Exploring the Connections Between Literary Places, Literary Texts, and Tourist Performance

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EXPLORING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN LITERARY PLACES, LITERARY TEXTS, AND TOURIST PERFORMANCE

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Parks, Recreation, and Tourism Management

by
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May 2016

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ABSTRACT

Books and travel are inseparable. From inspiring destination choices to offering vacationers a diversion during their journeys, books and other literature have long been a part of the travel experience. In many cases, thousands of tourists trek to places of literary importance in order to participate in literature-inspired activities such as wading in the serene waters of Walden Pond (Mass. State Parks, 2015), jump frogs in the real Calaveras County (Calaveras County, 2015), and go fly-fishing in the actual river from A River Runs Through It (Hepworth, 1992). However, in many cases these tourist “performances” also appear to be reliant upon the settings where they take place (see Goffman, 1959; Lefebvre, 1974; Massey, 1993). Despite a growing public interest in literary tourism, few studies have explored the relationship between literature, place, and performance, particularly at literary festivals. Using a qualitative multi-case study design (Yin, 2014), this research project explores the connections between literary places, tourist performances, and literary works, finding that literature, place, and tourist performance are closely related concepts that mutually reinforce one another.

The layering of literary meaning on physical places created liminal spaces wherein participation in certain performances allowed tourists to feel as if they had “jumped into” the related book. While literature worked to bind place with the site-specific performances described in the texts, and, in turn implored visitors to engage in similar activities, it was the general idea of the literary connection rather than any specific aspect of the inspirational literary work itself that was important in motivating their participation. Likewise, the destinations themselves adopted and disseminated their
literary legacies in various ways. Despite these place distinctions visitors were most influenced by engagement in the literary performances themselves, which afforded visitors familiar with the related literary work a richer understanding of the text, and sparked interest in the related works amongst festival attendees both familiar and unfamiliar with the associated text thus indicating that tourism may impact other cultural phenomena, and highlighting how tourists are actively using aesthetics to supplement their understanding of place and enrich their travel experiences. Finally, a matrix delineating literary tourism experiences based on a destination’s relationship with the literature connected to it and a tourist’s familiarity with the same literary work is suggested as a means of further exploring the phenomena. Together, the results of this study begin to reveal how literature, place, and text are interconnected and related to literary tourism while also providing a framework for future research examining the motivations for, expectations of, and impacts resulting from the phenomena of literary tourism.
DEDICATION

Dedicated to my husband and best friend, Michael “Mikey” Seaman. Thank you for your patience, understanding, and humor throughout this process. Without you none of this would have been possible.
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With sincere gratitude, I would like to thank the many people that have supported me throughout my scholarly journey. I am beyond appreciative for my advisor, Dr. Greg Ramshaw, whose mentorship and friendship has truly changed my life. Your patience, humor, and honesty have been an inspiration, and I am honored to have worked by your side. To my committee, Dr. Bill Norman, Dr. Lauren Duffy, Dr. Cameron Bushnell, and Dr. Ken Backman, thank you for your guidance and unique perspectives, and for giving me the opportunity to pursue this research project. To my family, thank you for your unwavering support. To Clemson University, thank you for allowing me the opportunity to fulfill a lifelong dream. I am privileged to be a part of the Clemson family. Finally, to my fellow Parks, Recreation, and Tourism Management graduate students, I am grateful to have made the journey with you. Thank you for your friendship, advice, inspiration, and commiseration. To the students who are reading this now, as others have done in their dissertation acknowledgements, I say: Never give up. The destination is worth the journey.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1
   Introduction ................................................................. 1
   Background ......................................................................... 2
   Rationale ........................................................................... 5
   Purpose and Research Questions ........................................... 8
   Definition of Terms ........................................................... 9
   The Case Studies .............................................................. 10
   Case Study #1 – Jumping Frog Jubilee ................................ 11
   Case Study #2 – In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean .......... 13
   Case Study #3 – Hemingway Days ..................................... 13
   Significance of the Study .................................................. 16

2. LITERATURE REVIEW .......................................................... 20
   Literature and Literary Text ............................................... 20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literary Tourism</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Events and Festivals</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. METHODS</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study Methodology</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemological Framework</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study #1 – Jumping Frog Jubilee</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study #2 – In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study #3 – Hemingway Days</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Festivals</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jumping Frog Jubilee – Angels Camp, California</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemingway Days - Key West, Florida</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Festival – Seeley Lake, Montana</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacts of Text and Performance on Place</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumping Into the Book</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literature Frames Place</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature and Performance as Avenue for Other History</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption of Literary Identity</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacts of Text and Place on Performance</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Binds Place and Performance, Impels Participation</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influential Motivating Factors</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Places, Performance, and Personal Identity</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacts of Performance and Place on Text</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Enriched</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Readers</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparks Interest in Related Text</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Places, Literary Texts, and Tourist Performance</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature and Literary Places</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature and Literary Tourists</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delineating Literary Tourism Experiences</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Readers</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Interest and Aesthetics</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practical Implications</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Tourism Sparks Interest in Related Texts</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Literary Places</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Research</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of Present Study</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Festivals</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longitudinal Readership Study</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text as Travel Preparation</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lit Fest to Movie Fest</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controversial Literary Subject Matter</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsanctioned Literary Places and Literary Tourism at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unconnected Places</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookstores and Libraries</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetics and Tourism</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Observation Template</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Jumping Frog Jubilee Interview Guide</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Interview Guide</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament Interview Guide</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Hemingway Days Running of the Bulls Interview Guide</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (Continued)

PAGE

F. Informed Consent Verbal Script for Interviews.......................... 180

REFERENCES ..................................................................................... 181
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Thematic Findings .......................................................... 65
LIST OF FIGURES

PAGE

Figure 1. Jumping Frog ........................................................................................................ 67
Figure 2. “Papas” at the Running of the Bulls, Hemingway Days ................................. 71
Figure 3. Advertisement for the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival .................................................................................................................. 77
Figure 4. Downtown Angels Camp, California ................................................................ 99
Figure 5. Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament Participant ......................................... 121
Figure 6. Place / Literature Relationship Scale .............................................................. 145
Figure 7. Text / Visitor Relationship Scale ................................................................ 147
Figure 8. Literary Place Experience Matrix ................................................................. 148
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Books and travel are inseparable. From inspiring destination choices to offering vacationers a diversion from the hustle and bustle of a crowded plane or train, books, short stories, and other literary texts have been a part of the travel experience for as long as anyone can remember. Who hasn’t wanted to visit a particular place or historic era because of a book they’ve read? Walk in the footsteps of a character from their favorite novel? Go on an epic adventure worthy of its own literary depiction? Literature makes armchair travelers of us all. It gives us a way to mentally visit a place we have never been before. It teaches us how to imagine and what to desire within otherwise unfamiliar and far-flung landscapes. Even in the electronic age, it is rare to board a plane without seeing a fellow passenger settling into a seat with a popular novel in tow, or to enjoy a day at the beach or afternoon at the pool without noticing another sunbather deeply engrossed in that latest New York Times bestseller you have been meaning to pick up. And, when is the last time you have been through an airport without seeing one of those stores filled with $8 bottles of water, tacky ‘I-forgot-to-get-you-a-souvenir’ trinkets, and racks upon racks of books and magazines? Literature and travel are complementary concepts; the connections between them are undeniable and the relationship is at once both obvious and intimate.

So linked are travel and literature in fact, that people trek by the tens of thousands to places of literary importance each year in order to participate in site-specific activities
(see for example FL Dept. of State, 2015; Massachusetts State Parks, 2015; Nelson, 2012). From Key West to California, Boston to Missoula, literary sites attract visitors by offering them the opportunity to walk in an author’s footsteps (Buell, 1989), see a landscape through a character’s eyes, or even act out scenes from their favorite literary works in their original settings (Watson, 2006). In many cases, travelers seem inspired by specific literary texts. People travel far and wide in order to meditate upon and wade in the serene waters of Walden Pond (Mass. State Parks, 2015), jump frogs in the real Calaveras County, and go fly-fishing in the actual river from *A River Runs Through It*. However, in many cases these tourist “performances”, or participatory actions, like those considered by Edensor (1998; 2000, 2001), Crouch (2002), and Light (2009) also appear to be reliant upon the settings where they take place; for it is only at these specific sites that visitors can engage with the same landscape as the authors and literary characters who made them famous did (Buell, 1989). In response, many literary destinations have taken to hosting annual festivals that celebrate and commemorate related authors and their literary works, and offer visitors the opportunity to act out specific scenes from related literary texts. Attracting tens of thousands of visitors to literary destinations in single week or weekend, these literary festivals bring together large crowds of tourists and often enact scenes from related literary texts as a part of the celebration (Nelson, 2012).

**Background**

Despite interest from scholars in other aspects of literary tourism however, such as tourist motivations (Herbert, 2000, 2001), site development (Lowe, 2012a, 2012b), and
authenticity (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001) little, if any, empirical research appears to have explored either literary festivals specifically, or the links between the seemingly intimately related features of literary tourism including literature, place, and tourist performance more generally. Further, scholars from other disciplines have explored various features of tourist performance and the importance of place (Edensor, 1996, 2000, 2001), and speculated about the impact of travel on textual interpretation and comprehension (Buell, 1989; Groth, 1997; Pocock, 1981), yet consideration of literary-inspired performance in relationship to either of these concepts is lacking. Some scholars agree that both place and tourist performance influence, but do not predict, one another (Edensor, 1999, 2000, 2001; Crouch, 2002). Instead, other mediating factors are thought to influence them both. While scholars agree that literature is clearly one of those factors that influences both the tourist’s perception of place as well as what they “do” while visiting there, the connections between specific literary texts, literary places and tourist performances are poorly understood. In this sense, tourist performance refers to the notion that tourists, as social actors, enact certain touristic actions or performances when travelling that, in turn, work to both define them as tourists and the location as a tourism destination. Consideration of literature-inspired tourist performances is important because they both help to maintain the very identity of certain destinations (Massey, 1993) as ‘literary’, and therefore ‘special’ (Buell, 1989; Earl, 2008; Herbert, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Pretes, 2003; Watson, 2006; Westover, 2012); and are also thought aid in the canonization of related literary texts as ‘classics’ (Buell, 1989). Further, the connections between place, performance and specific literary texts are important because it is
ultimately the text itself that acts as the foundation upon which countless destinations claim literary demarcation. And though many literary sites are popular because they have acted as the setting for a famous literary work, thus exhibiting a direct connection to a specific text, countless others are devoted to the authors who created them. Yet an author often only becomes famous because of the literary works he or she created. Regardless, little scholarly attention has focused on how specific literary works are related to specific tourism destinations. Additionally, very little scholarly research appears to have focused on literary festivals as a unique type of event (see Johanson & Freeman, 2012), yet anecdotal evidence suggests that they are enduringly popular around the world.

In the current experience economy where tourists are increasingly looking for novel, unique, and immersive experiences (see Pine & Gilmore, 1998) and destinations are working tirelessly to distinguish themselves from competitors, understanding how tourist experiences in seemingly ‘special’ destinations are cultivated and influenced by other factors such as place, text, and performance is important for both scholars and those working in the tourism industry. Comprehending the factors that influence tourist behavior and the experiences they garner from those performances would allow scholars to better understand how these aspects are governed by popular culture, art, and individual perception, and would offer destinations insight into how to best attract and satisfy visitors. Thus, the purpose of this multi-case study was to explore, in depth, the links between literary destinations, tourist performances, and the specific literary texts that inspire them using events at several literary festivals as case studies.
Rationale

On a wider scale, a number of scholars point out that even research on tourist performance more generally is lacking (Edensor, 2000; Crouch, 2002) and call for a further exploration of the “tourist experience and the tourism site under the same framework”; namely a tourist performance framework (Rickly-Boyd, Knudsen, Braverman & Metro-Roland, 2014). Scholars contend that the “tourist is central to the understanding of tourism” and is not separate from the spatial and social encounters afforded to him or her by travel (Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry, 2004, p. 106). Others go on to assert that scholars should further consider how landscapes are constructed on the basis of a set of literary texts, how they are read, and how they act as a “mediating influence, shaping behavior in the image of a text” (Duncan & Duncan, 1988). Yet, only a handful of studies have considered the connections between literature and tourist performance specifically. Cloke (2007), for instance, has argued that certain places become ‘creative destinations’ based, in part, on the tourist’s ability to participate in the performative practice of placing imaginative literary texts in that location. Meanwhile, Crouch (2002) contends that visitors use various site-related literary texts and storylines as emotional frameworks upon which to build their own sense of place; and in this sense recognizes that place meaning is, at once, both shared and individually perceived (see also Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014, p. 2). On the other hand, several scholars have speculated that site-specific, literary-inspired performances may impact how the related literary text is interpreted (Crouch, 2002; Pocock, 1981; Squire, 1994). Buell (1989) for example, explores how a literary text takes on and maintains contemporary
cultural significance through literature-inspired tourist performances. He asserts that both literary texts and the authors who penned them become canonized as classics by maintaining and perpetuating relevance through tourism. In this sense, performance is thought to make the literary past present (Coleman & Crang, 2002). Others argue that the impact of tourist performance at literary sites is more personal, affecting individual readers in different ways (Bulson, 2006; Crouch, 2002; Squire, 1994). They contend that once the reader has experienced a literary place firsthand, he or she will have a new context within which to place the literary text, and will therefore read it anew upon their next encounter with it (Crouch, 2002; Squire, 1994). Again, however, little research has addressed how literature, place, and what tourists ‘do’ at those places, work to influence one another.

Given how literary festivals held at literary destinations appear to be particularly popular venues for the enacting of literary-inspired tourist performances, they were examined as a means of exploring how literature, place, and performance are connected to one another. Festivals are often defined as “sacred or profane times of celebration” (Falassi, 1987, p. 2) wherein public events are held to commemorate a particular person or a specific occasion such as an annual harvest or other important anniversary (Getz, 1991). In other words, festivals are both celebratory and social by definition. Further, since festivals are inherently both communal and themed, they also work to reflect, though various symbols and symbolic rituals, the ideologies, values, and worldviews of the host community (Bakhtin, 1998; Falassi, 1987; Farber, 1983; Getz, 1991). However, festivals are also seen as times when a community’s usual social habits are eschewed and
a more festive, open, fun, and playful cultural ambiance is embraced instead (Getz, 1991, p. 55). Bakhtin (1998) refers to this imagined hierarchy-free social atmosphere as the carnivalistic; a time when real life is suspended and everyone is an “active participant” in the celebration that turns normal life on its head by combining “the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, and the wise with the stupid” (Bakhtin, 1998, p. 251). Many scholars go on to contend that this festive atmosphere is evoked primarily by the spatial and temporal settings of the event itself, arguing that public spaces are christened during the festival’s opening ceremony as venues for social celebration and their boundaries often demarcated with themed decorations (see Bakhtin, 1998; Getz, 1991). In this sense, literary festivals appear to encourage tourists to participate in certain site-specific rituals by providing them with the social, spatial, and temporal frameworks within which to perform such acts. Further, literary festivals, or the celebration of books or their authors, are perhaps the best examples of the carnivalistic aspect of festivals given how they often combine the polar opposites of high and low culture by hosting both critical literary discussions and parties, writing contests and alcohol-induced shows of mockery, appearances by distinguished authors and subversive parodies of classic literary works (see for example, Johanson & Freeman, 2012; Pottle, 2009) and the solitary (act of reading) with the social (Johanson & Freeman, 2012). Thus, literary festivals which offer “opportunities for the desires of readers to be fulfilled when the packaged form of the book and the solitary practice of reading represent obstacles to fulfillment” (Johanson & Freeman, 2012, p. 312) were prime cases within which to explore the connections between literature, place, and tourist
performance. While scholars have considered these concepts from a variety of perspectives and recognized a number of overlapping themes, a holistic and comprehensive understanding of how they work together is still lacking. Thus, the purpose of this study was to link the concepts of literature, place, and tourist performance in order to better understand how each affects one another.

**Purpose and Research Questions**

In order to investigate the meanings that literature, literary places, and participation in performances at those places hold for people, and the how each component relates to one another, this exploratory study utilized a case study research approach. Stake (2000) points out that a case study is a “choice of what is to be studied” (p. 435). In other words, a case study is used to examine social phenomena when other frameworks, or methodical approaches are inadequate or do not exist for collecting appropriate data (Creswell, 2007). Given how this study is meant to examine a variety of overlapping aspects of the literary tourism experience, a case study approach was appropriate because it allowed data to be collected in a variety of ways, thus producing a more complete and well-rounded understanding of the phenomenon than any single data collection method alone might yield (see Yin, 2014). The approach fits the exploratory nature of this research by allowing the research to examine the phenomenon of literary tourism within real world contexts. Denizen and Lincoln (2005), among others, agree that qualitative research is an appropriate method for “capturing the individual’s point of view” through “detailed interviewing and observation” because it often yields rich descriptions of real world social processes (p. 12). Thus, qualitative research is
advantageous when studying social phenomena such as travel and tourism because it allows the researcher to study people in a natural setting (Bailey, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Denizen & Lincoln, 2005). Such qualitative field research is often begun with “an overarching question… that leads to more specific research questions” (Bailey, 2007, p. 4). Thus, the following research questions were outlined:

**Overarching Research Question: What are the connections between literary places, literary texts, and tourist performance?**

**Q#1:** How do literary texts and tourist performance contribute to perceptions of place?

**Q#2:** How do literary text and place work together to influence what tourists ‘do’ at literary destinations?

**Q#3:** How does participation in activities at literary places impact participants’ interpretation of the related literary text?

**Definition of Terms**

**Festivals / Special Events** – Special events are infrequently occurring or one-time public events (Getz, 1991). Festivals are always themed, celebratory or commemorative of something, thus the rituals, or repeated and routinized performances enacted by participants during such events (Gilmore, 1998) are always reflective of the dominant values and ideologies of the host community (Bakhtin, 1998; Falassi, 1983; Farber, 1983; Gilmore, 1998).  

**Literature / Literary Text** - A discourse (Ohmann, 1971; Wellek & Warren, 1956) expressed through a printed medium (wherein words are inscribed on a page either
virtually or on paper) and distributed en masse (Steen, 1999; Wellek & Warren, 1956; see also “Literature, n.”, 2015).

**Tourist Performance / Tourist Behavior** – Based on the notion that an individual “presents himself” or ‘performs’ particular scripts and actions based upon the ‘stage’ he is on (i.e. the physical and social setting he is in), and the ‘audience’ or other people who are in attendance (Goffman, 1959). In this sense, tourist performance refers to the ways in which people behave within and engage with the destination being visited.

**Place** – Space made meaningful (Buell, 2008; Rickly-Boyd, Knudsen, Braverman & Metro-Roland, 2014; Tuan, 1974; Lefebvre, 1974). Where space mainly refers to the idea of a physical geographic setting or area that can be defined within a set of, usually, quantitative parameters (e.g. longitude and latitude, elevation, etc.) (Lefebvre, 1974), place on the other hand usually refers to the idea that a location is comprised of something more meaningful, multifaceted, and historically contingent than numbers can express (Tuan, 1977).

**The Case Studies**

To answer these questions, literature-inspired events at three different literary festivals of varying size, vintage, and geographic locale were used as case studies for this research following Yin’s (2014) embedded (multiple units of analysis) multiple-case study design wherein each case is studied independently from the others, but from which overarching conclusions may be drawn (Yin, 2014, p. 50). Events held during the Jumping Frog Jubilee in Calaveras County, California, the Footstep of Norman Maclean Literary Festival in Seeley Lake, Montana, and Hemingway Days in Key West, Florida
were used as cases for this study. These cases were thought to best illustrate the concepts being studied because they are both similar in that they are all literary events held at literature-related destinations in the U.S. and offered visitors the chance to participate in site-specific literary performances, yet varied in that they took place in markedly different locales representing very different social and geographic American landscapes, were of quite different vintages (the Jumping Frog Jubilee has been around since 1928, the Norman Maclean festival is in its inaugural year, and the 35th annual Hemingway Days takes place this summer), were representative of various eras of American literary history (Twain’s *The Celebrated Frog* was published in 1865, Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* in 1926, and Maclean’s *River* in 1976) and offered quite different opportunities for tourist performances. Scholars point out that it is important for researchers to balance variety and similarity when choosing their cases for study to ensure that an accurate understanding of the phenomenon being studied can be achieved (Denizen & Lincoln, 2005, p. 451; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005). Thus, while ideally a wider range of cases could have been selected for this study, which might have represented a more varied set of authors, genres, or types of literary works related to the practice of literary tourism, time and financial commitments were taken into consideration when cases were chosen.

**Case Study #1: The Jumping Frog Jubilee – Angels Camp, California**

The first case study focused on the frog jump contest at the Jumping Frog Jubilee in Angels Camp, California; an event which takes place the third weekend of May every year during the annual Calaveras County Fair. Calaveras County, and more specifically

the city of Angels Camp, is perhaps best known as the one-time home of famous American author, Mark Twain, and the setting of his first widely popular publication *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* (Calaveras County, 2015; Twain, 1865). The four-day contest offered visitors the chance to encourage, via various entertaining means, their own frog (or one which may be ‘rented’) to leap further than any other amphibian in the county. Governed by a laundry list of regulations, participants eagerly compete, one-minute at a time, to qualify for one of the 50 spots in the final round which culminates the event on Sunday afternoon.

Inspired by their literary notoriety, Calaveras County began hosting the annual Jumping Frog Jubilee almost a century ago in 1928 (Calaveras County, 2015). Since then the event has become world famous and boasts an annual attendance of around 15,000 people (Nelson, 2012). Twain’s (1865) original story tells the tale of local man who once owned a frog who possessed the incredible ability to jump further than any other frog in the entire area. One day the local man encountered a stranger who challenged him to a frog jumping contest for the prize of a small fortune. The local agreed, foreseeing nothing but a sure bet, but ultimately ends up being cheated out of victory by the stranger who had secretly weighed down the normally triumphant amphibian. Thus, perhaps miffed by the far-fetched frog-tampering storyline and a desire to see for themselves, visitors flock by the thousands to the Calaveras Frog Jubilee year after year in order to emulate the scene from the famous novella, making the event prime for study.
Case Study #2: In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Festival – Seeley Lake, Montana

The second case study examined two events held during the first annual ‘In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival’ in Seeley Lake, Montana, which ran July 10th through July 13th, 2015. Both events, the “Afternoon Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes” on Saturday, July 11th, 2015 at 3pm, and the “Morning Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes” on Sunday, July 12th 2015 at 9am, shuttled visitors from Seeley Lake to three different areas of the Blackfoot River for short hiking tours of the fishing holes frequented by both the author Maclean, and the fictional characters he created. Norman Maclean is perhaps best known as the man who penned the bestselling novel *A River Runs Through It* (1976), and inspired the immensely popular 1992 film of the same name (Hepworth, 1992). Thus, although Maclean was a man of many talents, and the author of another popular book entitled *Young Men and Fire*, his work, *A River Runs Through It*, figured most prominently into many of the Footsteps Festival events. The Footsteps Festival website even promises that Maclean’s most well-known story would “come alive” for visitors during each 3 ½ hour Fishing Hole tour, citing both specific scenes from the book and movie, and their locations as justification. Given how In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival managers were clearly trying to connect a specific literary work with the a specific geographic location for the purpose of tourist entertainment and participation, the events lent themselves nicely to this study.

Case Study #3: Hemingway Days – Key West, Florida

Lastly, two events held during the Hemingway Days festival in Key West, Florida comprised the third and final case for study. The annual celebration of late Pulitzer Prize
winning author, Ernest Hemingway, from Tuesday, July 21\(^{st}\), to Sunday, July 26\(^{th}\), 2015 featured a number of activities including a literary competition, appearances by Hemingway’s decedents, a look-alike contest, and various other happenings held all over the author’s adopted island home. Two events in particular, the ‘Running of the Bulls’ and the island’s Marlin Tournament offered visitors the opportunity to act out specific scenes from the author’s most famous literary works, *The Sun Also Rises* and *The Old Man and the Sea*.

While both novels feature deep sea fishing prominently in their respective storylines, it is Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea* which tells of an aging angler who, spurned by bad luck, takes off one day to fish the waters off the Florida coast in hopes of catching break. And, catch a break he does. The man snags a huge marlin… but his luck runs out again when he is unable to pull it aboard and is instead forced to drag the massive animal to shore tempting all manner of sea creatures along the way. Exhausted and discouraged, the fisherman hauls himself home and heads to bed only to find, the next morning, that his catch, now nothing but a carcass, has attracted a crowd because of its extraordinary size. Hoping to outdo Hemingway’s protagonist angler, or at least their fellow competitors, hundreds of contemporary fishermen flock to Key West each year to participate in the island’s annual Marlin Tournament. The island’s Visitor’s Bureau even boasts that “for anglers, the Key West Marlin Tournament provides a chance to emulate Ernest's passion for deep-sea fishing” (Florida Keys, 2015). In addition to the Hemingway experience, tournament participants could also win up to $25,000 in cash.
prizes by earning points for the weight, size, and types of fish caught over the course of the three-day competition (Key West Marlin, 2015).

The other event seemingly directly related to one of Hemingway’s works was the annual ‘Running of the Bulls’ which started outside the author’s favorite area drinking hole, “Sloppy Joes Bar” on Saturday July 25th at 3pm and proceeded down the famed Duval Street through the heart of Key West. While usually associated with the world famous event in Pamplona, Spain, Key West has held its own spoof of the bovine dash annually in celebration of the author’s July 21st birthday. Though Ernest Hemingway himself was known to have participated in Spain’s original version of the event (Hemingway, 2004), he also wrote about both the Running of the Bulls and Spanish bull fighting in his immensely popular 1926 novel *The Sun Also Rises*. In the book, his protagonist, Jake, watches from a balcony as the famed bulls chase people through the narrow streets of Pamplona to the ring where the bull fighting occurs. Once the bulls are safely corralled, Jake and his friends attend the bullfights, but do not simply sit and watch in horror. Instead they notice, discuss, and critique the matadors’ management of the large beasts as if it were an art form in and of itself. Afterwards, the group agrees that attending a bullfight is exhausting and head off to cure their ills with a bottle, or two, of booze at the local watering hole.

Instead of live farm animals, Key West’s ‘Running of the Bulls’ featured a herd of rolling “man-made bulls indigenous to Key West” (Florida Keys, 2015). Each year the ‘bulls’ are pushed, ridden, and dragged by Hemingway look-alike contest winners for several blocks around the island’s old town area before being corralled back at the
parade’s starting point in front of Sloppy Joe’s Bar. Before and after the Run, tourists can hang out at the ‘Bull Ring’ where they can ‘ride’ the bulls and take photos with look-alikes who, affectionately known as “Papas”, don traditional Bull Run attire: white pants and shirts, red bandanas, and red berets… and of course, full, stout white beards reminiscent of Hemingway himself. Although the majority of tourists do not qualify to participate as ‘runners’ in the event, they can actively watch, consider, and discuss the run and the bulls with fellow observers just as Hemingway’s characters did in *The Sun Also Rises*. After the Bull event finishes, many tourists also take the literary characters’ lead and head to the local watering hole, in this case, Sloppy Joe’s Bar, to grab a drink for themselves. Thus, the direct relationship between specific literary works and performances enacted by tourists in Key West during Hemingway Days made these events excellent cases for inclusion in this study.

**Significance of the Study**

This research project will contribute to the field of tourism studies by beginning to reveal how mediating factors, such as literature, influence travel to and experiences at various destinations. It could also help scholars to gain a better understanding of how place values are constructed and what that means in terms of tourist behaviors, how the imagined histories of places (in this case, the stories told in literary texts) are influential in the tourist experience, and how literature may work as a framework for tourist experiences. While various factors certainly influence how people travel and what they do upon reaching their destinations, a better understanding of even one those components - literature (a component whose popularity has spurred the creation of innumerable tourist
destinations no less) would provide scholars with a better picture of how tourist experiences are cultivated, understood, and reliant upon the social and physical environments where they take place.

In addition to contributing to the field of tourism studies, this research project will also contribute to a number of other interdisciplinary fields such as heritage studies, cultural geography, literary geography, and festival studies. This study could help heritage scholars to better understand how fictional images of the past (in this case the stories in literary texts) influence certain cultural practices, which, in turn are seen to both create and solidify place and related artifact significance (Smith, 2006, see also Buell, 1989; Harvey, 2001). It may also help scholars to better understand how the individual practice of reading and subjective interpretation contributes to the social practice of festival, ritual, and commemoration. Further, this study will help both heritage scholars and cultural geographers to better understand how places are conceptualized and valued by contemporary society as well as how these modern conceptualizations are constructed, which in turn, may reveal how certain ideologies continue to be perpetuated within particular landscapes and through particular social practices. In this sense, the study may also highlight how literary images endure even in the electronic age.

Literary geographers, on the other hand, are increasingly interested in the mapping and placing of literary landscapes within real and visitable places (Blumenthal, 2015; Bruckner & Hsu, 2007), yet little research has explored the impacts that actually visiting these places based such maps and guides may have on readers, visitors, or the literary text itself. This research project, however, begins to reveal how the placing of
imagined, literary settings within real places affects readers and visitors as well as how
the it impacts their interpretation of the related literary work. Additionally, given that
very little research within the event and festival studies field has considered literary
festivals as their own type of celebration wherein the solo acts of reading and writing are
appreciated and engaged in collectively, this research project will also contribute a new
understanding of their distinctiveness to the event and festival studies field.

This study may also be useful for literary scholars or teachers. Given that travel to
places associated with literary works or their authors has long been seen as a means of
changing or even improving the ways in which one interprets a related book or story, it
stands to reason that if this is true, it could be employed as more recognizable method of
teaching and learning about literary texts. However, with little empirical evidence to
support or explain if and how this process works, this inkling remains little more than
heavily suggested scholarly speculation.

Further, given the number of destinations claiming literary association, hosting
literature-related festivals, and even being overrun with tourists almost instantaneously
upon association with newly published popular fiction (as was the case in Forks,
Washington which served as the setting of Stephanie Meyers ‘Twilight’ book series),
tourism practitioners including Convention and Visitors’ Bureaus and festival organizers,
as well as local citizens and other stakeholders would likely have an interest in
understanding how their literary associations influences tourism in the area. A better
understanding of literary tourism practices might allow stakeholders in various literary
destinations to offer tourists more of what they want, better plan infrastructure and/or
events around these practices, and capitalize on trends or even reinvigorate antiquated literary connections and celebrations.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature and Literary Text

Before delving into a review of the literary tourism scholarship and studies on related features of the phenomenon, it is important to clarify what is meant by the term ‘literature’ and its synonyms ‘literary text’ and ‘literary work’. Literature is a notoriously difficult concept to define (Eagleton, 1983; Steen, 1999; Ohmann, 1971; Wellek & Warren, 1956; Williams, 1976). Nonetheless a number of scholars throughout history have attempted to delineate both what the word “literature” means and what constitutes a literary work. Both Eagleton (1996) and Steen (1999) for instance, discuss how scholars have attempted to describe what constitutes literature by examining individual works in comparison to prototypical, or average examples of works commonly identified as literature; how scholars have attempted to delineate literature based on a set of values and characteristics found in a written text; and how others have looked at whether or not a written text has the ability to create an imaginative world and elicit reader emotions in order to determine whether or not a particular written text should be considered a literary work. Others argue that only the individual reader can determine what is or isn’t literature (Steen, 1999), because it is up to them personally to read and determine the meaning of the literary text for themselves given that there is never any one meaning inherent in any literary work (Barthes, 1975; Eagleton, 1996; Rogers, 1991).

Though many theories abound, literature is often described as a discourse (Ohmann, 1971; Wellek & Warren, 1956) expressed through a printed medium (wherein
words are inscribed on a page either virtually or on paper) and distributed en masse (Steen, 1999; Wellek & Warren, 1956; see also “Literature, n.”, 2015). Scholars further contend that a work should be considered literature only when it demonstrates an aesthetic or artistic quality (Wellek & Warren, 1956), elicits an emotive reaction from the reader (Ohmann, 1971; Steen, 1999), and adequately creates an imaginative world within which characters and their storylines may unfold without “illocutionary force”, or without trying to influence the reader to do something directly. In other words, it is “a discourse abstracted, or detached from the [current] circumstances and conditions” of the reader’s world (Ohmann, 1971, p. 13; see also Eagleton, 1996). Thus when talking about literary tourism, most scholars are discussing travel associated with highly imaginative literature as defined above and taking the form of poems, plays, short stories, or novels which are seen as particularly descriptive and thus influential upon readers’ understanding of place (see also Williams, 1976). This distinction of literary text is important in this context given how many other things may be ‘read’ as ‘text’ by tourists upon travelling.

**Literary Tourism**

While literature and travel have long been associated with one another, scholarship on the phenomenon of literature-related tourism remains relatively sparse; seemingly regarded as an endeavor in the exploration of just another tourism niche (Luftig, 1996). However, several scholars contend that literary tourism, or the practice of visiting sites associated with authors, their literary works, or points of inspiration (Herbert, 2001; Ousby, 1990; Watson, 2006; Westover, 2012) is, in addition to being an exceedingly popular form of tourism (Lowe, 2012), also a means of creating and maintaining
imagined social and national communities (Lowe, 2012; Pretes, 2003), canonizing specific literary texts as ‘classics’ (Buell, 1989), and influencing how place-related literary texts are interpreted (Buell, 1989; Groth, 1997; Pocock, 1981; Squire, 1994). Laing & Frost (2012) even go on to argue that all contemporary tourists, regardless of their travel motivations, destinations, or experiences, are literary travelers who have been influenced by books in one way or another. Citing examples from a variety of works, they show how literature has primarily represented travel as a transformative endeavor. A story, by virtue they point out, always consists of a central character, the protagonist, who goes on a ‘journey’ (either geographically or metaphorically) and comes out changed on the other side. It is this enduring stereotype they claim, which has taught us to expect the same out of our own travel experiences.

For much of history, however, books were not widely available and literacy was not commonplace among the general public. Thus, early literature-inspired tourists, particularly those in the U.K. studied through historic examination by Ousby (1990) and Watson (2006) are seen as devoted pilgrims who, equipped with the appropriate financial means and educational and cultural backgrounds, traveled to certain places specifically because of a related text or literary figure. Ousby (1990) contends that this practice was initiated sometime around 1400 when The Canterbury Tales poet, Geoffrey Chaucer was entombed within the walls of Westminster Abby and began drawing mourning fans, some fifty years before Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press in 1450. Later, he argues, the practice of literary pilgrimage gained popularity during the Protestant Reformation when the power of the church was in decline and people had to find other
‘saints’ and ‘shrines’ to worship thus turning to literary figures and related places as equivalent replacements.

Today, literary pilgrims are still thought to exist given that some literary figures continue to be worshipped as the secular equivalent of scared saints (Buell, 1989), or at least revered as symbolic figures worthy of adoration in their own right (Lowe, 2012; Pocock, 1992; Squire, 1994), however, most scholars agree that the contemporary practice of literary tourism is more widely a casual endeavor requiring no specialized knowledge or motivation on behalf of the traveler (Herbert, 1996, 2001: Lowe, 2012; Westover, 2012). Rather, anyone visiting a literature-related site or destination is now seen as a literary tourist regardless of their reason for being there or their familiarity with the related literary text. Interestingly however, the only empirical evidence to support this hypothesis comes from just two studies - both conducted by Herbert (1996, 2001) who surveyed visitors at three artistic and literary places in France, and two literary places in the U.K., and found that while people were visiting for a variety of reasons, most had a good “general awareness” of the related literary texts though little detailed knowledge of the related author or specific literary characters or storylines.

Regardless, tourists see connections to literature and the authors who penned them as justification for visiting literary-specific sites over other heritage sites (Earl, 2008; Herbert, 1996, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Pretes, 2003). Scholars contend that it is the layering of literary significance and the meeting of the real and the fictional at literary places which gives them special meaning and emotional value (Herbert, 1996, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Watson, 2006). In literary scholar Buell’s (1989) exploration of Walden Pond, its
connection to Henry David Thoreau, and its image as a literary pilgrimage destination, he found that the site took on a special meaning for visitors because only at that specific place could they actually attempt to see through the author’s eyes the same landscape about which he wrote. In this sense, it is thought that “visitors see literary places as landscapes awaiting imaginative repossession” and as “enchanted points of entry into a fantasy world” (Watson, 2006, p. 5).

This concept is what geographer, Soja (1996) and literary scholar, Tally (2012) call ‘third space’, or the conjuring and projecting of real or imagined memories upon present experiences and landscapes. For instance when, upon hearing a song on the radio, a listener may be reminded of their high school prom, or wedding day, or other momentous event and are therefore at that point in time experiencing both the past (through the mental image which has been conjured) and the present time and place which they physically occupy. In other words, ‘third space’ refers to places where the imagined is layered upon reality. Thus, both scholars contend that places may exist at once as both real and imagined (Soja, 1996; Tally, 2012). Literary scholar Westover (2012) who examined literary London contends that at literary places, visitors are always experiencing third space because readers cannot help but actively remember a literary work while experiencing a place it is tied to.

In this sense, both Luftig (1996) and Lowe (2012) contend that at literary tourism destinations, the reality of the place is often eclipsed by the author’s textual description of it. For instance, in the case of Dublin examined by Luftig (1996), “the images [of the city] in Ulysses are so strong that they render the reality irrelevant… the visitor to Dublin,
even the visitor who has never read Joyce… does not enter a city of the present… he or she enters a city of the past: Joyce’s city… the visitor sees Dublin as a permanent double-take: first as a myth, second as a fact” (Luftig, 1996, p. 145). And, examination of *Mark Twain’s Homes and Literary Tourism* in the U.S., led historian Lowe (2012) to assert that most visitors to literary places want to know more about the lives of the characters in the novels than the actual history of the area or the authors themselves. However, Lowe is not alone in her assessment (see also Herbert, 2001; Pocock, 1992). Muresan and Smith (1998), for instance, also found that tourists in Romania wanted to see and hear more about ‘Dracula’ at the historic Bran Castle in Transylvania than they did about the actual history of the site itself, and in the Bronte Sisters’ hometown Alexander (2008) points out that “visitors have always come to Haworth with ‘popular’ expectations of the house: imagined ‘memories’ derived from the novels” (p. 95). Thus, many visitors are thought to believe that fictional literary accounts of landscapes are real, and thus scholars speculate that they may therefore be disappointed when their expectations are not met (Muresan & Smith, 1998; Robb, 1998; Watson, 2006).

**Place**

While literary tourism scholars are concerned only with literary places, scholars across a variety of disciplines argue that throughout history, literature has played a critical role in the way *all* places are perceived, valued and understood by locals and visitors alike. Essentially, place is space made meaningful (Buell, 2008; Rickly-Boyd, Knudsen, Braverman & Metro-Roland, 2014; Tuan, 1974; Lefebvre, 1974). Where space mainly refers to the idea of a physical geographic setting or area that can be defined
within a set of, usually, quantitative parameters (e.g. longitude and latitude, elevation, etc.) (Lefebvre, 1974), place on the other hand usually refers to the idea that a location is comprised of something more meaningful, multifaceted, and historically contingent than numbers can express (Tuan, 1977). Until the 1970’s when scholars like Lefebvre (1974) and Tuan (1974, 1977) began conceptualizing and arguing for the consideration of social space, geographers primarily viewed space as a sort of container or backdrop for human activity (Halttunen, 2006). Both Lefebvre (1974) and Tuan (1977) however, argued that places are socially constructed, wherein both their existence and meaning are dependent upon how people move through, interact with, think about, and represent both the cultural and physical features of them. In this sense, scholars also contend that place meaning is thus flexible and therefore contingent upon the contemporary conceptions of them and the actions of people within them (Buell, 2008; Lefebvre, 1974; Ryden, 1993; Stowkowski, 2002; Taun, 1977). In this sense, space is imbued with values through narrative which, in turn, works to produce and communicate notions of what a location means and what makes it a distinctive ‘place’ (Baker, 2007; Blair, 1998; Folsom, 2000; Hsu, 2005; Litwiler-Berte, 2007; Ryden, 1993; Shortridge, 1991; Soja, 1989; Tally, 2013; Urbain, 2003). In other words, space is made place through the process of narrative.

Following his initial monograph on space and place Taun (1977), and similarly, geographer, Relph (1976) worked to develop typologies of social space (e.g. home, sacred space, etc). Since then, scholarship on place and space has primarily been focused on the ways in which signs and symbols within place landscapes convey certain social
values and ideologies, or the ways in which peoples’ interactions with a place changes the identity of the place itself. Cultural and humanistic geographers, for example, contend that places can be “read” as text wherein a variety of signs and symbols situated within a landscape work together or in contrast to one another to express a particular ideology or set of values (Sauer, 1925; Lewis in Rickly-Boyd et al, 2014). Scholars such as Stokowski (2002) and Duncan and Duncan (1988; 2001), for instance, employ this semiotic examination (or study of representational signs and symbols) (Culler, 1977, 2002; Fry, 2012; Waterton & Watson, 2014) of place to show how physical settings manipulated by (both intentional and unintended or residual affects of) human activity are representative of, and therefore subtlety work to promote, hierarchical ideologies about gender and class in addition to race (see also McDowell, 1994). With this ‘reading the landscape as text’ notion in mind, literary scholars such as Pocock (1981) and Buell (1989), thus contend that some tourists visit literary sites in order to read the landscape as the associated author might have, looking for the unique site-specific signs and symbols within that particular place which might have inspired the writer to pen their great literary masterpiece. Literary tourism scholars, on the other hand, argue that tourists are more concerned with experiencing the ‘genius loci’ or the ‘spirit’ of a literary location that may have inspired a literary text than they are with actually attempting to decode the meanings of symbols within a literary landscape (Herbert, 2001; Hendrix, 2008; Frost, 2012; Watson, 2006). Regardless, scholars across disciplines tend to agree that readers may indeed learn something more about a literary text or its author by visiting an associated
literary destination (Buell, 1989; Groth, 1997; Pocock, 1981), though little empirical
evidence exists which supports this claim.

Counter to this touristic search for specific topographical signposts, Pocock
(1981) points out that accurate references to actual places within literary texts is an
important feature for readers because it works to make the story more realistic and
believable. In this sense, authors have been known to regularly find the inspiration for
their literary settings from within their own immediate surroundings. For instance, the flat
Midwest landscape of Red Cloud, Nebraska acts as the setting for a number of Willa
Cather’s classic books; Faulkner was known to model his fictional literary towns after his
own hometown in Lafayette County, Mississippi; and the influence of central California’s
coastlines and agricultural valleys is undeniably evident in the works of John Steinbeck
(Buell, 2008). Thus, Groth (1997) asserts that landscapes are important for both readers
and writers because of its material availability. The landscape, he says, allows for the
abstract processes of writing and reading to be placed in reality, thereby making it “more
concrete and knowable” (p. 20). Yet, Bulson (2006) and Watson (2006) contend that
visiting a location because of its relationship to a literary text actually works to diminish
the independent meanings of both the place and the text. Literary scholar Watson (2006)
explains: “to go to a place by the light of a book is at once to declare the place
inadequately meaningful without the literary signification provided by the book and to
declare the book inadequate without this specific, anxiously located referent or paratext”
(p. 7). In this sense, Santesso (2004) and Watson (2006) go on to argue that devoted
literary tourists are really just readers who have been left unfulfilled by the literary texts
themselves and are therefore searching out other means of engaging with a book or its author (see also Buell, 1989; Herbert, 2001; Westover, 2012).

In the United States, a number of scholars point to late 19th century American literature as the source of the regional identities like the American West, or the American Southeast, which are still widely recognizable today (Baker, 2007; Cox, 2011; Litwiller-Berte, 2007; McDonald, 2007; Ryden, 1993, 1999; Shortridge, 1991). It is asserted that the production of these culturally and geographically specific regions was due in large part to the literary genre known as the ‘Local Color Movement’, which was popular in books and widely distributed magazines just after the Civil War. During the era, authors penned rich (though often fictional or at least sensationalized) accounts of the everyday life, people, and landscapes, or, ‘local color’ of various locations and regions across the country. The wide distribution and readership of the stories worked to both create and solidify the regional images that are still popular today (Baker, 2007; Cox, 2011). In his survey of historic American literature Shortridge (1991) for example, shows how specific novels were pivotal in the creation of iconic (albeit often heavily stereotyped) images of regional personas and landscapes. Other literary scholars note that these texts were simply a reaction to the vast changes that America was undergoing in the 1800’s; a way to comprehend an overwhelming and unknown new American landscape (Johnson, 2004; Westover, 2012). Baker (2007) points out “the transformation of the United States… demanded a reconceptualization of the nation’s geographical scopes as well as a new narrative explanation of its relationship to other inhabitants… one can see this reconceptualization taking place in a variety of cultural artifacts of the period…novels are
perhaps the most obvious example” (p. 89). In turn, many 19th century literary works have become revered as national anthems, and their authors honored as founding father figures, particularly in the U.S. (Lowe, 2012). In this sense, many scholars see modern literary tourism as the secular equivalent of a religious pilgrimage in which shared origin stories or reverence can be discovered and reinforced (Buell, 1989, Ousby, 1990, Herbert, 2001, Watson, 2006, Lowe, 2012). Particularly in the U.S. this is see as a way to build and reinforce a national identity by evoking the idea of a ‘glorious shared past’ in a landscape that otherwise has no monuments to antiquity (apart from Native American ones which have long been underrepresented) (Pretes, 2003; Lowe, 2012). In this sense, the literary text acts a literary time machine wherein tourists may visit a version of the past through literature (Westover, 2012).

Regardless of how they are viewed, literary scholars, tourism scholars, and historians agree that textual descriptions of place fuel travel to those places because they allow readers the ability to ‘virtually’ experience a place before visiting (McDonald, 2007). Narratives, particularly books, which are immersive and personal in ways that other media isn’t (Laing & Frost, 2012), teach people how to imagine different places. These imagined adventures are necessary because they enable us to project possibilities and cultivate desires. In other words while we can never truly know what to expect, we must be able to ‘imagine’ something in order to desire it (Lengkeek, 2001). Westover (2012) explains that “in order for the metropolis to beckon to culture tourists”, for instance, “it had to become imagined as a place of social, historical and aesthetic richness” (p. 9). In this sense, literature also works to frame how people think about
associated places and influences their expectations of those places (Alexander, 2008; Bruckner, 2007; Iwashita, 2006; Muresan & Smith, 1998; Ryden, 1993; Tally, 2013).

In many literary destinations, the related author and their literary works are appropriated symbolically as a means of expressing other values (see Squire, 1994). Yet, while association with a specific piece of literature or story gives specific places special meaning, it may also create, improve, reinforce or even challenge place identity (Herbert, 2001; Johnson, 2004; Lowe, 2012; Westover, 2012). Myths, legend and narratives, for instance, provide new layers of meaning to the landscapes associated with them (Hewison, 1989) which is thought to enhance place appeal (Robb, 1998, Lengkeek, 2001, Laing & Crouch, 2009) particularly when those stories include real place settings that can be physically visited (Iwashita, 2005). In this sense, Herbert (1996, 2001) asserts that literary connections often give places the identity of being a tourist destination. Other layered meanings may work to change the meaning of a place. In other words, literary places are made special through text. Whether associated with a specific story or the author who penned it, it is the literary text that ultimately elevates both the author and the location to the level of celebrity. Other scholarship on place meaning and literary connections can be found in Rigney (2008), who uses the fitting example of the dedication of a Sir Walter Scott statue in New York’s Central Park in 1872 to show how “Scott had been symbolically ‘relocated’ in Central Park as a way of recalling Americans’ connection with a long literary tradition, but also as a way of ‘peopling’ the hitherto virgin ground of Manhattan with ‘new memories’ and ‘old traditions’” (Rigney, 2008). Once connections to a literary heritage are made, it can be incredibly difficult to
separate from them (Lowe, 2012). Therefore it seems that there is a need for these locations to have a comprehensive understanding of the literature connected to their place “through an analysis of narrative structure, metaphorical device and genre borrowing” (Johnson, 2004).

This close association between literature and place has drawn the attention of both literary geographers and literary scholars who have taken to mapping the imagined worlds described in various literary works, and humanistic geographers, who believe that literature can offer them extra insight into the meanings of certain places (Meinig, 1983; Pocock, 1981). For instance, literary scholar Tally (2013) suggests that in order to “understand the social construct of a place” one should define the space, then read any and all literary texts associated with that space (p. 140). Literary geographers, on the other hand, contend that by mapping out places as they are described in literary text, they can learn something more about the literary work or the author who penned it (Bulson, 2006). Some have even worked with cartographers to produce textually accurate maps of literary places in real landscapes specifically for tourist consumption (see Piatti in Tally, 2013). This “tradition of literary mapping” explains Bulson (2006) “is… deeply grounded in the belief that novels have the power to orient us in the physical environment” (p. 20). However, there is little scholarly evidence to suggest that literary geographers have gone beyond the map and into the actual physical landscapes themselves as a means of better understanding a related literary text.

Despite the efforts of humanistic geographers, Tally (2012) argues that the reader can never truly know a place through literary text because despite how accurately an
author may describe a place, the text itself is only a representation of the location and not
an actual means of experiencing the place first-hand. By nature literary text can offer
only an incomplete description of place (Hampson in Brooker & Thacker, 2005; Pocock,
1981) because, as literary scholars point out, place in text is often only expressed and
described through the movement of characters who jump not only from one setting to
another, but through time as they pop in and out of the narrative or experience flashbacks
to earlier scenes (Hampson in Brooker & Thacker, 2005). Thus, the reader’s perception
of the story’s setting is subject to the perspective of the narrative (Talleck in Brooker &
Thacker, 2005). In this sense, several literary scholars have examined the different ways
in which authors create literary worlds through text. Tally (2013), for example, considers
how, when a story is told through the perspective of one or more characters, the reader
becomes like a ‘flaneur’ or a person who is getting the average street level view and
experience of a place (p. 129; see also Talleck in Brooker & Thacker, 2005). In this
sense, he contends that the reader is also like a wanderer who is leisurely strolling
through an environment taking it in as they go, but having no particular endpoint in mind.
Another example can be found in the work of literary scholar Moretti (2005) who
considered how the narrative space created by literary text is often circular and not linear
in direction, meaning that it often centers around just a few geographic places or
reference points rather portraying characters as moving directly from point A to point B
wherein the reader might get a more accurate understanding of place.

Viewing literature as an accurate representation of place is further problematic
argues Pocock (1981) because literary landscapes are often portrayed as idyllic and
therefore somewhat unnatural or insignificant backgrounds that simply ground the story and the characters somewhere. Yet, by nature, literary settings exist in “a non-place realm” and are therefore never really visitable (Muresan & Smith, 1998; Robb, 1998; Watson, 2006). In turn, scholars contend that tourists searching out literary places may be disappointed upon arrival because real places often can’t live up to their idealized literary counterpart (Hazzard, 2008; Laing & Frost, 2012; Vogel, 1974). Pocock (1981) argues that this is due in part to the way in which literary texts use landmarks and geographic reference points as a way to familiarize the reader with imagined literary settings and to explain how the characters are moving through them (see also Bulson, 2006). However, the description of only select reference points (given that an author can never describe everything within a setting) often results in them having more significance in literature than they do in the real world (Moretti, 2005; Pocock, 1981; Soja, 1989). Nonetheless, Bulson (2006) argues that these ‘topographical signposts’ are important, especially for modern readers who suffer from a “transcendental homelessness” (a condition of the modern world) and thus need them in literature in order to feel more comfortable within an otherwise unfamiliar (imagined) setting (p.2; see also Soja, 1989). This seems to echo MacCannell’s (1999) notion that the condition of postmodern man is a feeling of being ‘lost’ within his own society and thus uses tourism as a means of searching for authenticity in an otherwise unfamiliar and disorienting world. Despite its cartographic pitfalls however, Pocock (1981) argues that “fictive reality may transcend or contain more truth than the physical or everyday reality” to readers because of the universality of literature (p. 312). In other words, since literature is often symbolic where characters and
their storylines are metaphors for other larger personal or social conditions, readers can connect to them in their own personal ways.

Other literary tourism scholarship has considered the phenomenon related to specific sites and authors: Fawcett and Cormack (2001) for instance, developed a typology of authenticity at literary sites by examining places on Price Edward Island in Canada related to L.M. Montgomery, author of *Anne of Green Gables* (1998); while Iwashita (2006) looked at the influence of literary texts read during the childhood years and found that they were particularly influential in fueling travel desire and constructing expectations of place even later in life. Several studies have also focused the marketing of literary places (Muresan and Smith, 1998), volunteerism at literary sites (Smith, 2003), and satisfaction at literary destinations (Pocock, 1992). And a handful of others have considered literary destinations in relationship to Johnson’s (1986) ‘circuit of culture’ model wherein a cycle of taste and demand, production, and consumption are seen to mold literary places. In other words, scholars working under this framework contend that tourist taste works to influence the creation, production and theming of destinations, which in turn, are selectively consumed by tourists, which then dictates how places are themed, and so on.

Other scholarship on space and place has considered how a society’s spatial practices work to shape perceptions of place, and in turn, how place may influence those practices (see Ley, 1985; Lowenthal, 1961; Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014). In other words, scholars have explored the notion that place meaning is cultivated by a how society functions with and within a space, as well as how what people ‘do’ in those places is
influenced by the place itself (Lefebvre, 1974; Massey, 1993; Thrift, 1999; Taun, 1974). In this sense, Buell (2008) argues that “when you are...in a place, you are constructing it, whether you like it or not” (p. 677). With this in mind, many scholars recognize that tourism is one such example of those practices that works to shape conceptions of place and place meaning (Buell, 2008; Crouch, 2002; Massey, 1993). Tourism scholar Dean MacCannell (1999) explains that the tourist, for example, is involved in the creation of place through his “movement, markings, deployment of souvenirs, and of course, the creation of entire new environments for his pleasure” (p. xxi). In this sense, the tourist participates in specific touristic actions or social ‘performances’ that help to mold and perpetuate the identity of the place as, in this example, a tourist destination.

**Performance**

However, these social performances are not just confined to the phenomenon of tourism; rather, sociologist Bagnall (2003) contends that contemporary society as a whole, is characteristically performative, arguing that meaning of all kinds is derived from how people engage with their physical and social surroundings. This idea of performance is based on Goffman’s (1959) notion that all social interaction is performative. In other words, Goffman argues that all individuals act in certain ways while in the presence of others. The way that people act in the presence of others reflects the way they want to be perceived by others. These images of self are projected through verbal communication and embodied actions and are influenced both by the social and physical settings where they take place, as well as the other individuals who are present. In other words, an individual “presents himself” or ‘performs’ particular scripts and
actions based upon the ‘stage’ he is on (i.e. the physical and social setting he is in), and
the ‘audience’ or other people who are in attendance (Goffman, 1959). Thus, the meaning
of anything, including place, is fluid, constantly in flux, and subject to the meaning it
holds for contemporary society (Bagnell, 2003; Buell, 2008; Coleman & Crang, 2002;
Edensor, 2000). In this sense, Coleman and Crang (2002) “suggest that instead of seeing
places as relatively fixed entities, to be juxtaposed in analytical terms with more dynamic
flows of tourists, images, and cultures, we need to see them as fluid and created through
performance” (p. 1).

In order to ‘know’ how to act within these settings however, scholars contend that
other factors beyond place and audience such as media, television, word-of-mouth, and
previous experience, play a mediating role (Edensor, 2000; Rickley-Boyd et al., 2014).
Literature, in this sense, is seen as particularly influential in teaching or at least showing
people how to act within particular destinations and related landscapes (Johnson, 2004;
Laing & Crouch, 2009; Litwiller-Berte, 2007; Westover, 2012). Though scholars agree
that no one factor can predict what tourist will ‘do’, or how they will perform in a given
destination, many recognize that “tourist practices are enframed and informed by
different discourses which provide practical orientations and cultivate subject positions,
specifying what actions should take place at particular places and times” (Alder in
Edensor, 2000, p. 325). In other words, tourist performances are influenced both by the
place itself (as discussed previously) and by the representations of it, which are often
found in film, promotional marketing materials, art, and literature and are encountered
prior to visiting (Edensor, 2000; Light, 2009). Light’s (2009) case study of tourists in
Transylvania, for example, revealed that visitors were regularly enacting performances “based on fantasy, myth, and imagined images [primarily those associated with Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*] brought with them from their home cultures” in order to make sense of the region (p. 240). In this sense however, Pocock (1981) argues that it is not so much the specifics of a literary work which influences tourist performance as it is the general idea that the story may take place within a given setting, and therefore gives readers a way to conceptualize a place they’ve not yet visited and a way to visualize the experiences that they may engage with upon arrival. This is important because tourists regularly use performances to make sense of artifacts and interpret landscapes in different places (Bagnell, 2003; Crouch, 2002), and to develop emotional connections that are thought to enhance one’s sense of place (Bagnall, 2003; Buell, 2008).

In this sense, performance has been described as an “enacting of space”, (adapted from Turner, 1969) wherein scholars argue that place is not simply experienced through a passive ‘gaze’ as tourism scholar, John Urry (1990) suggests (Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014). Rather, place is actively performed through *all* the senses (Bagnell, 2003; Coleman & Crang, 2002; Crouch, 2002); it is “seen, heard, smelled, imagined, loved, hated, feared, revered, enjoyed, or avoided” (Walter in Buell, 2008, p. 686). Recognizing this aspect of place, the field of “human geography has taken a ‘performative turn’ with greater focus on the enactment of space, the body, and embodied experiences (Thrift, 1996, 1999, 2000; Winchester, 2005, Wylie, 2007)” (Rickly-Boyd, 2014, p. 82). Following suit, tourism scholars have also begun to consider the notion of performance as something
worthy of studying in its own right (Bruner in Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014; Edensor, 2000; 2001).

Tourism is seen as an especially spatial and performative social phenomenon because it is a process based entirely on the movement of tourists, who travel from one place to another, in order to engage with a destination’s unique sense of place through participation in site-specific performances (Coleman & Crang, 2002; Crouch, 2002; Perkins & Thorns, 2001; Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014). A tourist visiting a tropical island, for example, may have traveled several thousand miles just to lie on a warm beach, feel the wet sand between his or her toes, smell the salty ocean air, and drink cocktails out of a coconut; yet all these touristic ‘performances’ work to both create and perpetuate the identity, or the sense of the place as a beach resort destination for both the tourist and within popular culture (see McDowell, 1994). In other words, scholars contend that tourism is an inherently spatial and bodily experience wherein the physical experience of being in a place is often the most meaningful for tourists in constructing their conception of place (Baerenholdt et al., 2004; Bagnall, 2003; Crouch, 2002; Perkins & Thorns, 2001). Thus, Rickly-Boyd et al. (2014) contend that place is performed through tourism and agree with Edensor (2000, 2001) who sees tourist sites as the unique ‘stages’ upon which travelers may ‘perform’ (see also Chaney in Edensor, 2000).

In turn, place, and place meaning are also thought to influence, but not necessarily predict, what people will ‘do’ while visiting a specific destination or site within that destination (Edensor, 2000, 2001; Ley, 1985; Lowenthal, 1961; McDowell, 1994). In other words, certain types of places may offer tourists the opportunities for, and entice
them to participate in, certain activities, or to enact certain touristic performances whilst subject to the “disciplinary gaze of co-participants” (Edensor, 2000, p. 326), but there is no guarantee that tourists will actually participate in those particular social behaviors at a specific time or place (Edensor, 2000). Instead, these touristic social performances are influenced by previous personal experience and mediated by what tourists bring with them from their own home cultures (Alder, 1998; Bagnall, 2003; Coleman & Crang, 2002; Crouch, 2002; Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014). Regardless, Edensor (2000) works to develop a typology of tourist places and modes of performance. He asserts that tourist places are either manifestations of ‘enclavic spaces’, wherein a “clear boundary… demarcates which activities may occur” (p. 327) or as ‘heterogeneous spaces’ wherein tourism is unplanned and merges with the other social practices occurring in the area. He later argues that these spaces influence whether tourist performances are enacted as a disciplined ritual wherein certain performances are expected, as improvised performances that may be spontaneous but are reliant upon other context or guidance (such as guidebooks) to provide a framework for the experience, or as unbounded performances wherein tourists choose for themselves which places to visit and how to engage with them (Edensor, 2000).

An example of an enclavic space would be a hotel lobby. Hotel lobbies are places built and maintained primarily for the use of tourists and to serve as the setting for the initial exchange between tourists and hotel employees. In this example, the hotel lobby acts as a stage upon which certain, expected social performances are enacted. A visitor arriving for the first time, for example, would expect to be greeted at the hotel door by a
valet to take the car and a bellhop to assist with the luggage. Upon entering the lobby, the tourist enacts an expected social performance him or herself: he or she approaches the front desk, states he or she has a reservation, and presents a credit card with the expectation that he or she will be given a key and a room number in exchange. Upon finding his or her room and having his or her luggage delivered, both the tourist and the bellhop expect that a monetary tip will be rewarded for the assistance and thus the social transaction is performed. While the hotel lobby provides a clear example of an enclavic space wherein certain social performances are expected and enacted accordingly, numerous other examples of enclavic space can be found within tourism destinations and their related landscapes.

**Special Events and Festivals**

Enclavic spaces may also be created temporarily, particularly during celebrations and other special events when public spaces are socially, spatially and temporally redefined as the stages upon which certain celebratory rituals should be performed (Bakhtin, 1998; Berridge, 2007; Edensor, 2000). Berridge (2007) argues that elements of ritual are, by nature, enacted at all special events, festivals, and carnivals. Special events, or infrequently occurring or one-time public events (Getz, 1991), such as literary festivals are always themed, celebratory or commemorative of something, thus the rituals, or repeated and routinized performances enacted by participants during such events (Gilmore, 1998) are always reflective of the dominant values and ideologies of the host community (Bakhtin, 1998; Falassi, 1983; Farber, 1983; Gilmore, 1998). Nonetheless, visitors are often driven to participate in special event and festival rituals and other
celebratory performances because they are seen as opportunities for unique physical and psychological experiences (Berridge, 2007; Getz & Cheyne, 2002). In turn, participants may experience a heightened emotional state or stronger feelings of relaxation, which may also work to influence how the setting of such performances and special events are perceived and valued by visitors (Getz & Cheyne, 2002, p. 149).

Regardless of how festivals are themed or what kinds of performances are enacted during them, scholars agree that the rituals, or repeated symbolic actions enacted by locals and visitors during the celebrations also work to inscribe the local place with specific meanings (Connorton in Edensor, 2001; Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014). In this case, even “playful ceremonies” it seems “can be equally powerful as memorable significant events” which work to solidify how a place is understood (Connorton in Edensor, 2001, p. 65). Such carnivalistic celebrations, on the other hand, have also been thought to influence literature. Bakhtin (1998) argues that the parodies, or subversive rituals enacted during carnival which celebrate but also undermine the normal hierarchies of society, are what taught authors how to write about social interactions. In other words, carnivals taught authors the art of mimicry, the basis for all literary text. Ohmann (1971) explains that a literary work, by definition “purportedly imitates (or reports [or mimics]) a series of speech acts, which in fact have no other existence” but whose realistic depiction “leads the readers to imagine a speaker, a situation, a set of ancillary events, and so on” (p. 14). Bakhtin (1998) goes on to liken the feature of the carnival square to the social setting for characters in books arguing that both are universal places where everyone comes together, interacts, and eventually changes.
While the relationship between literature and festival appears to be deep and far reaching, few scholars have attempted to explore the connections between the two concepts as linked social phenomenon. Regardless, literature-related festivals appear to be pervasively popular around the globe both historically and contemporarily. In the U.S. alone, numerous destinations host festivals to celebrate authors (e.g. Hemingway Days in Key West; the National Steinbeck Festival in Salinas, California; Tennessee Williams Fest in New Orleans; Kerouac Festival in Lowell, Massachusetts), books (e.g. *The Great Gatsby* at the Gatsby Festival in Lake Tahoe; *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* in Juliette, Georgia; *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* in Angels Camp, California), and literary settings (e.g. the Glimmerglass Festival in Otsego Lake, New York which was the setting of James Fenimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*; the Festival of Witches in Sleepy Hollow, New York where Washington Irving set a number of his stories; and the Spring Festival in Red Cloud, Nebraska where Willa Cather’s literary characters regularly roamed). Yet, few scholars have examined how literature and festival are linked, how literary festivals are experienced, or how literature impacts festival experiences, or how festival experiences impact perception of literature.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Case Study Methodology

This research project explored the connections between literary places, tourist performances, and the literary texts that inspired them using a qualitative, multi-case study approach following Yin (2014). A case study approach is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (Yin, 2014, p. 16). Scholars contend that because it allows for study within real world settings, this approach is particularly useful in exploratory studies wherein the researcher is attempting to understand the “how” and “why” of a particular phenomenon (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2014). In this sense, the real world context of the cases studied (including the physical attributes of the sites themselves, the ways the destinations have been depicted in popular culture, and the ways in which tourists typically act within these settings) were central components in gaining an understanding of how literary tourism was practiced in each location. Additionally, this methodology allowed the researcher to collect data on multiple variables from a variety of sources at once (Patton, 2002; Yin, 2014). Given how the researcher was attempting to reveal how various aspects of literary tourism such as place, text, and performance, work together to influence one another, this was an ideal methodological approach.

Though the case study approach to social research has been criticized as being too narrowly focused to produce generalizations or develop theories about larger social
processes (Creswell, 2007), exploratory research has to start somewhere. In other words, in order to even begin to understand how a social phenomenon works, researchers must first look at individual cases in order to draw conclusions. In this sense, others have argued that case studies are historically contextual wherein findings may only be applicable to other contemporary cases within the same social and geographic settings (Babbie, 2014; Popkewitz, 1990). Some scholars also argue that researchers using a case study methodology may be overzealous in their attempt to draw overarching conclusions in order to develop theory and may therefore be guilty of oversimplifying the data from which conclusions are drawn (Patton, 2002). While this may be the case, others argue that the purpose of case study research is not necessarily to draw conclusions about what might be applicable to every case out there, rather they are meant to help reveal the “essence” of a whole, or of a larger phenomenon which will provide researchers with a baseline understanding of it and help them to develop theory (Bailey, 2007).

**Epistemological Framework**

This study is firmly rooted within the constructivist paradigm, which holds that reality is subjective, existing only as each individual person perceives it (see Babbie, 2014; DiFranco in Bailey, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Lincoln, 1990). In other words, constructivists subscribe to the notion that there is no one truth or meaning in the world, rather, they believe that we each have our own truth, our own reality. This way of viewing the world is largely based on the works of both Emmanuel Kant, and later, Michel Foucault. Kant insists that the world can only be understood through the subjective human experience and that without the human mental and social constructs
that frame the world and give things value, there would be only ‘unarticulated chaos’ out
tere with nothing having any meaning or structure (Bowie, 2010). However, Foucault
(1965) shows, through his study on the history of madness (and other works) that despite
the fact that we may each experience our own subjective truths about the world, there are
overriding ideological influences which dictate what knowledge we gain and how it is
acquired. He asserts that dominating ideological forces both celebrate and perpetuate
certain forms of knowledge that, in turn, further strengthen the dominant ideologies and
power structures already in place. He shows how the condition of “madness” has evolved
from being viewed as the result of possession by an evil spirit several centuries ago, to
being treated as medical condition in the modern world as a means of showing that all
knowledge is relative and governed by sociocultural limitations. Thus Foucault
essentially suggests that we question both ‘how’ and ‘why’ we know what we know, in
addition to pursuing knowledge in its own right.

Thus, constructivist researchers are primarily concerned with the human
experience and the subjectivity that comes along with it. They primarily utilize
qualitative methods, aimed at acquiring rich data that contextualizes social phenomenon,
in order to understand the subjective experiences of various individuals (Bailey, 2007;
Guba & Lincoln, 2005). They are interested in the multiple truths that exist in peoples’
minds and seek to gather all the unique interpretations and meanings that people hold
about a particular place, thing, or phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006; Crotty in Patton, 2002).
In other words, constructivists seek to deconstruct all the possible ways a place (for
example) is meaningful, then they compare and contrast those interpretations to
reconstruct a multifaceted view of that place and social processes that take place within it. Constructivists also want to tease out the differing and unique interpretations that may run counter to dominant ideologies and seek to understand why and how those interpretations exist and persist (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). These researchers are influenced by the works of Levi-Strauss, Saussure, Pierce, and Derrida (among a handful of others) whose work opened up the methods of literary and linguistic theory to the larger areas of the social sciences (Culler, 1977; Fry, 2012). Levi-Strauss asserted that language is simply a system of signs wherein the association between a word and the concept it represents is arbitrary. He argues that language is only meaningful (non-arbitrary) if there is an entire system of binary oppositions. In other words, ‘cat’ only means ‘cat’ because it does not mean ‘dog’ (see Culler, 1977; Fry, 2012). Therefore the ‘signified’ (the concept of a furry little animal that meows) and the ‘sign’ (the word ‘cat’) are related only by means of a common language in which both are understood to represent one another. The study of this system of concepts and signifiers is coined ‘semiotics’ and is asserted to be present in all ‘languages’ (or systems of communication on an individual to a global scale) which could be interpreted through signs (including the written and spoken word, the non-verbal use of hand-gestures, and perhaps most importantly for tourist researchers, those other non-verbal signs found within specific and wide-ranging landscapes) (Culler, 1977, 2002; Fry, 2012). Pierce adds to this and posits that there also exists an ‘interpreter’ (someone who interprets the relationship between the sign and the signifier) in addition to the ‘signifier’ and the ‘sign’ – which he claims is a vital component in making meaning from
signs. These researchers are also concerned with hermeneutics (which investigates how people interpret things/signs) and dialectics (which compares and contrasts these interpretations of the signs) as a part of semiotics (which is the science of signs). These researchers also often make use of the idea of aesthetics wherein it is believed that art (literature, paintings, etc.) can help us to understand social conditions and interpretations (Bailey, 2007).

Derrida holds that there is an ongoing referential process at work within any system of language/communication (not just a system of binary oppositions) (Fry, 2012). He introduces the concept of differance, which in itself is a word that cannot be discerned as distinctive from ‘difference’ in regular verbal communication (thereby putting the primacy of verbal language in question). Rather, its distinctiveness can only be read or inferred from its relation to other words, or the context of the conversation within which it is a part of. A good example can be found in the words ‘plane’ and ‘plain’. If the word is spoken without any context (without being a part of a sentence or a conversation) the ‘interpreter’ cannot determine which version of the word is being used. She cannot tell without either seeing the word written out or without it being used in a sentence which plane/plain is being signified; the meaning of the word hinges on context or reference. In this sense, we are forced to refer to something else in order to understand the word at hand. In turn, we use other words to describe the first word – so we might say ‘plain’ means ‘a lack of anything interesting’ – but then each of those words (‘a lack of anything interesting’) must be described using other words. In this sense, Derrida claims that the meaning of signs (all signs, not just verbal and written) is endlessly referential – we just
use one sign to describe the other, and so on and so forth. Therefore, a sign’s meaning is also contingent upon the meanings of the other signs used to describe it – which also acquire meaning though time. Therefore a sign’s meanings are not only contingent upon context and referrals, but also upon the way in which the contemporary society associates the sign with others. Derrida goes on to claim then, that we can never really know the meaning of a sign because it is always referential and constantly in flux; rather we can only work to essentially chase down the changing meanings of the sign (Fry, 2012).

Thus, constructivists seek to tease out all these different interpretations and references of things, places and experiences in order to get a glimpse at meanings in a particular time and place (Charmaz, 2005; Richards & Morse, 2007).

Some scholars point out that multifaceted findings are really just an exercise in exploration, and that any conclusions drawn from such research are therefore atheoretical in nature (Denizen & Lincoln, 2005; Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). In other words, they believe that between the small sample sizes utilized in qualitative research and the endless variety of truths that can be found, the findings are simply not generalizable and therefore do not allow for any overriding theories to be developed. However, constructivists as qualitative researchers believe that they are actually closer to the research because they are the research tool, as opposed to say post-positivist or other quantitative researchers, whose data collection methodologies rely heavily on unnatural settings and the contrived interjection of measurement tools such as surveys, questionnaires, and the like. Many constructivist scholars also agree that there is no one ‘right’ way to conduct qualitative research, rather they focus on using data collection
approaches which will yield the most depth and thus provide the most context for the phenomena being studied. In this sense, constructivists tend to believe that social phenomenon are best studied using qualitative approaches because quantitative methods can provide researchers only a partial understanding what is really going on.

The focus on the subjective individual experience within the constructivist paradigm is particularly important for this study given how both reading (Barthes, 1975; Eagleton, 1996; Rogers, 1991) and place (Crouch, 2002) are experienced individually and how social performances are enacted individually as well (Goffman, 1959; Seaton, 2002). In this sense, the meaning of literary texts, travel destinations, and touristic experiences are cultivated on a personal level, and, are thus both subjective and fluid. While many people-, place-, object-, and experience- meanings are shared, they are first cultivated and understood individually (Rickly-Boyd et al., 2014). Thus, viewing this research project through a constructivist lens allowed the researcher to recognize, and endure to capture the plethora of perceptions that tourists have about literary places or their experiences within them. In other words, a constructivist paradigm allows that not all tourists are the same. Rather, they are seen as having different views of the world, different sets of previous experiences, and different socio-cultural backgrounds, and in turn, a different perception of their experiences at literary places. This recognition allowed the researcher to produce a well-rounded and comprehensive data set that highlights the many features of the literary tourism experience, rather than a narrow and overly focused study wherein few conclusions may be drawn.
Data Collection

Data was collected using a multi-case study approach following Yin (2014) wherein data is collected via participant and direct observation, interviews, review of documentation and archival records, and examination of artifacts (see also Creswell, 2007; Richards & Morse, 2007). Gathering data from multiple sources inherently triangulates the information as, much like the principle in navigation, “the intersection of different reference points is used to calculate the precise location of an object” (Yardley in Yin, 2014, p. 120, see Maxwell, 1998; Patton, 2002). Prior to attending the literary festivals, archival records related to the festivals were reviewed for content that mentioned, advertised, or worked to reinforce the connections between the destination, the literary events that take place there, and the related literary text that inspire them. Additionally, the related literary texts – Twain’s (1865) *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*, Maclean’s (1989) *A River Runs Through It*, and Hemingway’s (1954) *The Sun Also Rises* and (1926) *The Old Man and the Sea*, were examined with the researcher paying particular attention to how related settings are described in the literature and how the main characters’ actions are carried out within these settings. The researcher also participated in events (when feasible) wherein participant observation, and alternately direct observation when participation was not a viable option was conducted (see Appendix A. Observation Template). Semi-structured interviews with event participants were also conducted during and immediately following all events as were analysis of on-site artifacts. Given that these case studies were exploratory in nature, wherein the researcher had little idea of what to expect from each event, the
researcher made every effort to ensure that pertinent objects were examined in relationship to the study.

**Case Study #1: The Jumping Frog Jubilee - Angels Camp, California**

The frog jump contest took place Thursday, May 14th, through Sunday, May 16th during the Jumping Frog Jubilee and Calaveras County Fair in Angels Camp, California. Prior to attending the event, archival and documentation data was collected. Maps and charts depicting geographical characteristics of the city of Angels Camp and the county of Calaveras produced for, or promoted by the Jumping Frog Jubilee website, or event-related advertisements on radio, TV, or in print was collected as archival records and examined for allusions to Twain’s (1865) literary work *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*. Documentation data was collected in the form of information gathered from the Jumping Frog Jubilee’s public website, from newspaper articles about the frog jump contest events, and from official event announcements, advertisements (on TV, Radio & in print in local papers and magazines), and informational pamphlets and flyers. Mark Twain’s literary text, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* was also examined as documentary data wherein the researcher paid particular attention to how related settings are described in the literature and how the main characters’ actions are carried out within these settings. Before the event, the researcher also reached out to festival organizers in order to obtain additional information, insight, and permission, however, no response was received.

In addition to data gathered prior to the event, data was gathered using the case study methodologies described above on Thursday, May 14th from 11am to 4pm,
Saturday, May 16th, from 10am to 4pm, and Sunday, May 17th from 11am to 5pm. On Thursday, May 14th and Saturday, May 16th, data was gathered via participant observation wherein the researcher paid the fees to enter and compete, just as any other member of the general public may do, in the frog jump contest. Direct observation of other contestants participating in the frog jump contest was also conducted both before and after the researcher’s own participation in the contest and for the duration of each day’s frog jump qualifying rounds. On Sunday, May 17th, data was gathered through direct observation of the frog jump contest finals (as the researcher did not qualify for them herself). Observations were specifically focused on the performances of frog jump contest competitors during each frog jump qualifying and final round. Data gathered through both direct and participant observation was focused primarily on how frog jump contestants participated as competitors in the contest, how they interacted with their frogs, with judges, and with co-competitors during the contest, as well as how they prepared for and debriefed from participation in the contest, and how they celebrated or commiserated the outcome of their efforts. During each of the three days, data was also be gathered using semi-structured interviews conducted with frog jump contest participants over the age of 18, lasting less than 30 minutes each. Interview questions were developed with the goal of encouraging further discussion. These open-ended survey questions were developed following Patton (2002) and Seidman (1998) and were aimed at examining event participants’ familiarity with the related texts, and revealing how they perceived Angels Camp and Calaveras County, and how they felt about their participation in the site-specific performances being enacted (see Appendix B. Jumping
Frog Jubilee Interview Guide). Interviewees were enlisted using purposeful sampling wherein the researcher recruited participants who were expected to yield the richest data (Stake, 2005). The researcher conducted as many interviews as time would allow in all, sixteen interviews were conducted primarily with groups of two or more individuals travelling together. Additionally, on-site artifacts such as competition props, Jumping Frog Jubilee souvenirs, and contest prizes were also examined.

**Case Study #2: In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Festival - Seeley Lake, Montana**

The second case study took place during the ‘In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival’ that ran Friday, July 10th through Monday, July 13th, 2015 in Seeley Lake, Montana. Prior to attending the events archival and documentation data was collected. Maps and charts depicting geographical characteristics of the Big Blackfoot River and other Seeley Lake area locations described in Maclean’s book *A River Runs Through It* and produced for, or promoted by the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival website, or event-related advertisements on radio, TV, or in print was reviewed as archival data sources. Documentation data was collected in the form of information gathered from the Maclean Literary Festival public website, from newspaper articles about the Literary Festival and related events, and from official event announcements, advertisements (on TV, Radio & in print in local papers and magazines), and informational pamphlets and flyers. Maclean’s (1989) novel *A River Runs Through It* was also be analyzed with the researcher paying particular attention to how the Big Blackfoot River and other Seeley Lake area locations are depicted in the literary text, and how the book’s characters interact with and move through those settings. Festival
organizers were also contacted several weeks before the festival, and in response, gladly provided the researcher with the anticipated number of attendees for each Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes and minor details about the man who would be guiding the tours.

In addition to data collected prior to the festival, the researcher conducted participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and examination of artifacts at the two “Tours of Norman’s Fishing Holes” offered during the festival. During the tours, which took place on the afternoon of Saturday, July 11th from 3pm to 6:30pm, and the morning of Sunday, July 12th from 9am to 12:30 pm, data was collected using participant observation wherein the researcher, just as any other member of the general public may do, purchased the $25 tickets and attended both tours. Observation of other tour participants was the focus of data collected during this time, with the researcher paying particular attention to the ways that tour participants acted upon reaching the specific locations depicted in Maclean’s literary text *A River Runs Through It*. In this sense observational data was gathered which focused on how tour participants interacted with and reacted to physical literary landscapes, how tour participants interacted with one another, and how tour participants recalled and referred to Maclean’s literary text during the course of tours. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with fellow tour participants over the age of 18, each lasting less than 30 minutes. As with the first case study, open-ended survey questions were developed following Patton (2002) and Seidman (1998) and were aimed at examining event participants’ familiarity with the related texts, and revealing how they perceived the Seeley Lake and Big Blackfoot River.
areas, and how they felt about their participation in the site-specific performances being enacted there (see Appendix C. In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Interview Guide). Purposeful sampling was again used to recruit interviewees. The researched conducted as many interviews as time would allow. In all, nine interviews were conducted. Finally, artifacts encountered during the tours, such as props and other materials used in guiding the tours, souvenirs sold or given to visitors before, during, or immediately following the tours, and physical objects encountered by participants during the tours was examined and data collected for later analysis.

**Case Study #3: Hemingway Days - Key West, Florida**

The Hemingway Days celebration, which took place from Tuesday, July 21st through Saturday, July 25th in Key West, Florida, was the final event where data is collected for this study. During the festival, data was collected Thursday, July 23 from 4 to 6 pm, Friday, July 24th from 4 to 6 pm, and Saturday, July 25th 3 to 5 pm at the Marlin Tournament weigh-ins at the Conch Republic Seafood Company in downtown Key West, Florida.

Prior to attending the Hemingway Days festival, data was collected from archival and documentation sources. Maps and charts depicting geographical characteristics of the island of Key West and the neighboring oceanic area known as the Straights of Florida, or promoted by the Key West Hemingway Days Festival website, or event-related advertisements on radio, TV, or in print, was collected as archival records and examined for allusions to Hemingway’s literary works (1954) *The Sun Also Rises* and (1926) *The Old Man and the Sea*. Documents in the form of Hemingway’s novels (1954) *The Sun
Also Rises and (1926) The Old Man and the Sea was also reviewed, and other documentation data was collected in the form of information gathered from the Hemingway Days public website, from newspaper articles about Hemingway Days and events taking place during the celebration, and from official event announcements, advertisements (on TV, Radio & in print in local papers and magazines), and informational pamphlets and flyers. As with the other two case studies, the researcher attempted to contact the organizers of both the Marlin Tournament and the larger Hemingway Days festival, but received no response.

Additional data was collected during the Hemingway Days festival itself. Direct observation of, and semi-structured interviews with Marlin Tournament participants was conducted during and immediately following the daily weigh-ins. Consistent with the other cases, open-ended survey questions were developed following Patton (2002) and Seidman (1998) and were aimed at examining event participants’ familiarity with the related texts, and revealing how they perceived the Key West and Florida Straights areas, and how they felt about their participation in the site-specific performances being enacted there (See Appendix D. Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament Interview Guide). The researched conducted as many interviews as time would allow. In all, six interviews were conducted. Observations focused primarily on the ways that Marlin Tournament participants performed whilst on stage with their catch during the weigh-in, how they interacted with fellow competitors, weigh-in observers, and judges, how they handled their catch, and whether and how they referred to or recalled scenes from Hemingway’s tale The Old Man and the Sea. Interviewees were recruited using purposeful and
snowball sampling. Additionally, data was gathered through the physical examination of on-site artifacts including contest props and materials, souvenirs, and prizes awarded to contest winners.

Data was also collected before (at the Bull Ring in front of Sloppy Joe’s), during (along the parade route running down Duval Street), and immediately following the Running of the Bulls (along the parade route and at the Bull Ring in front of Sloppy Joe’s Bar) on Saturday, July 25th at 12:00 noon in downtown Key West. Both direct and participant observation was employed for this portion of the study as the researcher could not actually participate as a ‘Runner’ during the event, but could participate as an audience member in the same manner as the characters in The Sun Also Rises do. Thus, the researcher observed both ‘runners’ and actively engaged spectators along the event route while the Running of the Bulls was taking place, as well as the ‘Papa’s’ (Hemingway look-alikes) who managed the Bulls and the tourists who interacted with them in the ‘Bull Ring’ before and after the Running of the Bulls took place. Observations focused on how tourists were engaging with event props, fellow participants and observers, how they were reacting to their physical and social surroundings, and whether and how they were recalling and referencing scenes from Hemingway’s (1926) literary text The Sun Also Rises. Semi-structured interviews with ‘Runners’, Bull Run observers, and Bull Ring visitors over the age of 18 were conducted both before and immediately following the Running of the Bulls with each interview lasting less than 30 minutes. Again, open-ended survey questions were developed following Patton (2002) and Seidman (1998) and were aimed at examining event
participants’ familiarity with the related texts, and revealing how they perceived the Key West and Florida Straights areas, and how they felt about their participation in the site-specific performances being enacted there (see Appendix E. Hemingway Days Running of the Bulls Interview Guide). The researched conducted as many interviews as time would allow. In all, ten interviews were conducted. Additionally, examination of physical artifacts encountered during the event, including props, costumes, and souvenirs were also gathered as data.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was received from Clemson University on April 7th, 2015. In accordance with this approval, audio of all interviews was recorded with the participants’ permission (see Appendix F Informed Consent Verbal Script for Interviews) and limited identifying information was gathered (related only to basic demographics, hometown information, and trip parameters). Identifying data was also coded for increased confidentiality and all data was stored securely in a password-protected computer at the locked home of the researcher. Data will be destroyed after being stored for two years. No requests for recording were denied, so handwritten and typed notes were not necessary. In all three cases, field notes were used to record data while it was being collected. Yin (2014) points out that field notes may exist in any of a variety of forms. Handwritten notes were also taken during observation when possible, and immediately following each episode when not. Additionally, notes were taken during the examination of documents and archival sources, and copies of informational texts were kept when feasible.
In total, 42 interviews were conducted; seventeen at the Jumping Frog Jubilee, nine during the Tours of Norman’s Fishing Holes, six at the Marlin Tournament, and ten at the Running of the Bulls. Most interviews were conducted with two or more event participants at a time as many attendees had traveled to the destinations studied with their spouses, significant others, friends, or family members. Travel parties in Calaveras County were generally from California. Most lived within a few hours drive of Angels Camp, but a large number were also from Southern California. All of the other interviewees were from various places across the United States, with the exception of one woman who was originally from the United Kingdom but lived in Southern California. Most of these event participants were visiting Calaveras County with family members, wherein several generations were present.

In contrast, only a handful of visitors on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes lived within a few hours drive of Seeley Lake, though the event did attract several more foreigners than the Jumping Frog Jubilee including two Canadians (one from the east coast, one from northern Alberta), and a journalist from London. Other interviewees were from various places across the United States. With the exception of only two men who had attended the events by themselves, about half the interviewees on these tours were visiting with siblings, spouses, or friends of similar age, while the other half were family groups comprised primarily of young adult children and their parents.

In Key West, like Montana, only a few interviewees claimed to be local Keys residents, and only two men were visiting from international locations (both had travelled from the United Kingdom in participate in the Marlin Tournament). A majority of
interviewees at the Marlin Tournament were Floridians, and the rest were from various American locations. At the Running of the Bulls, less Floridians were present. Rather, most interviewees were from a variety of places in the United States.

A majority of the participants interviewed at all the locations examined were members of the Baby Boomer generation and ranged in age from about 50 to about 70. Observational data suggests that a significantly smaller number of participants under the age of 50 were present at each of the festivals studied and therefore fewer (about one third of) interviews were conducted with these participants. Virtually all interviewees claimed to be at least moderate travellers with most indicating they took several domestic vacations by both car and air per year. Approximately one third of all interviewees indicated that they were world travellers or that they regularly travelled to international destinations. Both genders were represented in the data collected, though there were slightly more male participants (and study interviewees) at each of the events studied than there were female. A majority of respondents were college graduates, gainfully employed, and appeared to be of Caucasian decent.

**Data Analysis**

Data was analyzed keeping in mind that the studies were exploratory in nature. In the case of exploratory studies, where the researcher is unsure of what will be found, it is important that inductive analytical approaches that allow for themes to develop naturally be used during the examination processes (Maxwell, 1998; Richards & Morse, 2007). This allows the researcher to work towards the development of new theories and understandings about the social processes being studied (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, data
was analyzed with an “emphasis on the search for the core concepts” of these processes (Richards & Morse, 2007, p. 34).

As a member of the society being studied, and as literary tourist and avid reader herself, it was important for the researcher to recognize, through reflexivity exercises, that her preconceived notions about the phenomenon of literary tourism and experience participating in the events firsthand could influence how she interpreted the data. Thus, data was analyzed with the researcher keeping in mind her own biases. For example, as a literary enthusiast it was important for the researcher to remember that other people’s relationships with literature may not be as long-standing, positive, or as cherished as her own.

Coding was done manually. Though electronic coding is often seen as a smoother and more streamlined way to code the data, particularly when a large number of interviews are conducted, scholars point out that it can take considerable time to learn the nuances of a coding program and therefore may not actually save the researcher any time or effort when a smaller data set is used (Basit, 2003). Given that interviews comprised only one of several data collection methods utilized during this proposed research project, electronic coding was not used. Basit (2003) points out that coding is an intellectual endeavor regardless of whether it is done manually or electronically.

Data was analyzed using an open coding technique wherein the researcher ‘opened up’ the data sets by developing codes and looking for patterns and themes within them (Maxwell, 1998; Patton, 2002; Richards & Morse, 2007). In this stage, the researcher was simply looking for common concepts within the data (see Hennink,
Hutter, & Bailey, 2011; Yin, 2014). These concepts were then described, compared, and contrasted analytically in order to reveal more information that may have gone unnoticed in the initial reading of the data. These stages of the data analysis process were revisited several times in order to ensure that no pertinent concepts were overlooked. Underlying concepts were then explored in depth in order to develop conceptual codes that helped to explain the relationship between other themes and patterns. Finally, theories were developed from these themes in order to explain how literary places, literary texts, and tourist performances connected with one another in the locations studied (see Hennink et al., 2011; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Comparing and contrasting the themes derived from each data source allowed for an inherent triangulation of the findings. In other words, data from one source was compared to data from other sources in order to validate or repudiate working themes. To further strengthen the validity of the study the researcher engaged in ‘memoing’ during this process by “writing down ideas about the evolving theory… emerging categories, or some aspect of the connection of categories” (Creswell, 2007, p. 239; see also Hennink et al., 2011).

Deductions about the themes developed, and questions about cases or data that did not fall into them were then interpreted (Maxwell, 1998; Patton, 2002). This interpretation took place over the course of the data collection and analysis processes with the researcher returning to the data, memos, and themes periodically throughout the study in order to look for undiscovered patterns and new ways of interpreting the data (Maxwell, 1998; Patton, 2002). Additionally, peer reviews of the developing themes were
conducted regularly with another scholar familiar with the research in order to ensure that data was being interpreted accurately (see Creswell, 2007).

Findings are reported here and will be conferred in research papers which will be submitted to peer-reviewed academic journals for publication and modified into conference presentations for upcoming events themed around cultural or heritage tourism, literature, or even place and geography.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Data revealed a number of themes highlighting the relationships that exist between literary places, literary texts, and tourist performance (see Table 1. Thematic Findings). Common and contrasting elements were demonstrated at each of the festivals, and both expected and unexpected findings were discovered. These diverse findings together produced a rich illustration of the ways in which the phenomena of literary tourism is engaged in by both travellers and the destinations they visit.

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<th>Impact of Text and Performance on Place</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jumping Into the Book</td>
<td>Literature Binds Place and Performance, Impels Participation</td>
<td>Literature Enriched</td>
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<tr>
<td>Literature Frames Place</td>
<td>Influential Motivating Factors</td>
<td>Non-Readers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Literature and Performance as Avenue for Other History</td>
<td>Literary Places, Performance, and Personal Identity</td>
<td>Sparks Interest in Related Texts</td>
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<td>Adoption of Literary Identity</td>
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Table 1. Thematic Findings
The Festivals

The festivals studied all hosted events aimed at engaging visitors in specific literature-inspired performances in literary places; however, the festivals themselves differed widely in theme and format. The Jumping Frog Jubilee at the Calaveras County Fair in Angels Camp, California for example, was themed around Twain’s first literary success, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*, whereas both the Hemingway Days celebration in Key West and the ‘In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Festival’ in Seeley Lake, Montana were devoted primarily to the authors themselves rather than the texts they had created. Additionally, the Jumping Frog Jubilee took place as a part of a larger county fair that also included carnival rides, livestock competitions, barns full of local art, booths selling deep fried foods-on-a-stick and fresh-squeezed overpriced lemonade, a daily equine show, and a popular demolition derby, while the other two festivals were independent affairs that hosted only other author-themed events including several with distinctively literary overtones.

*The Jumping Frog Jubilee – Angels Camp, California*

The Jumping Frog Jubilee was held at the Calaveras County Fair Grounds in Angels Camp, California; a large, undeveloped valley in the Sierra Nevada foothills where several small but permanent exhibition halls and a paved main road (along which temporary booths were set up) have been built atop a small hill, and several barns, outbuildings, and rustic dining and event facilities have been built around the hillside below. For the fair, other temporary booths and rides, and an equestrian arena were also
set up. The stage for the Frog Jump event, located directly in the center of the other festival attractions, was set at the base of the main hill with twenty or so permanent bleachers built into the hillside so that the audience was afforded both a clear view of the events taking place on stage and a view of the carnival rides below as well as a sweeping vista showcasing the beauty of interior northern California beyond that (see Figure 1. Jumping Frog Jubilee Stage). The permanent installation included a covered and enclosed back stage, a lower multi-use level, and a large sign depicting a cartoon frog and the name and distance of the frog jump world record holder. While event brochures, informational websites, and festival souvenirs all clearly depicted the image of Twain’s jumping frog, suggesting that the frog jump events were central to the theme of the festival, the permanence and geographically centered position of the Frog Jump structure also reinforced the importance of the Jumping Frog Jubilee to the larger event.

Figure 1. Jumping Frog Jubilee Stage (Photo by Alana Seaman)
The Jumping Frog Jubilee itself was set up as a series of competitive events wherein several ‘heats’ were held each day and winners were invited to return to the festival on the last day of the festival in order to compete in the final rounds wherein up to $5000 in prizes could be won. While competitive frog jump teams brought their own frogs and paid a registration fee prior to the competitive events, a small booth to the side of the frog jump stage sold tickets to unaffiliated festival attendees allowing them to ‘rent’, and jump, a frog for a small $5 fee. Attendees were then escorted to the edge of the main stage wherein they were asked their name, handed a frog, and asked the name of their frog, which the MC, a man dressed in jeans, leather chaps, cowboy boots, a cotton shirt, leather vest, and large cowboy hat, then introduced and called for the official timing of the jump to begin. Participants then had one minute to motivate the frog to jump away from its 8” diameter starting ‘lily pad’ without touching it. The stage was surrounded with volunteers (local high school students and 4-H participants) armed with fishing nets who captured the fleeing frogs after their jumps, while a man with a large stick pointed to the spot on the stage where the official measurement of the amphibian’s series of three jumps would be measured, and another team of two men rushed in with a measuring tape to report the official record to the announcer. Participants were then congratulated, or consoled by the announcer, handed a participation certificate and ribbon, and escorted off the stage in a matter of minutes.
Hemingway Days - Key West, Florida

In contrast to the Jumping Frog Jubilee, events for the 35th annual Hemingway Days celebration were spread all over the small, tropical island of Key West, and were focused largely on the image of Hemingway as a fun-loving and hard-fishing local rather than an accomplished writer or the author of any specific literary work. The annual festival stretched over the course of almost a week and included, in addition to the running of the bulls event and the marlin fishing tournament, a mix of other Hemingway themed events including a writing competition, a 5k road race, academic lectures about the author’s writing style, special museum exhibitions including an installation about Tennessee Williams’ time on the island (as he was a contemporary of Hemingway’s), poetry readings, and even a stand-up paddle board race around part of the island (Key West Marlin, 2015b). The mix of both fun and educational events reflects how Hemingway is seen as both a link to the area’s rich literary history, and as an excuse to party. Additionally hundreds of Hemingway look-alikes, or “Papa’s” as they are affectionately known, roamed the island during the five-day festival. While many were in town to participate in the annual Hemingway look-alike competition, a number of other men on the island simply looked like Hemingway in his old age: white beard and mustache, rosy sunburnt cheeks, and round tummies stuffed into short-sleeved button down linen shirts topping neutral shorts, bare legs, and flip-flopped feet. In this sense, Hemingway himself was a central feature of the festival, the theme around which each event, advertisement, and souvenir was built, yet he was celebrated as both a famous local son, and a caricature embodying the best and worst of island life.
The Running of the Bulls was held on the author’s 116th Birthday. ‘Official’ Papas (members of the Hemingway Look Alike Society - HLAS) auctioned off barrels of local rum, sold red handkerchiefs embroidered with the event’s logo and the year, took pictures with tourists who mounted on one of Key West’s native ‘bulls’ in exchange for a small donation (see Figure 2. “Papas” at the Running of the Bulls, Hemingway Days), and auctioned off the opportunity for someone to ride the lead bull in the main Running of the Bulls event (Sloppy Joes, 2015). The costumed volunteers also informed visitors that all the fundraising proceeds would be channeled to the Hemingway Look Alike scholarship fund which had given out over $150,000 in scholarships to students in the Florida Keys as of 2014 (see also Sloppy Joes, 2015; Hemingway Look Alike Society, 2015). Just prior to the Running of the Bulls, the day’s events culminated with a public singing of Happy Birthday and the presentation of a birthday cake dedicated to the late author, again reinforcing the importance of Hemingway in annual festival. Finally the Running of the Bulls event kicked off and a number of Papas pushed the faux ‘bulls’ (rudimentary carousel-type livestock mounted on small wheeled platforms) around the block as a crowd of spectators lined the streets to take pictures and cheer the group on while enjoying their drinks.
The Marlin Tournament, on the other hand, utilized the name Hemingway on promotional materials and commemorative t-shirts sold at the event but made few other references to either Hemingway or his literary works. This again suggests that the idea of author was central to the theme of the festival but that the man himself and the texts he created were of little importance to the theme of the celebration. Regardless, the four-day fishing tournament kicked off with a ‘Bimini start’ wherein all participating vessels were set off to sea at once upon the sounding of an official air horn at sunrise. While the kick-off event was visible from the island’s main marina, most of the tournament, understandably, took place at sea – in the surrounding waters known as the Florida
Straights. After each long day of fishing, participants had a two-hour window in the afternoon (4-6pm on the first three days of the tournament, 3-5pm on the last day of the tournament) in which to report, with their catch, to the weigh-in station located adjacent to a large white tent located in the center of the island’s main marina square. Teams arrived sporadically during each weigh-in session and were met by several tournament directors who helped participants string their fish up to a large hook positioned over a small stage before taking an official measurement and recording the weight of the team’s catch on the large score board positioned in front of the stage. The lack of connection made to Hemingway during the marlin tournament events highlights how the author was treated as little more than a reason to hold an annual competition.

**In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival – Seeley Lake, Montana**

The inaugural In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival held in Seeley Lake, Montana - a tiny town tucked along side a string of mountain lakes above a wide, flat valley surrounded by rocky peaks- was kicked off on a Friday evening with a welcome dinner at a small rustic resort lodge on the shores of Seeley Lake (tickets were $50 each) and a speech the following morning by the Governor of Montana who reminisced about the impact Maclean’s texts had had on his own life. The rest of the festival featured, in addition to tours of the local areas Maclean used as settings for his most famous literary works *A River Runs Through It* and *Young Men and Fire*, scholarly discussions focused on the literary analysis of his texts, keynote speakers who had written about and known the famed author personally, and other panel-type and informal sessions.
featuring Maclean’s family, colleagues, and friends. Though there were few visual
depictions of the author present, there was no doubting the importance of Maclean’s
literary achievements during the series of events given the focus of the sessions on both
Maclean the man and Maclean the writer. In contrast to the Hemingway Days celebration
in Key West, which used Hemingway’s likeness primarily as a brand image to attract
tourists, Seeley Lake’s treatment of Maclean was more intimate and meaningful. This
was demonstrated in the way the festival sessions each depicted the author in a different
light; he was spoken about as a grandfather by his grown grandson, as a mentor by a
former University of Chicago colleague, and as an amazing writer by scholars of his
literary work.

The festival offered two “Tours of Norman’s Fishing Holes” over the course of
the weekend with one running Saturday afternoon and the other Sunday morning. Both
tours were fully booked with 25 participants each, and were led by the Big Blackfoot
Riverkeeper, Jerry O’Connell. The Riverkeeper title reflects O’Connell’s position as the
executive director of the Big Blackfoot Riverkeeper non-profit organization, the local
chapter of the Waterkeeper Alliance, an environmental advocacy group aimed at
protecting the world’s natural waterways (Big Blackfoot, 2016; Waterkeeper, 2016).
O’Connell was chosen to lead the tours because of his love for Maclean’s writing and his
extensive knowledge of the river gained from years of responding to citizen concerns,
identifying problems along the waterway, confronting lawbreakers, and providing both
river education and local river advocacy as the Big Blackfoot Riverkeeper. Both tours
were conducted via school bus and attended primarily by members of the baby boomer
generation. Only a handful of younger people, were present on either of the tours though all of them were over the age of 18. The Saturday afternoon tour left from the front of the small resort lodge where the main festival events were being held, and the Sunday morning tour left from a parking lot near the area’s main shopping plaza located in the center of the town of Seeley Lake, just a few blocks from the resort. Both tours were about four hours in length and took visitors to four different spots on the Big Blackfoot River; three of which Maclean had written about in *A River Runs Through It*, and one, the site of an old bridge apprehensively crossed by our loaded school bus where a clear view of the large rock Meriwether Lewis famously sketched on his return trip from his adventures with Clark could be seen in full view. At each stop, the bus pulled up near the bank of the river and, as tour stopped on both public and private lands, before unloading the Riverkeeper told the group a bit about the particular river accesses we were using. Once everyone was off the bus and standing beside the river, the Riverkeeper explained the significance of the location in terms of Maclean’s book *A River Runs Through It*, and even read a few pages from the text. In this sense, emphasis was again placed on both Maclean and his real-life experiences in the landscape, and on the author’s text. In response, people nodded, smiled, pointed things on the river out to their travel companions, took pictures of the landscape and of each other near the water’s edge, and moved to ask the tour guide questions about the area individually. Both tours eventually returned attendees to the same locations as the tours had started from, lasting about an hour longer than the festival program had indicated, though no one seemed to mind.
From the deep blue ports and tropical sunsets of Key West to the steep peaks and jagged edges of rushing rivers in Montana and the picturesque and ancient rolling Sierra foothills in California’s Gold Country, the cases were each set in places of incredible natural beauty. However, the festivals’ themes and formats varied greatly thus illustrating the variety of ways in which literary connections are being used to attract tourists and create popular special events. Though few scholarly definitions of literary festivals exist, anecdotal evidence suggests that literary festivals are primarily seen as events that bring together readers and writers for the purpose of encouraging a love of literature (see Literary Festival, n.d.). However, data in these studies shows that the objectives of festivals utilizing local literary connections are far from similar. In California, Twain’s literature plays little role in the Jumping Frog Jubilee, instead an icon derived from his one of his many literary works provides a theme around which a tradition has been built; in Key West, Hemingway is recalled both as a recognizable image and a justification for fun and silly events, and a catalyst for scholarly and educational endeavors; and in Montana, events centered on providing visitors with a meaningful and multi-faceted understanding of Maclean and his literary works, suggesting that the festival coordinators were truly looking to foster an appreciation for the both the process of creating a literary text and consuming a literary text.
Impacts of Text and Performance on Place

Jumping Into the Book

Despite the differences in the festivals, each utilized the same approach in attracting tourists; namely they all invited visitors to ‘jump into the book’. Brochures, websites, and other promotional materials for each of the festivals suggested that tourists could enter a liminal space and cultivate unique experiences by enacting the certain place-specific literature-inspired performances offered during the celebratory events. Marketing materials for the Jumping Frog Jubilee in Angels Camp for example invited people join the Jumping Frog Jubilee celebration and be transported back in time wherein they could experience the Gold-Rush where Twain’s characters mined, drank, and bet on frogs (Reese, 2015). In Montana, Maclean fans were encouraged to “celebrate A River Runs Through It in Norman Maclean’s backyard”. (see Figure 3. Advertisement for the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival). And, in Key West, the marlin tournament website suggested that by participating in the events being offered, visitors could enjoy “the waters once fished by novelist Ernest Hemingway… and his literary characters” (Cooke, 2015). In this sense, each festival tried to sell visitors on the idea that unique experiences, which could only be cultivated by engaging in the place specific performances associated with the destination, could be had.
Figure 3. Advertisement for the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival (Advertisement from the Missoulan Newspaper)

Observational and interview data collected at each of the festival events studied revealed similar themes thus affirming the notion that specific performances enacted in literary places allowed visitors to cultivate a liminal experience wherein they felt as if they had “jumped into a related text”. This was particularly true in Montana, where people on the tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes described being able to ‘see’ the characters from Maclean’s books upon walking around the banks of the Big Blackfoot River. One woman explained how she could picture several scenes from A River Runs Through It playing out in front of her, and went on to describe how, at one stop along the river she could visualize Paul, the author’s (Norman Maclean) brother and a main character in the novel, fishing in the river. “I envisioned [him] shadow-casting… envision[ed] him in the water and being there and watching him” she said capturing the essence of what other attendees had also noted. Likewise, at the Jumping Frog Jubilee in California, attendees
could be overheard discussing the long history of the frog jump tradition and speculating that frog jumping was probably “what they did for fun” in Twain’s day. And, in Key West, marlin tournament participants reported feeling as if they were living the life of Hemingway’s literary characters by fishing in the waters of the Florida Straights. “We kind of felt like we were in the book [The Old Man and the Sea],” one man said capturing the essence of what many others had alluded to. These examples illustrate how specific performances enacted in the literary places studied allowed visitors to feel as if they had entered a liminal space, a physical landscape wherein a fictional world could be envisioned.

Scholars have long contended that it is the ability to ‘see’ a landscape through the eyes of an author or their literary characters that ultimately makes places associated with literature special and therefore appealing to visitors (Buell, 1989; Herbert, 1996, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Watson, 2006). Findings in these cases support this notion. In fact, many Jumping Frog Jubilee participants in Calaveras County and tour attendees in Montana noted that they were only aware of the locations they were visiting because of the literary works that had made them famous. “I didn’t know Calaveras County until like January, when I was driving through. I was like ‘Oh, that’s a real place!’” exclaimed one woman after jumping a frog in a comment quintessential of what others had also expressed. In Montana people similarly reported only knowing about the Big Blackfoot River area from Maclean’s writings. This notion that literature had put specific places on the map in the minds of visitors shows how literature can work to frame the way tourists understand related places. For example, while Montana has always been home to impressive
mountain ranges, wide open valleys, and the icy-cold, fast-moving rivers that both fish and fly fisherman love, it was Maclean’s text that first introduced the river and its fishing potential to many festival attendees. In this sense, it was the text that made the Big Blackfoot River a must-visit destination for them, a destination for fishing. Similarly, Angels Camp was only known to a number of visitors as the home of the Twain’s jumping frog; not as an historic mining town, a wine destination, or a popular area for motorcycling cruising. While festival attendees in Key West had always known of the island destination, a number of marlin tournament contestants described how it was Hemingway’s literary work that had made them want to visit the area specifically for fishing. A couple of British citizens participating in the Marlin Tournament noted that they had made the trek to America’s southernmost island specifically in order to fish in the Hemingway Days competition. Anywhere else just “wouldn’t be the same” they claimed. This suggests that, in Key West similar to Montana, fishing has always been a way of life, but Hemingway’s literary connections to the island have solidified the archipelago and the surrounding waters as a destination for excellent marlin fishing.

**Literature Frames Place**

This confirms what scholars have long argued: that literature gives people a way to imagine a place that they have never been, and therefore introduces them to the sights, sounds, and activities that can be experienced in those places (Herbert, 1996, 2001; Laing & Frost, 2012; McDonald, 2007). In this sense, it was the literary descriptions of the place that initially put the locations on the map as potential travel destinations in the
minds of many of the tourists interviewed and introduced them to the activities that they could experience while visiting. Thus, certain literary works, or at least popular conceptions of them, are working to frame the way tourists think about related places as possible travel destinations. Thus it is clear that literature has not lost its power as a catalyst for travel even in the modern, digital age. Literature remains a powerful influence in the social perception of place even as the popularity of blockbuster movies, on-line customer review platforms, and travel-focused television shows increases.

Scholars argue that this is important, because while literature can introduce a reader to a location, and therefore frame the way he or she thinks about it as a travel destination (Alexander, 2008; Bruckner, 2007; Iwashita, 2006; Muresan & Smith, 1998; Robb, 1998; Ryden, 1993; Tally, 2013; Watson, 2006), by nature literature can only ever present a limited description of the setting where its story takes place. Therefore, experiences while visiting a literary destination may not always align with the images readers’ have constructed in their minds of a particular location (Hazzard, 2008; Laing & Frost, 2012; Pocock, 1981; Vogel, 1974).

Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea* for instance, portrays the Florida Straights as a bountiful fishing area where giant marlins can be pulled from the depths of the ocean; Maclean writes of the numerous large trout that he and his brother regularly caught on the Big Blackfoot River; and Twain tells the tale, albeit a tall one, of a frog located in Calaveras County that can jump great distances in a single bound. Thus, scholars suggest that visitors who had imagined themselves performing the same feats as the literary characters who introduced them to the destination, might be disappointed with
their visit to Key West if they were unable to snag a large marlin, or their time on the Big Blackfoot should they be unsuccessful fishing, or to Angels Camp if their frog failed to jump. However, data suggests otherwise.

The timing of each of the festivals prevented the conditions from being ideal for executing the literary inspired events they hosted. In California for example, the Jumping Frog Jubilee was held in late May, when the weather was still cool and rainy, and not ideal for optimal frog jumping. “Later in the year is better,” explained one competitive team member, who went on to explain that “frogs prefer warmer weather… and they are out of hibernation longer later in the year,” and are thus willing to jump further. As a result of the ill-timed competition, team frog jump participants could be seen frantically checking on their frogs during the competitive frog jump sessions, taking temperature measurements, and making adjustments to the lids and positions of their boxes to ensure that they stayed in the shade or were brought out into the sun as needed. Despite this recognition of the shortcomings of the performance-based experience however, few participants appeared to care. Similarly while the festival website and other promotional materials invited guests to experience Twain’s short story first hand, they made no promises about the experience living up to its literary counterpart. Instead, they lamented on how the traditional frog jump was inspired by Twain’s short story explaining that Twain himself had overheard the tale in Angels Camp some 150 years old.

Similar themes were revealed by data collected in Montana as well. The In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean festival was held during the time of year known as “hoot
owl”, a period of time during the summer months when fishing restrictions are set in place in order to “limit anglers to fishing between midnight and 2 p.m. so fish aren’t harassed during the hottest part of the afternoon” which can stress the animals and in turn, jeopardize their health (Chaney, 2015). Though the restrictions are put into place for the safety of the fish, experienced fishermen recognize ‘hoot owl’ as an indication that the low season has begun. Regardless of the lack of fish encountered however, visitors appeared to be satisfied with their visit to the Big Blackfoot River; smiling, taking pictures with one another, and happily recounting their thoughts on each stop to one another on the bus. This suggests that while Maclean’s description of the rugged beauty of and the extraordinary size and number of fish that could be pulled from the Blackfoot River may have originally attracted visitors to the area, few were concerned with comparing the author’s dramatic account of fishing the river to their own experiences.

Similarly, at the Marlin tournament in Key West, fisherman claimed that July was really not the right time of year to be fishing for marlin in the Florida Straights. “They put the tournament at the wrong time… they need to put a tournament for marlin fishing in colder water… they do it when the water is like 88. The fish like 80 and down.” One man, an avid fisherman from Wisconsin who participates in Marlin Tournament every year commented: “I mean its middle of the summer so it’s slow fishing but its still a good time.” The excerpt, representative of what others had also noted, suggests that in the end it was more about participating in the activity of fishing in the waters surrounding the Keys than it was about pulling one of Hemingway’s famed monster marlins from the depths or even winning the tournament. Festival participants in California and in
Montana demonstrated comparable notions of satisfaction in their participation; laughing as their frogs refused to jump, smiling as they collected their constellation frog jump participation ribbon, and happily chatting about their inability to actually see any fish in the Big Blackfoot River. Despite the fact that the festivals were held during a time of year when conditions were less than ideal for participation in the literary inspired performances hosted, most respondents concluded that they had enjoyed the events nonetheless and pointed out that it was participation in the event, not the outcome of the event that made their visit enjoyable. This suggests that visitors are more focused on cultivating their own experiences within literary landscapes, than they are with comparing the landscape to the author’s dramatic depiction of it. Perhaps this is because reading is a personal endeavor wherein both landscapes and characters are envisioned in the reader’s imagination and are therefore personal and subject to the reader’s interpretation of the text.

These findings also indicate that the destinations studied are employing their literary legacies and hosting festivals as a means of attracting visitors during the ‘off-season’ when tourists are not typically engaging in the site-specific performances being offered. This incongruence of performance and seasonality is apparently overridden by the events’ literary significance, as tourists recognized these misalignments but were less than concerned about them as demonstrated by their joyful and lighthearted behavior during the literary events, and positive post-participation feedback in each of the cases studied. Despite the relative insignificant of the outcome of their performance, many participants noted that visiting during the correct time of year, when the site-specific
performances could be enacted successfully, would be an added bonus but not central to their place experience. This reinforces the importance of performance in literary places by illustrating that it is the enacting of certain activities rather than their outcomes or their ability to measure up to the fictionalized descriptions of them found in related literary works that had the most impact on participants.

Aside from several devoted Maclean readers in Montana, there was little evidence that event attendees were concerned about the destination settings not living up to their literary portrayals. This was likely due to the fact that many of the event attendees interviewed, particularly at the Jumping Frog Jubilee in California and the Hemingway Days celebration in Key West, indicated that they either had little familiarity with the associated literary works, or that they had read the associated texts so long ago that they had little memory of their specific storylines much the less the ways in which the stories’ settings were depicted. Only a handful of tour attendees in Montana who had recently read, or had a clear memory of Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It*, alluded to the minor disappointment they experienced upon arriving at the first stop on the Big Blackfoot River as the experience did not live up to the textual description of it.

The stop, a flat meadow alongside a part of the Big Blackfoot where the water flows slowly and produces large island sandbars in the middle of the quiet, cold, knee-deep water, was the setting of one of Maclean’s most infamous literary scenes. The scene opens early one morning with the story’s two main characters- Norman, and his brother Paul, having promised Norman’s wife they would take her brother, Neal, (Norman’s
brother-in-law) fishing. When Neal, a conceited drunk whose family believes him a saint, finally arrives however, he is, much to the annoyance of Norman and Paul, not only hung over but also accompanied by a notorious local hooker known as ‘Old Rawhide’. Nonetheless, the unlikely foursome sets out to fish the Big Blackfoot River arriving by car to the spot where the tour had just stopped. Since Neal and Old Rawhide are in no condition to hike along the river’s banks in search of fertile fishing holes, Norman and Paul leave the surly couple near the car at the waters edge with a can of worms and two fishing poles. After some begging, the brothers also reluctantly agree to leave the two a couple of beers. Paul then proceeds to place the two beers into a deep whirlpool in the river to cool down and anchors them to a nearby rock with fishing line. As the brothers leave the pair and head downstream in search of better fishing holes, Paul leaves a couple beers in each whirlpool he passes along the way figuring that by the time he and Norman turn around to head back upstream they’ll have ice cold brews to drink along the way. After a successful day on the river where Paul’s fishing talents are showcased, the men pack up and head back to the car. However, upon reaching the first beer-seeded whirlpool, Paul is confused to find the bottles of ale gone. After continuing upstream and finding empty whirlpool after empty whirlpool, it becomes apparent that the notorious Neal and his lady-of-the-night friend had fished nothing from the river but Paul’s pints. When the brothers finally reach the car, hot, parched, and perturbed, they approach with caution upon hearing some movement on a nearby sandbar only to discover the lovebirds; drunk, buck-naked, and burnt to a crisp from a day of laying in the bright sun at such high altitude (see Maclean, 1976, p. 66-67).
Attendees noted how they remembered the scene vividly as the tour guide read the passage aloud and pointed out the island that he believed was the one Neal and “Old Rawhide” had occupied, but noted that the experience would have been better if the sun had been out and it had been a hot day. “I wish it would have been hot – like really sunny” noted one man capturing what others had said. In this case, certain physical conditions of the setting were pivotal in the outcome of the book’s scene, and the lack of sunshine meant a less than authentic experience for devoted readers. However visitors indicated, and observational data confirms, that this factor had little bearing on their overall satisfaction with the tour. The disappointment was relatively insignificant indicating that visitors recognized that an expectation that the exact conditions described in the text could be recreated for their enjoyment was unrealistic. Thus while many people pointed out that their attendance at the events studied was motivated by specific works of literature and some even claimed to have been introduced to the destination through literature, most tourists demonstrated an acute awareness and acceptance of the discrepancies that might arise between their experiences within a location and the ways in which the destination was described in a related text. In other words, they were realistic about the ability of the destination to meet their idealized expectations.

Further data confirms that tourists were realistic about their visit to the literary destinations studied in the sense that the literary texts themselves had little influence on tourists’ experience. Had tourists been primarily concerned with the ways that the destinations were depicted in related literary works, it stands to reason that their experiences and the satisfaction garnered from them would have differed significantly.
However, findings suggest that the textual description of place had little bearing on how tourists participated in the literature inspired events offered at the festivals or the ways in which the places were engaged with in general.

For instance, while the title of Twain’s 1967 short story *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* clearly associates the whole of Calaveras County with the text, and the author discloses that the tale itself is set in a tavern in the tiny mining town of Angels Camp, California in the wake of the gold rush, no other historical, geographic or other information on the physical or social setting of the story is provided. In fact, the whole of Twain’s description of the setting of *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* can be found in one sentence on the second page of the short story: “I found Simon Wheeler dozing comfortably by the bar-room stove of the old, dilapidated tavern in the ancient mining camp of Angel’s” (Twain, 1867); hardly a substantial illustration. Nonetheless, tourists flock to the historic town and its annual Jumping Frog Jubilee year after year by the thousands.

In contrast to Twain’s writing, Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It* is thick with rich, eloquent, and, as discovered during the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes, largely accurate descriptions of the Big Blackfoot River landscape. Maclean articulates the beauty of the fishing holes in concise yet poetic form providing the reader with a setting that can both be imagined in great detail and located in the physical landscape. An excerpt from Maclean’s novella captures the essence of the author’s writing style:
The canyon above the old Clearwater Bridge is where the Blackfoot roars loudest. The backbone of a mountain would not break, so the mountain compresses the already powerful river into sound and spray before letting it pass. Here, of course, the road leaves the river; there was no place in the canyon for an Indian trail; even in 1806 when Lewis left Clark to come up the Blackfoot, he skirted the river by a safe margin. It is no place for small fish or small fisherman. Even the roar adds power to the fish or at least intimidates the fisherman. (Maclean, 1976, p. 15).

Hemingway’s writing also differs from the other two. His style of in-the-moment, flanuer (or pedestrian) level place descriptions describe the immediate surroundings of the characters in some depth, but like Twain offers little further information about the settings more generally. In The Old Man and the Sea he describes the waters of the Florida Straights as the part of the ocean where “there was a sudden depth of seven hundred fathoms where all sorts of fish congregated because of the swirl the current made against the steep walls of the floor of the ocean. Here there were concentrations of shrimp and bait fish and sometimes schools of squid in the deepest holes and these rose close to the surface at night where all the wandering fish fed on them” (Hemingway, 1926, p. 9). In his lesser-known book, To Have and To Have Not, Hemingway writes more directly about Key West, as the story revolves around a local man who struggles to make money and stay alive transporting all manner of goods and people to and from the neighboring island-nation of Cuba. Hemingway’s rather matter-of-fact, austere approach to place description is exemplified when one character takes a late night walk around the island:
The moon was up now and the trees were dark against it, and he passed the frame houses with their narrow yards, light coming from the shuttered windows; the unpaved alleys, with their double rows of houses; Conch town, where all was starchy, well-shuttered, virtue, failure, grits and boiled grunts, breeding and the comforts of religion; the open-doored, lighted Cuban bolito houses, shacks whose only romance was their names; The Red House Chica’s; the pressed stone church; its steeples sharp, ugly triangles against the moonlight; the big grounds, and the long, black-domed bulk of the convent, handsome in the moonlight; a filling station and sandwich place, bright-lighted beside a vacant lot where a miniature golf course had been taken out; past the brightly lit main street with the three drug stores, the music store, the five Jew stores, three pool-rooms, two barbershops, five beer joints, three ice cream parlors, the five poor and the one good restaurant, two magazine and paper places, four second-hand joints (one of which made keys), a photographer’s, an office building with four dentists’ offices upstairs, the big dime store, a hotel on the corner with taxis opposite; and across, behind the hotel, to the street that led to jungle town, the big unpainted frame house with lights and the girls in the doorway, the mechanical piano going, a sailor sitting in the street; and then on back, past the back of the brick courthouse with its clock luminous at half-past ten, past the whitewashed jail building shining in the moonlight, to the embowered entrance of the Lilac Time where motor cars filled the alley. (Hemingway, 1937, p. 193-194).
While he does provide a lengthy description, it seems restrained. His characters, on the other hand, do capture the spirit of Key West, but his linguistic illustrations of the island and the surrounding waters are narrow and fleeting at best, providing the reader only a snapshot of the tropical island, its physical features distanced from its social atmosphere.

Regardless of the style of writing, data suggests that participants were largely satisfied with their place experiences citing that it was the larger notions of the author’s allusion to place, however powerful or minute, rather than the details of the author’s depiction of place, that was most important in their decision to attend the festivals studied. In other words, despite the depth or lack of further setting information, festival attendees were willing both to travel to and engage in literary inspired performances in the name of the authors and the literary works being celebrated. This was likely due, in part to the nature of reading itself. Given that people often only remember the general plots, charismatic characters, or other distinctive features of a text and not the descriptions of the settings verbatim, the loose connections between place and text appear to override the literary descriptions of them. While participants in Montana for instance, were largely familiar with Maclean’s texts, many indicated that they were impressed with the author’s descriptions of the Big Blackfoot River, but that they could not remember the specific ways that the related locations were described. Many participants in Key West and Calaveras County on the other hand were either unfamiliar with the related texts, or had read them so long ago that they could barely recall the books’ storylines much the less the way the related sites were illustrated linguistically. This was also in line with the way the festivals and host destinations presented themselves to potential tourists. For example,
instead of linking themselves to one specific literary work using detailed text-specific references, the festivals each made vague claims about the literary links to the area and the authors who made them famous. The Jumping Frog Jubilee focused primarily on the image of the frog rather than providing an explanation of the ways in which the frog fit into Twain’s original story or the town’s history. Likewise, no promises were made in Montana about the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes living up to Maclean’s description of them. Rather, the tour guide explained that the Blackfoot River provided the inspiration for Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It*, but that by Maclean’s own admission the story was stylized wherein some aspects of the landscape had been given more weight than others and that the river itself had changed and therefore could not be experienced exactly as the characters in the story had.

In Key West, Hemingway himself was recalled as justification for various celebrations, but no references were made in promotional materials or festival brochures, or on informational websites about any of the author’s literary works specifically. This larger notion of a location’s connection to literature shows how it is not specific aspects of literature that tourists are concerned with while visiting literary destinations, rather respondents overwhelmingly indicated that it was the more general literary connections to the destinations visited that made them special and different. This aligns with what scholars have long suggested; that tourists see connections to literature and the authors who penned them, regardless of how deeply rooted or shallow they might be, as justification for visiting literary-specific sites over other heritage sites (Earl, 2008; Herbert, 1996, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Pretes, 2003).
In this sense, tourists were not engrossed strictly with the fictional history of the destinations studied or the lives of the literary characters that once called the location home as suggested by a number of scholars (see Alexander, 2008; Herbert, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Muresan & Smith, 1998; Pocock, 1992). Instead, the literary connections were utilized as both a vehicle for introducing the other histories of an area, and as an avenue for learning more about both the authors personally and the multifaceted history of the destinations more generally. In Montana, for instance, festival attendees explained that they were curious as to why the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean festival had been introduced in 2015, some 39 years after the publication of *A River Runs Through It* and over 20 years after the release of the widely popular film adaptation by the same name. Given that no clues were disclosed about the inception of the festival in any of the advertising materials or press releases distributed, or discussed or even mentioned during any of the festival sessions, attendees were left to surmise that the introduction of the festival must have had something to do with the life of Maclean. In turn, several attendees indicated that they had gone looking for further information about the life of the author. “I was actually going on to the computer the other night and trying to find out why this year – what’s the connection?” said one man attending the events from nearby Missoula. “Why did it just pop up now? And my wife was asking me if it was the anniversary of the book, the anniversary of the movie? The anniversary of his death? I can’t figure anything out.” This search for facts about the festival and the real life of the author suggests that tourists are, in fact, interested in cultivating a well-rounded
understanding of a destination’s history and the role that literature has in it. On the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes in Montana, the tour guide spoke about Maclean and his writing in the same breath as he described the geological and glacial movements that had formed the sweeping valley, the Native American populations that first called the area home, and the Lewis and Clark expedition that cut through the local wildness and made the place known to white people. Attendees commonly noted how much they enjoyed learning about the various other historic aspects of the Big Blackfoot River and Seeley Lake areas. “It’s just really cool, hearing about that guy who brewed beer. Especially now that Missoula is sort of having its own little microbrewery boom,” one man said, capturing the essence of what others had said about enjoying the presentation of local historic narratives alongside discussions about the area’s literary legacy.

Similarly, the Jumping Frog Jubilee was featured as part of a larger festival wherein other aspects of the Calaveras County area were also represented. This positioning of the frog jump alongside gold-rush period dressed volunteers, agricultural competitions, exhibitions of local art, and other cultural shows highlights how Twain’s literary history can be seen as one but one of many facets of the community’s meaning. Likewise, in Key West there was little explanation as to why there was a running of the bulls event included in the Hemingway Days festival, yet references to Hemingway and his literary works were placed alongside other historic elements of the island. For instance the leaders (official Papa’s) of the Running of the Bulls paid homage to the local rum industry by propping miniature barrels of the alcohol up on their shoulders and carried them for the entirety of the parade around the block. Tents selling locally made
traditional wares, such as hand painted coconuts, shell necklaces, and hand-rolled cigars, and street foods representing the various cultural populations that have called the island home; Cuban sandwiches, conch fritters, and Bahamian cuisine were positioned alongside the Hemingway events highlighting how Hemingway and his literary legacy provided an avenue for showcasing other cultural aspects of the island.

This suggests that the literary history of a destination is seen as having equal historic significance as other elements of the past and, that tourists are not strictly concerned with the fictional or literary connections to an area. Thus, given how tourists were interested in both the fictional and the factual history of the destinations studied, and that many were realistic about the inconsistencies between the textual descriptions of place and the reality of it, there was little evidence to suggest that tourists’ place experiences had been impacted by the author’s unique writing style. In this sense, the authors’ literary illustrations of the each of the locations did not, as suggested by Lowe (2012) and Luftig (1996), override the way the place itself was interpreted. Instead, it was the general idea of the location’s association with an author and their literary works as suggested by Pocock (1981) that was most influential in tourists’ construction of place and their decision to visit.

Further, data also indicates that in both Angels Camp and Key West, the authors are recalled and celebrated primarily as a justification for a weeklong celebration, as a means of sharing other local historic narratives, and as and excuse for an array of otherwise odd behaviors and events. In other words, the authors were not revered as
meaningful symbolic figures (Pocock, 1992; Squire, 1994), ‘founding father figures’ (Lowe, 2012), or the ‘secular equivalent of saints’ (Buell, 1989) as suggested by some scholars, rather, in Angels Camp, Twain was overlooked almost entirely, while in Key West, Hemingway was celebrated as a jolly old man and a fun loving drinker with a fishing problem. Neither was admired as a diplomat, hero, or even an accomplished author.

In Montana, on the other hand, both the author and his texts were more meaningful to tourists and more central to the events held during the festival than they were at the other locations studied. However, the author was still not revered as heroic, saintly, or even larger than life. Instead, the festival, that in its inaugural year was able to provide keynote speakers who knew Maclean personally and spoke of author as a family man, a scholar, and a friend with a fondness for foul language, depicted Maclean as a man who was human, complex and flawed. Similarly, the Riverkeeper on the fishing hole tour told a story about how the famous author had returned to the Big Blackfoot in his older age and was unable to say for certain which were the exact locations on the river he had written about. In this sense, Maclean’s literary works were celebrated, but the author himself was treated as a real person, not a perfect icon. His image wasn’t stylized and reproduced on t-shirts or brochures; his textual icons weren’t sculpted into public art; and his name wasn’t used to entice visitors into participating in fishing tournaments. In other words, Maclean was not portrayed as the father of fly-fishing, as an accomplished frontiersman, or as an American hero. Rather, these examples illustrate how Maclean was seen as a local son, albeit one the town was proud of.
In each of the cases where the authors were central to the theme of the festival they were portrayed as real people; flawed and complex, not larger than life, saints in a secular world, or founding father figures. Likewise, there is little evidence to support the notion that the texts associated with the festivals and destinations studied are viewed as ‘national anthems’ or origin stories as suggested by Lowe (2012). Rather, the related literary works were commonly seen as a reflection of a particular identity. A group of men at the Marlin Tournament in Key West for example indicated that they were interested in Hemingway’s literary works because he wrote a lot about fishing, and as fisherman, they could identify with his stories. In other words, they, like many tour participants in Montana, appreciated the way the author was able to capture the nuances that made fishing in that particular destination a unique experience. “The little aspects of fishing you know that – it’s very little about catching fish. Maclean understood that,” said one man in Montana in a comment quintessential of data illustrating this theme. In this sense, the authors are again represented as regular people whose writings were able to articulate what it felt like to be a part of a certain social group, not as authorities on the topics they wrote about, or as creators of a social identity. Maclean even alludes to his own ‘Average Joe’ status in several scenes from A River Runs Through It. For instance, while out fishing with his brother who he constantly reminds us is a great fisherman, he points out his own lack of expertise:

I could hear Paul start to pass me to get to the hole above, and, when I realized I didn’t hear him anymore. I knew he had stopped to watch me. Although I have never pretended to be a great fisherman, it was always important to me that I was
a fisherman and looked like one, especially when fishing with my brother. Even before the silence continued, I knew that I wasn’t looking like much of anything. (Maclean, 1976, p. 15).

Further, in Calaveras County, no one suggested that *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* should be considered an example of classic American literature. In fact, one woman commented on how *bad* Twain’s short frog story was. “It’s actually one of his lamest short stories,” she said laughing, not a piece of work to be admired. Thus, while visitors were willing to celebrate the authors at the literary festivals held in their honor, and destinations were happy to embrace their connections to the authors’ literary works in order to attract tourists, there was little evidence, in any of the cases studied, to suggest that the authors themselves had become symbolic founding father figures, or that their literary works had been embraced as ‘origin stories’ of any kind.

*Adoption of Literary Identity*

Scholars have also suggested that in turn, many places embrace their literary connections as a means of creating, reinforcing, or altering an area’s place identity (Herbert, 2001; Johnson, 2004; Lowe, 2012; Westover, 2012). The destinations in these cases were no exception. Each location visited had embraced its literary connections to varying degrees. In Angels Camp, California, signs of Twain’s amphibian literary legacy were everywhere. The local high school mascot is a frog; images of frogs were seen on buildings and various business signs, and one wall in the town’s local chain grocery store
even featured a mural depicting larger than life cartoonish frogs jumping about in a vivid blue pond. Larger than life frog statues have been erected throughout the main part of Angels Camp; signs claiming the town as “Home of the Jumping Frog” have been posted up and down the main streets of town; and a series of plaques along Main Street bearing the names and likenesses of each Jumping Frog Jubilee winner since 1928 works to remind tourists of Twain’s literary legacy as shown in Figure 4. Despite the local assertion that the town is the rightful home of Twain’s celebrated frog however, the text does little to reinforce the claim and though even less to refute it. Nonetheless, Twain’s frog tale has eclipsed the importance of the author himself in contemporary Angels Camp. Data collected from observations, along with festival advertisements and informational websites together suggest that it is the frog that has been embraced as a symbol of the town’s identity, not the author. Twain simply provided the town its claim to literary fame. This suggests that Angels Camp has appropriated the literary icon of a frog as a means of demarcating themselves as a distinctive destination in the sea of northern California towns offering visitors gold-rush era architecture, vineyards, and aesthetically pleasing Sierra Nevada mountain scenery. In this sense, the destination of Angels Camp and idea of jumping frogs have become synonymous with one another. “Clearly if you say Angels Camp I think Mark Twain and frogs” expressed one man in from Northern California in a quote quintessential of what others had also said. In other words, the frog jump competition and the frogs that represent the traditional contest are central to the ways in which tourists think of Angels Camp. In other words, tourists were unable to miss the fact that Angels Camp was the home of Twain’s jumping frog and the
Jumping Frog Jubilee event. This is affirmed by the images of, statues memorializing, and kitsch depicting frogs everywhere tourists might look in town. Thus, regardless of the depth with which Twain’s frogs are represented, it is evident that Angels Camp has fully embraced their identity as the home of Twain’s *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* and is actively using its literary connections to Twain to set themselves apart as a distinctive destination in the minds of visitors.

*Figure 4. Downtown Angels Camp, California (Photo by Carol Richardson for GoCalaveras.com)*

The Hemingway Days festival itself along with souvenirs depicting the author, memorials devoted to the author, and island informational brochures directing tourists to sites associated with the author were similarly everywhere in Key West. Hemingway’s likeness permeated almost every feature of the island from drink menus to hotel names. In this sense, these literary connections thus illustrate how Hemingway, or at least his
name and likeness, have been appropriated a brand image representative of the island of Key West. Thus, while the connections between Hemingway and the destination of Key West were demonstrated across the island, they were superficial at best demonstrating that how the larger notion of Hemingway was more important to the construction of the identity of the area than were the details of the author’s literary works describing the archipelago.

Alternatively, in Montana, the Seeley Lake area remains largely undeveloped. What commercial tourism infrastructure does exist is carefully arranged to capitalize on the rural landscape rather than impose upon it. Several exclusive guest ranches (whose visitors consist mostly of movie stars and other high profile people trying to escape the public eye – think Prince William and Angelina Jolie) occupy the valley but stretch for thousands of acres, their property indistinguishable from the surrounding natural landscape. The town of Seeley Lake is tiny, consisting only of a handful of small souvenir shops offering locally made items (e.g. jewelry featuring genuine Montana sapphires mined from the nearby Yogo Gulch, huckleberry syrups and jams, hand blown glass knick-knacks, post-cards, and various fishing and camping guides), an ice cream shop, two gas stations, and several small eateries and bar and grills. The imprint of Maclean in this area seems faint at best, yet ironically may be more influential than one would first suspect. Aside from a banner strung across the main highway advertising the literary festival, there was little indication that Maclean was Seeley Lake’s favorite son; no plaques bearing the author’s name, no statues featuring the book *The River Runs Through It*, no murals depicting Neal’s bare rear-end. However, upon talking to several
shop owners while perusing their shelves and cases of goods after the fishing hole tour, it became apparent that Maclean had left his imprint upon the local landscape indeed. His writing and his reverence for nature had inspired area residents to work to conserve the local wild lands rather than allow them to be developed. In other words, Maclean’s writing has become as imprinted on the Big Blackfoot and Seeley Lake areas as the river has on the rocks it flows over. Maclean himself poetically captures this concept in what is perhaps his most famous quote in his book:

Eventually, all things merge into one, and a river runs through it. The river was cut by the world’s greatest flood and runs over rocks from the basement of time. On some of the rocks are timeless raindrops. Under the rocks are the words, and some of the words are theirs.

I am haunted by waters. (Maclean, 1976, p. 104).

Thus, Maclean seems to be implying that it is the stories of the people who have come before us that most influence how we will understand a landscape as a distinctive place. It is the words, or the narratives of all the people that over time have called a location home that form the foundation for what the place means. In this sense, Maclean’s rocks represent all these personal narratives that together form the foundation for the way the river flows, or the way the place is understood. The rocks sit deep beneath the dark waters, unrecognizable from the surface except for the way an eddy flows as the current ripples over the small boulders, yet together they change the way the river flows. The
way we talk about, read about, and write about a place, Maclean seems to be saying, influences the way we think about that place, whether we recognize it or not.

In this sense, data indicates that both the social conception and physical landscapes of the all of the destinations studied have been influenced by the literary legacies connected to them. In other words, space really has become place in both the physical and the conceptual sense in these destinations, through narrative, as suggested by a number of scholars from a variety of fields (see Baker, 2007; Blair, 1998; Folsom, 2000; Hsu, 2005; Litwiller-Berte, 2007; Ryden, 1993; Shortridge, 1991; Soja, 1989; Tally, 2013; Urbain, 2003).

However, locals contend that the literary fame is a double-edged sword. A man in Montana illustrated this concept in explaining how, upon achieving worldwide success, Robert Redford’s cinematic version of Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It* impacted the local area he called home:

It seems like me and my people, my tribe, we have really mixed feelings about the movie [and sustained popularity of the book]…. Because pre-1992/1993 it was locals and now – and its great because it supports industry and I heard you talking about how tourism is taking over for industry – this place before I moved and when I grew up in Montana and here in Missoula – it was all company towns, it was all logging and mining. And as it all went away there’s a lost generation of people that had to move away. So it’s nice that aspect that people are actually making their living. At first it was the fishing guides, and now there’s different
people getting into it. There’s one guy in Missoula making nets – they’re $300 nets. So in that aspect it’s great. But as the selfish local… When you drive down the road and all you see is out of state plates it’s hard. And it’s hard when you go to your restaurant, your brewery and it’s packed. It’s like no this is mine. So there’s a little bit of the friction there.

In other words, it is evident that negative implications of literary tourism also exist, though neither festival planners nor festival attendees appeared to be overly concerned with them.

In contrast, the stories in the pages of Hemingway’s many manuscripts appear to have had little impact on the island of Key West as a tourist destination. While Hemingway’s home remains a popular attraction and the festival events were well attended, the author himself has become, much like Twain’s frog in Angels Camp, little more than icon, a symbol, or a brand in Key West. Hemingway’s image was everywhere, his silhouette graced signs for Sloppy Joe’s Saloon (the author’s favorite watering hole), drinks named after the writer were offered up and down Duval Street, and hotel signage bearing the old man’s likeness were almost everywhere one looked. Hoards of Papa’s (both official and unofficial Hemingway look-alikes) even filled the street, yet with each manifestation of the author’s image and reference to his time on the island, the reality of the man himself seemed to diminish. Baudrillard (1994) calls this depth-less copy of a copy ‘simulacra’ and explains that in contemporary society, the systematic debasement of an original is caused by the saturation of its replications in society. In other words, the
original icon – in this case, Hemingway himself, has been referenced through various signs and symbols so many times in so many ways that the author himself has become virtually irrelevant as the symbols that represent him have become more culturally significant than the man himself (see also Eco, 1990). In Key West, the plethora of copies detracted from the authenticity of the person that Hemingway was and the many literary accomplishments he achieved. His image in Key West was simply a superficial icon, a recognizable brand symbol, or as Luftig (1996) asserts, just another tourism theme, an “excuse for kitsch”.

Hemingway himself was even of minimal importance to the Hemingway Days Festival events studied. While the image of the man was center stage at the Running of the Bulls event where a crowd of Papas and tourists sang Happy Birthday to the late author on what would have been his 116th birthday, and even presented a cake in his honor, there was no explanation as to why the man was famous. Officials offered no explanation as to why there was a Running of the Bulls event; no speech by one of the many Papas connecting the event to the author’s time in Pamplona, no brochures or other text referencing the author’s work The Sun Also Rises whose characters attended Spain’s famed Running of the Bulls, nor any visual references to the fact that Hemingway was even an author. Further, while a comprehensive list of events was available on-line and in the official Marlin Tournament brochure, none of the individual event materials made reference to or promoted the other events. In other words, there were no Stand Up Paddle Board Race marketing materials apparent at the Marlin Tournament weigh-ins and no mention of the writing contest during the Running of the Bulls event. The events were
held at different times and various places all over the island and had varying levels of connection to Hemingway himself. References to Hemingway’s texts were also conspicuously absent from the Marlin Tournament events, narration, and setting, as was the author himself. Other than the name of the fishing tournament being posted everywhere from the large scoreboard posted for public viewing in front of the small, raised weigh-in stage set up in the middle of a popular plaza on the marina boardwalk, to the t-shirts being sold under the event tent, Hemingway’s image and the texts he was famous for penning were largely absent from the tournament. Marketing for the Marlin Tournament stressed the notion that participants could fish in the same waters as the famed author did yet, there was little reference to either Hemingway or his many literary works during the event itself. There were no recognizable props or décor alluding to author or his works at the Marlin Tournament weigh-ins, no impersonator sharing the stage with event participants or contest officials, and no *Old Man and the Sea* souvenirs.

This either suggests that tourists are expected to already possess the cultural capital to know who Hemingway was, why he was important, and how the events are connected to him, or that festival officials simply don’t care whether tourists understand Hemingway’s significance or not, as long as they are visiting and spending money. Either way, on the island of Key West, the image of Hemingway has become disconnected both from actual man’s life and his literary achievements. The literary connections have become just another way to attract tourists and make the destination distinctive.
Similarly, while Angels Camp has adopted the identity of being the home of the Jumping Frog Jubilee, the connections to both Twain the man, and the text of his original short story *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* that originally made the town famous, have deteriorated. Much like the Hemingway Days celebration in Key West there was little explanation as to *why* there was a frog jump at the Calaveras County Fair in the first place. When asked if familiar with the background of the Jumping Frog Jubilee event, one man from Sacramento assumed it was Twain himself that participated in frog competition and kicked off the tradition. “Something must have happened with him at a frog jumping contest apparently… I don’t know.” Except for a large, yet easy-to-miss (as it was placed several yards off the main path that ran from the entrance gate to the carnival booths and frog jump stage), carving of a frog at the entrance to the fairgrounds with a plaque explaining the literary connection, a 55-page festival brochure featuring the a small photo of the cover of Twain’s original text and half page paragraph about the history of the event, and a lightly-attended short daily recital of *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* by a Twain impersonator, no obvious connections were made between the author’s literary work and the plethora of frogs permeating the festival atmosphere.

The Twain impersonator, an was a older fellow donning a three-piece suit, white shaggy hair and a full mustache looked very much like the stereotypical image of Samuel Clemens as an old man that has permeated popular culture. Hired to hang around the frog jump event and interact with visitors, he was largely treated as a sideshow to the event rather than a main attraction. At several points during the four-day festival, “Twain” took
the main stage during breaks in the frog jump events, however little of the audience stuck
around to witness the performance. The “author’s” introduction was less than
ceremonious with no real transition between the frog competition and his presentation.
Further, the man playing Twain provided virtually no information about the real author,
his literary works, or his time in Angels Camp before jumping into an oral rendition of
*The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*. While the recital was largely
accurate albeit somewhat compressed for the sake of time (entire paragraphs were spoken
word for word from the original text), the presenter focused only on the introduction to
the story wherein Twain describes the tale’s setting, and the end of the story wherein the
gfrog jump (or lack there of) takes place. Repeating the same unceremonious style of
taking the stage, the Twain impersonator simply walked off stage after the telling of
Twain’s famous tale; no debrief, no interpretation, and no interaction with the audience.
Both before and after this seemingly disconnected oral recital, “Twain” was banished to
the side stage, cursed to linger around the main event awkwardly, providing a metaphor
for the authors place in the festival. Twain was little more than an after thought; an iconic
obligation with festival planners seemingly rationalizing that without Twain the event
would be odd, so it was best to have him there in any capacity. A young husband and
wife from San Diego echoed this notion when they explained that they were familiar with
Twain and his writings from their high school English classes but didn’t realize he had a
connection to the Angels Camp area specifically. “I was wondering why there were
frogs!” Again, visitors were expected to understand the significance of Twain, his literary
works, and his connection to the area prior to attending the Calaveras County Fair and Jumping Frog Jubilee.

Few attendees at either festival could articulate why either Twain or Hemingway were culturally important. And, though every interviewee recognized the figures as successful and important American authors, few individuals had any depth of knowledge about their lives or the specific contributions they made to literature. These inabilities to delineate the importance of Hemingway, Twain, or their literary works illustrates that in Key West, Hemingway is no longer viewed as a meaningful commentator on the ‘lost generation’, a voice for the disillusioned youth following World War One, or an articulate interpreter of the challenges associated with aging; and in Angels Camp, Twain is no longer revered for his stylized depictions of local life in America after the Civil War, or as the talented creator of a great American novel. Rather, the many clones of Hemingway in Key West, and the excess of frogs in Calaveras County reflect the debased and hollow image that the authors have become. In this sense, both Hemingway in Key West, and Twain in Calaveras County have become victims of their own notoriety wherein the popular images and symbols representing them and their literary works have become more important and identifiable than the authors themselves or the texts they penned thus demonstrating Baudrillard’s (1994) notion of simulacra wherein the original no longer has a direct connection to the copy, or symbol representing it.
Impacts of Place and Text on Performance

*Literature Binds Place and Performance, Impels Participation*

Regardless of the ways in which the literary figures and their texts were represented at the festivals, in each of the cases studied, the area’s literary legacies were being utilized as a means of binding the host destination to specific literature-inspired performances and enticing visitors to participate in them. In California, billboards featuring Twain’s likeness alongside claims of Angels Camp as the ‘home of the jumping frog’, frog jump memorial inscriptions recalling Twain’s tall tale, and souvenirs for sale at event tents and along Main Street illustrate how visitors are actively being reminded that the town is the rightful home of jumping frogs because it’s the real place that Twain wrote about in his text (even if just briefly). Images and textual descriptions on informational websites and in advertisements for the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Festival similarly centered the performance of fly-fishing the Big Blackfoot alongside Maclean himself and promotion of his literary achievements again highlighting how the author and his literary legacy was being used to bind the destination to the activity of fly-fishing. Affirming these findings, websites, advertisements, and brochures for both of the Hemingway Days events studied also recalled the author and generally alluded to his literary works as a means of situating themselves as the home of marlin fishing and the sole and rightful proprietors of a “native breed of ‘bull’” (referring to the faux bovines used in the running of the bulls event). These examples illustrate how the authors and
their literary works are being recalled as a means of justifying claims about being the ‘home’ of the certain site-specific performances that can be enacted there.

Comparable themes emerged out of data focused on visitors’ experiences as well. In interviews, participants at each of the festivals touched on the notion that because of the fact that the destinations they were visiting were linked to famous literary works they were also justifiable places to participate in the site-specific performances being offered. In an example quintessential of the data, a man at the Jumping Frog Jubilee was overheard telling his children why they should go ahead and participate in the competition; “if you’re going to jump a frog, this is the place to do it… it’s like the Super Bowl of frog jumping”. This suggests that, in his eyes, Calaveras County was truly the “home” of frog jumping, and the place to jump a frog thus reinforcing the authenticity of the event in the location as suggested by Ramshaw and Gammon (2010). Others similarly exemplified this same feeling by pointing out that both the place itself and its literary connections were vital components in their decision to participate in the events being offered and, that they would not participate in same events if they were held elsewhere (somewhere unconnected to the author or the text). For example, a family with two small children attending the running of the bulls in Key West explained their feelings on the event’s being held on the island. “No we wouldn’t [attend the Running of the Bulls elsewhere] because this is what its about” said the wife. “It’s like moving Mardi Gras somewhere else. It doesn’t work. This is it,” added the husband. A man in his mid-20’s at the Jumping Frog Jubilee whose date was from Angels Camp captures the notion best:
I wouldn’t want to do it if there wasn’t a little story. I don’t know. Legitimately, that’s the whole…it would just be weird. Like we’re just a bunch of people hanging out in a field with a bunch of frogs. Which is fine… but like why? The frogs take over the whole little city, the whole county, pretty much, and if it didn’t have a rhyme or reason behind it we’re just talking about this… And I’m glad to have a ‘why’ – it makes it all – it makes it cute and interesting and fun, instead of like random and weird.

In other words, the combination of place and literature justified many visitors’ engagement in certain activities, or performances.

Further, data suggested that tourists were also impelled to participate in certain site-specific performances because of an area’s literary connections. A young college-aged woman visiting the Jumping Frog Jubilee for instance, exemplified this theme by explaining how Twain’s literary connections to the Angels Camp area had enticed her to participate in the frog jump competition. “Twain has ruined this town,” she said, “its all – its everywhere. I love it, but that was kind of my first thought – this place was probably just a normal little town… so I mean we have to go do everything.” A young college-aged woman on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes in Montana, visiting with her parents and slightly younger brother similarly illustrated this notion. “Especially at the first stop [where the bare rump scene had been set]… I wanted to go lay down on that island… I wonder if it would have been more meaningful, rather than just here is where it is, and here is some information -because that can be a little bit awkward in a way - if
they participated in it would it have been a different connection. I think it would have. I think it would make it more memorable”. This illustrates how tourists felt obligated to participate in certain performances upon visiting the destinations studied because of the literary connections to the area. “It’s a ‘when in Rome’ thing” explained a Frog Jump team member in Calaveras County upon being asked why he chose to participate in the festival’s events suggesting that certain performances were expected upon visiting literary destinations.

Given that many tourists were introduced to the destination they were visiting through related pieces of literature, this was no surprise. While scholars have long contended that literature gives readers a way to conceptualize a place they’ve not yet visited and a way to visualize the experiences that they may engage with upon arrival (see also Herbert, 2001; Hendrix, 2008; Frost, 2012; Watson, 2006), data in these cases suggests that literary texts also influenced which performances tourists believed they should engage in while visiting the destination (Edensor, 2000; Light, 2009). Further, data from these cases support Pocock’s (1981) argument that it is not so much the specifics of a literary work which inspires tourist performance as it is the general idea that the story may take place within a given setting. This was exemplified by participants who were more focused on the opportunity to participate in the literary performances that could be enacted at the festivals than they were concerned with the specifics of the authors themselves or the literary works they had created. “Were not going to any of the other events,” said one man on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes indicating that he was only concerned with the experiential events offered during the festival and not the
other sessions that offered more intangible experiences. Thus, regardless of whether the
textual connections to the destinations studied were rich and meaningful or shallow and
kitschy, or whether the authors themselves were viewed as important historic figures or
as hollow images of iconic brands, the general idea of an associated piece of literature
was enough to entice visitors to participate in the performances being offered because it
was the experience itself which was most important to participants.

This suggests that it is not enough for many tourists to just go visit literary places;
rather, in order to fully experience the place visitors seem to believe that they should
participate in certain performances. In this sense tourists are using both performances and
literary connections to cultivate emotional connections to the destination as suggested by
Bagnall (2003) and Buell (2008) by layering literary meanings onto real places (Hewison,
1989). This highlights how tourists are making sense of literary destinations, in part,
through the site-specific performances they are engaging in while there as suggested by a
number of scholars (see, for example, Bagnell, 2003; Crouch, 2002). In turn, some
destinations have become synonymous with the literary performances that are enacted
within them. In a representative quote, one man in Montana for example, explained that
the Big Blackfoot River had “become a fly-fishing mecca,” upon being featured in
Maclean’s book *A River Runs Through It* and Robert Redford’s cinematic adaptation that
followed. Similarly the many memorials devoted to Twain’s frogs, destination
advertisements depicting frogs, and the appropriation of the animal as the town’s mascot
suggest that both frogs and frog jumping, have become representative of Angels Camp,
California highlighting how Twain’s literary icon and the competition he spawned have
become symbolically bound to the location itself. In other words, “when you say Calaveras County,” as one woman explained, “you think ‘frogs’”! The United States congressional representative for the Angels Camp area district captured this concept in a story he told while being interviewed. “I was at an event with Steve Fincher of Tennessee who bragged that he was from Frog Jump, Tennessee… I said I can beat that! I’m from Calaveras County, California! There’s never a doubt what that means.” Thus implying that it is common knowledge that Calaveras County is the official home of the Jumping Frog Jubilee.

Other visitors in Key West, Calaveras County, and the Big Blackfoot River all noted how, engaging in literature-inspired performances they saw themselves as carrying out traditions that both honored the literary past and the cultural customs of a place. One man explained that he had attended the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes in order to learn more about the river and to look for fishing holes. “So is it just about the fishing?” he was asked. “Well they do look like good fishing holes,” he replied, “but I think partly because of the legacy of them fishing this area.” Many also saw it as a duty to engage with these legacies to ensure that they would remain popular for years to come. One couple from Louisiana were attended the Running of the Bulls in Key West with their two small children. While they admitted that they had little depth of knowledge about Hemingway or his many literary works, they explained that they still felt it was important for their children learn about the author and his texts and that the festival provided a great opportunity for that. Another woman echoed the same notion when asked about why she chose to attend the Running of the Bulls explaining that the festival made Hemingway
relevant. “I just hope that some of the younger people know who Hemingway is.” Clearly the literary legacies were deeply inscribed in Calaveras County, Key West, and Seeley Lake. This suggests that even while being engaged in for fun and entertainment, the performances enacted during the literary festivals studied are recognized by tourists as important social commemorations as suggested by Connorton (in Edensor, 2001), that have other cultural implications such as sustaining the authors’ cultural importance, reinforcing each destinations’ unique traditions, and disseminating historic narratives.

**Influential Motivating Factors**

However, while many places are associated with works of literature, not all literary destinations attract tourists or impel visitors to participate in place-specific activities the way Angels Camp, the Big Blackfoot River valley, and Key West do. In these places, tourists appear to be particularly willing to engage in the place-specific activities being offered as demonstrated by their willingness to pay $5 to spend one short minute with a lethargic bullfrog, or $2100 to ride a wooden ‘bull’ on wheels, or 21 hours driving to attend a river tour. Visitors familiar with the related literary texts explained that they were particularly willing to visit the associated destinations and participate in the place-specific activities being offered in them because of the fact that the related literary texts had appealed to them in ways other books had not. For readers, these texts were important and drove their participation because, as suggested by Pocock (1981), they were able to identify with some aspect of the text.
For instance, while Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea* articulates the common experience of aging, and, as a result the questioning one’s place in the world, it also captures the many frustrations and joys that fisherman feel when out on the water attempting to reel in a trophy catch. It also provides a metaphor for the lifelong struggle of pursuing something only to grow old in the process of becoming an expert. This universal aspect of the text was what some tourists at the Marlin Tournament cited as most appealing about the story, focusing on how Hemingway was able to articulate both the feeling of fishing the Florida Straights and the bittersweet experience of reaching old age. In other words, it was the universality of the text that allowed readers to really connect with the literature as posited by Pocock (1981), and in turn, set the work apart as something special and worthy of further investigation in the form of traveling to a related destination and participating in the place-specific performances that can be enacted there.

Likewise, in addition to illustrating the art of fly-fishing, Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It* captured the deep emotional moments a family had on what became a sacred piece of land, the fleetingness of time, and the desire everyone experiences to remember only the good in a loved one lost, but recognizing that the combination of good and bad is what made them who they were. It also reflected a reverence for the power of nature and the strength of family in a rugged terrain; factors which tour attendees pointed out were particularly influential in cultivating their love of the book. “What makes it such a good story,” said one man, “[is that] it’s about family and you can appropriate their family with your own.” Others told stories of their own experiences losing family members and how Maclean’s text reminded them of the times they had fishing together in their own local
tributaries, which in turn, had motivated them to travel to Montana and participate in festival related events. Both cases suggest that literary works that deal with the type of universal life experiences that readers can identify with, such as growing up, growing old, falling in love, or being down on one’s luck, are particularly influential in visitors’ decision to visit associated literary destinations and to participate in the literary inspired events being offered.

In California, data revealed that texts encountered during childhood were also particularly influential in motivating people to travel to Angels Camp and participate in the Jumping Frog Jubilee. One woman, for example, explained that she had read Twain’s short story as a child and had always wondered if a frog could really be coaxed to jump. She had wondered how the characters made the frogs move and, as a result, wanted to put herself in the shoes of the main character in order to better understand how the story played out. Thus she decided to visit Angels Camp to participate in the Jumping Frog Jubilee. This confirms Iwashita’s (2006) theory that literary works read during childhood can be enduringly influential in fueling people’s travel desires even later in life. This suggests that by participating in the competition, visitors who had been motivated to enact the performance of jumping a frog by reading Twain’s short story during childhood were fulfilling a long held goal. In this sense, both literature and place work together to create stages upon which performances may be acted out and wherein tourists can both cultivate new memories and be reminded of childhood memories, thus likely providing visitors with powerful emotional experiences.
Other festival participants in each of the cases studied indicated that they had sought out related literary works, after making travel plans, as preparation for their visit. This suggests that these reader-travellers are looking for multiple ways in which to understand the destination they plan on visiting. In other words, by reading a related text, visitors can gain a new way to view a literary destination; a view provided through the storylines of the characters in the text and not reliant upon their own narrow experiences.

Others indicated that they had read the related text before visiting specifically to look for information about how to behave while visiting and enacting certain performances. Capturing the essence of this theme, one woman in California explained how she had sought out Twain’s short story. “I bought the book and read it this morning on our way here… I was hoping to read about jumping techniques”. However, rarely are authors of fictional works writing with the intention of providing the reader with a guide to the story’s setting. Rather, Hemingway, Twain, and Maclean are simply gifted with the ability to capture the “local color”, or the unique combination of area culture, social subtleties, and behavioral norms that makes the places they write about distinctive. The woman looking to Twain’s short story for information on how to win the frog jump competition admitted that her plan, “it didn’t really work out”. Thus, these tourists were looking for clues about how to best experience the related destination in order to enrich their experience while visiting. This suggests that tourists are in fact, using literature as a guide to place confirming what a number of scholars have long suggested (Edensor, 2000; Johnson, 2004; Laing & Crouch, 2009; Litwiller-Berte, 2007; Rickley-Boyd et al., 2014; Westover, 2012).


**Literary Places, Performance, and Personal Identity**

Themes also emerged around the notion that site-specific performances enacted at literary places were connected to visitors’ personal and social identities. Scholars suggest that the way people act in the presence of others reflects the way they want to be perceived by others (Bagnall, 2003; Goffman, 1959) which was evident in the way that some festival attendees used their participation in place specific literary performances to reinforce particular identities. In Montana, for instance, the Big Blackfoot River was seen by many as the quintessential destination for fly-fishing in the United States, substantiated as such by Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It*. By enacting the performance of fishing in the same river made famous by his work, data suggests that visitors could feel as if they were enacting the same performances as the characters in Maclean’s text and therefore experiencing the same experiences as the literary characters. In turn, they were likely able to imagine themselves as members of the same social group therefore seeing themselves as true fly-fishermen. Given that advertisements for the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival appeared primarily in fly-fishing publications and local fishing supply stores, it is evident that Maclean’s literary text is seen as being associated with people who share a fishing identity. Also illustrating this theme was a man on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes who indicated that he had wanted to come fish the Blackfoot River since developing an interest in the sport of fly-fishing explaining that the waterway would be a test of his skills. “It’s like a thing on my bucket list – to fish these [waters]… So now that I’ve seen them I get to go back and fly-fish in them… that’s why I’m here.” This quote, which captures the essence of what
others had also alluded to, suggests that visitors’ could solidify their identities as legitimate fly-fishermen by fishing the Big Blackfoot River, because after all, it the river is popularly known as a fly-fishing destination thanks to Maclean’s famous story.  

Likewise, in Key West, some Marlin Tournament participants demonstrated that after having read The Old Man and the Sea and/or actually fishing in the same waters made famous by the author they felt more secure as an actual fisherman. Holding up her catch for official measurement and photo records, one woman who had never participated in the tournament before smiled and exclaimed “Now I’m officially a fisherman!” (see Figure 5. Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament Participant). This is in line with Marlin Tournament advertisements which recalled Hemingway as a “legendary angler” while inviting visitors to fish the same waters, thus suggesting that fishing enthusiasts could become the author’s fishing peer by participating in the island’s “premier Marlin fishing event”. Others in Key West saw participation in the Running of the Bulls as a way to authenticate their identity as Hemingway buffs. Although they recognized the playful tone of the event, some attendees still saw their participation and their visit as a necessary step in becoming and/or maintaining their identity as a Hemingway affectionato. “He’s a huge Hemingway fan,” said one man’s wife while attending the Running of the Bulls event. “This is a destination I had to come to,” he explained gushing about the author, his many texts, and the island lifestyles of several of the literary characters he had created in a quote exemplifying data in line with this theme. Similarly, festival press releases highlighted how the Hemingway Days events were the perfect meeting place for “fans of his [Hemingway’s] writing and his exuberant lifestyle”, and guidebooks suggested that
the festival was a ‘must’ for any Hemingway affectionato thus suggesting that the Hemingway Days festival was a necessary experience for anyone who claimed to be a true fan of the author. These examples illustrate how travel to and engagement in place-specific performances in literary places are often tied to and used to substantiate visitors’ various personal and social identities.

*Figure 5. Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament Participant (Photo by Alana Seaman)*
Data similarly implied that local identities were also being cultivated and validated through engagement in the site-specific festival performances studied. In line with festival advertisements that encouraged attendees to “forget reality” (in Montana) and brochures reminding people that “you are here and here isn’t real” (in Key West), event attendees who described themselves as locals reported how the area festivals offered them the opportunity to “do something touristy” and feel like visitors in their own backyard by entering the liminal spaces created by binding text, place, and performance for the sake of celebration. In turn, many locals reported a renewed appreciation for their own hometown. In other words, many local event attendees indicated that they were able to feel like tourists in their own backyard upon participating in the literary activities offered by the festivals because by entering the temporal liminal spaces created by the combination of festival, place, and literature, they had left the reality of their home behind, and had ‘jumped into the book’ just as visitors had. Observational data confirms that at all of the festivals studied, locals were indistinguishable from tourists; they enacted the same literary performances as visitors did, reacted to the performances in the same ways as visitors did, and appeared to enjoy their time at the festivals just as visitors did. This supports the notion put forth by several scholars; that the enclavic spaces, or spaces that communicate through their settings which kinds of performances should be enacted, can be created temporarily, particularly during celebrations and other special events when public spaces are socially, spatially and temporally redefined as the stages upon which certain celebratory rituals should be performed (Bakhtin, 1998; Berridge, 2007; Edensor, 2000).
Similarly, scholars have suggested that festivals are regularly seen as opportunities for cultivating unique experiences and in this sense, are not limited to tourists as defined by the geographic location of their home residence (Berridge, 2007; Getz & Cheyne, 2002). Data from these cases supports this notion and indicates that the festivals themselves motivated numerous event participants to finally seek out the local sites they had been meaning to visit for some time, and to participate in performances they had long desired to engage in but had never actually gotten around to doing. “I’ve always wanted to – I’ve watched it and it looks so fun. We live around here, so we figure we can always go so we just put it off.” Said one woman explaining her participation in the Jumping Frog Jubilee capturing what a number of residents in Calaveras County, Key West, and Seeley Lake similarly disclosed. This is in line with festival advertisements in Montana that promised fishing hole tour participants the opportunity to walk in Maclean’s backyard and, in Key West enticed anglers to participate in the Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament with promises of a unique and premier event experience.

As a result of their participation in the festival events studied, many locals expressed a renewed their sense of appreciation for their home area and a reinforced sense of belonging as a member of an imagined local social community. A man in Montana who was attending the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes highlighted the essence of this finding.

When you do live here you have a tendency to take a lot of it for granted. I mean just in Missoula alone we have five awesome fishing rivers right there, within an
hour or two and you just take it for granted. So something like this just makes you appreciate what you have and how special it is to live here… to hear someone else talk about it and to have all these people that have come here from elsewhere and like some of them it’s their first time. And their only connection to it is Maclean. So you just get to see it – I’ve got it pretty good.

Similarly in Key West, a number of area locals participated in the Marlin Tournament and also indicated that felt as if they were solidifying their identities by doing so. By participating in the Tournament and fishing the Florida Straights, the same waters made famous by Hemingway, they were living out the island lifestyle idealized by visitors and illustrated in many of the author’s texts. A couple that owned a second home on the island expressed their feelings on why they were participating in the Hemingway Days Marlin Tournament. “We’re outdoors people and fishing people, and we identify with a lot of his [Hemingway’s] life anyway, so it’s nice to see that other people do – it gives you a new appreciation.” This suggests that the act of fishing the specific waters associated with Hemingway’s texts helped to consecrated the couple’s identity as real islanders and real fisherman as well as allowed them to feel more like locals when participating alongside tourists.

This theme was further exemplified in Angels Camp, California where the annual Jumping Frog Jubilee is preceded every year by two other related frog jumps, one held at the state’s capital in Sacramento where government officials compete for fun on the steps of the capital building, and the other at the local Angels Camp elementary school where
students compete in the event in what has become a right of passage. The school jump is put on annually by the world record holding frog jump team, comprised of a handful of older local residents who have participated in the Jubilee for over 35 years. The team explained that they visit the Angels Camp elementary school every year with their frogs in order to teach the children about both Twain’s text and the frogs themselves. “We’ve been doing a school jump for 50 years… This last year, for the 50th, we not only had the kid’s frog jump, but we also offered it up to anybody who used to go to the school … for all the alumni to come back… and we had a real good response.” … Some of those people are 60 years now, because they were 10 years old when they first jumped a frog” The annual visit had become a tradition in its own right and the group was now seeing a second generation of locals coming through the program. In this sense, participation was, again, not about the outcome of the tourists’ participation, but rather the act of participating in literary performances in related places that was important. The group explained how the student/alumni competition was a bonding event for members of the community. In this sense, literature-inspired performances are being used to help locals feel more rooted in their local identity.

In contrast, other identities associated with participating in the place-specific literary performances offered were eschewed. In this sense literary festivals brought with them connotations of being dry, academic, and boring overall. A quote by a man acting as a tour guide for a group of senior women at the Jumping Frog Jubilee captured the essence of this notion upon being asked whether he had attended any other literature related events. “No,” he replied, “I have a co-partner that her and I get out four times a
month and she does literary things. I do the fun things. Ha-ha”. These feelings seemed to stem from the notion that the festivals had little to offer the casual reader and were thus meant only for those who individuals who identified as members of the ‘literary class’. Participants at each of the events, however, were opposed to being identified as such, perhaps afraid that their association with the literary class would alienate them from their current social circles. This was best represented by one man on the Tour of Norman’s fishing holes who explained that, despite being a big Maclean fan, “When I told my friends I was going to a literary festival they were kind of looking at me like ‘what?’” In turn, observational, and further interview data revealed that many visitors were attending only participatory events associated with the festivals and nothing else thus confirming the lack of interest in being considered a member of the “literary crowd”. A woman in Montana explained her attendance on the Tour of Normans Fishing Holes. “I looked at the itinerary and most of it didn’t apply to us – I’m not really a literary person. I read, but other than that, I don’t write”. This suggests that while the opportunity to enact literary performances attracted many festival participants, it was not enough to peak interest in the other activities being offered, particularly those with a more academic overtone. This is in line with the way the festivals portrayed themselves. Advertisements for the Jumping Frog Jubilee billed the event as a venue for family friendly fun rather than as an environment for serious literary discussion. And while both the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Festival and the Hemingway Days celebration offered more events focused on literature, neither appeared to have promoted these aspects as heavily as they had the experiential events. Thus, while scholars have demonstrated that literary tourism
can be used as a means of creating and maintaining social communities wherein tourists want to be recognized as academics, or as literary authorities (Pretes, 2003), participants in these studies did not want to be identified as members of a literary class, and did not see themselves as experts on literature, or as academics or writers themselves. Attendees at the performance-based events studied, in this sense, may be quite different from other literary festival attendees. This is important as it suggests that there are very different groups of people attending the festivals’ various events for very different reasons. Regardless, all of these examples highlight how visitor’s identities’ can be bound up in the performances they engage in at literary places.

**Impacts of Performance and Place on Text**

*Literature Enriched*

Given how the findings together illustrate the variety of ways in which literary performances may be engaged in, and in turn, the variety of experiences that may be garnered in literary places, it makes sense that tourists were also impacted by their travels in a variety of ways. Interview and observational data suggests for instance, that event participants familiar with the associated literary works believed that by enacting literary performances at the festivals studied, they could better understand how the characters in the related literary works felt upon enacting the same performances.

This was well illustrated at the Jumping Frog Jubilee where participants (myself included) struggled with handling the slippery and squirming amphibian competitors; an experience that lent visitors a better understanding of the nuances involved in jumping
frogs. In turn, participants familiar with Twain’s short story *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* indicated that they could better comprehend the challenges the characters faced in the text. “The sliminess of the frog and the issue of trying to get the frog to jump,” explained one woman, “[helped me] understand (sic) why it took the guy 3 months to train the frog.” Thus, she went on, she had felt she had gained a better understanding of the entire story.

This notion was similarly supported in Montana, where participants explained that walking along the banks of the Big Blackfoot River, looking at the fast moving currents and areas of dark water indicative of the deep spots in the river, had afforded them a better understanding of how talented a fisherman Paul (one of Maclean’s characters in *A River Runs Through It*) was. An avid fisherman noted that he could “see what the author is writing after being there. I guess I can feel what he is feeling more. It’s kind of cool. Like you can read a book but when you have been where everything is described and the story takes place like this – it’s an awesome feeling.” In this sense, visitors could feel what the characters felt. Just as Maclean’s protagonist was awed by the beauty of the rushing Blackfoot River and amazed at his brother’s talent for fishing, so too were participants on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes. They could be heard marveling at the skill of a fly-fisherman casting upstream, and the dramatic angles with which the jagged cliff on the far side of the river plunged deep into the black water, thus suggesting that they were adding to their understanding of Maclean’s text simply by engaging with the landscapes he wrote about in the same ways as his literary characters did.
This indicates that a better, more enriching reading experience may be cultivated by participating in place-specific performances offered in literary places. However, contrary to what scholars have long argued (Buell, 1989; Groth, 1997; Pocock, 1981; Santesso, 2004; Watson, 2006; see also Buell, 1989; Herbert, 2001; Westover, 2012), only a few participants reported that the desire to learn more about the related book or the author was what had initially motivated them to take part in the festival events studied. Regardless of their motivation for participating however, the experience of participating in the literature inspired performances offered by the festivals was the most meaningful to visitors and afforded them the most insight into the related texts. “You experience somebody’s life for a day” said one woman in Key West, “not just hey, I came down to the Keys and had a beer. If you kind of did some of the things they were doing, you can kind of relate a little bit.” This suggests that from the physical demands of trying to motivate a frog to jump away from its sunny spot on the arid, dusty ground of the Sierra Nevada Foothills, to the feel of the cold currents hiding beneath the calm surface waters of the Blackfoot River and rushing over ones toes, the experience of engaging with the destinations in the same ways the characters in a related literary work did is most influential in changing how readers interpret the associated text. This confirms theory that the act of visiting a destination associated with a work of literature allows the abstract, imagined, mental conceptions of place derived from reading an associated text to be grounded in reality thereby making them more real and knowable (Groth, 1997).
Non-Readers

While these performances were clearly meaningful for readers, a common theme in the data revealed that not all participants were readers. Instead, a number of respondents, primarily at the Jumping Frog Jubilee and the Hemingway Days celebration proclaimed themselves non-readers. Although many of these non-readers identified with other aspects of the festivals (such as fishing, being outdoors, or participating as a part of their local identity), the conviction with which they proclaimed their non-reader status was somewhat astounding. An avid fisherman from Wisconsin participating in Marlin Tournament proclaimed, “I’m not a reader… I just don’t like to read.” Another man in Calaveras explained, “No, I don’t read”. Some self-proclaimed non-readers allowed that if they had to read anything it was the book related to the event they were participating in. A man from the Keys who identified as a fisherman responded when asked about having read *The Old Man and the Sea*, “I don’t like to read that much. I had to do it for a class project – that was – they wanted a book. And since I like fishing and stuff I picked it. I don’t read books.” In Montana, a man explained “the only books that I’ve read 3 times are *A River Runs Through It*, and *Young Men and Fire*.” Numerous others, mostly at The Jumping Frog Jubilee and at the Hemingway Days celebration simply replied “nope”, “nah”, or “I don’t think so” when asked if they had read the related literary works.

This is interesting given how, in each case, festival advertisements, volunteers, and event programming conveyed the assumption that attendees would be readers and relatively familiar with the related literary works. Advertisements invited guests to jump
into the book, local newspapers reported that “there isn’t a fly-fisherman worth his or her hackle who doesn’t instantly recognize [Maclean’s text]” (O’Connell, 2015), and literary-inspired events were held with little explanation of the significance of or connections to the related texts indicated that tourists were expected to have a certain amount of knowledge about the literary works. This suggests that the tourists participating in literary festivals are not always invested literary pilgrims engaging in the events offered for cultural reasons. This also suggests that the visitors being drawn to literary festivals may not necessarily be the same tourists that festivals are working to draw or believe they are drawing.

*Sparks interest in Related Texts*

While many of the self-proclaimed non-readers were adamantly committed to their non-reading status, and several were even prideful about the decision to abstain from reading, when pressed and asked whether their participation in the literary performances offered by the festivals had had any impact on their feelings towards the related text, most agreed that it had. A common theme in the data revealed that upon participating in the site-specific literary performances studied, even non-readers expressed a newfound interest in finding out more about the related text. Upon questioning, a British woman visiting Angels Camp with her husband and friends from Monterey said of reading Twain’s novella, “no I haven’t. Not really.” However when asked whether she would seek out the text now that she had jumped a frog, she replied, “Absolutely I will!” Similarly, when asked about whether they had any desire to read any
of Hemingway’s works, two young women visiting Key West with their family and in-laws noted how they had discussed seeking out his text upon attending the Running of the Bulls event. “Yes! I was just talking about that,” said one woman. Her sister-in-law agreed, “We were just talking about that today… we were saying that we’d read some of his short stories now.” Other non-readers mentioned that they had developed an interest in the associated literary works, but indicated that they would seek out other ways of engaging with the texts by listening to audio recordings, or watching film adaptations of them. Regardless, data suggests that participation in the site-specific literary events offered by the festivals studied sparked interest in the related literary works amongst tourists who identified as non-readers.

While these responses could have been the product of the social desirability effect wherein the presence of a researcher influences respondents to answer in a manner in line with social expectations, many of the respondents identifying as non-readers paused to consider the question and appeared to be genuine in their answer. When asked whether they were familiar with Hemingway’s texts two self-proclaimed non-readers in Key West both replied, “No.” When the wife speculated that she had been assigned Hemingway in high school, the husband responded, “Still didn’t read them.” Nonetheless, both allowed that they felt the texts were important for their children to learn about and that because of that they might pick up the book or at least try to find out more about Hemingway and his literary works. This finding indicates that participants were actively aware of the cultural capital they lacked and highlights the notion that there is an underlying social stigma associated with not having read texts deemed worthy of celebration. This also implies
that because there is a specific performance built around the literary work, it is somehow more important than other texts and should be read so that one may properly engage with both the destination and with contemporary society more generally.

Data similarly suggests that participation in place-specific performances at literary places also sparked a renewed interest in associated literary works even in readers already familiar with the texts. In Montana, a woman who had started Maclean’s book some time ago but not finished it claimed that the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes had encouraged her to want to pick it up again. “I’ll go back and finish the book.” Data suggests that this was primarily in response to the increased knowledge readers felt they had gained from participating in the associated site-specific performances offered at the festivals. At each event, participants clearly familiar with the related literary works could be overheard discussing various aspects of the immediate landscape, comparing it to what they had read about in the associated text, and pointing out details that surprised them. This suggests that readers were developing their understanding of the literary setting whether they were conscious of it or not. In turn, many readers indicated that they wanted to search out and re-read the related texts now that they had a different understanding of the setting of and performances enacted within the related literary work. Capturing this concept, one college aged woman on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes proclaimed that she wanted to read *A River Runs Through It* again because she felt her experiences at the Big Blackfoot River would “add another dimension to” the story. In other words, participants voiced a desire to return to the text after engaging in certain place-specific performance, because they believed they would read it with new eyes and a better
understanding of more of the nuances of the story related to the literary settings and the performances enacted by the literary characters within them.

These examples illustrate that regardless of their literary background, both readers and non-readers were driven by their experiences participating in literary performances to the original text. Readers wanted to re-read the work in order to apply the first hand knowledge they had gained during the festival in interpreting the story. Non-readers claimed that they wanted seek out the related texts in order to gain a better understanding of the events they had participated in. This suggests that participation in place-specific performances has the potential to impact interest in related cultural artifacts. This also suggests that the experiences cultivated in literary destinations are seen as incomplete without the addition of literary meaning. In this sense, Watson (2006) has argued that visiting a place by the light of the book works to diminish the independent meanings of both the place and the text. However, by wanting to seek out a literary work after having visited a related destination, visitors are implying that their experiences within that destination were unfulfilling and therefore require additional meaning which can be found in related texts.

In line with the notion that performances in literary places could spark interest in the related texts, a number of festival attendees also indicated that they viewed both the physical books themselves and the intangible stories contained within them as ideal souvenirs of their trip and reminders of the performances enacted while visiting. Interestingly however, the related literary works were not available for purchase at any of
the events attended. “I think they should have the book available… or short copies of it, so that people can get it… because I bet people like me would purchase one on the way out,” said one local woman in Calaveras County in a quote quintessential of what a number of others at each of the festivals stated. In Key West another woman exemplified what many others had also indicated when she explained that upon each visit to Hemingway’s home, she purchases one of his literary texts. “I got a book every time I came and went through the house,” she said alluding to her appreciation of books as mementos from her trips. This view of text as a souvenir implies a preference for a unique and personal reminder of an experience over a mass produced piece of kitsch. although mass-produced by definition, a book may serve as a physical relic, yet reading it allows the traveler to instantly return to their visit to an associated destination through the words of the authors. in this sense, reading the text can be seen as a rich personal reminder of the experiences had in a place. While Westover (2012) contends that literary text may act as a virtual time machine wherein readers can visit a fictional version of the past through the stories the authors have created, it is also possible that literary works appeal to tourists as souvenirs because, when read, they also allow visitors to relive their own experiences in a related destination. A woman in Key West articulated the notion well, noting, “Literature allows you to feel like you’re back there… It doesn’t just remind you of a place, it reminds you of what a place feels like.” in other words, the souvenir provides a liminal experience through which one can jump both into the book and back into their experience in the book’s setting.
In this sense, books as souvenirs may also have more meaning for visitors than the other knick-knacks available at each of the festivals because they can be shared in ways that other souvenirs can’t be. Several tourists who claimed that they wanted to purchase a place-related book as a souvenir in order to give it to someone else upon returning home exemplified this. A couple from Helena, Montana explained they had sent Maclean’s books to many of their out-of-state friends because of the way he “captures the spirit of Montana… the land, the water, the rivers of Montana are so important.” In California one woman explained, “What I want to do is introduce my granddaughters, I have three in Wisconsin. So I took a little video for them to understand – one of them is really into reptiles, so she’ll like this and learn about Mark Twain in the process – so I will introduce her to him… I’m going to get it [the book and] some souvenirs, then we’re leaving, we just came for this.”
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Conclusions

_Literary Places, Literary Texts, and Tourist Performance_

Together these case studies illustrate how place, text, and performance in literary destinations are interrelated concepts that mutually reinforce one another in a variety of ways. This answers the overarching research question that asked, “What are the connections between literary places, literary texts, and tourist performance”? Additionally, this research provides empirical evidence related to the many features of literary tourism that have been theorized about. In some instances this research illustrates how these theories play out, in others, evidence suggests the related theories are not entirely accurate. Regardless, the findings derived from these case studies highlights the ways in which relationships between texts, tourists, and various site-specific performances are cultivated, enacted, and maintained.

The first focused research question asked, “How do literary texts and tourist performance contribute to perceptions of place?” and was answered in a variety of ways. In each case, enacting performances within, and projecting literary meaning upon real places allowed tourists to feel as if they had “jumped into” the book thus confirming the notion that literary places are special because of the way in which they allow reality and fiction to meet as suggested by Buell (1989), Lowe (2012), Watson (2006), and Westover.
(2012). In this sense, literature framed the way related places were understood as many scholars have proposed (Baker, 2007; Cox, 2011; Lefebvre, 1974; Litwiller-Berte, 2007; Ryden, 1993, 1999; Shortridge, 1991; Taun, 1977), and taught visitors what kinds of performances could be enacted within those destinations as suggested by Johnson (2004) and Laing and Crouch (2009). However, as Pocock (1981) contends, it was more the general idea of a literary connection, rather than the specifics of any literary work that were most influential in molding literary tourism experiences. In this sense, literary meaning and place meaning are not as closely bound as many literary tourism scholars have suggested (see Alexander, 2008; Buell, 1989; Lowe, 2012; Ousby, 1990; Santesso, 2004; Smith, 2003; Westover, 2012). Rather, in each case literary links to the destination were positioned alongside other place features and historic narratives, and visitors demonstrated an acute awareness of the disparities between historic fact and literary fiction thus indicating that, counter to several scholars’ (see Lowe, 2012; Muresan & Smith, 1998; Robb, 1998; Watson, 2006) suggestions that literary meaning often overshadows other place meanings, specific textual descriptions of place are secondary and somewhat irrelevant to many visitors. In line with the ways in which historic facts were disseminated alongside reminders of the area’s fictional legacies, the studies provide little evidence to support the theory that celebrated authors have been elevated to positions of “founding father” figures, or that their texts have been canonized as national origin stories as suggested by Lowe (2012). Further, counter to the ways in which literary tourism destinations have been studied - largely as places drawing a homogenous type of traveller and offering visitors the same experience regardless of their distinctions (see
Buell, 1989; Frost, 2012; Herbert, 1996; 2001; Hendrix, 2008; Lowe, 2012; Ousby, 1990; Watson, 2006), together the case studies here reveal the variety of tourists who visit literary places, and illustrate the various and diverse ways that literary legacies are adopted by tourist destinations as a means of creating and reinforcing place identity as suggested by a number of scholars (Herbert, 2001; Johnson, 2004; Lowe, 2012; Luftig, 1996; Rigney, 2008; Squire 1994; Westover, 2012).

In line with humanistic geographers who contend that literature teaches people how to imagine a place they have never been and therefore teaches people how to act within those places (Johnson, 2004; Laing and Crouch, 2009; Lefebvre, 1974; Taun, 1977), data in these cases shows that text is often used to bind performance to place, and in turn, impels tourist performance. This finding supports notions that literary connections are often used as justification for visiting related destinations over other, similar sites (see Earl, 2008; Herbert, 1996, 2001; Pretes, 2003), and that a place itself and the social constructions of it are influential in how visitors behave within those settings (Lefebvre, 1974; Massey, 1993; Thrift, 1999; Taun, 1977). This answers the second research question that asked, “How do literary text and place work together to influence what tourists ‘do’ at literary destinations?” Other findings confirm that both literary works featuring stories with universal plotlines, and those encountered during childhood were particularly influential in attendees’ decision to visit the destinations investigated as suggested by Pocock (1992) and Iwashita (2006) respectively, as well as in their choice to participate in the site-specific performances being enacted in those locations.
This convergence of text and place also inspired some visitors to search out related texts as a means of preparing for their trip and the performances they would enact while visiting, thus answering the final research question which asked “How does participation in activities at literary places impact participants’ interpretation of the related literary text?” However, scholars have yet to examine this feature of literary tourism. Nonetheless, the site-specific performances themselves work to reinforce the links between the destination and the literature it claims association with, and in this sense also works to sustain the location as a literary destination, thus illustrating how places are shaped by the ways in which they are conceived of and the ways that tourists behave while visiting them (see Edensor, 2000; 2001; Massey, 1974; Lefebvre, 1974; Stokowski, 2002, Taun, 1977). However, while some visitors, particularly in Montana would qualify as literary pilgrims who sought out the literary places and events studied as a means of further engaging with a beloved book as suggested by some scholars (see Buell, 1989; Ousby, 1990; Watson, 2006), many tourists were largely enacting the site-specific performances studied, not because of devotion to a specific work of literature but as reflection of their own identity. Similar to the work of Light (2009) who found that scholars were using literary tourism as a means of distinguishing themselves as a group of experts amongst low-culture tourists, tourists in these studies were using their travel experiences to mold their own personal identities. By fishing in the same waters as Maclean’s and Twain’s literary characters for example, festival attendees were cultivating and reinforcing their identities as fishermen. Hemingway enthusiasts in Key West were attending the Running of the Bulls as a way to authenticate their status as
Hemingway buffs. This is in line with the work of Goffman (1959) who argued that people act, or perform, in social settings in a way that reflects how they want to be seen by others. Regardless of why they were enacting the literary performances studied, tourists reported that the experience of actually participating in the events was the most meaningful part of their visit thus confirming the theories of Bagnell (2003), Barenholdt Haldrup, Larsen, and Urry (2004), Crouch (2002), and Perkins and Thorns (2001).

Findings in these cases also indicate that enacting site-specific performances in literary places enhances the meaning of related texts for avid readers, as has long been suggested by both literary theorists and tourism scholars alike (see Buell, 1989; Groth; 1997; Pocock, 1981). In this sense, literary place and tourist performance align to influence the meaning of specific works of literature by allowing the abstract process of reading to be grounded in reality. Further, while scholars have largely overlooked the ways in which literary tourism may impact a visitor’s reading practices, these cases indicate that place and tourist performance also work together to spark visitors’ interest in related texts, despite the fact that all of the destinations studied failed to offer tourists any way of directly engaging with or immediately acquiring the literary works themselves.

However, little, if any research has addressed the presence of non-readers within the literary tourism phenomena. While Herbert (2001) and Lowe (2012) allow that literary tourism is most widely a casual endeavor in the modern era wherein anyone visiting a site associated with a literary work or its author may be considered a literary tourist, most scholars still imply that literary tourists are either devoted readers (Buell,
1989; Groth; 1997; Pocock, 1981; Ousby, 1990; Squire; 1994; Westover, 2012), or that they have a good general knowledge of the text being recalled (Herbert, 1996, 2001; Lowe, 2012). However, these cases revealed that many people participating in the events studied were not only non-readers, but also lacked the knowledge needed to make connections between the literary symbols in the landscape, the performances being enacted, and the authors themselves or the literary works they produced. In this sense, place, text, and performance in literary places diverges. Despite the variance in the strength of the literary connections or of the familiarity of the attendee with the associated text, participation in the site-specific performances enacted at the literary destinations sparked an interested in the related literary works amongst both readers and non-readers.

Though similarities in the three cases allowed larger conclusions to be drawn, in comparison to one another, glaring differences in the destinations visited and the festival atmospheres, events, and tourist behaviors encountered were also apparent. Festival attendees in Key West for instance, were primarily focused on the opportunity to engage in the site-specific performances being offered during Hemingway Days and were largely unaware and/or unconcerned with what Hemingway actually wrote, while festivalgoers in Montana were, for the most part, devoted fans of the author Maclean, deeply knowledgeable about the storylines in his texts, and somewhat solemn in their engagement with the landscape thereby signifying a genuine reverence for the author and his literary works. Likewise, despite how both destinations have allowed their literary legacies to become shallow and devoid of any actual literary meaning, some event
participants in Calaveras County could be overheard exclaiming at their frog’s jump and happily telling their travel companions about their memories of reading the author’s famous short story, while few festivalgoers in Key West even mentioned the author Hemingway or alluded to any of his literary works. Thus, it became clear that literary tourism is many things to many people, and that each experience at a destination related to literature is unique and influenced by a variety of factors. This is in line with the constructivist view of research wherein individuals are seen as experiencing their own version of reality. Recognizing and delineating these differences could help scholars to further develop their understanding of the phenomena of literary tourism by revealing which aspects of place are most attractive and meaningful to which type of tourist, how different types of tourists cultivate literary tourism experiences, which types of visitors have the most impact on a destination’s meaning, economy, and festival events, or which aspects of a literary destination are seen as being intimately related to literature and heritage, which are simply a reflection of popular culture, and what that means to tourists visiting the area. Thus, several scales are a suggested as a means of understanding the literariness of performances enacted within literary places and further exploring literary tourism experiences more generally.

**Literature and Literary Places**

In each of the cases included in this study, elements of individual literary texts were recalled to reinforce the destinations’ legitimate claim as home of a related performance (i.e. frog jumping, fly-fishing, marlin fishing, etc.) thereby binding the
identity of the place with both its signature activity and the literary work that made it famous. However, while these links to literature were deeply entrenched in the identities of each of the destinations studied, the degree to which they were meaningful or reflected an authentic appreciation for, or understanding of the related literary work or its author varied significantly. While scholars such as Luftig (1996) have asserted that the recalling of literary legacies in associated destinations is simply an excuse for kitsch, and others such as Lowe (2012) have described literary places as the metaphorical birthplaces of national origin stories and the secular equivalent of sacred sites, the cases in these studies show that literary destination are not simply one or the other. In some places, the connections between specific literary works, the authors who penned them, and the destinations themselves are rich and meaningful wherein festivals and memorials celebrate the nuances that made the author a real person, and honor their literary achievements in a way that reflects the an understanding of the texts they penned as demonstrated by data collected in Montana. In these places findings suggest that visitors must be familiar with the related texts in order to make sense of the subtle signs and symbols present within the landscape. In other places such as Angels Camp and Key West, authors and their literary works are simply recalled as a means of justifying the location as a distinctive destination wherein unique performances may be enacted, and authentic experiences cultivated. In the latter cases, the symbols and icons of literary works and the authors who wrote them have become like a brand trademarks; used repeatedly but devoid of deeper ties and symbolic references to the real lives of the authors or to the actual stories contained within the pages of the their celebrated tomes.
Given how each destination embraced and disseminated its literary legacy differently, it is likely that the types of tourists they attract differ as well. Depending on where a destination falls on the spectrum, tourists may have different motives for visiting and different expectations for their trip, and may, in turn, garner different outcomes from their experiences. In both Calaveras County and Key West for example, tourists were happy, playful, and eager to participate in the events being hosted though made little reference to the authors being celebrated or the works they created. In contrast, visitors on the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes were quieter, more reserved, and could be overheard talking about the scenes from Maclean’s that were set in the locations visited. In this sense, it is likely that in destinations where an author and their literary works are more closely bound to the place image and the tourist experience, tourists will have a different experience than those at destinations where the literary links have become superficial and unmoored from their literary meanings. Despite these discrepancies however, the literary links themselves, regardless of how shallow they were, were most influential in framing the identity of the destination. Nonetheless, a scale for further studying literary destinations in terms of the meaningfulness of their relationship with a place associated text may be useful in further examining literary tourism experiences. The following scale wherein their textual references are strong and meaningful on one end and superficial and incomplete on the other is suggested (see Figure 6. Intimacy of Relationship between Place/Festival and Literature).
Literature and Literary Tourists

Further, regardless of where the destinations and their literary celebrations fell on the proposed scale, the literary links to place implored visitors’ engagement in the place-specific performances being offered. In other words, how central a role an author or specific literary work played in the construction of a destination’s image or physical landscape, how accurately the author was depicted, or how deeply a literary work was reflected in a location’s memorials and celebrations had little impact on tourists willingness to enact certain performances in the name of literature. This highlights how the performance itself was central to the place experience for many visitors. In other words, visitors were more concerned with the opportunity to engage in the place-specific activities offered than they were about the literary details that inspired the event.

Moreover, in the cases studied, these performances were, for some participants, closely tied to their identity. For many participants, performances enacted in places consecrated special by literature appeared to help solidify their social identities (as fishermen, Hemingway buffs, or a local of Calaveras County). This is important because
it highlights how literature has the power to influence not only place identity but also personal identity: an aspect of literary tourism that has been little explored.

The degree to which tourists are familiar with or motivated by a specific literary text or author also varies greatly. For some tourists, literature was an important factor that was both influential in their decision to visit a related destination and central to the experiences they cultivated while there. Others simply happened upon the literary places and events taking place within them by chance. In turn, tourists who had travelled to engage in a site-specific literary performance by the light of a book appeared to have a different type of involvement and garnered a different type of satisfaction from their experiences than their happenstance counterparts did. In this sense, literary tourists, similar to the destinations they visit, appear to exist along a continuum wherein devoted readers motivated by specific literary works embark in pilgrimages to literary destinations can be viewed on one end, and happenstance attendees and non-readers on the other. A scale may also be helpful in viewing place behaviors and experiences as influenced by a visitor’s devotion to the related text. (see Figure 7. Visitor Relationship with Text and Place).

\[ Figure \ 7. \ Visitor \ Relationship \ with \ Text \ and \ Place \]
Delineating Literary Tourism Experiences

Given how both literary destinations and literary tourists can manifest in a variety of ways, they should not be studied nor viewed as a homogenous group. Thus, viewed in conjunction with one another, these scales could be helpful in further examining the literariness of literary place experiences and the influence they have on literature, literary places, and the tourism experiences cultivated within them (see Figure 8. Literary Place Experience Matrix).

For instance, visitors in quadrant II, or those dedicated readers visiting a location by the light of a book may enjoy visiting a destination even if the literary links have been
debased, because as a pilgrim, the experiences marks a ‘must visit destination’ off their list. This was illustrated by the self-proclaimed Hemingway buffs in Key West who indicated that the island was a necessary stop on their quest to learn more about the author and his literary works related to the destination. In this sense, these visitors are performing the behaviors that they believe make them true Hemingway buffs such as drinking at the author’s favorite bar, visiting the author’s home, and enacting scenes from their favorite books. Thus, while Key West may not be as intimately devoted to Hemingway or his literary works as these tourists might like, their performances are still largely ‘literary’ in nature.

Quadrant I represents devoted readers who trek to destinations where literary legacies are more authentic and profound. These visitors gained a more enriching knowledge of related literary works by participating in performances that allowed them to experience the destination through the eyes of the literary characters that inspired their travels. In this sense, their performances are strongly influenced by the associated literary text and are therefore highly literary in nature. Fewer happenstance and non-reader visitors appear to find themselves at destinations where the author and/or their literary works are deeply meaningful.

Happenstance or non-reading visitors to destinations where related literary works have been meaningfully memorialized and celebrated comprise Quadrant III. Given that these visitors are not motivated by and often have no knowledge about the related text, they are unlikely to catch any subtle and nuanced references to the literary work, and will
therefore have a different experience than a devoted reader would in the same landscape. Nonetheless, even the behavior of a happenstance tourist in a destination intimately devoted to a literary work or its author may be sub-consciously influenced by the literary signs and symbols embedded within the landscape and the social fabric of the community and may therefore still be somewhat literary in nature. It is also possible however, that happenstance and non-reading tourists in places rich with literary meaning may have a less than enjoyable experience while visiting because of their inability to recognize the significance of the participatory events being offered or make sense of the celebrations that take place in such destinations.

Lastly, Quadrant IV consists of happenstance and non-reading visitors to places where the literary ties to the destination have deteriorated down to superficial icons representing nothing more than a destination brand. In these experiences, the literary connections to a destination are likely viewed as an added bonus, unexpected and unnecessary, but appreciated for the opportunities they provide to engage in unique place-specific performances not justified elsewhere. In turn, tourist performances are not likely to be influenced by the associated work of literature and are therefore not very literary in nature. The satisfaction these visitors gain from their place experiences likely rely little on the related literary text itself. Thus, if tourists are unaware of the literary links to a destination, it seems inaccurate to call these visitors “literary tourists” or to imply that they are engaging in the phenomena of literary tourism as a unique travel endeavor. Rather, for these visitors, literary links to a destination may be little more than uniquely themed travel experience anchored by an authenticity grounded in literature.
Again, these scales may be useful for scholars in further examining how tourism destinations are developed and how different types of tourists enact them, and, in turn, how place meanings are cultivated and sustained through these touristic actions. In this sense, these scales may be useful not only to tourism scholars, but also to humanistic geographers. Further, literary scholars may utilize these scales in examining how literary tourism works to spark an interest in the related text, and how different literary tourism experiences differently impact the interpretation of related literary texts.

**Non-Readers**

In considering the impact that place and performance had on the interpretation of literary texts, it was presumed that festival participants would be readers familiar with the related literary works. However, this was not necessarily the case. Rather, a large number of self-proclaimed non-readers were present at each of the festivals studied. This is important because while scholars largely agree that the contemporary practice of literary tourism is more widely a casual endeavor requiring no specialized knowledge or motivation on behalf of the traveler (Herbert, 1996, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Westover, 2012), most studies on the phenomenon still assume that travelers do have some interest in the related author, the related text, or at least reading in general. In this sense, many of these theories about literary tourism are predicated on the idea that visitors to literary sites are readers, or have at least a general knowledge about and interest in the literary connections to the destination they are visiting (Buell, 1989; Santesso, 2004; Watson, 2006; Westover, 2012). However, as highlighted in these case studies, not all visitors to literary
places, or participants in literary performances are readers. This is interesting given the way that the festivals studied worked to attract visitors, implying that visitors would have the cultural capital to understand the literary connections being celebrated, and that the same visitors who attended one event at the festival would also attend others. This simply was not the case. This indicates that scholars may have focused too narrowly on tourists familiar with the related texts and thus may have overlooked many aspects of the literary tourism experience. This further confirms that even the loosest of literary associations to place are influential in creating tourist experiences.

**Literary Interest and Aesthetics**

Findings derived from the investigation of performance and place on the interpretation of related literary texts revealed that, regardless of where a literary experience may fall within the diagram proposed, visitors reporting feeling a new or renewed interest in reading the related text. The literary performances studied allowed visitors familiar with the text to not only see a landscape through the eyes of a literary character, but also allowed them to actually walk in the shoes of a literary character, and, as a result, more clearly understand the character’s actions in a related book. In turn, these tourists reported a renewed interest in the related literary texts. For tourists unfamiliar with the related literary works, the act of engaging in site-specific performances inspired by literature was still most meaningful, particularly in sparking their interest in the related text. Thus, both those who identified as avid readers, and those who proclaimed themselves non-readers indicated that they had developed an interest in
reading the related texts because of the place performances they had enacted. This desire to seek out literary works related to a location illustrates how tourists believe that both a destination and the performances enacted while visiting can be more fully understood by engaging with it through other means such as literature, and, presumably other forms of art such as film, photography, and theater.

This is important given that scholars focused on literary tourism rarely acknowledge the other facets of book and author related destinations. Instead, many view literary places as having only one meaning – as related to literature. These case studies however, demonstrate that tourists are not only aware of, but also interested in finding out more about the various meanings that literary destinations have. In other words, tourists at literary places, regardless of their investment in the related texts, recognized that literature is but one of many ways to learn about a place, and thus it is seen as a means of both finding out more about the destination itself and the performances that might be enacted while visiting. The idea that art, including literature, can tell tourists something more about a related destination suggests that tourists recognize the multitude of meanings any one place can have and are thus interested in using aesthetics to interpret those place meanings and cultivate emotional attachments to the place for themselves. This also implies that tourists lacking a literary understanding believe they will not be able to fully experience a related destination without having read the related text.
Overall

Together these studies demonstrate how literature, place, and tourist performance are linked in a variety of ways thereby providing empirical data on the study of these concepts where few other projects have. The studies together also confirm that while literary links are often deeply entrenched in the identity of the places associated with them, they are not necessarily as intimately tied to the texts as scholars have led us to believe (see for example Alexander, 2008; Herbert, 2001; Lowe, 2012; Muresan & Smith, 1998; Pocock, 1992). Rather, while literary links are powerful tools in creating and maintaining a destination’s identity and attracting visitors, the depth of knowledge that tourists possess about these links and the original texts that inspired them has been greatly over exaggerated. Additionally, even tourists motivated by he book to visit the literary destinations studied were unconcerned with the ways in which the associated literary work was referenced in the landscape and the participatory events offered. This shows how literature may frame a destination and justify participation in certain performances, but also highlights that the links to the actual literary text have little bearing on these outcomes.

Further, these studies reveal the ways in which travel impacts literature, a notion that has been largely overlooked by the academic community (as most studies have examined only the role of literature on tourism, not the other way around). The idea that travel can have an impact on literature has long been theorized, but little research has examined how these influences develop and play out as a result of visiting related
destinations. Nonetheless, it is clear that travel to literary places and participation in certain performances in those places fuels interested in the related text. This finding suggests that there is a potential for tourism to be utilized as a means of examining cultural trends in literature and other works of art in a variety of forms from movies to music, and photography to theater.

**Practical Implications**

*Literary Tourism Sparks Interest in Related Texts*

The notion that specific destinations may spark tourists interested in related literary works may also be useful for educators. The interactive nature of the performances engaged in at literary places peaked interest in the related texts amongst both readers and non-readers in each of the cases studied. Thus, educators at any level could use field trips to literary places and literature-inspired interactive activities to engage students in all types of literary works. Further, literary place experiences and performances could be utilized as a means of introducing and teaching other related topics as the team of frog jumpers in Calaveras County has been doing for the last 50 years.

The findings in this study may also be of interest to the publishing industry, which has experienced a steady decline in the sale of books since the advent of the Internet and electronic reading devices such as the Amazon Kindle and Barnes and Noble’s Nook. Data in these cases shows that there exists a large untapped market of potential readers attending all manner of literary events and festivals. The combined annual attendance of
just the three festivals studied was estimated at over 40,000 (see Calaveras County, 2015; In the Footsteps, 2015). Attendees in each location noted not only a desire to seek out and/or read the related literary works upon visiting and participating in events at literary places, but also a desire to purchase the physical books containing the related texts as a souvenir. Yet, the books themselves were not widely available or advertised at any of the destinations studied. In fact, the only text as souvenir encountered throughout the course of the studies consisted of one stapled packet of computer paper printed with Twain’s *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*, which was available for purchase in the souvenir tent at the Calaveras County Fair and Jumping Frog Jubilee. Upon inquiring about it, the saleswoman explained that it was found in a box left over from a few years back and that she had been meaning to print more up because of how many people had asked her for it over the years.

With literary festivals gaining popularity and popping up all over the United States (and likely elsewhere), it stands to reason that there exists a large potential for both the sale of books at literary destinations, as well as the opportunity to cultivate audience interest in reading at such events. In other words, literary festivals featuring interactive literary inspired events could be used as grounds for cultivating devoted readers and loyal customers. The destinations themselves could also utilize the sale of books as a means of encouraging return visits as it is likely that upon reading a book after visiting, a tourist would want to re-visit the destination with their new reading of the text in mind.
For Literary Places

The desire to participate in literature-inspired performances at literary places extends well beyond the timeframe of the festivals and events held there. Rather, tourists expressed a desire to return to the destinations studied to perform the same and similar activities again on their own. Many also noted a desire to bring family and friends back with them to engage in literature inspired behaviors. This is important as understanding how tourists want to experience or perform a place and how literature (or other works of art) influences those desires could help destinations to respond accordingly. Destinations could capitalize on the potent combination of social and personal meaning that literature inspired performances offer visitors by developing opportunities for tourists to engage in unique experiences.

The ability to offer tourists unique experiences and keep them coming back is particularly important in the current experience economy. Pine and Gilmore (1998) explain that in the experience economy it is no longer just goods and services that are being bought and sold. Rather with endless options the economy has become based on the experiences a business can offer a customer, not just about the products, quality, or prices they offer. In this sense, unique and touching experiences that can set a place or a business apart from its competitors is incredibly valuable. This also highlights the benefits that visitors’ bureaus, destination officials, and tourism related business owners could gain from reading the literary works associated with their local area. It could help such individuals to better understand what tourists want and how they will behave, what
landmarks and events they will be particularly attracted to, and how these places make them feel. This could help preservationists, conservationists, and site managers to better plan infrastructure to support this type of tourism, as well as allow community officials to better plan events related to the destination’s literary, cinematic, or artistic fame. People are willing to travel hundreds of miles to rural and rugged valleys, far flung islands, and mostly forgotten mining towns just for the opportunity to jump into their a famous book. This is useful information for anyone participating in the tourism industry in a literary destination.

Additionally, recognizing that many literary festival attendees were not readers and that even more were opposed to being identified as members of the literary crowd has several practical implications. Understanding the variety of reasons why participants attend literary festivals, and accepting that they are not all dedicated readers, could allow planners to tailor event and festival activities accordingly. In other words, festival planners could incorporate more participatory activities that would appeal to both a reading and non-reading audience rather than placing too much focus on lectures and guest speakers. Connections between the festival events and the literary works that inspired them could also be better articulated so that all attendees are equipped with the cultural capital needed to best enjoy their participation. These findings could also help community officials and local visitors bureaus to advertise toward a more diverse audience and, in turn, attract more tourists. Where many destinations have recently started putting on events aimed at attracting a particular social demographic, it is important to remember that tourist identities are flexible and that there is no average
tourist. Further research on literary festivals is needed particularly focused on understanding why so many destinations are beginning to put on such literary-themed events, the different ways in which these festivals are formatted, and the reasons why tourists are attending each of the different types of events.

**Future Research**

**Limitations of Present Study**

This study was an initial attempt to gain an understanding of the phenomenon of literary tourism and was thus exploratory in nature. While every effort was taken to ensure that the cases included in this research project were different enough to highlight variations in the phenomenon of literary tourism yet similar enough that overarching conclusions could be drawn, they were all located at destinations within the United States and were all dedicated to American authors and their English language literary works. Literary tourism however, is a global phenomenon (see Light, 2009; Herbert, 2001; Iwashita, 2006). Thus, literary tourism experiences cultivated within international destinations may differ from those examined in this study.

Additionally, all three of the authors linked with the cases included in this research were white, male, long deceased, and popularly depicted as being white-haired older fellows. Likewise, white, male protagonists dominated the celebrated literary works they penned. Whether these factors impacted how the authors were celebrated, how tourists behaved or experienced the locations, or how visitors perceived the linked texts or destinations remains unclear. Given that authors of both sexes (e.g. Willa Cather, J.K.
Rowling), of various ancestral lineage (e.g. Alice Walker, Frederick Douglass, Langston Hughes), and of all ages (e.g. Margaret Mitchell, Mary Shelley, Helen Keller) have found literary success writing about all manner of characters, it is possible that the tourism experiences related these different writers and literary characters may also differ. More research focused on a set of literary tourism cases reflecting diversity amongst the authors and their literary characters is needed.

Further, the cases studied were all relatively lighthearted in nature. The festival atmosphere of each destination allowed visitors to engage in fun and unique, yet somewhat shallow experiences not necessarily reflective of a deep engagement with the related text. While visitors enjoyed these celebratory performances, many places associated with specific literary works are less than positive and would likely not be engaged with in the same manner. The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam for instance draws over one million visitors a year (Anne Frank House, 2014), yet the related literary text recounts the atrocities inflicted on people by the Nazis during World War II and the tragic demise of the young author. In turn, the site reflects a somber tone and a carnivalesque festival themed around Frank’s manuscript seems unlikely. Thus, experiences cultivated at sites associated with tragedy, heartbreak, and disasters likely differ from those included in this study, yet may allow for a deeper engagement with the associated literary work. Further research could address these inconsistencies.
Literary Festivals

Despite anecdotal evidence which suggests that literary tourism and literary festivals are becoming increasingly popular as the demand for unique and tactile experiences rises in an increasingly automated and technology driven society, there is surprisingly little academic research being done on literary festivals. Given how literary festivals appear to differ from other festivals in that they are uniquely formatted, attract a diverse and multigenerational crowd, and offer unique social and personally meaningful experiences in quasi-sacred/literary sanctioned places, more research is needed to better understand what constitutes a literary festival. Additional research should also be aimed at investigating what types of people attend literary festivals, the reasons why communities are choosing to host literary festivals rather than other types of events, and how those festivals are helping the community to meet its goals.

Longitudinal Readership Study

Further research is also needed to determine whether event attendees actually follow through on their desire to read or re-read the related literary works as claimed. Many of the participants articulated a desire, or a social obligation to read the text again after having participated in literature inspired performances in literary places. However, it was outside the parameters of this study to determine whether this renewed interest in the text results in actual reading.
Text as Travel Perpetration

Other future research could address how reading literature associated with a destination as a primer for a visit impacts tourists’ expectations and satisfaction. Data in this study confirms that the desire to visit a literary destination often stems from having read and enjoyed a related text, yet anecdotal evidence suggests that readers also search out and read related texts upon planning an upcoming visit. However, little research has addressed the seemingly intimate relationship between reading and travel. How does reading a literary text impact place experience? Why do tourists seek out the book prior to visiting a destination?

Lit Fest to Movie Fest

In addition to a longitudinal study examining reading habits post literary performance, a follow up study could be conducted on the changing nature of the literary festivals themselves. The In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival for instance focused heavily on the life of the author and his writings in its inaugural year even featuring the author’s family members and colleagues as guest speakers. However, the second manifestation of the festival, to be held in 2017, will focus on the film adaptation of the author’s most famous novella, A River Runs Through It and will feature actors, crew, and other people who worked on the filming of the movie. How this thematic change will affect festival attendance, audience demographics, tourist behaviors, or visitor satisfaction remains unclear but deserves further attention as the Missoula area is clearly trying to capitalize on their connection to Maclean and his literary works. Given
how scholars believe that place meaning is flexible and therefore contingent upon the contemporary conceptions of it and the actions of people within it (Buell, 2008; Lefebvre, 1974; Ryden, 1993; Stowkowski, 2002; Taun, 1974), it will be interesting to see how the changes in the festival will affect tourists perception of the Seeley Lake and Big Blackfoot River areas and the performances that can be enacted within them. One Maclean fan from Toronto expressed his concern when asked whether he would return for subsequent festivals. “I’m not sure. They’re talking about possibly next year as well. I think the way it’s going so far it’s almost sort of better than Christmas for me – it’s more than I expected and I wouldn’t necessarily want to be let down. I think this is going to be a moment in time and I think the memories are going to be – this will probably be the best.”

*Controversial Literary Subject Matter*

In many cases the cultural practice or artifact that gets memorialized reflects a specific cultural point of view that can reinforce some cultural norms and hierarchies and undermine others. For example, in Nevada, a group of citizens proposed naming a cove on Lake Tahoe after Mark Twain given that he had spent some time there early in his career. However, both the Washoe Indian Tribe and the Bureau of Land Management fought the proposal claiming that Twain’s poor treatment of the area’s natural environment (he accidentally set a fire that burned a large section of the north shore) and poor opinion of Native Americans made him unfit to hold a position of honor (see Lankford, 2010).
In literary tourism, visitors are remembering and projecting only bits and pieces of the text upon the destination landscape and their own experiences while visiting. Tour participants in Montana for instance were focused on remembering, commemorating, and enacting Maclean’s text for its depiction of the local natural environment and his poetic narrative about the art of fishing. Evidence suggests that they gave little to no thought about the area’s dissonant heritage or the author’s treatment of Native American characters. Similarly in Key West, participants were focused on celebrating Hemingway’s characters as laid back, fun loving, and avid fisherman, rather than drunken, shady, womanizers, and emotional manipulators. Few participants at the Jumping Frog Jubilee seemed to remember that Twain’s original story was fraught with what would surely now be considered animal abuse or to realize that the frogs being used in the contemporary contest had been put under undue stress during the event and that many even end up dying before the end of the festival. Instead, participants enjoyed the experience, seeing it as light-hearted fun and a way to remember the importance of the area in America’s literary history.

This is important because some celebrated texts that become ingrained in both place and tradition through tourism are elevated to a place of historic importance. In this manner, the commemorated texts may perpetuate particular values and cultural images and points of view. In many of Hemingway’s works, there is an underlying racism embodied by the characters and a general disregard for the rules of society weaved into the story lines. Protagonists, mostly male, in his novels regularly use derogatory terms for persons of color, speak of women as objects to be ‘had’ and taken from foes to be traded
amongst friends, and often break the law but justify their actions as necessary. Hemingway’s main character in *To Have and Have Not*, for example, nonchalantly expresses his distaste for people of Asian decent by “wondering whether a bite from a Chinaman was poisonous” (1937, p. 60).

In Maclean’s *A River Runs Through It*, the Native American woman dating Norm’s brother Paul is aggressively discriminated against. In this sense, Maclean illustrates the blatant racism that many Native Americans experienced throughout Montana’s history. Though the main characters do not exemplify racist attitudes, Paul reacts to the incidents of racism with violence.

Paul and his girl were evidently looking for an empty booth when a guy in a booth they had passed stuck his head out of the curtain and yelled, “Wahoo.” Paul hit the head, separating the head from two teeth and knocking the body back on the broken dishes. The sergeant said, “the guy said to me, ‘Jesus, all I meant is that it’s funny to go out with an Indian. It was just a joke.’” (Maclean, 1976, p. 24).

Twain’s *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* tells a light-hearted tale of what we now admonish as animal abuse. The main character, Smiley was depicted as a man who loved to gamble, regularly wagering on all manner of competition, usually involving animals. In describing Smiley, Twain tells the story of Smiley’s favorite dog, Andrew Jackson and explains, as a matter-of-fact, the animal’s strategy for winning an extraordinary number of dogfights, and Smiley a hefty sum of money. Jumping Frog Jubilee attendees, however largely overlooked this acceptance of animal abuse. This is
interesting considering that many of Twain’s works are notorious for perpetuating antiquated ideologies.

Despite the unacceptable behavior depicted in each story, data revealed that festival participants gave little thought to and had little concern over the negative and stereotypical images perpetuated in the related texts. Those who had read the texts prior to attending focused primarily on the performances the characters engaged in and the overall story lines rather than the sub-plots, supporting characters exemplifying and experiencing racism, or the subtle references to and reinforcement of stereotypical gender roles, and economic and racial hierarchies. Two men from England participating in the Marlin Tournament captured what visitors at each festival said by simply stating, “We’re here to have fun. We catch fish, but we’re here to have fun.” In fact, only one woman (who had read *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* on the way to festival) mentioned Twain’s characters’ mistreatment of animals, “We didn’t finish it but I do remember it was about betting on stuff and other things, and a dog fight, and rats, and chickens, and finally got to the frogs.” However, she chalked it up to antiquated social standards seemingly dismissing the idea that it was even a part of the story. These examples of the dismissal of dissonant heritage deserve further examination, particularly focused on the reasons why the unsavory aspects of history referenced in literary texts remain unaddressed in many literary tourism destinations, and why texts perpetuating antiquate social standards are still celebrated at all through literary tourism.
Unsanctioned Literary Places and Literary Tourism at Unconnected Places

Other future research could explore tourist performance at ‘un-sanctioned’ and/or un-connected literary sites. The Louvre, for instance, experienced a wave of tourists seeking out and lingering in droves at the Mona Lisa and other places within the museum in the wake of Dan Brown’s (2003) book *The Da Vinci Code* causing a headache for museum staff (Dakiss, 2004); tourists overloaded the local infrastructure in Forks, Washington upon the release of the *Twilight* book series by Stephenie Meyer (Faust, 2010); and Peter Mayle has regularly had to turn fans away from his home in the south of France after his book *A Year in Provence* was published (Crace, 2010). Forks, Washington has embraced their literary identity and have grown a vibrant economy out of the connection with *Twilight* while the Louvre largely ignored their connection to Brown’s widely popular novel *The Da Vinci Code*. Thus, research is needed to explore how places are dealing with the influx of tourists that arrive after a literary work has been linked with a destination.

Other destinations host literary festivals and events yet have no apparent connections to the original literary works. In South Lake Tahoe, California, for example the Tahoe Heritage Foundation hosts an annual Gatsby Festival that draws thousands of visitors each year, yet the area has no known connection to either F. Scott Fitzgerald or his famous book *The Great Gatsby*. A festival in San Diego also hosts a Frog Jump contest in the name of Mark Twain, but offers neither an explanation as to why his work is significant to the area nor any justification for the event itself. Research is needed to
investigate why communities are choosing to host such events despite a lack of connection to the literary works or authors who produced them. Additional research investigating how these festival experiences differ from those cultivated in places with rich literary connections is also needed, as is research considering why tourists seek out these unconnected places and experiences, and how that impacts their perception of and behaviors within a destination.

**Bookstores and Libraries**

Anecdotal evidence also suggests that visiting unique bookstores and notable libraries is another popular travel pastime, yet this phenomenon has yet to be explored in a scholarly context. Places like and Shakespeare Company in Paris and City Lights bookstore in San Francisco are popularly associated with specific authors, eras in literary history, and genres of writing and in this sense could be seen as a form of literary tourism, yet it is unclear how experiences at these places differ from those cultivated at other, more traditional literary locations. Libraries such as the Library of Congress, Trinity College Library in Dublin, Ireland, and Uris Library on the campus of Cornell University also draw tourists in droves, yet it is unclear whether these places attract visitors because of the number or types of books in their collections, the unique and often impressive architecture they exhibit, or whether they are seen as shrines to books worthy of adoration in their own right.
Aesthetics and Tourism

Finally, more research is needed to investigate the ways in which other forms of art influence tourism, destination image, tourist behavior, and cultural sustainability. While movie-induced tourism for instance, has been given some attention from the academic community, little scholarly research has explored the other ways in which aesthetics can be used to understand destination development and sustainability and/or tourism behaviors and experiences. Theater, television, art, and music may be as influential in tourist behaviors as both film and literature appear to be. Bob Dylan’s songwriting notebooks for instance were recently purchased for the archives of University of Tulsa in Oklahoma where foundation directors project that the acquisition will draw scholars and Dylan fans from around the world, thereby making Tulsa a popular music tourism destination (Sisario, 2016). In Wilmington, North Carolina, tourists continue to visit sites associated with the television series Dawson’s Creek despite the fact the show has not been on the air since 2003, and the city even named a street after another famous drama series filmed in the area One Tree Hill. However, the enduring impacts of these popular images on the places they represent remain relatively unexplored.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
Observation Template
(adapted from Bailey, 2007)

What is being observed?
• Spaces
• Objects
• Actors
• Acts (singular actions)
• Activities (sets of related acts)
• Events (related activities)
• Time
• Goals (what is trying to be accomplished?)
• Feelings (emotions felt/expressed)

Physical Surroundings
• Size
• Lighting
• Color(s)
• Sounds
• Objects
• Smells

Participants
• Physical Characteristics
• Behaviors
• Body Language
• Verbal Behavior (more than what’s said)
• Speech Patterns (vernacular, slang, argot, etc.)

Actions
• What are people doing?
• How are people participating?
• Are people enacting Twain’s literary text verbatim?
APPENDIX B

Interview Guide
(adapted from Patton, 2002; Seidman, 1998)

Jumping Frog Jubilee

- Why did you choose to attended/participate in the Frog Jumping Contest here today?

- When you think of Calaveras County, and more specifically, the town of Angels Camp, what comes to mind?

- What role has your participation in the Frog Jumping Contest played in your perception of Calaveras County and/or the town of Angel’s Camp?

- Are you familiar with the history of the Frog Jumping Contest or the Jumping Frog Jubilee? Please describe why you believe this particular event is held here in Angels Camp, Calaveras County.

- Would you participate in this event if it were held elsewhere – outside of Calaveras County? Why or why not?

- Are you familiar with Mark Twain’s (1865) novella *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*? Please describe what you know about the text.

- What, if any role has Mark Twain’s (1865) novella *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* played in your decision to participate in the Frog Jumping Contest here today? Did it influence how you participated?

- Do you believe your visit to Angels Camp and/or Calaveras County has had any influence on your perception or understanding of *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*? If so, please explain.

- Do you believe your participation in the Frog Jumping Contest here today has had any influence on your perception or understanding of *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*? If so, please explain.
Ancillary Background and Travel Experience Questions

- Where are you visiting from? What is your home zip code?
- Who are you visiting with today? Family? Friends? How many are in your party? Did they participate in the Frog Jumping Contest as well?
- Have you attended this event before?
- Have you attended any other literary festivals or literary destinations? If so, please tell me about your experiences at those events/places.
- Where and how do you typically travel? (i.e. Do you go once a year on a beach vacation? Twice a year to somewhere you’ve never been? Once a month to literary festivals? Etc.)
- Please describe your age, highest level of education, and occupation.
APPENDIX C

Interview Guide
(adapted from Patton, 2002; Seidman, 1998)
In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival

• When you think of the Blackfoot River area, and more specifically, the town of Missoula, what comes to mind?

• Why did you choose to participate in the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes here today?

• What role has your participation in the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes played in your perception of the Missoula and Blackfoot River areas?

• Are you familiar with the history of Norman Maclean and the Festival celebrating his works? Please describe why you believe this particular event is held here in the Seeley Lake/Missoula/Blackfoot River area.

• Would you participate in this event if it were held elsewhere – outside of the Missoula/Blackfoot River area? Why or why not?

• Are you familiar Norman Maclean’s (1976) novel A River Runs Through It? Please describe what you know about the text.

• What, if any role has Norman Maclean’s (1976) novel A River Runs Through It played in your decision to participate in the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes here today? Did it influence how you participated?

• Do you believe your visit to Missoula and/or the Blackfoot River area has had any influence on your perception or understanding of the book A River Runs Through It? If so, please explain.

• Do you believe your participation in the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes here today has had any influence on your perception or understanding of A River Runs Through It? If so, please explain.
Ancillary Background Questions

- What is your home zip code?
- Who are you visiting with today? Did they participate in the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes as well?
- Please describe your age, highest level of education, and occupation.
APPENDIX D

Interview Guide
(adapted from Patton, 2002; Seidman, 1998)
Marlin Tournament at Hemingway Days, Key West, FL

• When you think of the Florida Straights, and more specifically, the city of Key West, what comes to mind?

• Why did you choose to participate in the Marlin Fishing Tournament here today?

• What role has your participation in the Marlin Fishing Tournament played in your perception of the Florida Straights and/or the city of Key West?

• Are you familiar with the history of the Marlin Tournament or the Hemingway Days celebration? Please describe why you believe this particular event is held here in Key West and the surrounding Florida Straights area.

• Would you participate in this event if it were held elsewhere – outside of the Key West and Florida Straights area? Why or why not?

• Are you familiar Ernest Hemingway’s (1952) novel The Old Man and the Sea? Please describe what you know about the text.

• What, if any role has Ernest Hemingway’s (1952) novel The Old Man and the Sea played in your decision to participate in the Marlin Fishing Tournament here today? Did it influence how you participated?

• Do you believe your visit to Key West and/or the Florida Straights has had any influence on your perception or understanding of The Old Man and the Sea? If so, please explain.

• Do you believe your participation in the Marlin Fishing Tournament here today has had any influence on your perception or understanding of The Old Man and the Sea? If so, please explain.

Ancillary Background Questions
• What is your home zip code?
• Who are you visiting with today? Did they participate in the Marlin Fishing Tournament as well?
• How do you typically travel? Do you take annual trips? Day trips? To the beach? Literary places? International destinations? Domestic?
• Please describe your age, highest level of education, and occupation.
APPENDIX E

Interview Guide
(adapted from Patton, 2002; Seidman, 1998)
Running of the Bulls at Hemingway Days, Key West, FL

- When you think of Key West, what comes to mind?
- Why did you choose to participate in and/or attend the Running of the Bulls event here today?
- What role has your participation in, and/or experience watching the Running of the Bulls played in your perception of Key West?
- Are you familiar with the history of the Running of the Bulls or the Hemingway Days celebration held here in Key West? Please describe why you believe this particular event is held here in Key West.
- Would you participate in, and/or attend in this event if it were held elsewhere – outside of Key West? Why or why not?
- Are you familiar Ernest Hemingway’s (1926) novel The Sun Also Rises? Please describe what you know about the text.
- What, if any role has Ernest Hemingway’s (1926) novel The Sun Also Rises played in your decision to participate in, and/or attend the Running of the Bulls event here today? Did it influence how you participated or watched?
- Do you believe your visit to Key West has had any influence on your perception or understanding of The Sun Also Rises? If so, please explain.
- Do you believe your participation in and/or experience watching the Running of the Bulls here today has had any influence on your perception or understanding of The Sun Also Rises? If so, please explain.

Ancillary Background Questions

- What is your home zip code?
• Who are you visiting with today? Did they participate in and/or attend the Running of the Bulls event as well?
• How do you typically travel? Do you take annual trips? Day trips? To the beach? Literary places? International destinations? Domestic?
• Please describe your age, highest level of education, and occupation.
APPENDIX F

Informed Consent Verbal Script for Interviews

Hi, my name is Alana Seaman, and I am a graduate student at Clemson University working on my Ph.D. in Travel and Tourism.

Today I am conducting research about literature and tourism. Thus, I am interested in your experiences as a participant in the Tour of Norman’s Fishing Holes here at the In the Footsteps of Norman Maclean Literary Festival. The purpose of this research is to examine the connections between destinations associated with works of literature, what tourists ‘do’ at these places, and the texts that inspire them. Your participation will involve one informal interview that will last between 15-30 minutes. This research has no known risks. This research will benefit the academic community because it will help us to understand more about how literature, travel, and tourist participation in site-specific activities affect one another.

Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secure location.

Would it be all right if I audio-recorded our interview? Saying no to audio recording will have no effect on the interview.
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182


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