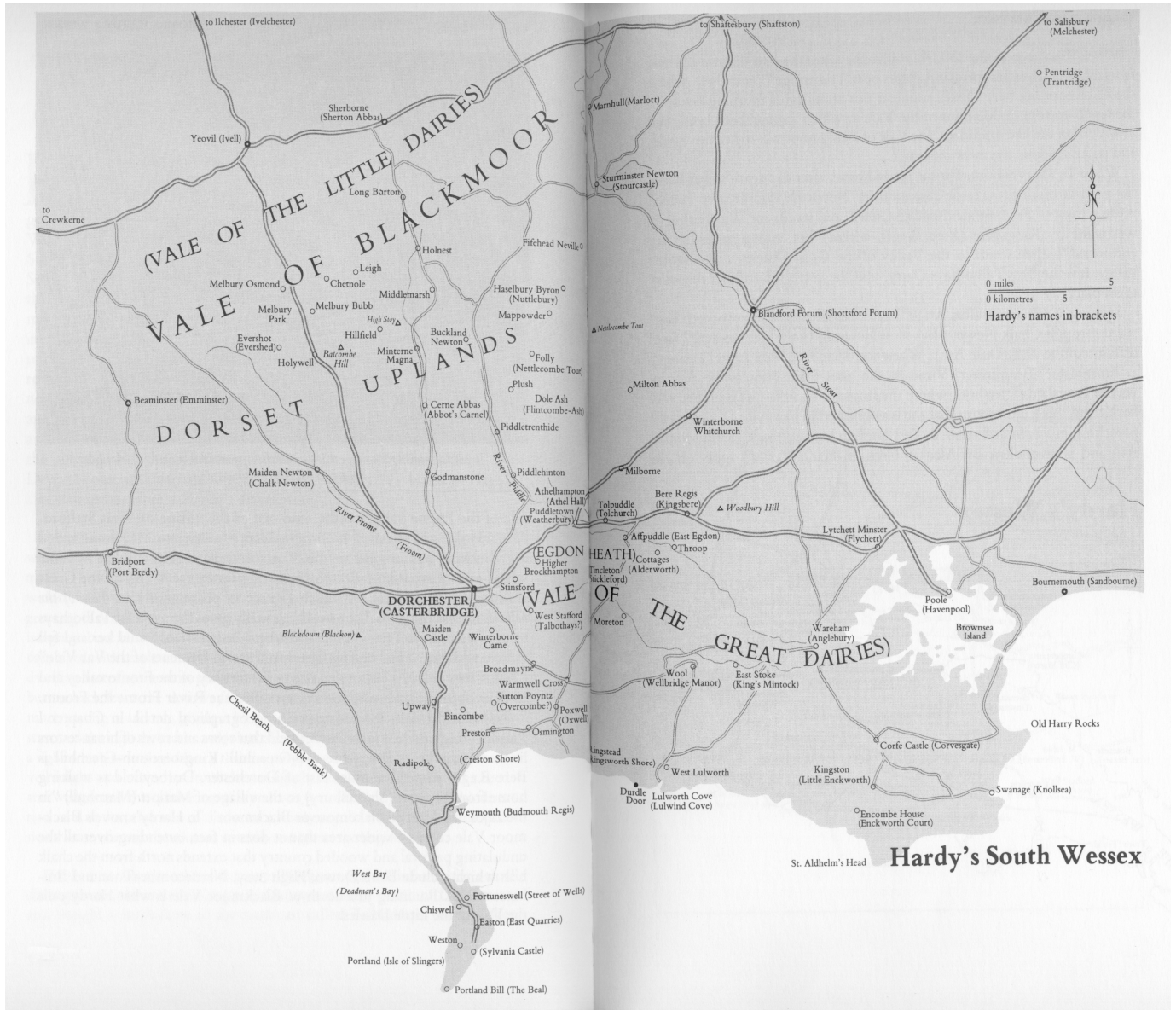
Appendix B



Map of Hardy's Wessex (Hardy's names in brackets)

From: Daiches, D and J. Flower. 1979. *Literary Landscapes of the British Isles: A Narrative Atlas*. London: Bell & Hyman, p. 162.

## Appendix C



Map of Hardy's South Wessex (Hardy's names in brackets)

From: Daiches, D. and J. Flower. 1979. *Literary Landscapes of the British Isles: A Narrative Atlas*. London: Bell & Hyman, pp. 160-161.



# Appendix D

## Alan Paton



**ALAN PATON**













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### LOCATIONS

- 1. The University of Pretoria, Library, Campus 1, 2000
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- 3. The University of Pretoria, Library, Campus 3, 2000
- 4. The University of Pretoria, Library, Campus 4, 2000
- 5. The University of Pretoria, Library, Campus 5, 2000
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### PLACES TO VISIT

- 1. The University of Pretoria, Library, Campus 1, 2000
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 From: Koopman, J. 2006. Internet:  
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## Appendix F



Map of Jock's routes

From: FitzPatrick, P. 1975 [1907]. *Jock of the Bushveld*. Middlesex: Puffin Books, pp. 10-11.