10 Locating the literary imagination

Broadening the scope of literary tourism

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Introduction – literature and the imagination

The tree which moves some to tears of joy is in the eyes of others only a green thing which stands in the way. Some see nature all ridicule and deformity, and by these, I shall not regulate my proportions; and some scarce see nature at all. But to the eyes of the man of imagination, nature is imagination itself. As a man is, so he sees.

William Blake (1777, as cited by Russel, 1906: 62)¹

Taking a stroll through Peckham Rye park is, for many, a welcome escape from the busy, bustling city of London. Especially on a nice summers' day, the lake, grass, flowers, and trees seem more vibrant, radiating a cacophony of colours as the sunlight bounces off them. Truly a sight to behold; however, apparently, that's not all there is to "see". It was here, in 1765, that the young William Blake stumbled upon an oak tree in the park. Nothing apparently special, as the park was filled with them at the time, but there was something about this particular one. As eight-year-old William looked up at the tree, he noticed how the tree shined extremely brightly. Not from sunlight. Instead, the tree appeared to be filled with luminous angels, covering the entire canopy of the old oak in front of him. William had just had his first "vision", one which would have a profound influence on his life – and arguably those of many others. Not the least of which was the tree itself – through sparking Blake's imagination, it became an object of admiration, a *totem* or shrine, for his admirers to visit and pay their homage to one of the defining figures of the Romantic Age. Though the actual tree itself is long gone,² to this day, fans and aficionados of Blake visit Peckham Rye park, *imagine* it being there, and, if only for a moment, might get a glimpse of the trees lighting up if the sunlight hits it just right.

British poet and visual artist William Blake (1757–1827) was known for having a particularly vivid imagination, often composed of religious visions like the one mentioned before. The concept of the imagination runs as a "red thread" throughout his work. His engagement with and explorations of the imagination ultimately led him to the conclusion that on a fundamental

level, human existence is nothing more – or less, for that matter – than the imagination itself (cited in Maclagan & Russell, 1907: 51). The cognitive capacity to conjure mental visualizations of matters not physically present is deemed of fundamental importance in shaping one's perception of the outer world at large and one's own place in it. The imagination, as such, colours a perception of experienced reality, essentially characterized by a degree of subjectivity determined by individual agency, emotions, and sociocultural context (Lennon, 2015; see also the Introduction in this volume for a more elaborate phenomenological definition of the imagination).

Though inextricably linked to Romanticism, the cultural significance of the imagination extends far above and beyond the late 18th–19th century as well as the West. Indeed, as is argued in the Introduction to this volume, the imagination appears to be a universal given through which mankind as *homo narrans* makes sense of, experiences, and give shape to the world around them and their place in it (Berger, 1997). The imagination as source of human creativity, beauty, and the sublime and divine has preoccupied philosophers from nearly all times and places, at least from as far and wide as there exist (written) records of this. From Plato and Aristotle (Chambliss, 1974), to al-Kindi and al-Farabi (Leaman, 2009), and finally Zhuangzi and Confucius (Moeller & Whitehead, 2019), it is apparent that the great minds from all corners of the globe have preoccupied themselves with the imagination. Travelling was held to be of central importance in engaging the imagination, in turn converted into the many writings and stories produced by (and about) said figures, ultimately immortalizing their philosophies, experiences, and ideas as they continue to live on long after their original thinkers have succumbed to the test of time.

Literature – defined here as literary narratives containing some degree of fictionalization – has proven to be an excellent vehicle for the imagination. It provides a way in which the imagination can be made concrete and conveyed to others through a narration of events that necessarily exist within space and time – ranging from the familiar, mundane, and realistic to the unknown, foreign, fantastical, and abstract. And through the practice of reading, in return, the imagination is stimulated, challenged, and put to work through processing combinations of words and converting them into “mental images” (Hume, 1740/2000). The places and locations which inspired writers and poets alike are turned into compelling “imaginative geographies” (Urry & Larsen, 2011), so much so that the urge to visit these “places of imagination” (Reijnders, 2011) and experience them in actuality drives tourism to the real-world counterparts of imagined worlds.

And it is here, in the cultural practice of literary tourism – visiting places associated with (in origin) literary narratives, their author(s), and/or their “multimedia afterlife” (Clayton, 2003; Vanacker & Wynne, 2013; Watson, 2009) – where the connection between the imagination and actual experience becomes the most apparent. But how exactly does literature tie into the mental processes underlying the way(s) in which readers, tourists, and travellers make sense of, experience, and attribute meaning to the world around them?

Literary tourism

Literary tourism as the collective, cultural practice it is conceived to be today is commonly held to have its inception in 19th-century Britain, following a simultaneous rise in social conditions as well as the popularization of the realist romantic novel amongst wider layers of society through cultural consecration of their authors (Watson, 2006, 2009). Though still dominated by the upper echelons of society, gradually the practice of literary tourism underwent a process of democratization, where increasingly people from various backgrounds could enjoy the pleasures of visiting literary places. Before this period, however, and arguably up until today, it is more apt to refer to literary travel instead. The earliest records of this lie in the writings of Italian humanist scholar Petrarch, who undertook a “literary pilgrimage” in 1343, visiting places related to the poetry and epics of ancient Roman poet Virgil (Hendrix, 2008). Analogous to a “religious pilgrimage” (Turner & Turner, 1978/2011), this literary journey was above all an individual one, directed by a distinctively “romantic gaze” (Urry & Larsen, 2011) and considered a reflexive, educative, contemplative, and “authentic” practice (Fussell, 1980). The concept of tourism, however, comes with diametrically opposed attributes, is often engaged in with (masses of) others, informed by a more “collective gaze” (Urry & Larsen, 2011) and associated with notions of hedonism, entertainment, commercialism, and superficiality (Fussell, 1980), or “staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 1976/1999).

In combining the popular, collective practice of tourism with the revered tradition of literature as part of “high” culture – evoking associations of personal affinity, refined taste, and critical admiration (Franssen & Honings, 2014: 244) – one of the fundamental tensions inherent to literary tourism becomes exposed. Following a Bourdieusian field logic (Bourdieu, 1979/1984), the “literary tourist” can be located, if at all possible, on the paradoxical intersection between the “lowbrow”, popular practice of tourism and the “highbrow”, consecrated status ascribed to literature. One way out of this conundrum, and particularly favoured in a more literary studies approach to literary tourism (Watson, 2006, 2009), has been to engage in a discussion on literary “travel” instead. Another popular alternative is to conflate literary tourism with the arguably less problematic concept of heritage tourism (e.g. Busby & Shetliffe, 2013; Herbert, 1996, 2001; Pocock, 1992; Squire, 1993, 1994), tying it into romantic conceptions of national or local history conveyed through “classic” literature and their authors and stemming from an apparent “present-day obsession with heritage and cultural memory” (Plate, 2006: 101). However, as argued elsewhere (van Es & Reijnders, 2016, 2018), this has resulted in a rather one-dimensional and elevated conception of the cultural phenomenon of literary tourism.

Another possible way out, and one favoured in this chapter, would be to broaden the scope, move beyond narrow definitions of literature, and acknowledge the plethora of literary narratives and genres (including adaptations and

paratexts), each with equally different ways of employing sense(s) of place and time, all with the potential to literally move their audiences across the globe (e.g. Laing & Frost, 2012; Robinson & Anderson, 2002). At this point, it is important to emphasize the primacy of narratives and stories in acquiring a sense of place attachment or “sense of belonging” (Morley, 2001). In moving beyond a mediacentric conception (Morley, 2009) in acknowledging that it’s above all the “stories that move” (Reijnders, 2016) and not necessarily the particular media which convey them, it is argued that “topophilia” (Tuan, 1974) stems from an extent of “mythophilia”. Here, an affective connection to narratives or stories translates into a love for places and locations connected to it. Literature, just like all other media, is merely one of the many possible ways of conveying these narratives which ultimately touch the hearts and minds of people.

Having said that, however, it is at the same time important to keep in mind that different media come with their own traditions and “affordances” when it comes to conveying narratives, stimulating the imagination, and affecting an experience of actual place and locality. Not only that, academic fields of research towards media tourism (as an umbrella concept) have their own distinctive histories and traditions located in literary studies (this chapter, Chapters 15 and 16), music studies and philosophy (Chapter 4), and film/TV studies (Chapter 17). Hence, in order to gain a better understanding of how mediated narratives, in general, stimulate the imagination and instigate travel, attention needs to be paid not only to similarities *across* media but subtle, nuanced, and meaningful differences encountered *between* them, too. When it comes to popular stories *originally* conveyed through literature, the next part of this chapter will continue the discussion through drawing on over four years of ethnographic fieldwork in broadening the scope of literary tourism.

Researching literary tourism

The research contained in this chapter is based on a four-year period (2013–2017) of ethnographic fieldwork towards unravelling the role and importance of popular literature in contemporary manifestations of literary tourism. In the context of the Locating Imagination project, supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), three case studies were conducted with the underlying aim of offering a critical, timely account, from the tourists’ perspective, in an attempt to explore the multi-faceted ways in which literature and place are intertwined in an environment increasingly saturated by multimedia and ongoing processes of digitization. This entailed focusing on how, and in which ways, literature and literary narratives tie into 1) imagining, 2) experiencing, and 3) reflecting on place(s) and locality(-ies) from the *emic* perspective of those directly involved in it: the literary tourists.

Drawing upon insights derived from the intersecting fields of tourism, heritage, and media studies (cf. Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Reijnders, 2011; Urry &

Larsen, 2011; Ehn & Löfgren, 2010; Laing & Crouch, 2009; McIntosh, 1999; Connell, 2012; Lean et al., 2014), the “tourism experience” is conceptualized as a process, consisting of *pre-visit* (i.e. decision-making, imagining), *on-site visit* (embodied experience), and *post-visit* (reflections) stages. Though intertwining and flowing in and out of each other in practice, this analytical model acknowledges the importance of the imaginative efforts which are undertaken during and prior to any embodied experience, as well as potentially transformative reflections on this experience which take place during and after the fact. Hence, in order to come to a more multilayered and nuanced understanding of the contemporary experience of literary tourism, the following research aims to assess the role and importance of literature in present-day imaginations, experiences, and reflections on place and locality.

Starting out with the literary imagination, the first case is built on 15 semi-structured, in-depth interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Bryman, 2004) with readers about their beloved stories, how place and locality is imagined through them, and how this subsequently ties back into the participants’ actual experiences of their surroundings. The second case dives into the literary experience of “capital crime cities” as the antithesis to its Romantic counterpart, which, instead of providing an escape from the “great, sprawling city” held to be the prime motivation for literary tourists visiting picturesque literary places in the countryside, actually involves a gradual descent into the deepest, darkest, crime-ridden corners of the metropolis. Participation in literary crime–detective fiction tours in Sherlock Holmes’ London, Philip Marlowe’s Los Angeles, and Lisbeth Salander’s Stockholm, in combination with 20 in-depth interviews with participants, provide valuable insights into how, through association and affinity with popular crime–detective fiction, a distinctive “sense of urban place” is provided, negotiated, experienced, reflected upon, and ultimately made sense of.

All data was analysed from a grounded theory perspective through thematic analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006; Braun & Clarke, 2006). This entailed the analysis proceeding through gradual stages of coding after transcription of fieldnotes and interviews, an iterative process of moving back and forth between data and theory. During the initial “open coding” phase, particular attention was paid to the ways in which a certain affinity with literature ties into the imaginations, experiences, and reflections as articulated and made sense of by the literary tourists involved, specifically through emphasizing “sensitizing concepts” (Bowen, 2006). Following this, the analyses proceeded through making connections between the initial codes contained in each dataset, grouping together and categorizing those which appeared most prominently across the board while simultaneously remaining receptive to significant and nuanced differences. From this, overarching themes were constructed, aiming to reflect central aspects or dimensions of the literary imagination, experience, and reflection. It is to these themes and the theorizing which explains them that this chapter turns now.

Findings

In what follows, the main results of each case study will be provided after a brief introduction to outline the contours of each case, as well as some of the important theories and concepts underlying these. The conclusion towards the end of this chapter will be used to reflect on these cases and engage in a discussion on the “place” of literature in an environment increasingly saturated by digital and multimedia in an age of “media convergence” (Jenkins, 2004).

Armchair travel in a digital age

During the 19th century, Britain was struck with an insatiable need for “armchair travel”, or for “vicarious and simulated travel experiences” (Byerly, 2002: 78). Fortunately, the simultaneous rise in popularity of the realist novel (Watson, 2006) provided those who “preferred to enjoy their new-found knowledge of other places in a highly mediated form” (Byerly, 2002: 78) with ample opportunity to do so. To this day, literature is often celebrated (or criticized) for its ability to take its readers on an imaginative journey, through detailed and vivid descriptions of (not-so) far-away places, giving the sensation to the reader *as if* they were actually there. However, as is postulated in the Introduction to this volume (Lean et al., 2014), the ways in which popular media actually informs, shapes, or contests the imagination and subsequent experience of “being in the world” are often assumed and theorized but hardly researched (notable exceptions to this are Reijnders, 2016; Bolderman & Reijnders, 2019). How do contemporary readers imagine their favourite literary diegetic worlds, and how does this relate to their perception and experience of actual place and locality? And what place do literature and the imagination it provides have in an increasingly digitizing world?

Towards finding an answer to these questions, 15 people from an diverse range of ages and international backgrounds were interviewed on their favourite books and stories. In making sure the interviews were conducted in a familiar space, most often the respondents’ home, and by removing external stimuli as much as possible, it was attempted to stimulate the imagination as much as possible during the interviews (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010; Reijnders, 2016). Starting from beloved novels and stories, attention was paid to the role of place and locality, how this was imagined through reading, and how this related to their perception of actually existing places or locations.

The results of the study indicate that people’s favourite stories first and foremost fall within the realism or magic realism genre, containing realistic depictions of events, characters, and/or places, ranging from the mimetic to diegetic and fantastical narratives. Often, favourite stories were mentioned which were set in the origin culture of respondents, written by nationally corresponding authors, which were often internationally celebrated and known through translation and acquisition of literary awards. Amongst the favourites which were mentioned were *Mazu’s Bodyguards* (2004) by Jade Y. Chen,

about three generations of Taiwanese women (Y.A., Taiwan, female, 30+); *Helping Verbs of the Heart* (1985) by Péter Esterházy, a requiem for a dying mother (H., male, Hungarian-Dutch, 35+); and *The Misfortunates* (2006) by Dimitri Verhulst, on a dysfunctional, alcoholic family of uncles living on the derelict outskirts of a Flemish industrial city (D., male, Dutch, 30+).

Though the translated titles are displayed here, all respondents claimed to read their beloved stories in their native language, which was deemed important due to its argued closest proximity to the imagination of the author. Particularly amongst the respondents with an international background, favourite stories and books evoked sentiments of topophilia (Tuan, 1974), expressing a sense of belonging and connection to an imagined homeland and culture. Place here was often discussed as being atmospherically present, difficult to convey in detail but reminiscent of a situated familiarity or unfamiliarity, for that matter. Working through varying extents of affirmation or subversion of culturally specific imaginations of place and locality, beloved stories and their authors provide a moment of imaginary contact with the Heimat and territories of the “Self”.

On the other hand, there were also those whose favourite stories pertained to narratives involving the “Other” (Goffman, 1959; Said, 1978). These were either more related through providing an impressive, subjective account of “lived” experiences of the “Other” as they narrated their experiences of Western culture – such as *Americanah* by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2013), about a young Nigerian woman who immigrates to the United States (J., female, Austrian, 20+). Otherwise, favourite literature on the “Other” involved stories told from a Western perspective, mainly taking place in territories of the “Other”. In the shape of “semi”-autobiographies, the stories of *Not without My Daughter* (1991) by Betty Mahmoody (M., female, Dutch, 55+) and *Lone Survivor* (2007) by Marcus Luttrell (J., male, Canadian-Korean, 20+) revolve around intercultural contact (with some extent of conflict) with locals in remote parts of Iran and Afghanistan, respectively. Detailed descriptions of steep icy mountains, deserted planes, and isolated villages as “fearscapes” (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010) evoke a sense of topophobia (Tuan, 1974), places to explore, especially through the safe confines of the imagination, but ultimately to stay away from. Again showing the importance of socio-cultural context in the imagination (Lennon, 2015), the timing of these interviews coincided with an upsurge in media attention in 2016 for the Syrian refugee crisis (Dearden, 2016), indicative of the myriad of ways in which both the imagination and experienced reality – through varying extents of mediatization – feed on, inform, stimulate, contest, negotiate, and/or enrich each other.

Regardless of the direction of the “imaginative journeys” the respondents undertook in their favourite novels, it was emphasized that it was particularly the extent of “imaginative agency” (cf. Lennon, 2015) that was deemed unique or particular to appropriating narratives through literature. Especially in an environment where the entire “mediascape” (Appadurai, 1990)

is instantly available at one's fingertips and monitors feed our gaze for the largest part of the day, reading a book is soothing to the eye, albeit arguably requiring a bit more active imaginative engagement. Although literature as the medium *par excellence* for "armchair travel" is indicated to be losing ground in favour of the moving image and the Internet (Baxter & Pieszek, 2011), this case has shown several ways in which beloved literary narratives are meaningfully engaged with, negotiated, and appropriated through the imagination.

*Chasing sleuths and unravelling the metropolis*³

A conventional understanding of literary tourism defines the practice mainly along the lines of its flight away from the "great sprawling cities" (Tuan, 1974) and into the literary places (DeLyser, 2003; Watson, 2006; Westover, 2012) and writers' houses (Hendrix, 2008) located in the countryside. Stemming from an apparent romantic desire to escape alienating urban life, the literary tourist today is drawn to experience the sublime, picturesque, and "authentic" in rurality (Busby & Shetliffe, 2013; Herbert, 1996, 2001; Pocock, 1992; Squire, 1993, 1994), continuing the tradition as set forth by those during the late Victorian era (Watson, 2009), still visiting the same places tied to the same Romantic, consecrated novelists.

Both the experience of the city as literary place, as well as being conveyed through a distinctively more "lowbrow" realist genre – such as crime–detective fiction – was hitherto largely absent from or not taken seriously in academic research towards literary tourism (with recent exceptions being Mansfield, 2015; van Es & Reijnders, 2016, 2018; Marques, 2019). Having its origins in the same time as the 19th-century Romantic realist novel, crime fiction's popularity is often attributed to tapping into a cultural fascination for the "unknown" and "uncanny" in the city (e.g. Booth, 2009; Clayton, 2003) through providing realistic and detailed descriptions of urbanity as it works towards exposing the "darker sides" of urban life. How do tourists experience contemporary cities through their participation in crime–detective fiction tours, and what meaning(s) do they attribute to their experiences?

This question becomes more pressing considering the notion that the city is often conceptualized as a "multi-generic" text and hence characterized by an "eclectic simultaneity" (Watson, 2009: 144, 147) of a plethora of fictional and actual narratives instilling urban space with meaning and significance – a development which is frequently held to be driven by ongoing processes of globalization, mediatization, and digitization. Precisely because of this, postmodernists have argued that the contemporary city has become "over-exposed" (McQuire, 2008: 11), and, as such, the city has arguably lost its previously more "clear" definable boundaries and identity in favour of adopting a more fluid, ambiguous, and unidentifiable centre, detached from a lucid sense of urbanity – captured in the concepts of the "ageographical city" (Sorkin, 1992) and "postmetropolis" (Soja, 2000). In times of "urban

placelessness" (ibid), having a meaningful experience of the city becomes an increasingly problematic and less tenable pursuit.

Focusing on the ways in which a particular sense of place was performed on tour through drawing on popular crime–detective fiction, as well as how this was experienced by participants, literary crime–detective fiction tours in Sherlock Holmes' London, Philip Marlowe's Los Angeles, and Lisbeth Salander's Stockholm were participated in, combined with 20 in-depth interviews with literary tourists. In sum, the results show that the experience(s) underlying contemporary crime–detective fiction tourism is more about engaging in a vertical descent into the presumed "heart" of the city instead of a more horizontal, postmodern bricolage of collecting "free-floating" signs and signifiers located on the urban surface.

This "vertical descent" involves a process of getting underneath the "urban façade" in an attempt to gradually approach a presumed core identity of the city. This initially proceeds through recognizing, exposing, and analysing the multiple place-narratives which encapsulate the perceived place-identity. Through the lens of crime–detective fiction, these multiple "layers of significance" (Torchin, 2002) are touched upon *in situ*, "peeled away", disentangled, and made sense of, illustrating how actual and fictional events, characters, and locations both converge and differ from each other as they are grounded in place. Initially, this entails getting a glimpse of the "other" side of urban life which often lies hidden and obscured underneath a shiny veneer of urban progress and prosperity. As mystery, crime, poverty, and decay are deemed a fundamental part of what makes up a city and life in it, crime–detective fiction provides an initial opening to approach this "grittier" and "uncanny" side or urban place-identity. Instead of opting for a "flight" away from the city, as is characteristic for more romantic literary tourists, the crime–detective fiction tourist chooses to dive in "headfirst", confronting the darker sides of urban life.

After the "urban veil" has been lifted and a glimpse of its "underbelly" is shown, the experience proceeds through further uncovering and unravelling the multiple narrative layers that encapsulate the presumed core-identity of the city. Moving from the starting point of the original fictional narratives, the experiences proceed to touch upon the more factual autobiographical layer connected to the author and actual historical narratives containing the events, characters, and locations which inspired the tourists' beloved stories. Disappointment was expressed in those cases where fictional "spatial discrepancies" (Roesch, 2009), or "diegetic discrepancies" would manifest themselves. This was related to the fact that locations associated with the popular adaptations are often different from those which feature in their literary "origins". Despite both being equally fictional and imaginative, locations associated with the latter were considered more "imaginatively authentic" and subsequently experienced as more "real".

Finally, for those that did manage to come close to the perceived "heart" of the city through having made their way from the "underbelly", several

respondents expressed strong affection for and identification with the city, acquiring a “sense of belonging” (Morley, 2001). It shows how, through its association with popular crime–detective fiction, the city as a whole is made sense of. In often relying on using metaphors to describe the imagined “capital crime city” as an *organic* whole, which requires the examination of the interrelations between its various parts which make it up in order to be able to identify the “sum” of its parts, crime–detective fiction tourism is thus best understood as a “modernistic backlash” against a presupposed problematic nature of urban experience in late or postmodernity. It is precisely due to relying on a performance of crime–detective fiction that works through exposing, disentangling, and relating multiple – and at times conflicting – place-narratives that the experience of the city acquires significance and meaning.

Conclusion

In Japan, there is a saying, 見ぬが花 (“Minu ga hana”), which roughly translates as “Not seeing is a flower”,⁴ indicative of the notion that the imagination is *always* better than reality. Maybe it is indeed the case. From that standpoint, the practice of literary tourism – or any (un)mediated narrative tourism, for that matter – is indeed set up for disappointment, and any attempt to locate the imagination in reality might be a futile exercise from the get-go (see also Chapters 15 and 16). At the least, I would argue for the notion that the imagination is simply different, not by definition “better”, *per se*. Even if it would be, the power of the imagination should equally have the power to make experienced reality even better. The imagination has the power to turn run-down or otherwise nondescript locations and “non-places” (Augé, 1992/2009) into ones which are imbued with significance and meaning. The stories and narratives we appropriate throughout our lives do seldom remain confined to the interior world. Through the imagination’s “transformative potential”, the colours of experienced reality can be painted much brighter – like an oak tree filled with angels.

Through the lens of literary tourism, this chapter has illustrated ways in which the role – or “place” – of literature in present-day imagination, experiences, and reflections on place and locality operates in an increasingly multimedia and digitized environment. As such, narratives originally conveyed through literature are said to particularly stimulate the imagination, allowing for relatively more individual agency in creating the “mental images” (Hume, 1740/2000) or “affective textures” (Lennon, 2015) in imagining the story and setting unfolding in the mind. As such, the “imaginative authenticity” (see Chapter 2) of a narrative conveyed through literature is frequently perceived as being more present, especially compared to audiovisual adaptations of said narrative. This, in turn, has its effect on the ways in which actual places tied into the popular narrative are experienced and subsequently reflected upon, where “imaginative authenticity” is

ascribed to experiencing locations connected to the original literary narrative in cases where there exist diegetic discrepancies, with locations derived from its multimedia afterlife experienced as less authentic. Being able to discern this though prolonged affinity with popular crime–detective fiction narratives across formats, in turn, allows literary tourists to have an “existentially authentic” (Wang, 1999) experience of present-day urbanity – being able to tease out nuanced differences between both fictional and factual place narratives – acquiring a “sense of place” deemed impossible to obtain for those masses of tourists who are unaware of the stories that define a place.

Notes

- 1 Published in: Russel, A.G.B. (1906). *The Letters of William Blake, Together with a Life by Frederick Tatham*, page 62. London: Methuen.
- 2 A commemorative oak tree was replanted in 2011 (Crown, 2011).
- 3 Parts of this case study have been previously published in Van Es and Reijnders (2016, 2018).
- 4 Translation obtained through Wikipedia (n.d.) on Japanese proverbs. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_proverbs (15 March 2020).

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