

# **Diplomarbeit**

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# Jane Austen and Tourism: Following the Saint's Footsteps on the World Wide Web

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#### 1 Introduction

Most people today declare travelling as one of their favourite leisure-time activities. In former times people who have seen many different places were highly regarded by their fellow men. This is still the case at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the difference, however, lies in the opportunities available to a wide range of travellers, for whom it has become affordable and easy to reach a variety of destinations. Therefore, it is the desire of many tourists to witness something special which has not been experienced by others.

In the 1980s the appreciation of heritage culture had a revival leading to a shift in the culture of film and tourism. There is a close connection between these three elements, each having an influence on the other; and it can hardly be ignored that travelling to places inhering some kind of cultural spirit in order to experience "a particular way of life" (Williams 90) has become more and more popular within the past decades. Heritage tourism, as this specific form of travelling is referred to, brings along several subjects for discussion, among them questions of authenticity and commercialisation, which will be debated in detail in the present thesis. Moreover, readers will learn that a tourist's experience – whether perceived as authentic or with interference by commercialisation – takes place to a great deal by visually consuming culture, which the portrayal of Urry's theory of the tourist gaze will show.

The general sectors of cultural and heritage tourism entail the branch of literary tourism, which can be defined as "a kind of cultural tourism in the anthropological sense, in that it involves [...] visitors identifying with, discovering, and creating signifiers of cultural values with those people who have become part of the cultural mythologies of places" (Robinson and Andersen, *Introduction* xiii). The British novelist Jane Austen, who lived and worked in England in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, plays an essential role as an object pursued in literary tourism. The popularity of the novelist and of searching for places connected to her inhibits the factors of cult status, fandom, intimacy, contemporaneity, nostalgia and Englishness. Literary tourists, and in the case of this thesis Austenian tourists, are considered to be searching for closeness to the author they admire, and therefore, visit places connected to their beloved writer.

In addition to the topics mentioned above, in the theoretical part of the thesis the role of the dead author as an object worth following as well as the characteristics of groupings with reference to Benedict Anderson's imagined communities, e.g. in the case of Jane Austen Societies, will be examined.

One of the most essential subjects in this thesis is the way of practising literary tourism in the style of a pilgrimage. Pilgrims, who "trod a beaten path towards a communally agreed, indeed a well-publicised, goal" (Ousby, *Introduction* 7), are considered as pioneers of modern tourism, and in the specific case of literary tourism, it is the literary writer who takes over the role of the religious object pursued. Moreover, this kind of literary pilgrimage can be read as a story, which has a certain story plot. In re-experiencing the life of an author, a traveller collects multiple experiences, and the summary of these experiences, therefore, shapes a coherent narration. Thus, the questions that shall be treated in this thesis are: Do the stations of Austenian tourism have the potential to be read as a kind of story plot?, and if so, Is it only the individual places that bring about a story or can single destinations be collected as material for a narration?

In order to answer these questions, the research in the practical part of the thesis will include an analysis of websites promoting Austenian tourism in terms of their content, which is based on the theoretical outlines of this thesis, which means that content analysis will concentrate on the *kind* of experiences. Moroever, the compsiton of the websites' layout will be analysed, for which findings in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen serve as theoretical background. The choice of places was made with reference to the novelist's life, and the number of webpages examined was reduced to a few, in order to be able to conduct a qualitative analysis.

### 2 Tourism – Some General Remarks

### 2.1 Tourism today – Economy and Culture

In today's society tourism has become one of the most important parts of our lives; on the one hand, as an economic factor, on the other hand, as a cultural force (see Berghoff and Korte 1). As far as the economic significance of the tourism sector is concerned, there are several factors contributing to this importance. First of all, it leads to a higher income in foreign exchange proceeds; this in turn triggers off rise in provision of jobs and national income. In addition to that, demand in overall economy is being increased, for which the business of passenger services serves an example. (see Schneider 65-66)

Compared to former times, it has become easy for travellers to get informed about possible destinations, and to reach far distances without much expense and difficulties. The enormous rise in tourism has forced competition in various business sectors. Due to these beneficial economic effects it becomes obvious that tourism is a highly appreciated force welcomed by politicians as well as by individuals. By now many different forms and ideologies of tourism have developed, one of which is the cultural importance. (see Schneider et al. 108-112)

Before going deeper into the notion of cultural tourism, it is essential to get an understanding of the meaning of the word 'culture'. The phenomenon of this term is that it is hard to find a commonly accepted definition, as Raymond Williams argues "[c]ulture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (87). In the past several critics have tried to understand and define the concept of culture, whose original meaning was closely connected to 'agriculture'. (see Williams 87) In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Raymond Williams came to the conclusion that there are three basic definitions of the word 'culture': "(i) [...] a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development [...], (ii) [...] a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general [...], (iii) [...] the works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity" (90). In opposition to Matthew Arnold, who speaks of culture as a "study of perfection" (27), and the debate of the inferior 'mass culture' of F.R. and Q.D. Leavis (see Giles and Middleton 15), Williams concentrates on everyday social life and behaviour. Thus, Williams'

definitions of culture seem to be very satisfying in relation to the cultural aspect of tourism, since tourism has become an "ordinary behaviour" of "a particular way of life" in the western society.

Combining the understanding of culture and tourism, Berghoff and Korte describe tourism as "an area of culture that intersects with many other areas of cultural existence in Britain and elsewhere in Western societies" (1). In contrast to that, John. K. Walton deplores that in British tourism there is a lack of "full integration into what are perceived as the mainstream concerns of historians" (126). In other words, pseudo-cultural tourist attractions prevail over those established by culturally-informed professionals, which will, according to Walton, still take a long time to become appreciated by travellers. (see 126) The movement towards enjoyment of this kind of culture by a great number of tourists can also be referred to as a "popularization of high culture [...] [which is the] structural de-differentiation of mass and high-culture distinctions" (Lash qtd. in Crang 117). The cultural notion of tourism is especially inherent in what is called 'heritage tourism', which will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

#### 2.2 Tourism and leisure at Austen's time

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century travelling has already been a leisure-time pursuit practiced especially by aristocratic people and people from higher classes, but also middle-class people enjoyed the pleasures of travelling. The rise of interest in tourism can be seen in the growth of visits to Brighton; "[i]n 1760 Brighton had 400 visitors; in 1794 there were over 4000, and by 1818 7000." (Selwyn 48) Travellers' guides have already existed and advertised certain places to visit in delightful circumscriptions, as the following citation taken from the Bath Guide in 1801, in which the Sydney-Garden-Vauxhall is described, demonstrates: "It contains about sixteen acres, interspersed with a great number of small, delightful groves, [...] and charming lawns, intersected by serpentine walks, which at every turn meet with sweet, shady bowers, furnished with handsome seats, some canopied by nature, others by art." (qtd. in Selwyn 29)

Jane Austen herself was familiar with the garden, which was opened in 1795 just opposite the place the Austens would move to in 1801, and she used to go

there frequently. Other popular tourist attractions and leisure activities at that time were going to theatres, gala nights and balls, spas and seaside resorts. People were fond of strolling along the seaside (see Selwyn 28-49) and bathing which was considered to be "a serious, and often rather daunting, matter" (Selwyn 48).

In contrast to today's modes of getting from one place to another, which are rather convenient, travelling in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was often accompanied by complications involving the need to plan a journey carefully ahead (see Selwyn 89). As it can be seen from Jane Austen's biography, she and her family regularly visited different places in South England and also changed their home several times during her lifetime. Therefore, Jane was obviously familiar with the convention of travelling, as her letters show. Soon after her arrival in Bath in May 1801, Jane wrote a letter to her sister Cassandra in which she describes the circumstances of the journey:

Our Journey here was perfectly free from accident or Event; we changed Horses at the end of every stage, & paid at almost every Turnpike; - we had charming weather, hardly any Dust, & were exceedingly agreeable [sic!], as we did not speak above once in three miles. [...] We were above three hours coming from thence to Paragon, & it was half after seven by *Your* Clocks before we entered the house. (81)

By reading the letter one can notice the accentuation on the trouble-free journey they had, since they were spared from bad weather and other discomfort. This in turn serves as an indicator for the fact that this was not a self-evident matter in the times before the industrialisation and the introduction of the railway. Moreover, rides between far distances took up a vast amount of time being exhaustive for the passengers.

Another leisure-activity Jane Austen used to do regularly and seemed to enjoy was going for walks, which she describes in her letters as well. However, for women living in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century the major part of their lives was spent indoors. Since the countryside was considered quite dangerous, women usually had to stay at home and were only allowed to walk outdoors when they were accompanied by a man or when they kept together in groups. Further opportunities for women were to take a chair – which means to become chairwoman of a committee – for those living in the city or riding a pony and going in a donkey carriage for women living on the countryside. (see Selwyn 89)

In the letters to her sister Jane regularly mentions walks through the cities or the countryside, and so she writes that "Mrs Chamberlayne's pace was not quite so magnificent on this second trial as in the first; it was nothing more than I could keep up with effort; & for many, many Yards together on a raised narrow footpath I led the way. – The Walk was very beautiful." (Austen 89-90) In other passages of her letters she tells that "[she has] just returned from [her] Airing" (Austen 91) or she mentions the "morning […] circuit" (82) with her uncle.

The situation was quite different for men, whose typical outdoor activities were hunting and shooting. (see Selwyn 90) Consequently, men had a lot more opportunities for organising their leisure time, whereas women were dependent on their male counterparts. This sharp distinction between gender roles that prevailed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is explained in the "separate-spheres argument, which figured women's inherent sphere of activity as the domestic, the private, the internal, the familial, while the masculine sphere was external, public, political, historical" (Jones 14).

## 2.3 Heritage Tourism

"Heritage is for its consumers a way of appropriating an imagined community's past" (Seidl 183). Pucci and Thompson speak in terms of heritage of a certain kind of past that is "made again, re-made as in a repetition, a re-presentation" (2), and Barbara Korte extends this critical view by referring to heritage tourism as "simulation and growing indifference towards authenticity" (293).

As far as the term heritage is concerned, its meaning is actually related to "something that is inherited [...], a legacy" (Parks Canada qtd. in Prentice 85). In a wider sense, heritage has to do with "cultural traditions, places and values that influential groups throughout the world are proud to conserve" (Millar 279), and moreover "heritage is about a special sense of belonging and continuity that is different for each person" (Millar 279).

These original meanings have found their ways into tourism as well, thus, in heritage tourism one finds objects, traditions, landscapes and myths that have been transferred from the past to the present, from generation to generation. The important thing here is that only those things and traditions being suitable for promotion find their way into heritage tourism. (see Prentice 86) In

comparison to cultural tourism, which can be used for any form of travelling with the aim at consuming culture, heritage tourism in particular is a field in which a way of coming into contact with the *past* by being confronted with heritage objects plays a central role, be it in museums, historic sites or theme parks, which are frequented by people longing for that specific kind of past. (see Walton 110) Timothy Darvill gives a simple reason for understanding this kind of longing for ancient times by supposing an anthropological view:

Understanding, exploring, and conquering the mystery of the past, and seeking answers to the questions posed by ancient monuments [...] is something inbuilt in human nature. For many people, the remains of the past provide a sense of security and continuity in an uncertain world, a thread of timelessness running through a rapidly changing environment. (Darvill 167 gtd. in Prentice 91)

The fact that heritage tourism is a widespread field is shown by Richard Prentice, who supplies an extensive typology of heritage attractions including altogether twenty-three types. The categories range from 'natural history attractions' over 'theme parks' to 'military attractions' and even 'genocide monuments'. (see 88) Those that might be falling under the heading of literary tourism, in my case Austenian tourism, are the groups 'attractions associated with historic persons', 'performing arts attractions' (such as theatres), 'pleasure gardens' (cf. Jane Austen's fable for the Vauxhall Gardens), 'festivals and pageants' (e.g. the annual Jane Austen festival in Bath), 'stately and ancestral homes' (regarding especially the impact of heritage films on tourism), 'religious attractions' (such as burial places of authors), 'countryside and treasured landscapes' (the rural landscape Jane Austen used to live in before the age of industrialisation), and finally 'regions'. (see 88)

One can imagine that the tourist industry literally exhausts its possibilities in order to turn any cultural object into a treasure for tourist destinations. Consequently, is argued that "cultural tourism is increasingly becoming one of the most relevant niche markets" (Riganti 265). In general, people tend to equate the old with the good, which serves one simple explanation for the boom in heritage tourism. (see Tobe 250)

Typical destinations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century whose popularity had already been vanished have been seeking for a new market in heritage tourism within the recent years. (see Walton 111) Even English seaside resorts have been

influenced by this new trend, "as ailing coastal towns have sought to reinvent themselves by recycling aspects of their own pasts to make them attractive as visitor destinations in the age of the shopping mall and of virtual reality" (Walton 125).

The birth of heritage tourism in Britain can be found in the 1980s, when the celebration of the national past gained great importance by "a growing intellectual critique of that celebration" (Crang 112). One of the key terms was and still is 'cultural distinctiveness', which, however, became a subject of dispute in the 1980s. (see Walton 124)

Robert Hewison then criticised the hype around heritage tourism based on a "gift-wrapped recent past" (Walton 124). On the one hand, in heritage tourism the "pursuit of an approximation to 'truth'" (Walton 124) is undertaken, which involves for instance scholars' knowledge of history; on the other hand, tourist managers strive to appeal a wide audience by popularising destinations advertising heritage culture. (see Walton 124) Other contradictory arguments are that heritage tourism is a source for educating a country's people in terms of rising their awareness and understanding of their cultural past; in contrast to this, England is accused to "sell its heritage off to foreigners" (Korte 294), and therefore to disregard the conveyance of a deeper understanding being replaced by a light consummation. (see Korte 294) Consequently, it is indispensable to keep considering the discrepancy between high and mass culture in cultural tourist destinations in order to find a balance to satisfy both. (see Mills 76)

The "tensions between a popular audience and an academic one" (Lynch, *Cult* 113) can also be seen in the promotion of Jane Austen's life and her works, the former audience being interested in "domestic privacy, leisure and sometimes shopping" (113), the latter focusing on Austen's "career and [her] connection to the public sphere" (113).

#### 2.3.1 The Quest of Authenticity

By visiting a heritage site, tourists are searching for the past and for traces of history, and are therefore yearning for closeness to reality, for authenticity. The topic of the authentic is a very essential component in heritage tourism, since "[t]he authenticated artefact still lies at the heart of the modern museum experience" (Mills 77). Cohen argues that

[m]odern man is [...] seen, from the perspective of an existential philosophical anthropology [(in Nietzsche's words 'weightless')], as a being in quest of authenticity. Since modern society is inauthentic, those modern seekers who desire to overcome the opposition between their authenticity-seeking self and society have to look elsewhere for authentic life. (111)

Elsewhere is, where the traveller wishes to find the "pristine", the "primitive", the "natural", the "untouched" (112).

The tradition of the search for the authentic goes back to Romanticism and is still regarded as an escape from modern life. (see Berghoff 163) Today, however, tourists want more than simple expositions of cultural objects, and therefore cultural destinations meet the challenge to transform academic facts into more or less spectacular visually comprehensible displays. (see Mills 77) When this is badly achieved, "critics complain about the inauthenticity of the experience. [...] Yet, real and unreal, authentic and inauthentic are vague and normative terms" (Berghoff 169-70).

In fact, labelling something as being authentic or inauthentic does not only depend on the displays but lies very much in the expectation and interpretation of the viewer. (see McIntosh and Prentice 306) Cohen's assumption is that "individuals who are less concerned with the authenticity of their touristic experiences, will be more prepared to accept as 'authentic' a cultural product or attraction which more concerned tourists [...] will reject as 'contrived'". He classifies travellers into 5 categories. The first three groups tend to be strict critics as far as authenticity is concerned, among them the 'existential tourists', who do their journeys off the beaten track and are therefore open for the 'other'; the 'experimental tourists', who resemble the former group; and the 'experiential tourists', who are especially interested in the real life of others. The fourth group is formed by the 'recreational tourists', who seek the 'other' for enjoyable reasons and are hence more amenable to accept a cultural product as authentic. Finally, the 'diversionary tourists' aim at mere leisure experiences and might not be involved in the issue of authenticity. (see Cohen 115)

Other critics established indicators for what makes a heritage object seem authentic. Littrell, Anderson and Brown found out that there are tourists who focus on 'external criteria', such as aesthetics and production techniques and time; others pay their attention to 'internal criteria' with reference to usage of the object purchased at home; to some people the 'links to the past' are essential; other groups give importance to 'changing techniques', 'total number produced', 'uniqueness to region', production in 'new or different ways'; further criteria are 'functionality' and a 'good shopping experience'. (qtd. in Jamal and Hill 220)

A similar approach is done by Cohen by referring to his different groups of tourists. In his view, most of the vacationers do not demand a 'total authenticity', in contrast to his example of a French tourist who criticised the use of plastic cups by the indigenous people in a tribal village in Thailand. (see Cohen 116) Like Littrel et. al., Cohen states that "[some] tourists will accept a commercialized object as 'authentic', insofar as they are convinced that it is indeed ornamented with 'traditional' designs and 'hand made' [,e.g.] by members of an ethic group" (116). Thus, diversionary tourists, who are at one extreme of the range, may get pleasure from completely artificial products, which they even recognise as contrived themselves; still, the product may seem genuine to them. (see Cohen 117)

In literary tourism, of course, the same phenomenon takes place. Whereas there is clear evidence for the reason of a literary place to become a tourist destination (e.g. Jane Austen's birthplace), the display of the place and the reception by the viewer is likely to go beyond real facts and may deal to a high degree with myths around the literary person and the place. (see Herbert106)

In a study conducted by David Herbert during the second half of the 1990ies, visitors to literary places – among them the Jane Austen House in Chawton – were interviewed after their visit. One important topic was the issue of authenticity with respect to Herbert's presupposition of the mingling of the real and the imagined. Tourists' responses to questions like "Was this the small table at which Jane Austen wrote?", and "Is her room as she saw it almost 200 years ago?" (116) were supposed to give evidence for the awareness whether the objects displayed in the house were genuine or not. Here it is essential that most answers were connected to Jane Austen's life and less attention was paid

to the characters in her works. (see Herbert 116) This becomes evident in the conclusions of the survey, in which he summarises that "a visit to Chawton is a visit to the former home of Jane Austen and her family and not to the world of her novels" (177), and moreover, merely "[a] small number of tourists thought that items displayed in the house might not be genuine" (118). To summarise this, the fact that the purpose of the visit was to gain an insight into the novelist's life led to the assumption that the objects presented in Austen's home were indeed connected to her, and can therefore be considered to be authentic.

In Austen criticism, however, inauthenticity is a concern to scholars as well. Henry James disapproves of a "pretty reproduction in every variety of what is called tasteful, and in what seemingly proves to be saleable" (118). In addition to this view, Nicholas Dames argues that "[t]he problem is that nostalgic inauthenticity – the desire for Austen's time and milieu, to live with her novels and in them, a desire that is by nature unfulfillable – fails to accurately see the past it thinks it wants" (416). The roles authenticity plays here is connected to the fields of commercialisation and nostalgia, which will be treated in more detail later in the paper.

The search for the real, for evidences of the past, is a keynote in heritage tourism, and its traces can especially be found in literary tourism. Also travellers on the footsteps of Jane Austen want to discover what is related to her. As it has been outlined, some people may be satisfied with objects or presentations of what is called commercialisation and commodification; they might get pleasure from a souvenir tea cup marked with the picture of Jane Austen. Others, however, are more deeply concerned with historical facts and may not be as easily contented with blurred facts and mere myths around the person.

### 2.3.2 Commercialisation and Commoditisation in Heritage Tourism

Commoditization is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market. (see Appadurai qtd. in Cohen 118)

It can neither be ignored nor denied that making money plays a central role in tourism, and this is much the same thing with the branch of heritage tourism. Especially in Great Britain traces of history are sought not only by the British themselves, but also by foreign tourists, who bring valuable foreign currency into the country and therefore contribute to establishing and maintaining an international tourist market. (see Sargeant 308) A member of the National Trust stated that "we [– the British –] know the value of our places and we charge accordingly. [...] We are committed to increasing public enjoyment of our properties" (Giles Clotworthy qtd. in Higson 56). In comparison to destinations apart from the British Isles, Great Britain's and specifically England's tourist industry can claim itself to be running some kind of specialist tourism, in which selling places is the main achievement. Here, again, it is essential for destinations to distinguish themselves from others and to accentuate this distinctiveness in order to be able to maximise profit. (see Crang 117)

As heritage tourists people are on the traces of the past, however, they can only encounter this past in the present, i.e. now and here. The focus during a visit to a heritage site is on what is actually meant to be presented, e.g. unspoilt countryside. Consequently, the tourist tends to ignore the outer circumstances that come along with the visit. In a study exploring such issues, Shelagh J. Squire found out that visitors to a heritage site tend to completely separate the heritage experience from the outer modern facilities and circumstances. The investigation took place at Hill Top Farm in Lake District, the home of the English children's writer Beatrix Potter. The outcome of the study gives evidence of the above discussion on tourists' acceptation of different stages of authenticity, since "progress and manifestations of 'modern' life were consistently denied, while heritage was privileged through a selective vision" (413). Whereas there were complaints about too few parking facilities, visitor statements about experiences at the destination were quite enthusiastic: "It's a dream. This is where you'd like to be. No noise from the road outside" (413); and "modern technology excluded, it's a very quiet place" (413).

Possibly such experiences in an obviously commercialised environment are only felt authentic due to prior expectations constructed through reading advertising brochures. Evans and Spoil point this out in describing the representation of the Marks Hall Estate in Essex in a tourist leaflet, in which the presentation of the destination is done in a romantic manner by providing an "archetypical vision of 'English countryside'. [...] What the leaflet does not

mention [...] is that this landscape has been transmitted into the present of the postmodern tourist experience". (217) The presence of "electric pylons" – among others – is considered to be a "reminder that these visions continue to compete in the collision of commercialization and stewardship played out in this tourist landscape" (218).

Such cases exemplify Hans Magnus Enzenberger's 'theory of tourism', in which he classifies tourism into the field of consumer society. In his eyes "[t]he liberation from the industrial world has become an industry, the supposed journey out of the consumer society a commodity" (qtd. in Berghoff 159). This means that apart from the original purpose of tourism, i.e. to escape from the negative consequences of the industrialisation such as pollution and overcrowding, tourism has now turned into a major industry itself. (see Berghoff 163-164)

Tourism in the time of the consumerist society is also an issue in Barbara Korte. She talks of tourism as an embodiment of the commodified, which is a product of the rising capitalist culture within the past decades. (see 290) It is the case that local culture is being capitalised for tourists, which happens when traditions such as rituals, feasts and folk arts often do not serve their original purpose anymore, but are reinvented for consumption, especially for the alien audience. The problems that turn up with such staged performances reach from simply changing the meaning of the tradition to making it even meaningless. (see Cohen 110) In this sense also the cultural products themselves are affected, since they might be accommodated to the tourists' pleasures. (see Cohen 119) From the tourist's perspective, "commodification of pastness can be interpreted as marking needs for identity, and the finding of the true self through the appropriation of pastness" (McIntosh and Prentice 306). Also in Austenian tourism travellers try to appropriate pastness by visiting places connected to the author or by participating in events that take place in the name of Jane Austen. A typical example for commercialisation in Austenian tourism is the number of festivals organised to remember and possibly revive the writer. Here, the modern concept of a festival is used for making profit by attracting people that are interested in the specific past of Jane Austen.

One of the most famous and influencing persons being concerned with the phenomenon of commodification is the French situationist Guy Debord, who published his first version of The Society of the Spectacle as soon as in the 1960ies. By describing the process of commodification he translates human experience into a product, or, in other words, a 'commodity'. In his first thesis he expands the notion of 'commodity' and replaces it with 'spectacle'. In Debord's eyes "[t]he whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. All that once was directly lived has become mere representation." (12) This first thesis represents what he actually wants to convey in his whole essay, namely the fact that indeed everything is turned into commodities. Eventually "satisfaction of primary human needs" (33) is replaced by "pseudo-needs" (33), which means that needs are created to be in turn satisfied. It is indeed a very radical view that is proposed by Debord, however, such radicalism helps one understand the way consumer society works and motivates to look beyond the horizon.

In fact, it is not the single branch of tourism that is concerned with the matter of commercialisation, but also the industries that come along with the field of tourism serve as a major source for vending things. In the management of heritage tourism the provision of shops such as book stores and souvenir shops and of catering services is self evident, and is also widely expected and used by customers. (see Timothy xiv) Though of low utility, souvenirs play a central role in the tourist industry, since they "are basically trophies to demonstrate that one has been there, fetishes of distinction" (Berghoff 164). Robinson speaks of "memorabilia" (65) and points out that production and sale of souvenirs are processes of "heritage' branding" (65). The significance of souvenirs for the Austenian tourism industry, but also for the consumers – the tourists – themselves will be discussed more detailed in the chapters *Fandom* and *Following the Saint's Footsteps*. In Berghoff's eyes, the message of tourism advertisements and of objects stored in souvenir shops is simply "buy this article and your holiday feeling becomes part of your everyday life" (167).

This last statement perfectly emphasises the commercialisation on the subject of travelling. Awareness is created that tourism is part of the consumer society in the western world, and even cultural tourism, which is concerned with historical facts and heritage objects must not be excluded.

#### 2.3.3 Experience and the Tourist Gaze

When going on holidays, the tourist's aim to experience something might not always be formulated consciously but is definitely inherent in him or her. Whether tourists wish to relax or to have an adventure, experience always goes hand in hand with the prominent endeavour. To experience something means to "experience a [...] situation" (Macmillan 484) and "to feel an emotion or a physical feeling" (484). Clearly, a tourist's objective is to benefit from a holiday or a visit to a heritage site, and so the effect of the experience is ought to be positive. (see McIntosh 240) The search for experience in the realm of tourism is exactly described by Bauman:

Like the vagabond, the tourist is on the move. Like the vagabond, he is everywhere he goes *in*, but nowhere *of* the place he is in. But there are also differences, and they are seminal. [...] The tourist moves *on purpose* (or so he thinks). [...] The purpose is new experience; the tourist is a conscious and systematic seeker of experience, of a new and different experience, of the experience of difference and novelty. (Bauman 29)

The comparison to tourists Bauman uses here is the vagabond, whom he describes as "masterless" (28), which means to be a person totally free from any restrictions. The difference, however, lies in the tourist's purpose of experiencing something. (see 28)

When actual experience takes place, even all senses might be involved, but still the visual is the most prominent one and has the upper hand. Crouch and Lübbren talk of visual culture and combine it with the dimensions of desire, experience and space by stating that "[m]aterially, tourism is visually represented as significantly physical, involving space, visiting particular 'concrete' places. Metaphorically, visual culture may construct ideas and desires of the experience of tourism, and of particular imagined places." (6)

The concept of combining these three dimensions with visual culture is already formulated in John Urry's famous theory of the tourist gaze, in which he points out that it is in the nature of human beings to gaze at what they come across. As a basis for his theory he outlines the social practices in tourism. (see 2)

First of all, he points out that the existence of tourism as a leisure activity presupposes its opposite, namely work, and is therefore treated as a separate sphere in modern life. (see 2)

Second, in order to reach a destination a tourist has to move through space, therefore space and place play central roles. (see 2) Places, especially those serving the purpose of a tourist destination, possess certain values and are part of culture. The concept of place does not only include spatial dimension, e.g. urban or natural areas, but also determine the spirit of the site. (see Girard and Torrieri 221-23) For Rob Shields each place has a certain place-myth, which is hardly changeable, since it has been constructed in the past via images and stereotypical clichés connected to that place. (see 60-61) Similarly, Uzzell speaks of places having an identity which can be defined through certain characteristics, such as the place's environment, activities that can be done in that place, or meanings ascribed to that particular place. Individuals who take up an identity within a specific group of people do also have a certain relationship to a specific place, which means that interaction between the tourist as an individual and the destination visited – the place – can be observed. (see 399-400) In addition to that, "place, as Crouch [...] notes, is negotiated socially – people define identities, friendships, cultural relationships through embodied encounters with other people and objects in spaces that then become places of memory and knowledge" (qtd. in Jamal and Hill 219).

By combining these theories, one gets two dimensions – the dimension of the *past* and the dimension of social interaction and interaction between individual and place in the *present*. The latter premise, in turn, contributes to the first one insofar that the memories constructed in the present turn into past memories. The roles place takes here are first a frame of reference for these specific memories of experience, and second an interactive role, "for the experience is always personal and embodied" (Jamal and Hill 223). In the particular case of literary tourism, the tourist tries move through the writer's landscape, through the space of the geographical area related to him or her in order to discover what is linked to the person admired. In fact, it is the aim of the literary tourist to gain an experience of their own which they can value and remember later on. (Weir 119) This experience is a way of becoming even more familiar with the author and enriches the knowledge and understanding of the writer's way of life,

and helps create intimacy to him or her. As Weir notes, "[t]he place *is* the thing and becomes the experience" (121). To Urry, any place in the world has the potential to become a place for the tourist gaze, and therefore a place of experience. (see 38)

Urry's third point in his line of argument is that in travelling a "return home" (3) takes place after a short period of being on the way. Moreover, the places gazed upon are usually strongly connected to what one understands by leisure. In these two statements Urry expresses that a contrast has to exist so as to be able to distinguish tourism from it. In order to feel as a tourist while travelling, one needs a place to be called home, and in order to be able to call free time leisure, time that is occupied by work is required. (see 2-3) As Ousby formulates, "[t]ravel, like so many other transactions of life, forces us to measure the unfamiliar by reference to the familiar: to define the experience of being abroad, we need a concept of 'home'" (Introduction 2).

Urry's fifth argument is that due to a high proportion of a travelling population, the mass character of the gazing tourist may not be disregarded. (see 3) As already mentioned, the discrepancy between popularisation and high culture is a widely discussed issue. The general appeal of a place is also dependent on its frequency of visitors, so that it rises with the growing proportion of people coming to gaze at that particular site. Thus, for tourists the experience may even become more valuable, if the destination visited is a place well-known around the world. (see 23) It can be argued that the larger the imagined community visiting a specific place, the more easily the values and experiences gained can be shared with others.

An important factor contributing to a high number of visitors to a touristic place is anticipation created by promotion of the place. (see Urry 3) One can say that the consumption of tourism advertisements leads to a construction of desire, which can be fulfilled by experience during a visit or during travelling in general. In many instances – especially in heritage tourism, where gazing at cultural objects (e.g. in museums) is frequently done – this experience takes place via visual consumption. (see Crouch and Lübbren 8) The question that arises is how this purpose – the holiday-maker's intention – is established, i.e. what initiates the tourist's search for new experiences. The key phrase here is the

construction of 'desire', which is brought into a concept by Baudrillard called "strategies of desire" (85). Similar to Debord as discussed in the chapter of commoditification, Baudriallard argues that wishes for luxury and leisure are conjured up by the economy, and "consumption [is] [...] a system of exchange and of signs, [as well as] [...] a mechanism of power" (85). Thus, his argument is that desire does not emerge on its own but is triggered off by outer stimulators. In tourism such stimulators might be brochures, leaflets, catalogues, the internet or other means of advertisement, which help the prospective travellers imagine their trips in advance and which conjure up the feeling of desire (see Crouch and Lübbren 8), and of course literary tourism and especially Austenian tourism is no exception, which will be seen in specific examples in this thesis's later chapters.

Urry's next criterion is that the tourist gaze, in contrast to the gaze in everyday life, is an extraordinary experience, and consequently the tourist tries to capture such gazes, e.g. via taking pictures. Again, the notion of contrast for defining the social practice of tourism is essential here. The tourist gaze is opposed to the gaze of everyday life, and therefore needs special attention. (see 3) Also "Hiss recognize[s] the value of public places for developing community-based and social identities, such as through the practices of people gathering to watch others or take pictures of their friends in front of unique art or other structures". (qtd. in Jamal and Hill 227)

This theory corresponds to Benedict Anderson's famous theory of nations being imagined communities. In his eyes, people who claim themselves to belong to a certain community are in fact part of an imagined community, "imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members" (6). In fact, when visiting a heritage place a certain kind of community, whose members share a certain kinds of social practices, is created, namely in the manner of Anderson's imagined communities. His explanations will be treated in more detail later in the paper. The social practice Urry points out here is the gaze in the touristic sense itself. By taking pictures — which is indeed a typical habit ascribed to tourists — the holiday-maker can reexperience the impressions gained at the destination at a later point of time. The gaze is therefore "endlessly reproduced and recaptured" (3).

A further significant criterion in Urry's theory is the importance of signs, i.e. what the gaze is constructed upon, which means that everything the tourist sees has a certain meaning to him or her. (3) Although there exist individual meanings which might be private and unique to the person having come up with this meaning, meanings in general are abstract concepts in a particular society. That implies that individual persons derive their private meanings from what they have learned in the group they share their culture with. (see Giles and Middleton 22) Usually "signs stand for or represent the concepts and the conceptual relations between them which we carry around in our heads and together they make up the meaning-systems of our culture" (Hall 18). Signs need to be interpreted, and Döring states that "the enterprise of tourism [...] is a quest of signs" (253). In combination with the reading of signs, Urry mentions the example of an English village that might hold the readings of English traditions that have been practiced in this village in history. (see 117) In the case of literary tourism, the collection of signs already takes place in advance, when the prospective tourist is reading a literary work or writer's biography. These signs are produced by a third person – the author – and are collected in the imagination of the tourist. At the actual tourist gaze, the signs produced in advance can be recalled and so the tourist is able to produce his or her specific meaning in relation to the literary work and the author. (see Robinson 57) The tourist gaze in heritage tourism is therefore a signifying practice, which helps the tourist produce meaning during the visit.

The last argument is concerned with professionals' ever new challenges to keep developing new objects for tourists to gaze at. (see 3) In tourism it is essential to keep up with modern ideas in order to be able to satisfy the visitors' expectations in terms of their experience.

As it has been outlined in this chapter, visual culture and the touristgaze are among the most prominent factors contributing to the traveller's feeling of experiencing something. Whether these kinds of experiences find the tourists' approval depends on several factors that are summarised in Urry's theory of the tourist gaze, which builds a basis for tourism managers to carefully plan a tourist destination in order to meet the tourists' needs. As the special example of literary tourism in this chapter shows, Austenian tourism is not excluded from Urry's theory, too. Travellers visiting places connected to Jane Austen might for

example feel somehow connected to each other, which points towards the imagination of a community in Anderson's sense. Another point that can be perfectly applied to Austenian tourism is the precedent collection of signs, which takes place when the travellers read Jane Austen's novels and her biography or when they see film adaptations in advance. The recall of the signs collected takes place when the tourists gaze e.g. at the desk where she produced her novels, and so meaning is constructed.

#### 2.3.4 The Heritage Film Industry

Apart from the promotion of historical places and museums, another industry was and still is an influential factor for the rise of tourist figures in special destinations. With the increase of interest in heritage in general, the film industry saw this reviving trend as an opportunity to produce successful heritage films, which in turn had an impact on tourism. With help of different media such as websites, books, television programmes and DVDs, film productions can easily be presented and promoted, and an audience can be reached in a straightforward way. Enthusiastic film-goers are often concerned with the making of films – the production – paying special attention to the film locations. As a result, film settings are very likely to turn into new tourist destinations. (see Higson 57) In the year of 1997 journalists reported that credit has to be given "to the revival of the British film industry" (Higson 58) for the boom of visits to historic places. Sargeant refers to this boom as "location tourism" (309) and points out the observation that the act of filming at a certain place and the setting itself seems to attract people more than the actual production – the film – itself.

Moreover, visiting such adaptations' film settings might also satisfy tourists' wishes for attending places described in literary works, which are, however, merely invented. Although authors might use genuine places such as buildings and geographical areas as models for their books, many of them only exist in fiction. The so called "literary tourism of mind" (Robinson and Andersen, Reading between Lines 8) can be replaced by tourism that is actually practised; the fictional scenes described in books are turned into concrete places. (see Robinson and Andersen, Reading between Lines 8)

One such example in Austenian tourism is Pemberley, which Jane Austen created as the home for the protagonist Fitzwilliam Darcy. In the 1995 BBC production of *Pride and Prejudice* Lyme Hall and Park served as the scenery for Pemberley (see Cressbook), and in the 2005 version Chatsworth House in Derbyshire was used as the setting (see BBC Derby website). On the Cressbook website it is indicated that Lyme Hall and Park have experienced an increase in their degree of familiarity since the BBC series were produced there. (see Cressbook)

So it is the case that due to the making of film adaptations a wider audience for literary tourism can be reached. On the one hand, the former readers of Jane Austen's books gain new experiences and possibly new interest in the author and her writings by watching the movies, and are also likely to find new opportunities for visiting destinations related to Jane Austen. On the other hand, a completely new audience is given an alternative access to the writings due to the novels' visual representation, and this new audience might therefore also be appealed to travelling to specific cultural places. (see Robinson 72)

Since movie fans can easily be attracted by destinations connected to the films they like, things like the 'Movie Map' and the 'Great British Heritage Pass' were produced in the late 1990s for the purpose of promoting film settings (see Higson 59). Similar to the earlier created literal map of "literary England" (Riley, Baker and Van Doren qtd. in Crang 116), which divides up England into certain literary zones including the zone of "Literary Hampshire" (116) connected to Jane Austen, the 'Movie Map' of the United Kingdom displays several film locations. (see Higson 59).

By practicing heritage tourism, people strive for some kind of approximation to something they cannot experience in their everyday lives. This approximation can be to a certain kind of past or a certain truth they long for. Especially popular heritage tourism has rendered possibilities for accessing places, properties and objects where their pursuits can be followed. (see Walton 124)

## 2.4 Literary Tourism

The broader definition of heritage tourism or cultural tourism as a branch of the touristic industry that is concerned with cultural legacies from the past also

involves the field of literary tourism. Literary tourism in particular is restricted to the area of literature, involving places connected to a certain author, places appearing in literary works, and literary adaptations' settings. Robinson and Andersen describe literary tourism more closely by referring to it as "a kind of cultural tourism in the anthropological sense, in that it involves [...] visitors identifying with, discovering, and creating signifiers of cultural values with those people who have become part of the cultural mythologies of places" (*Introduction* xiii).

On the one hand, it is the author as a great personality and as a creator of popular readings that acts as the main attraction for people to practice literary tourism. On the other hand, the literary work itself often functions as an initiator for readers to travel to certain places. Here it is important to distinguish literature from other cultural aesthetic forms by concentrating on the personal level of sharing the art with the producer and other readers, which means that "if we can speak, if we can talk to other people about ourselves and other people, then we are already in the world of the author, we already share some understanding of the author's linguistic raw material, simply through our use of it for everyday purposes" (Robinson and Andersen, *Introduction* xiv).

Squire identifies that diverse audiences lead to diverse ways of meaning-making, the "text becomes part of a wider symbolic system" (Squire 404). The readings are interpreted differently by reason of varieties in gender, class and ethnicity, and consequently each reader refers the meanings produced to their own society and culture. (see 404-5) This kind of sharing of insights, ideas and opinions takes place within a certain group of people, who all are involved in the topic connected to the particular literary place visited. Hence, it can be argued that these people belong to a certain community, which is, however, only a mental construction, according to Benedict Anderson. His theory of imagined communities, in which he claims that a nation is a social construction of a community that is only imagined (see 6), has already been brought up in the thesis and applies well to the area of literary tourism. Before establishing the reference to tourism, it is essential to get an understanding of what this concept is meant to convey.

First of all the "nation is imagined as *limited*" (7), because a nation can only be named so if there is more than one. Next, "[i]t is imagined as sovereign" (7), i.e. the nation is free from any dynasty or divine authority. Finally, "it is imagined as a community" (7), since "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). The most striking argument pleading for the ideology is that an imagined community's "members will never know most of their fellowmembers, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). For developing his theory, Anderson makes use of numerous examples. One of them serves perfectly well for the purpose of this study and tells about the instance of a pilgrim meeting fellows on his way to his destination. "[I]n experiencing them as travelling-companions", Anderson argues, "a consciousness of connectedness ('Why are we ... here ... together?') emerges" (56). Benedict Anderson, therefore, wants readers to achieve an awareness of what kind of factors contribute to the feeling of belonging together. People might claim to be part of a community or of a nation simply by reason of living in one and the same country. Although they are not able to know all of the members, they feel somehow connected, especially when comparing with other nations. Moreover, in the latter example one can see that people can also feel this kind of connectedness to other humans – even if they are no members of an officially existing community – just by sharing a particular activity, a particular way of life. Pilgrims - even if not from the same country are connected by such an activity, namely by travelling to a particular destination.

This kind of connectedness can be transferred to literary tourism. As already noted above, the trigger for visiting a literary place is the author, thus the author (or, in the secondary place the literary works produced by the author) is the object of desire that also acts as the junction of the touristic place. Literary tourists are, therefore, linked to each other via the author and their works, since they all share the same destination. (see Robinson and Andersen, *Introduction* xiv) Especially in Austenian tourism one can argue that readers and consequently travellers are members of such an imagined community. Special knowledge of the author makes tourists able to speculate about the Jane Austen's life, to walk on the traces of her and to gaze at places she has been to.

Jane Austen fans might feel some kind of belonging together since they share special knowledge other people are excluded from.

In consideration of the development of travelling and tourism, pilgrimage is a widely discussed contributing factor. It is a common assumption that pilgrimage is one of the most important precursors to modern travelling, which can be considered a "secularized form of pilgrimage" (Berghoff 61). Pilgrims are travellers who "trod a beaten path towards a communally agreed, indeed a well-publicised, goal" (Ousby, *Introduction* 7). Döring summarises Fabian's opposition of the old form of pilgrimage to the new form of modern travelling in the following statement:

In the old pre-modern paradigm, travel was directed to the centres of religion; with pilgrimages, in particular, all authority and reasoning of travel is teleologically derived from the holy point of destination. In the modern paradigm, by contrast, secular travel leads from the centres of learning into the periphery; the motivation derives from the point of departure and so the significance of the enterprise must be mediated home in writing. (255)

In addition to that, Bauman establishes the purpose of pilgrimage to search for something that existed in another time by stating that "[f]or pilgrims through time, the truth is elsewhere; the true place is always some distance, some time away. Wherever the pilgrim may be now, it is not where he ought to be, and not where he dreams of being." (20) Those Christians who have gained an understanding of their fate of life to be merely an opening to real life in heaven, Bauman argues, need to flee from their everyday lives and therefore go on pilgrimage. (see 20) In heritage tourism, the comparison to pilgrimage works with reference to the tourists' search for a specific kind of past. Lynch explains that "[t]he orientation toward the past [...] evidences our desire to reactivate the past in ways that empower us to revise the future" (Introduction 6). Both authors hence emphasise the prospect to future, the pilgrim awaits salvation after their life on earth, and the modern literary tourist is able to learn from the past to shape the future. It can be argued that in literary tourism the traveller gets a better understanding of the life of the author visited or the works produced by the writer, so that in future terms closeness to the person worshipped can be strengthened and intensified.

Moreover, similar to today's consumerist behaviour in tourism, historical pilgrims had the opportunity to purchase religious relics on their way to the final destination, the religious shrine, which is in literary tourism replaced by destinations connected to the writer. (see Ousby, *Introduction 7*) Due to the Reformation saints had no place in mundane life anymore, and therefore people were longing for new idols to admire. So literary writers – being kept alive easily by their books – served the ideal substitute. (see 22-3)

In addition to the field of religion in the original sense, Campo defines the area of pilgrimage in literary tourism as "cultural religion" (44). When speaking of pilgrimage in tourism today, he definitely places it in the culture of mass society and commodification. (see 55) Fact is that questions of authenticity, consumption and commoditisation are not excluded from literary tourism as well. On the contrary, literature serves perfectly well for the purpose of the mass society leading to commodification, which starts with the consumption of books, and goes beyond the act of reading by visiting theme parks or watching film adaptations. (see Robinson and Andersen, *Reading between Lines* 14-15)

To return to the area of pilgrimages, Alderman identifies them as social constructions, which create opportunities for signifying practices, such as taking pictures nearby the place of worship. What is important here is that the traveller is no more merely a consumer of the place, but becomes a creative person, an author of his or her own experience as well. (see 3) Again, reference to Benedict Anderson's imagined communities can be made by focussing on the similar goals of the tourists, the similar signifying practices connecting one another. (see 6) Moreover, the tourist gaze is an essential component of these signifying practices, since the focus here is on the visual. The literary tourist as a pilgrim gazes so to say at his or her shrine, and the worshipping takes place via starring at the object of admiration.

In figure 1 David Herbert displays the qualities of a literary place, combining the field of literary tourism described above with qualifications in general tourism. On the left side, the exceptional qualities of the site are outlined, referring to characteristics that can be found especially in literary tourism. On the right side, general qualities of the site are included, dealing with characteristics of the wider branch of tourism. The illustration clearly shows that a literary place can

only be a successful tourist destination if it is placed in the general field of tourism, i.e. it has to fulfil criteria such as availability and general attractiveness. Moreover, being attractive in terms of reasons other than connection to literature, the place is more likely to be visited even by people who do not have an explicit interest in literary tourism. (see Herbert 104) In reference to Graceland, the pilgrimage landscape of the famous rock star Elvis, Alderman's statement about visitors' reasons to travel there can also be applied literary tourism in general: "Visitors can include those who come for spiritual reflection, those (like the author) who seek knowledge about the social and cultural aspects of Graceland, those who come for fund or spectacle, and even those who come for all these reasons" (7).

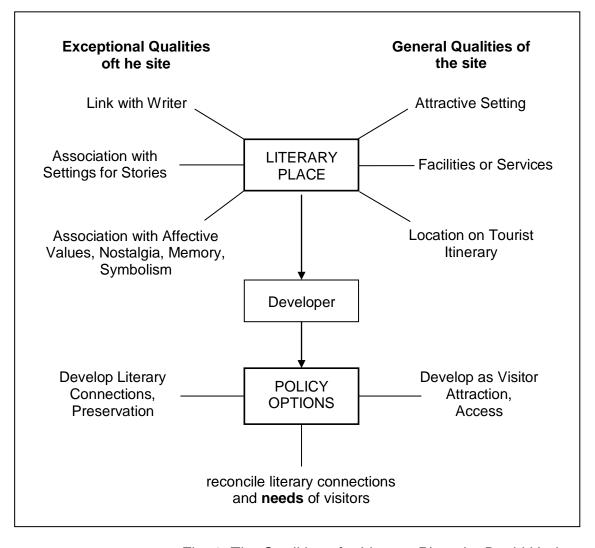


Fig. 1: The Qualities of a Literary Place by David Herbert

Although characteristics of general tourism play a distinctive role in literary tourism, the essence of literature in this branch of the travel industry lies in the foreground. Above, the role of authors and their literary works as initiators for literary tourism are outlined. In addition to that, literature itself can provide us with information on history, culture, and specific attitudes of a particular generation and hence one can learn about touristic patterns via literature. (see Robinson and Andersen, Reading between Lines 2) In this sense, one has to look beyond the edge of the literary canon and include other forms of text – as a "system of signification" (6) - such as advertising texts for tourism. In literary tourism, it can be argued, the experience – the activity – that takes place during travelling can be read as a story itself. Just like in narratives, the organisation of tourist trails is structured in a way that it can be interpreted as a meaningful plot, which has its starting point and leads via a couple of destinations to a final goal. The experience, as already suggested, starts when the prospective tourist is reading promotional information about a tourist destination, so that desire is created. "[S]tory telling is a potent promotional tool in tourism, a point picked up by tourism marketers over the years" (Robinson 45). Robinson further claims that reading information about a tourist destination can even be an experience in itself, and therefore provides a substitute for the actual performance of travelling there. (see 48) The length of such a story can vary from a single site such as the home of an author to a whole sequence of places, altogether creating a coherent trail which can be toured. The essence of this practice of storytelling is its meaningfulness; it is "the desire to tell stories, to give significance to an apparently random reality by selecting and ordering elements of reality in a way that makes sense in a specific cultural context". (Robinson and Andersen, Reading between Lines 9)

The quest for Jane Austen can be interpreted in terms of telling stories as well. In promoting Austenian tourism, travellers are offered numerous opportunities to walk on her traces. Whether Austenian pilgrims wish to find their individual story or rather prefer to be led by a third person (in form of a Jane Austen tour fixed in advance), potential tourist trails seem virtually unlimited. Fact is, the fascination for Jane Austen prompts admires to practice literary tourism, to become literary pilgrims themselves.

Shelagh Squire perfectly summarises what literary tourism is all about. "Literary tourism is one medium that allows people to live out certain fantasies, not only about favorite books or authors, but also a range of other culturally constructed attitudes and values." (414)

#### 2.5 The National Trust

The National Trust is a private organisation in Great Britain aiming at protecting historical places and properties as well as making them accessible to the public. (see: National Trust website, The Charity) According to Cannadine, it is the "most important and successful voluntary society in modern Britain" (11). Founded in 1895, it has become active Great Britain and is continually looking for lands and buildings to purchase. The National Trust's philosophy is to manage and protect cultural heritage, so that historic sites become eternal legacy for present and future generation, enabling access to everyone. (see Barton Cover) In the latest Annual report it is stated that property includes "709 miles (1,141 kilometres) of coastline; 254,000 hectares (627,000 acres) of land, much of which is of outstanding natural beauty; [and] more than 350 historic houses and gardens, ancient monuments, nature reserves and parks" (Barton Cover). In order to keep up ever new purchase and ongoing maintenance of properties, the trust has to rely on financial support from about 3.5 million members and voluntary work by 52,000 people. Moreover, entrance fees to holdings build important income to the organisation. (see National Trust website, The Charity)

Jane Austen plays a role in reference to the organisation, too. Search hits for the term 'Austen' on the National Trust's website lead to a number of properties, such as Basildon Park in Berkshire, which was featured in the 2005 film adaption of *Pride and Prejudice* (see National Trust website, Basildon Park), and Saltram in Devon, which is a Georgian house and served as a film setting for an adaptation of Sense and Sensibility (see website <a href="http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-saltram">http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-saltram</a>). The theme "Jane Austen film" and TV" on the website holds several properties related to Jane Austen (see National Trust website, Jane Austen Film) Obviously, the National Trust's properties are popular settings for heritage film adaptation.

Although there are still many tourist destinations devoting their attention to Jane Austen not held by the National Trust, the organisation is insofar relevant in Austenian tourism as it indicates the general public interest in national heritage. The fact that the National Trust is a successful and highly regarded organisation aiming at preservation and enjoyment of past relics supports the idea that cultural tourism, especially with regards to heritage and literature, is becoming more and more popular among a large audience.

# 3 Austenian Tourism – The Critics' View

### 3.1 The Popularity of Jane Austen and Austenian Tourism

Jane Austen has become one of the central figures, in other words an icon, of British culture not only in her home country, but also apart from England and the United Kingdom. Due to her world-wide popularity the branch of heritage tourism has found a new field for appealing tourists to England by promoting places and heritage objects connected to the author. The questions that arise are the following: What has made Jane Austen so popular and why do people today pursuit her traces more than ever before? There are several answers to this question that shall be outlined in the following sections.

#### 3.1.1 The Cult of Jane Austen

Deidre Shauna Lynch states that "Jane Austen fosters in her readers, as most other literary giants do not, the devotion and fantasies of personal access that are the hallmarks of the fan" (*Cult* 111). The cult of Jane Austen in present-day England and even beyond the borders cannot be ignored. (see Lynch, *Cult* 111) Definitively "Austen appeals to both elite and popular, both academic and mass audiences, [and] defies ordinary pedagogical practice, which is predicated on the need to build appeal" (Thompson 15). Thus, Austen has a certain attraction to different kinds of people and those who feel strong affection for her even call themselves 'Janeites', a term coined in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by people who felt that "their hearts belonged to Jane Austen and [...] that she belonged to them" (Hanaway qtd. in Lynch, *Cult* 112). Pucci and Thompson speak of the phenomenon of the enormous popularity of Jane Austen by referring to it as "Austenmania" (1), and in his article *How to Do Things with Austen* Thompson goes even further calling this fascination for the author "hysteria" (13).

When people talk about the cult of Jane Austen they refer to some kind of hype around the writer. Originally the expression 'cult' was first used by Bailey in reference to Jane Austen (see 33) and in general used by those people admiring e.g. Jane Austen in an – as they felt – elaborate manner in order to "distance themselves from those *other* people who [...] enjoyed Austen in the wrong way and for the wrong reasons" (Lynch, *Cult* 113). According to that the

'true admirer' is defined by Mansfield as the one who "cherishes the happy thought that he alone – reading between the lines – has become the secret friend of their author" (qtd. in Lynch, *Cult* 118).

Due to this hype around Jane Austen and her novels, her name serves perfectly well for profit making. Tourism managers and film producers are aware of Jane Austen's saleability, and have "faith in her broad commercial appeal - their sense, that is, that, ever the well-mannered lady, Jane Austen is 'safe'" (Lynch, Introduction 5); safe in terms of profit, on the one hand, and in terms of political issues, since Jane Austen is already accepted in the British society, on the other hand. (see 5) Nevertheless, it is not only a mass society or low culture that might be attracted to recent film adaptations, and therefore pushes this kind of Austen boom; also high culture and the literary canon are involved in this modern phenomenon. Jane Austen has found her way into myriad essays of literary criticism within the past three centuries and she is still a subject of interest in academic writing. So it is the case that the occurrence of Austenmania brings up new issues to discuss in an elaborate manner. Some critics deplore the fact that Jane Austen has become so popular and argue that she would not have approved certain developments herself. So it is the case that in contrast to its above described positive connotation, the word 'Janeites' can reveal the reader as an amateur, working in a primitive manner and being unable to recognise the "true excellence" (Lynch, *Introduction*, 12) of her works. (see 5-12)

The discussion on literary criticism leaves room for the assumption that certain people claim to know Jane Austen better than others. One can argue that they want to adopt Austen for their own. The cult of Jane Austen does not only take place in the UK but has also found its way beyond the borders; and so it is the case that also Americans find pleasure in Austen's readings. However, like certain Austen critics, the American readers are said to have their own view of the author, and try to separate themselves from other readers. Favret argues that, in contrast to many readers of Austen's books, the American audience is no fan of the English culture and Jane Austen as a person, but look for themes in her books that have to do with "freedom and the pursuit of happiness" (168).

The cult of Jane Austen can definitely still be found more than two centuries after the great author's life. Regarding the fascination that most readers feel for her as a person, and the brilliancy that many admirers today are still finding in her works, the phenomenon of Austenmania is justifiable. Moreover, her works even seem to attract people who are not fond of the typical English culture the writings represent, and therefore address a large audience of readers and fans, who maintain this hype of Jane Austen.

#### **3.1.2 Fandom**

This special celebration of the cult of Jane Austen leads to another very simple explanation for the popularity of the author and consequently of Austenian tourism, namely fandom. As cited above, personal access to the object worshipped is one of the deepest aspirations of the fan. A real admirer or fan of somebody seeks to be as close to their object of desire as possible, he or she wants to "see their [hero] in flesh" (Turner 18). Robinson and Andersen argue that famous contemporary authors are supposed to appear in public, since the audience expects it from them. Those writers who attract a mass readership are also likely to attract visitors to specific destinations connected to them. (see *Reading between Lines* 9-10) In the case of a dead author, however, the fan cannot meet the writer admired face-to-face, and therefore has to find other ways of approximating their person worshipped.

Celebrity is the keyword that describes the phenomenon of individuals' and the masses' special interest in famous people today. Fandom has experienced a shift within the past decades and the new era of celebrity culture can, at least in some aspects, also be applied to the admiration of Jane Austen. (see Turner 3-4) Turner defines celebrity as "a genre of representation and a discursive effect; it is a commodity traded by the promotions, publicity, and media industries that produce these representations and their effects; and it is a cultural formation that has a social function we can better understand" (9). Modern celebrity is hence closely linked to commodification, as already discussed in the field of heritage tourism. Important factors which enable people to become celebrities are publicity and promotion, so that the names and images of the persons to be promoted are being imprinted on consumers' minds. Thus, fabulous lives of

contemporary celebrities are present in ordinary people's everyday lives, due to the presence of the media. (see Turner 16-17)

As far as literature is concerned, authors are not prevented from the impact of the media, or, as it should rather be stated, they even search for presence in public media, too. Interviews with writers or published book reviews push the literary market and clearly are important contributing factors for sales promotion. (see Moran 1) However, there is still some difference between literary celebrities and those celebrities who seem to be famous for their names only. "The test of artistic fame is that one's words or images remain in the minds of men; the test of celebrity is being followed everywhere by a photographer. [...] The object of celebrity is the person; the object of fame is some accomplishment, action or creative work" (Cawelty qtd. in Moran 3).

Following Cawelty's argument, the state of celebrity can be achieved via continuous presence in various media, whereas artistic fame is reached by a certain ability that leads to an object of value produced by the famous person. Hence, there is a clear difference between the famous status of a modern object of celebrity and the fame of, e.g. Jane Austen. Still it can be argued that contemporary Jane Austen fandom stems, at least in some points, from this notion of modern celebrity. As already mentioned, fans seek closeness to their people of admiration; however, with Jane Austen as a dead author it is the case that friends of her books and heritage films or admirers of Jane Austen as a person do neither have the chance to meet the woman personally nor to get an autograph or a photo of her. There are merely a few lucky ones who can be proud of the possession of a relic left by her. (see Lynch, Cult 115) This is where modern celebrity marketing makes use of that lack of personal access and creates opportunities for fans to visit for instance literary or writers' festivals. Also the great number of recent film adaptations can be ranged into the category of celebrity marketing. (see Turner 18)

The obsession with the author can be compared to religion, in which relics and other objects of praise play an essential role for the believer. One of the most wanted vestiges of Jane Austen is a lock of her hair bought by an American private person in 1946 and later handed over to Chawton. (see Lynch, *Cult* 115) Since such an opportunity to get hold of an original object of Jane Austen is

extremely rare, celebrity marketing enables the fan to purchase substitute relics in form of a souvenir. (see Turner 18) Mary Ann O'Farrel points out that Jane Austen can accompany us in many aspects of life:

Books available for purchase hold out the possibility of taking tea with Jane Austen and cooking with her, consulting her on matters of etiquette and romance, [...] designing and furnishing our homes in some relation to a style less Austenian than contemporary Regency suburban, wear jewellery that evokes hers or that is engraved with her words. (482)

Another alternative, in which fans of Jane Austen can find traces of her, is, of course, the area of literary tourism. Such traces can easily be explored and followed by visiting places that root back to the time when Jane Austen was still alive. Literary festivals, as mentioned above, do provide such opportunities for travelling, since the visit might involve a journey to the place and back home again. Literary tourism and especially Austenian tourism flourishes from people's longing for these traces of dead legends, and also from the marketing of Jane Austen as a celebrity. Practicing Austenian tourism might as well construct some kind of social bonding in the manner of Anderson's imagined communities. The fact that people taking part at such an event are mostly fans might create the feeling of some kind of belonging together. In a study about the tourist experience at Chawton, Herbert notes that 31.8 % of the visitors said that their first-ranked reason for the visit to the Jane Austen House was that they were fans of the writer. "Fans of Jane Austen", he explains, "have developed their interest through a captivation with her literature and follow this though with an interest in her life. [...] Those people classifying themselves as fans of Jane Austen, were strongly familiar with her work." (115) These findings correspond to Cawelty's statement about the characteristics of the literary celebrity outlined above.

Although Jane Austen has ever been a popular person, whom many fans have devoted their admiration, it can be argued that due to the impact of heritage tourism in the 1980ies (see Crang 112) in combination with the rise of celebrity culture, Jane Austen has experienced a revival in popularity. The hype around the novelist has especially appealed a mass audience to become fans, but also "professional appreciation" (Robinson 64) is still an issue in an elite readership, which can also be placed into the category of fandom.

#### 3.1.3 Intimacy

A third factor contributing to the high frequency of travellers searching for places connected to Jane Austen is intimacy. John Bailey makes a very ironical and paradoxical statement about closeness to the dead author by claiming that "the passage of time, though putting more distance between her era and the readers', has increased the intimacy of the author-reader relation. She has ceased to be 'Miss Austen' of our parents and become our own 'Jane Austen' or even 'Jane'" (see Bailey qtd. in Lynch *Cult* 112). The important shift in thinking here takes place in the generation of the late Victorian period, which came to be emotionally bound to the author by not simply esteeming but loving her. (see Lynch, *Cult* 112)

The hierarchy between the author as genius and the reader as receptionist of her brilliant writings had to be overcome. Now "an ascription of 'normality' positions Austen in the mundane world where her readers are – eliminating the distance between loved author and loving fan and facilitating her intimacy" (Lynch, *Genius*, 399). It is this kind of love that creates intimacy and that is searched in turn by today's society. By means of literary tourism readers get a better understanding of the novel writer, and "sharing others' experiences of place increases our affinity with them... [, which happens especially through] touching things touched by Jane Austen" (Lynch, *Cult* 116).

This creation of intimacy can even be acted out more intensively, namely by making things one's own. In tourism this kind of adoption takes place "[b]y means of visual consumption, [when] a tourist may make land, house, and landowner, her own" (Seidl 190). This act of visualisation – and simultaneous adoption – of places and objects in connection with the awareness that a person admired might also have a personal relationship to that place or object increases the level of intimacy; the literary tourist is affected emotionally. As already discussed in the chapter about *Experience and the Tourist Gaze*, the myth around the significance of places is connected to the tourist gaze. By visualising certain objects such as writing tools of the author in a surrounding that is associated to the author, the symbolic meanings of spaces and places come up. (see Robinson and Andersen, *Reading between Lines* 17-18) The place is no more merely a geographical area, but significance is ascribed to it by the act of the author's writing that took place – in Jane Austen's case – some

centuries ago, and therefore the place is the area in which intimacy can be created. Pucci mentions the phrase 'domestic intimacy' in connection with a kind of "return home" (134) that takes place in almost all Austen film productions. Similarly, tourists seek for such private and intimate places and therefore tourist agencies still refer to places such as the Austen house in Castle Square in Southampton, which is actually not there anymore. (see Crang 118)

Jane Austen herself is not among us anymore, too. Although she lived about 200 years ago, many people claim that she and her novels still have contemporary relevance. Thompson states that "Austen easily fits into contemporaneity [and] that she would be comfortable in the culture of *Clueless*" (14). This modern aspect of the author and her works also has an impact on areas that do not necessarily have anything to do with Jane Austen directly. So the *House Beautiful* magazine made a good use of the so to speak trendy Jane Austen in 1966 by promoting a duplex in Los Angeles with the catchy phrases "Jane Austen Could Have Slept Here [...;] No Doubt Jane Austen herself would feel at home" (qtd. in Thompson 14). Here the aspects of contemporary relevance, intimacy, and fandom meet, since the advertisement invokes a mental picture of the female author having a personal relation to the place described. Prospect buyers, among whom might be Jane Austen fans appreciating her more than other 'ordinary' people, might be delighted by the imagination that the author would have felt comfortable in this house.

It is not only the places connected to the writer herself, but also places connected to her novels that invoke Austenian tourism. Robinson says that "[a] writer's own experience of place(s) is an obvious foundation for the development of the text and can be reflective and reflexive of the relationship that he or she has with that place" (54). Again, place becomes a construction with a certain meaning, a personal significance to the author. Thus, it can be argued that also locations that are linked to fictional places (see Robinson 54) can create the feeling of the visitor's intimacy with the author as a person.

### 3.1.4 Contemporaneity

Jane Austen's writings are often related to the beginning of modernity, which means that she remains a historic person who has a certain connection to today's society. (see Thompson 15) As far as her readings are concerned, there is to be found a paradigm shift in the 1960s when feminist criticism was arising. This had an influence not only on the readings of Jane Austen, but on those of all women writers. (see Jones 2) Therefore, studying Jane Austen from a feminist point of view today, one can easily recognise problems, anxieties and desires of the female protagonists in the novels that can be compared to the feelings and problems women still face in our today's society.

Here, teachers have the challenging job to get students into the readings of historic writers and to help them immerse into the past and relate this to their own present culture. (see Pucci and Thompson 4) "Austen here is a sign through which desires as well as fantasies are channelled, about what we were, what we are, and what we want to be" (Pucci and Thompson 6).

This contemporary aspect of the writer and her novels triggered off a new wave in reproducing her novels in films. With help of a variety of different media, such as the internet, new adaptations could and still can easily be advertised. (see Pucci and Thompson) This contributed to an "exploding popularity [which is] an event [...] [or] a phenomenon that has crystallized at a particular moment in our own contemporary culture" (Pucci and Thompson 1). In addition to that, it is not only direct promotion that can be found on the internet, but also a great number of discussion groups use this medium as a means of communication to talk about anything that concerns the participants about *their* Jane Austen. (see Lynch, *Introduction* 3) Youtube provides an ideal platform for visualising commentary on the Austenian subcultures, and for spreading contemporary practices, e.g. in the various Austen societies. (see O'Farrell 484)

A number of contemporary Jane Austen critics have frequently referred to occasions where the impact of the female author is obvious in current productions. Simons states that "Austen's work has changed social and cultural habits, acquiring a fresh generation of readers who find in the Regency scenarios unexpected correspondences with their own lives" (Simons 471). In the 1990ies Amy Heckerling's *Clueless* represented a stereotypical teen

comedy, based on the plot of Austen's *Emma*. Also Helen Fielding's *The Diary* of Bridget Jones, which is modelled on Jane Austen's classic Pride and Prejudice, became extremely popular especially among female readers, and entailed an even more successful film production to be followed by a sequel. Jane Austen even found her way to Bollywood in Gurinder Chadha's Bride and Prejudice, and crossing the Atlantic once again, the contemporary novel The Jane Austen Book Club by Karen Joy Fowler is set in the USA and turned into a film production as well. Some of the latest productions are Becoming Jane, an allusion to biographical data of the novelist (see Simons 472-475), and the fourpart British series Lost in Austen (2008) by Guy Andrews, who has a contemporary London girl find herself in the world of Elizabeth Bennet, the protagonist in Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice. (see Wikipedia) As if this was not enough, Stephanie Barron even makes the person of Jane Austen appear in the guise of a detective in the book series Being a Jane Austen Mystery. (see Lynch, Introduction 4) Taking into account these examples of recent productions in connection to the woman writer, it is hardly surprising that young generations still find so much pleasure in consuming culture in connection to her, for the new book interpretations' "alien settings defamiliarize Austen and reinterpret the novels in ways that are at once more accurate and more consistent than many traditional versions" (Simons 475).

Thus, it is argued that Austen has ever been contextless (see Thompson 21), and as Crang accurately describes it, Jane Austen "is present [...]. She is used to produce what we might call senses of 'hereness' in stories of identity ranging from the nation to tourism" (124).

#### 3.1.5 Nostalgia and the Notion of Englishness

In opposition to the fact that Jane Austen fits in contemporary society as a reason for her popularity, nostalgia can be regarded as another factor contributing to her appeal. In this context, Nicholas Dames poses the question whether "we read Austen to recapture a vanished past we would like restored in detail, or [...] we read Austen to teach that idealized past" (414).

Maggie Lane illustrates that "'Jane Austen's World' [...] constitutes a non-specific past, before the railroad, before urbanization and industrialization, for

example, the green world before the fall" (qtd. in Thompson 21). Fact is, many people in our society today are longing for a past which they regard as being at least in some points better than our time today. By means of an intimate and domestic language, Jane Austen succeeds in presenting the idealisation of a gentle family life in a quiet and peaceful environment. (see Thompson 21). By immersing into Austen's books, the reader gets the opportunity to experience a precious moment in a historical world remote from his or her present life. (see Dames 424) David Lowenthal clearly explains that "[t]he past is integral to our sense of identity [...]. Ability to recall and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose, and value" (41).

Not only by reading books, but also in heritage tourism, and particularly in Austenian tourism, some kind of time-travel takes place: the sites the travellers visit "preserve an all but vanished Englishness or set of 'traditional values. [...] [R]eaders might go home again" (Lynch, Cult 116). Lynch's account here builds a reference to both the original meaning as well as the contemporary usage of the term nostalgia. When it was coined in 1688 by Johannes Hofer, the Greek words 'nostos' - homecoming - and 'algia' - pain - were combined to create the term nostalgia for describing the painful feeling of homesickness, which could even entail physical symptoms. This original meaning, which described nostalgia as an abnormal desire for the past until the end of the nineteenth century, then changed into a term with a rather positive connotation. Nostalgia as a longing for the past with a certain feeling of indulgence is what we still understand by reference to the word. (see Dames 417-418) It can be argued, that, on the one hand, people mourn to have lost a time in which everything was better and therefore try to make use of any opportunity to regain the past time; on the other hand, by reminiscing about that past people have the feeling of nostalgia, which can be described as a positive experience which nevertheless might include some melancholy emotions.

With this search – this re-search – for what was long time ago the concept of escapism takes place. Roger Ebert points out that "[i]n an impolite age, we escape to the movies to see good manners" (qtd in Thompson 22). Similar to that, tourists escape their daily routines, their stressful lives and their homes embedded in a traffic-load environment to experience an idealised past.

Especially in England it is the notion of 'Englishess' that plays an essential role in heritage tourism (see Thompson 23), but also the wider notion of 'Britishness' is embedded in Austen's novels and in her person as such (see Wald 44). Anthony Mandal names Austen a writer whose fiction comprises a "quintessential 'Englishness'" (423), which is one of the main contributing factors for maintaining the writers' popularity. English and British natives are typical patriots being proud of their origin and longing for the roots of their existence.

Closely linked to the roots of Englishness and the nostalgia invoked in people's minds is the heritage of English landscape. By practicing escapism people go to rural places to be able to relax. In Shelagh J. Squire's study about cultural meanings in heritage tourism, as described in the chapter about commercialisation, tourists' appreciation of Englishness at Hill Top Farm in Lake District was a central part of their experience. In terms of Englishness they referred to an "English atmosphere" (410), in which they perceived the "rural idyll" (411) as "peaceful" (411), and so they were enabled to escape everyday modern life.

Also Austen's novels serve the purpose of describing and consequently promoting this specific sort of English countryside and ancient wilderness. Austen's characters love to walk in the rural countryside, whose view represents typical English stereotypes such as the green landscape and is therefore a blessing for the stroller's eyes. (see Lamont 310-311) Crang, however, points out that "[the] question is not so much whether the landscapes of tourism accurately represent Austen or whether tourists develop an accurate understanding of her work, rather, it is a performative sense of bringing together and articulating a range of imagined connections" (125). In other words, Crang emphasises that the tourist's fantasy plays a crucial role, in the way he or she uses imagination to connect the landscape encountered with the life of Jane Austen. The tourists are the performers who strive for this sort of distinctive rural atmosphere by a nostalgic experience of regaining a time when nature was still untouched and everything was in order. The experience of nostalgia might even be strengthened by the fact that rural landscapes such as ancient woods are considered to be endangered, and therefore become precious heritage objects (see Evans and Spaul 209); thus, also feelings of loss are involved in the experience.

To return to Dames' question noted at the beginning of this chapter, it can be argued that both aspects apply to readings of Jane Austen. On the one hand, due to her books readers get an insight into the time of the writer, and therefore education takes place, which is in turn a precondition for the feeling of longing for that past. This leads, on the other hand, to the fact that those readers who are already familiar with that specific past, might want to read Jane Austen in order to have the experience of nostalgia. The same concept takes place in literary tourism, which, on the one hand, serves educative purposes, and on the other hand, provides the opportunity for a time travel, in which modernity can be escaped.

### 3.1.6 Following the Saint's Footsteps

Tourism promoting sites, places and objects with the name of Jane Austen can also be referred to as 'Austenian tourism'. Considering the reasons for the popularity of Jane Austen and heritage tourism, a connection between the two elements can be established and the hype around Austenian tourism as a consequence becomes obvious. The general principle for literary tourists' reasons to visit places connected to a certain author can also be applied to Austenian tourism:

They may [...] want to visit the writers' homes, in order to connect with the space where 'great' books came into being, to walk where the writers walked, to see what the writers saw. They may go on journeys to follow in the footsteps of the admired writers, perhaps to go where the latter went for inspiration. They may even follow the writers on their lives' journeys to the very end and 'worship' at their graves. (Robinson and Andersen, *Introduction* xiii)

It is the case that Austenian tourism has attained a very special level which can be compared to pilgrimage in Christendom. The relation to religion has already been outlined with reference to the topic of pilgrimage and fans being after some kind of 'relics' of their person fancied. (see Lynch, *Cult* 115) In terms of tourism this connection goes even beyond that level, as Lynch declares:

Holiday-makers embarking on Austenian tourism continue to invoke the cult of the saints whenever they describe themselves as 'pilgrims' and, striving to follow the saint's footsteps, create itineraries that take them from Austen's birthplace at Steventon, to Bath [...], to Chawton, and then, in their final stage of their journey, to Winchester to lay flowers on the grave. (*Cult* 116)

Here, Jane Austen experiences an upheaval to the level of someone sacred; she is praised as a saint. In fact, she is only a secular woman, who has never been canonised by an authorised person, but the people following her treat her above that. Lynch considers it to be "the saint's work of interceding between the living and the dead whom they mourn" (*Cult* 115). This can be interpreted in the way that Austen admirers might not be able to cope with the fact that the novelist is already among the dead. By making her their saint, she is in a way kept alive and stays among them.

The ways in which tours are offered do in fact resemble the nature of pilgrimage. The features of both kinds of journey are similar; several stations on the itinerary connected to the person worshipped or – in case of Jane Austen – with her readings have to be passed. (see Crang 117) As it is in Christendom, in which believers are already familiar with the bible or with stories of their saints before they set off for their pilgrimage, tourists on the footsteps of Jane Austen already have prior knowledge and certain expectations what to encounter. The tourists' prior knowledge is being authenticated when the sites are visited.

This act of authentication can also be encountered in the purchase of souvenirs. (see Crang 119) In Crang's opinion "[t]he value of souvenirs lies in the context of their consumption; they are encoded by the narrative of the possessor [...]. Indeed, the souvenirs act as metonymical markers of an extraordinary space and time in which normal patterns and practices needs not hold" (123). Crang's statement permits comparison to the value of relics that are desired to get hold of by the real fan. Since it is a rather difficult business to gain such an authentic relic, souvenirs may compensate the unreachable object. In addition to that, souvenirs allow the destination to be re-visited later, and remind the tourist of the author, the reading or the tourist site. (see Crang 123)

The phrase 'following the saint's footsteps' can be read in advertisements of a variety of tourist attractions in combination with Jane Austen. Hidden Britain

Tours, for instance, offers a 'Jane Austen Tour', and campaigns for the trip with the following words:

Follow in her footsteps,
And walk where she has walked,
Stand where she must have stood,
And tread where she has trod.
Touch what she must have touched
And see what she has seen,
And just imagine... (Hidden Britain Tours website, Brochure)

This paragraph clearly shows the way in which the agency works for promoting the tour by including most of the factors contributing to Jane Austen's popularity discussed. The elements of fandom and intimacy are approached by activating the feeling of closeness to the author and by making traces visible and palpable with help of the term 'footsteps', which has the purpose of an index. Moreover, the verbs 'follow', 'touch', 'see' and 'imagine' here involve almost all senses, and the use of the imperative addresses the audience directly and tells them what to do. This can also be referred to religion, where the believer has to obey certain guidelines and rules; here, it is the tourist who is guided and called on to go on his or her pilgrimage.

#### 3.1.7 The Dead Author

Apart from the idea of keeping the author alive with help of the image of a saint, Jane Austen may also attract tourists simply because of the fact that she has already died. Herbert argues that one reason for people to travel on literary traces may be a "dramatic event in the writer's life" (104). It can be argued that Jane Austen's death represents such a dramatic event, since many people feel that she "died at a far too young age of a painful illness that gradually sapped her strength" (Auerbach 267). Robinson and Andersen point out that due to their death authors become "heroes, icons, [and] focal points" (*Reading between Lines* 19), not only for their contemporary followers, but also for later generations. A keyword here is the term 'Black Spots', which was formed by Chris Rojek and labels "the commercial developments of grave sites and sites in which celebrities or large numbers of people have met with sudden and violent death" (136). Generally speaking, graveyards are "not constructed for the dead but for the living" (Döring 265).

By walking on the footsteps of the author the final destination is the landmark of her grave. In general, burial places of famous people have long been attracting tourists to come and gaze upon them. One famous example for grave tourism is the Poet's Corner in the Westminster Abbey in London. The place is a main attraction for tourists visiting the cathedral, since it holds a great number of famous English writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer, Ben Jonson and Charles Dickens, just to mention a few. (see Ousby, *Englishman's England* 23-32)

According to Döring, the reason why people are so fascinated by places connected to death is that they "are always prime sites of symbolization. Graves present what is missing: they display a person lost" (253). As already argued, it is often intimacy that is searched by literary tourists. This kind of intimacy can be felt by tourists due to imagination that the person they search for has something to do with the place visited. Imagination helps create a mental picture that there is still something left from the author that is lingering in the place. In the case of burial places, however, the grave, as a "cultural sign" (253) is in a way a metonymy for the dead author. Jane Austen's grave stands for her as a person and the tourist does not need his or her imagination anymore, but is able to encounter the author's metonymy of her person directly. (see Robinson and Andersen, *Reading between Lines* 20) Moreover, the corpse as a part of the grave is something that "cannot be replicated" (256).

In his line of arguments Döring mentions that the grave – with its connection to death – symbolises the destiny of all men. Since death as the opposite of life is something we all share, people have always been fascinated by graves. Moreover, by practicing tombstone travelling, human beings are reminded of what will happen at the end of their lives. So it is not only the journey they do for touristic purposes, but also their own life is a journey in itself. (see 251-256)

To conclude, due to Jane Austen's early death and the general significance of tombstone tourism, the author's grave as a possible final destination of touring through her life may well round off Austenian tourists' journeys.

### 3.2 Austenian Tourism - From its Starting Point to Today

In terms of Austenian tourism two questions arise that have to be answered: What triggered off Austenian tourism, and what keeps it so flourishing?

As far as the first question is concerned, a short and precise answer can be provided. The starting point for the popularity of Jane Austen as a person, and later on for the boom in heritage tourism connected to the novelist, can be found in 1870, when Jane's nephew J.E. (i.e. James Edward) Austen-Leigh published his book *Memoir of Jane Austen*. (see Lynch, *Cult* 112) It is the "first full-length biography and thus the first text to supply a sense of a private personality behind the published books" (Lynch, *Cult* 112). The insider's view of the family membership had a great impact on practices of Austenian appreciation, focussing on a homely environment and private insights.

In terms of the second question, the fascination of heritage celebrated its revival in the 1980s, which was also an impulse for heritage tourism, has already been outlined earlier in the thesis. (see Crang 112) Moreover, the influence of film adaptations on tourism has been addressed in the chapter The Heritage Film *Industry.* To illustrate this connection more explicitly, Christina Wald's argument on the film productions' impact on tourism serves a purpose. She explains that especially one of the most recent film productions on Jane Austen's work *Pride* and Prejudice by Wright, "and in particular its DVD version, whose bonus stately homes, internationally promote advertises the English/British cultural heritage" (47). What is remarkable in such heritage film productions is the notion of nostalgia. The film setting is placed in the English rural landscape, which reflects well on the huge and imposing manor houses; history is made visible. (see Sargeant 308) By watching the films and the places promoted, tourists soon discover new visitable destinations where they can sense this traditional feeling of Englishness. (see Wald 47)

The English Tourist Board honoured the 1995 BBC-mini-series of *Pride and Prejudice* with their *England for Excellence* award, since the visits to film locations increased enormously after the series' broadcast. (see Haslett 204) Statistics show that admissions to Sudbury and Lyme, which provided the scenery for Pemberley, increased by 59 and 42 per cent. (see Nationwide qtd. in Sargeant 308) Also the National Trust has derived enormous profit from the

film productions for their provision of places for filming. (see Sargeant 308) Another example for the connection between film productions and tourism is the film centre established in Bath in 1999. (see Higson 58)

To conclude this passage about the flourishing market in heritage tourism the following citation from Sargeant is absolutely appropriate:

To require film culture to distance itself from such heritage and tourist manifestations would be to require it to deny its own history within a broader cultural context. Cinema emerged from a number of cultural practices and institutions, many of which were received and sold as tourist attractions.

#### 3.3 Jane Austen Societies

Among all the Jane Austen fans many belong to several societies devoting their fondness to their beloved novelist. Lynch talks about the "clubbability" (*Cult* 115) provided by all kinds of contexts Jane Austen adheres to. Mary Ann O'Farrel notes that "the sociability that produces a community or a culture may seem to a reader welcoming, warming, stimulating, challenging, irritating, alienating" (480-481). What she is talking about here is the sociability that can be encountered in Austen's books, and it is this kind of sociability that can be transferred to our world today, e.g. in the form of literary societies. (see 481) Thus, a number of associations ranging from the Royal Society of Literature to Friends of the English Regency and to the Jane Austen Societies of the United Kingdom, North America (JASNA) and Australia (JASA) can be found. (see Lynch, *Cult* 115) In the manner of Benedict Anderson's imagined communities, Jane Austen admirers have the opportunities to find people who think and feel likewise in such societies; and this can be regarded as the main reason for joining such an association.

Furthermore, among the societies' missions there is not only communication with other people, but the members also feel responsible for supporting fields like education, preservation and publication. (see O'Farrel 481) With phrases such as "[t]o foster the appreciation and study of the life, work and times of Jane Austen", or "[t]o continue a programme of scholarly publications concerning Jane Austen" (Jane Austen Society UK), the Austen societies strive to establish the image of being scientific. However, by studying their programmes more

deeply one can soon notice the rather conventional atmosphere that goes along with the clubs. Consequently, although the societies claim to work on a scholarly level, they have often been criticised for their rather less sophisticated activities such as dancing parties in regency costumes. (see O'Farrel 481) Lynch quotes the example of the JASNA which once organised "an [...] Austen birthday tea in which guests will enjoy 'old world elegance' and 'raffle baskets'" (JASNA qtd. in Lynch, *Cult* 118). In contrast to that, she notes that real scholars are characterised by "dispassion and objectivity" (118). This kind of critique is, however, deplored by Emily Auerbach:

Society meetings do include events that might be deemed frivolous – quizzes, contests, skits – but after all Austen herself loved charades, riddles, and theatricals. Far more time is spent listening to talks from leading Austen scholars and biographers from around the world than in attending regency balls or purchasing Austen tea towels and medallions. Austen's ability to appeal simultaneously to a popular and academic audience demonstrates the clarity, universality, and profundity of her works. (283)

Hence, in Auerbach's opinion it is not a shame to be fond of cultural activities that are so often deemed to give pleasure to a mass society or that might be prone to issues of commodification, but she points out that it was the so highly esteemed author herself who admired such popular festivities.

Whether Jane Austen Societies fulfil the requirements to be called associations that work on a scholarly level or not is not the point in Austenian tourism. What is essential here is that travelling indeed takes place within the societies as well, and this kind of undertaking journeys can be regarded as a special form of Austenian tourism.

# 3.4 Promoting Tourism on the World Wide Web

It is widely accepted that advertisement in general, and in this thesis's case promotion of tourism, have beneficial effects on both parties involved, namely the people advertising a destination and the people looking for destinations to go to. By means of tourism promotion – which can take place via word-of-mouth recommendation, print media, radio and television broadcast, and the world wide web – the first group tries to address a certain audience which is ought to be attracted by the destination advertised, so that the tourist attraction becomes

part of a flourishing tourism market. Herbert remarks that "[m]anagers of heritage sites, including literary places, will aim to portray a particular set of images. At their disposal are the physical attributes of the sites and a range of interpretive techniques that can be used to convey messages." (105) The latter group, then, derives benefits from tourism promotion due to comparability of prices, availability of the locations and attractiveness of certain destinations. Dann even points out that "without [...] publicity, there would be little tourism at all" (1-2). What is important to note here is that an interaction between advertisement producers and readers takes place, i.e. the presenter of a tourist destination intends to convey certain impressions which in turn will be decoded by the consumer. (see Herbert 106) Here, decoding advertising messages does not only apply to written information but also visuals play a crucial role in tourism marketing. Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen have developed a theory of what kind of meanings visuals convey. According to them, there is a visual literacy, and so "the visual component of a text is an independently organized and structured message" (18) and, most importantly, "[v]isual communication is always coded" (32). To take an example from advertising, they claim that it may be the case that, e.g. "the verbal text is studiously 'nonsexist', while the visual text encodes overtly sexist stereotypes" (20). Consequently, by glancing at the advertisement, the reader will decode the message as sexist or will at least notice sexual allusions.

As already discussed in the chapters of *Experience and the Tourist Gaze* and *Literary Tourism*, tourism advertisement has the effect of creating feelings of desire and anticipation in the prospective tourist's mind. By reading and glancing at advertisements or by hearing of the tourist attraction, the traveller creates a mental picture of the place to be visited and therefore a wish for visiting the destination comes up. Moreover, tourism advertisements can be read as some kind of stories, which have a certain plot leading the tourist from one point to another, from one destination to the other. These stories are pursued when actually travelling to the places promoted, and so it can be concluded that the travellers already get ideas and hints for their individual stories of their journey by being confronted with tourism advertisement. So it can be concluded that tourism promotion, which takes place in advance of the

actual journey, builds the basis for a tourist's experience. (see Baudrillard 85, Robinson 45, and Urry 3)

As already noted there is a great number of ways in which tourism promotion can take place, but for this thesis the most recent type of media – the internet – is also the most relevant and interesting one to discuss. Today the internet is often the tourists' first medium to gather information for their travel and more and more people regularly make use of online services, which offer several advantages, e.g. the internet user's independence and the easy availability of information. (see Riganti 273) Fercher quotes that today 38 percent of all hotel reservations are made online and about the same percentage of people is at least influenced by the internet. Consequently, it is not only the consumer who takes an advantage of web promotion, but also a destination can benefit from a website that is well-structured and can easily be found on the internet. (see Wirtschaftsblatt website) With the effective use of the internet, problems like costly and often incompatible reservation systems (concerning the systems of different providers such as airlines and travel agents) are avoided. Furthermore, Liu points out that

[i]n addition to its traditional function, a web-based GDS [(Global Distribution Systems)] can increase the speed of information transmission, improve the quality of information delivery (from the old viewdata to the window-based computer screen), reduce the cost to the user as no special connections are necessary, and most important of all, has the potential to interact with all web users in the world. (see Hotel-Online website)

As it can be seen, the internet takes up the challenge of today's ephemerality and the importance of cost efficiency, and therefore, serves as the perfect medium for marketing purposes.

Of course also the branch of literary tourism makes use of the internet to provide information online and to promote places to visit. In the case of Austenian tourism, one can find plenty of websites where this form of travelling is advertised. In addition to the mere gathering of information, booking services for various tourism-related offers such as accommodation and transportation enable tourists to act autonomously. (see Riganti 273) According to the creation of desire when reading a tourism advertisement ahead of the actual visit, also Riganti speaks of a certain experience that takes place in advance. He points

out that "[n]ow not only is experience of the visit and the information gathered during the visit important, but also all the information and services that tourists can access before their journey begins" (273).

Moreover, today's frequent participation of people in web-based communities, which are often referred to as Web 2.0, has become an issue in tourism and tourism promotion as well. (see Page 12) The term Web 2.0 indicates "a shift from websites that rely on a traditional content (web-shops, news sites and so on) to sites that incorporate, or even consist only of, user-generated content" (see O'Reilly qtd. in Reinhold and Bhutiaia 28). One typical example for such user-generated content in tourism is the number of hotel descriptions written by former travellers, whose feedback is often taken as a decision maker whether or not to book a specific accommodation. According to Riganti, there is still a high "potential to combine both the demand and the supply sides and create cyberspace where the two can meet and negotiate their priorities" (275). This means that in future it is quite likely that suppliers will enhance the quality of their offers by directly collaborating with their customers, since the internet has the potential to enable such kind of working together.

The great number of online discussion groups interested in topics related to Jane Austen has already been mentioned in the chapter of Contemporaneity. (see Lynch, *Introduction* 3) On the home page of 'The Republic of Pemberley' Lynch refers to, the visitor can not only participate in the discussion group of this website, but he/she is furthermore called attention to the presence of the republic on the Web 2.0-based communities of Facebook and Twitter. (see Republic of Pemberley website) Following the link to Facebook, one can become a fan of the 'The Republic of Pemberley' and participate in the discussions on the wall. Among the number of statements there are of course also records in terms of Austenian tourism, such as the description of a current exhibition dealing with the life and legacy of Jane Austen in the Morgan and Library Museum in New York. The statement is dated 11 November 2009 and includes the following information: "This exhibition explores the life, work, and legacy of Jane Austen (1775–1817), regarded as one of the greatest English novelists." (Republic of Pemberley on Facebook website) What is essential and interesting here is that online tourism promotion does not only take place officially via tourism managers or private people participating in online communities created especially for the purpose of tourism, but also via word-tomouth in form of written discussions on general social communities that exist on the internet.

As it has been outlined in this chapter, promotion of certain tourist attractions is an indispensible tool to keep tourism flourishing. Within the past decades the World Wide Web has become more and more important for the branch of tourism promotion, and also advertisements for Austenian tourism are to a high degree present on the internet.

# 4 Practicing Tourism on the World Wide Web

The following sections provide an insight into the way websites can be read as multimodal texts, an outline of Jane Austen's biography, and eventually stations of her life that are today promoted as tourist destinations with the name of the writer.

### 4.1 Websites as Multimodal Texts

For analysing websites promoting tourism – in my case Austenian tourism with respect places connected to the author herself – I will, on the one hand, focus on the content they convey, and on the other hand, pay attention to the composition and the layout of the websites.

As far as the analysis of the content is concerned, the theory outlined above provides the background for my analysis; that means, I will especially concentrate on how the advertisements make use of the author's popularity – as treated in this thesis's chapter *Austenian Tourism – Theory –* for describing and promoting literary places connected to Jane Austen. Questions that may rise up here are, for instance, *is the feeling of intimacy created and, if yes, how is it achieved by describing the destination?* or *Can the metaphor of 'following the saint's footsteps' be applied here and, if so, in what way is it portrayed?*. Moreover, the issues of authenticity, commercialisation and experience are relevant for my analysis as well. Most important, however, is the question whether Austenian tourism can be read as a kind of story plot.

For the analysis of the website's design, some achievements in Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's book *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, which is concerned with the topic of visual communication, will serve as the theoretical basis for my analysis. In this book, the two authors emphasise the importance of visual images in communication and call the ability to communicate via pictures "visual literacy" (17). As far as visual communication is concerned, the most striking point they make is that signs are motivated, which means that signs do relate to what is meant to be communicated; and so the authors explain that "[t]his [...] is [their] position vis-à-vis 'European' semiology: where de Saussure had (been assumed to have) said that the relation of signifier and signified in the sign is arbitrary and conventional, [they]

would say that the relation is always motivated and conventional" (*Introduction* 12). Kress and van Leeuwen illustrate this theory by the example of a three-year-old boy's drawing of some circles, which are meant to show a car, as the boy states. He further points at the circles and refers to them as 'wheels' (see *Introduction* 7), so "[h]e constructs [...] two metaphors/signs: first, the signified 'wheel' is aptly represented by the signifier 'circle' to make the *motivated* sign 'wheel'; second, the signified 'car' is aptly represented by the signifier 'many wheels' to make the *motivated* sign 'car'" [emphasis added] (*Introduction* 8). This example clearly shows that he uses the picture for communicating, and in a similar manner pictures are intended as a means of communication in everyday life.

Thus, for my analysis, the importance of pictures for conveying meaning must not be disregarded. However, I will not lay my focus on analysing pictures themselves, but special attention will be paid to the composition – the multimodality – of the layout, which means that the whole page can be read as an integrated text according to the way in which for example pictures and text are arranged. Kress and van Leeuwen establish three interrelated systems which contribute to the composition of a page as an integrated text. First of all the 'information value' is concerned with the placement of elements; second, 'salience' means that certain elements attract more attention than others; and third, 'framing' is referred to devices that connect or disconnect specific elements on the page. (see 117)

The information value is in turn arranged into three categories, namely 'Given' and 'New', 'Ideal' and 'Real', and 'Centre' and 'Margin'. The category of Given and New refers to the information value of left and right. In Kress and van Leeuwen's theory everything that is placed on the left side of a composition page represents something that is "'already given', something the reader is assumed to know already, as part of the culture, or at least as part of the culture of [the page represented]" (180). Following that, elements found on the right are represented as New, which is "something [...] not yet known, or perhaps not agreed upon by the viewer, hence something to which the viewer must pay special attention" (181); it is "the information at issue" (181). In addition to that, an information that is introduced as New to the reader might become Given in the next stage on the page, and therefore turn into Given again. (see 185) What

is essential here is that the horizontal structure left to right that is equalised with Given to New is "culturally specific" (181), which means that in a culture in which the writing direction is from right to left the coding orientations switch as well. (see 181)



Fig. 2: English and Arabic language versions of Sony's website

This can be seen in the examples of the different versions of the Sony website for the region of Middle East & Africa displayed in figure 2. On top of the figure, the language on the website is English, and according to that, the Given-New structure is left to right. Below, an Arabic language is chosen, and thus the Given-New structure has switched from right to left.

The next category Kress and van Leeuwen introduce refers to the vertical structure of a page and is that of Ideal and Real. According to the authors, elements placed on the top of a page are the most salient ones and represent the Ideal, which makes "some kind of emotive appeal" (186) and displays "what might be" (187). In opposition to that, the Real is placed on the bottom and gives more detailed, practical and "'down-to-earth' information" (187). With reference to an advertisement on the Sony website (date is not indicated), Kress and van Leeuwen recognise the Ideal in the top section of the page as the "promise of the product" (186), and the Real in the lower section as the part in which the product itself is shown. (see 186)

Although in Western culture the typical information value of Centre and Margin is, in contrast to Asian cultures, relatively rare, a brief introduction into this kind of composition shall be given. In general, the elements presented in the Centre build the "nucleus of the information" (196), whereas the elements positioned around that nucleus build the Margin and are therefore dependent on the Centre. Kress and van Leeuwen note that the importance of the Centre-Margin information value in Western cultures lies in its occurrence in combination with Given-New and Ideal-Real in form of the structure of a triptych. Such kind of structure "can either be a simple and symmetrical Margin-Centre-Margin structure or a polarized structure in which the Centre acts as a Mediator between Given and New or between Ideal and Real" (199). In figure 3 the basic structures of information value are summarised.

The second of the three interrelated systems is 'salience', which identifies elements on the page that are subjectively perceived as more eye-catching than others. Among the factors contributing to salience there are 'size', 'sharpness of focus', 'contrast', 'colour', 'perspective' and 'cultural factors' such as culture-specific symbols. (see 202)

The third system introduced is 'framing', whose presence or absence is especially used in the composition of websites and can therefore stress group identity or individuality respectively. (see 203) In addition to framing, it is also the presence of vectors in pictures and on pages in general that contributes to feelings of connectedness. (see 204) A vector can be formed by a number of different elements such an arrow, a depicted element (e.g. a triangle), an actor (an active participant, e.g. a person pointing at something), or an eyeline (a participant looking at someone or something). (see 74) As already mentioned, a vector can connect certain elements, and moreover, a vector can also influence the reading-path, i.e. the order in which the viewer of a page looks at certain elements of that page, beginning "with the most salient element, and from there [moving] to the next most salient element, and so on" (204-205).

To summarise, apart from the content of websites promoting Austenian tourism, I will also bear in mind certain features of the composition of these websites, since the establishment of pages is, as shown in this chapter, cultural specific and therefore worth considering.

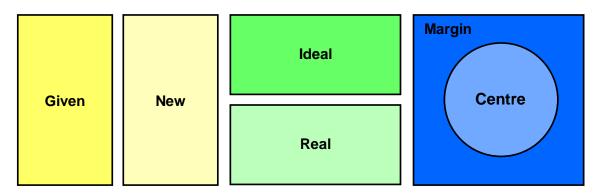


Fig. 3: Kress and van Leeuwen's 'information value'

# 4.2 Chronology of Jane Austen's Biography

		Age
1775	(16 Dec) Jane Austen born at Steventon in Hants, seventh child of the Rev. George Austen (1731-1805) and Cassandra Leigh (1739-1827)	
	[]	
1801	Austens settle in Bath	26
	[]	
1806	Austens leave Bath for Clifton with 'happy feelings of escape', and visit Adlestrop and Stoneleigh	31
1807	(Mar) Austens settle in at Castle Square, Southampton	32
1809	Austens move to Chawton, Hampshire (owned by Jane's brother Edward)	34
	[]	
1817	[] (28 July) Jane Austen dies at Winchester; buried in Winchester Cathedral	42

Table 1: Chronology (Chapman qtd. on JASA website)

### 4.3 Stations of Jane Austen's Life

As it can be seen from the extract of the chronology, Jane Austen travelled to many different places during her lifetime. For Austen adorers who want to follow her footsteps these places might seem fascinating and worth visiting.

Below seven important stations of her lifetime will be examined more closely in terms of tourism and touristic offers on internet sites. The following questions will be treated: Are these stations of Jane Austen's life promoted as tourist destinations? What do the places offer and promise? How are they related to the novelist and advertised with her name?



Fig. 4: Map of England

Figure 4 shows a map of the southern part of England indicating the destinations that will be treated in the following chapters. Indicator A shows Steventon in Hampshire, B is Bath, C indicates Lyme Regis, D marks Clifton, which is today an inner suburb of Bristol, E is Southampton, F is Chawton, and finally G labels Winchester.

# 4.4 Steventon in Hampshire

Jane Austen was born on 16 December 1775 in Steventon, where her father had been made rector in 1761. (see Grosvenor Myer 10, 13) This place was home to Jane Austen for the first 25 years of her life, which was a very happy time for her. Moreover, the beginnings of her writings can be found in Steventon, where she wrote her first draft of *Pride and Prejudice* (initially to be called *First Impressions*), *Sense and Sensibility* (*Elinor and Marianne*), and *Northanger Abbey*. (see Austen-Leigh Emma 1)

When we have a first glance at the Jane Austen homepage of Hantsweb displayed in figure 5, the elements perceived as most salient are the pictures on the right-hand side and the painting showing Jane Austen on the left-hand side of the page. Especially the dark red field in the right column catches the viewer's eye, and indicates what the website is all about, namely "Jane Austen's Hampshire".

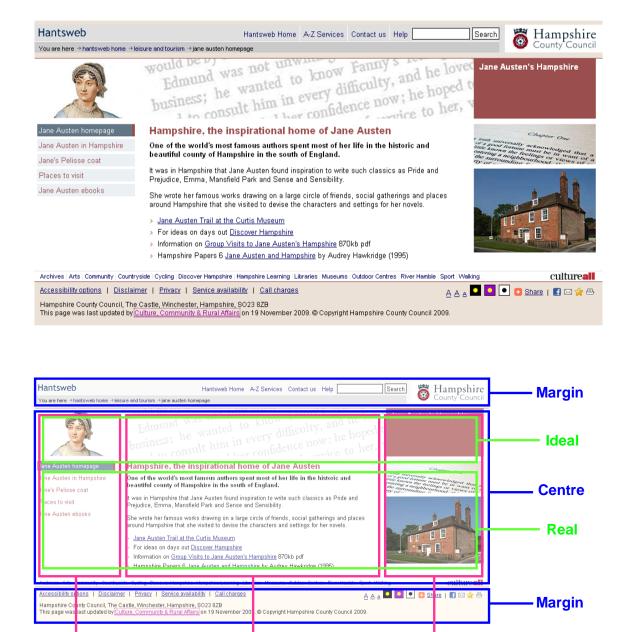


Fig. 5: Hantsweb

New

Moreover, framing devices are used to divide the page into several units, which consist of long horizontal fields on the top and bottom of the page, and as far as the central part is concerned of three units organised vertically from left to right as well as two units on the horizontal axis.

Centre

Given

In terms of information value on the vertical axis the elements form a Margin-Centre-Margin triptych with the most important information in the Centre and the subservient information above and below that nucleus. The Margin on the top of the triptych includes general information such as the internet site's name as well

as links for navigation to other pages of the website. In a similar manner, the Margin on the bottom provides further navigation links as well as publishing information. The elements placed in the Centre are those of most interest for the viewer, since they provide the essential information of the page.

Taking a closer look at that Centre, one can see that it is in turn divided into several components. On the horizontal axis again the structure of a triptych occurs including a Mediator – a Centre – which combines Given and New. The Given information on the left side consists of a painting that shows Jane Austen as well as links to further pages on the matter of the writer. Hence, the fact that the visitor of the website has entered the site that is concerned with Jane Austen indicates that the visitor is already familiar with the author or does at least know that the website is devoted to her. Therefore, the picture on the left side is treated as Given, as something that is already known. Moreover, the links 'Jane Austen homepage', 'Jane Austen in Hampshire', 'Jane's Pellise coat', 'Places to visit' and 'Jane Austen ebooks' are treated as Given, too, since they are all about the same subject, namely Jane Austen.

Turning to the Mediator – the Centre – of the horizontal triptych one can see that this builds indeed the basis of the website. The most salient information provided is the headline which is coloured in dark red and which promotes "Hampshire [as the] inspirational home of Jane Austen" (Hantsweb). Here, the feeling of intimacy is created, since the reader is promised to get the opportunity of entering the private world – the home – of Jane Austen. It is not only Steventon, but the whole region of Hampshire that might profit from that advertisement in the name of the famous author.

Also the following sentence catches the reader's attention since it is printed in bold. The words "[o]ne of the world's most famous authors spent most of her life in the historic and beautiful county of Hampshire in the south of England" (Hantsweb) create several effects. First of all, the author is given some kind of celebrity status by relating to her worldwide fame. Second, the relation to the region of Hampshire as "historic and beautiful" might create feelings of nostalgia, on the one hand, and indirectly refers to Englishness that can be encountered there, on the other hand. These characteristics of the place can be referred to general qualities of a literary tourist destination (see 104), since it

might also attract people interested generally in the English history and English landscape. The reader and hence the prospective tourist might create desire to see and experience this beautiful landscape. Also the next passages, which give details on Jane Austen's writing activities and social activities she used to do in Hampshire, can conjure up feelings of intimacy.

As already noted, the Centre on this website is the link between Given and New. The New in this horizontal triptych consists of three elements placed in a vertical line on the right. The first element is a dark red rectangle with the words "Jane Austen's Hampshire" printed in white in it. The second element is a close-up of a page of one of Jane Austen's book, which gives reference to the works that were produced in Hampshire in general; and the third image show a brick house. With reference to Kress and van Leeuwen's theory of information value the pictures described are treated as New. Thus, on the left we find the Given, i.e. Jane Austen, and on the right we find the New, i.e. what can be encountered in Hampshire.

As far as the information value of Ideal and Real is concerned, the Ideal consists of the picture of Jane Austen, a white rectangle with grey words running obliquely from the left bottom to the right top, and the above described dark red rectangle. These elements represent what the promotion of the website *promises*, namely to encounter historical facts connected to Jane Austen when travelling there. According to that, the Real is formed by the written information in the Given and Centre described above, as well as the pictures of the passage of the novel and the brick house. The Real, therefore, provides more detailed information and more explicitly describes the *offers* themselves. (see Hantsweb)

In terms of the website's design it can be generally remarked that due to the framing devices and the use of merely a few contrasting colours the structure of the whole page is rather clear and the reader can easily orient oneself. The words depicted in the white rectangle can be interpreted to function as a mediator between the Given and the New, and so one of the main focal points are the visuals on the right hand side of the page. It can be argued that by reason of the placement of the pictures in the New there is a focus on visualisation on this website; however, due to the position of the verbal text in

the middle of the page, the written information can be treated as the most important part of the website, which means that the reader is supposed to address oneself to the text. Consequently, the use of visuals and text here is rather balanced and visitors are likely to pay attention to both.

Following the links on the left side of the page, one is referred to other pages of the website. Since the structural organisation of these pages is basically the same as on the homepage described above, I will merely concentrate on the content, i.e. the detailed information in the central parts of the pages.

In the headline of the Hantsweb page of Steventon the town is again advertised as "Jane Austen's home" (Hantsweb, Steventon). The first sentence of the text describes the place in a delightful manner saying that "[the] village of Steventon lies nestled in a quiet spot between two main routes from Basingstoke [...]. Like Elizabeth Bennett in Pride and Prejudice, Jane was a keen walker and often walked to Popham Lane, where the family collected their letters at what is now known as the Wheatsheaf Inn" (Hantsweb, Steventon). Here, the references to the novel and to Jane Austen herself connect the audience's knowledge of their readings with what they can expect when they visit the town. The phrase "quiet spot" invokes the feeling of and longing for an idealised past; the travellers are promised to be able to escape their hectic everyday lives. Moreover, the reference to her frequent walks invokes the feeling that Jane Austen has left something for later generations; tourists might somehow be able to experience an intimate feeling of accompanying her in her strolls. With the actual visit and the experience of the place the "act of authentication" (Crang 119) takes place, the desired experience becomes reality.

Further in the text the Austen family's occupation and its outer surroundings are described in detail. Phrases like "[o]utside there were fields where Mr Austen farmed and his wife grew potatoes [...], formal gardens with a turf walk, sundial, strawberry beds, and a grassy bank", and references to "a double hedgerow with mixed shrub and wild flowers" and "chestnut, fir and elm trees" (Hantsweb, Steventon) again invoke feelings and imaginations of an idyllic rural past. The intimate and domestic language Thompson describes in terms of Jane Austen's writings (21) can also be found in the description of the place on the website; the Austens' family life is depicted as being perfect harmony. Hence the tourists

are indirectly promised that they can undertake a time-travel to a peaceful past, in which they can experience that relaxed atmosphere themselves. The evocation of nostalgic feelings with a melancholy character might even be intensified by learning of the dramatic end of the elm trees, which were blown down by great winds in 1800. (Hantsweb, Steventon) Here, the tourists are reminded of the untamed natural past, which, however, has vanished to a certain degree and the sensation of nostalgia is likely to come up in the tourist. Moreover, the author herself is named several times, and strikingly, in all cases it is only her forename that is mentioned, which decreases the level of distance and creates an intimate language. The fact that on the website of her first home Jane is encountered in a very personal and private environment justifies the mere reference to her first name and may be received positively by the readership, who might – to a large decree – even call themselves fans or even Janeites, and therefore claim their rights for calling her simply Jane.

With reference to Jane Austen's home in Steventon, Emma Austen-Leigh laments the fact that the rectory was pulled down in 1828, and that nothing has remained from the once so wonderful home of Jane Austen. (see Emma Austen-Leigh 1) Today's absence of the house is also mentioned on Hantsweb, nevertheless the place is promoted to be worth visiting, since tourists can still see the "railings around an iron pump in a field which replaced the wooden pump which served the Austens' house" (Hantsweb, Steventon). This clearly shows that the strategy of tourism – in this case Austenian tourism – is to exploit any hints leading to the traces of the author in order to appeal tourists. (see Hantsweb, Steventon)

Another place to visit in Steventon is St. Nicholas Church, which is described as a 12<sup>th</sup> century building that can still be found in its original shape. The church played an essential role for Jane Austen, since the rectorship was in her father's hand. His successors were Jane's brothers James Austen and later on Henry Thomas Austen, who was in turn followed by his nephew William Knight. Therefore, tourists might not only be interested in the bronze plaque dedicated to the author, but also in the exhibits related to her brothers, such as a memorial tablet reminding of James Austen and original letters of both rectors. What might amuse visitors is the novelist's "mischievous completion of the specimen marriage entry in the front of the register for 1755-1812" (Hantsweb, Steventon

Church), on which she left her signature. Jane Austen's handwriting is a typical example for a personal legacy that is so often wished to be seen or gazed at by fans. The signature can be regarded as having some kind of symbolic meaning, as being a metonymy of the writer herself; and moreover, as Robinson and Andersen would argue, by visualising this personal signature significance is ascribed to the act of Jane's signing and so intimacy can be created. (see Reading between Lines 17-18)

In addition to the places that can be visited in the town of Steventon, the website also promotes houses Jane Austen visited during her lifetime, among them 'The Vyne', which is now a property of the National Trust (see Hantsweb, The Vyne), and 'lbthorpe' (see Hantsweb, lbthorpe). The role the National Trust plays here is an essential one for tourism promotion; because of the fact that the buildings referred to here are in the hands of the National Trust, tourists that are not necessarily interested in the life of Jane Austen but who rather get pleasure from gazing at general heritage objects might be appealed as well. What is notable not only here but on all pages of Hantsweb is that the Austenian tourist destinations promoted are embedded in stories and biographical data of Jane Austen herself. On the page of 'The Vyne', for instance, Jane Austen is said to have "attended many dances" (see Hantsweb. The Vyne), and by referring to her visits to 'lbthorpe', the background and reasons for the visit are outlined. It can be concluded that the general tool of telling stories in tourism promotion (see Robinson 45) is effectively implemented on these websites. Furthermore, in the chapter of Nostalgia it has been argued that reading works of Jane Austen, and consequently Austenian tourism, serves - among other things - educative purposes (see Dames 414), and the same phenomenon can be observed in the advertisements on Hantsweb. By reading about the places that can be visited, the prospective tourist even learns about historical facts in advance, so that education even takes place before the traveller goes to the destinations. The information on the website might arouse curiosity and the wish to see and learn more about Jane Austen; this can be related to Baudrillard's "strategies of desire" (85); a desire to visit the places is created in a perfect manner.

#### 4.5 Bath

In 1800 Jane Austen's father gave up his responsibilities as a rector in Steventon in order to move to Bath. (see Emma Austen-Leigh 13) Therefore, Bath became Jane Austen's home in May 1801. (see Grosvenor Myer 98)

### 4.5.1 Website of VisitBath

Taking a look at the official tourism website for Bath in England shown in figures 6 and 7, one can recognise the different units in terms of information value. On the vertical axis the whole website is organised into a Margin-Centre-Margin triptych beginning with an inconspicuous marginal unit on the top, which comprises general information of the website and two links, each leading to forms to request further information. The Centre typically contains the essential and detailed information about Jane Austen's Bath; and the bottom Margin provides publishing information.

The Centre of this vertical triptych can in turn be divided into several elements. The most salient element here is the longshot of a landscape that can be regarded as being typically English, and amid that beautiful scenery there are two historical buildings, namely a stonebridge in the right foreground and a historical mansion in the background. In the left part of the photo the words "Bath", the URL of VisitBath's homepage and the phrase "Discover Jane Austen's Bath" (Bath website, Jane Austen) are printed in white. The photo described here is the Ideal to the information provided below it, the Real; thus the longshot is what the advertisement promises, what the tourist can expect to encounter, whereas the text below gives more detailed and down-to-earth information, i.e. what can actually be done in Jane Austen's Bath. The longshot used here as a promotional tool creates a very important effect: due to its placement as the Ideal to the text and its salience the visual is, though it is rather small in comparison to the size of the whole page, much more powerful than the verbal text, and immediately makes an impression on the page viewer.

The Real outlined here again consists of three elements, which form a Given-Centre-New structure. The Given on the left is compiled of several blue rectangles containing the links 'visitbath.co.uk Home', 'Jane Austen's Bath', which is currently activated, 'Audio Tour', 'Accommodation', 'Things to Do', 'Festival and Events', 'Taking Refreshment' and 'Days out', which all lead to

further pages of the whole website. The links can be interpreted as Given, since they comprise information which a reader might expect to get when visiting a website promoting a tourist destination.



Fig. 6 Bath website

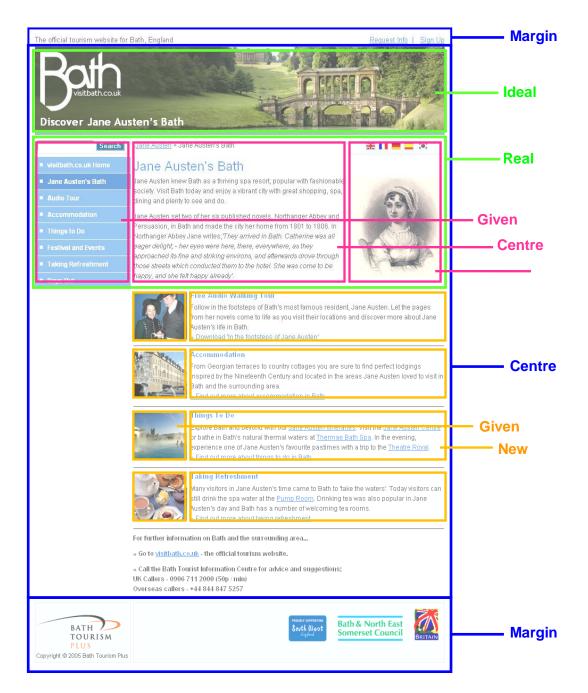


Fig. 7: Bath website, informalion value

The Mediator – the Centre – then comprises detailed information and tells us about how Jane Austen is related to Bath; the tourist website indeed offers its town with strong reference to Jane Austen. The headline is accentuated in blue and again refers to 'Jane Austen's Bath', and in the text below it is stated that "[she] knew Bath as a thriving spa resort, popular with fashionable society. Visit Bath today and enjoy a vibrant city with great shopping, spa, dining and plenty to see and do" (Bath website, Jane Austen). In contrast to this, Selwyn shows that "[b]y the time the Austens came to Bath, it had lost something of the

aristocratic feel it had had in earlier days" (35). At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Bath became a thriving tourist destination being full of visitors in the winter season, whereas it was rather deserted in the summer months. Jane found it difficult to accept Bath as her new home and tried to get the negative feelings off her chest by writing to Cassandra. (see William and Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh 117) Soon after her arrival she wrote a letter to her sister: "The first view of Bath in fine weather does not answer my expectations; I think I see more distinctly thro' Rain. – The Sun was got behind everything, and the appearance of the place from the top of Kingsdown, was all vapour, shadow, smoke & confusion." (Austen 82)

In addition to that, the tourist destination is promoted with the fact that Jane Austen set the novels *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in this city. (Bath website) On the website a passage of *Northanger Abbey* is cited describing the city positively: "They arrived in Bath. Catherine was all eager delight; - her eyes were here, there, everywhere, as they approached its fine and striking environs, and afterwards drove through those streets which conducted them to the hotel. She was come to be happy, and she felt happy already." (Bath website) This citation again proves the inclusion of exclusively positive features for marketing strategies in tourism. It is the case that *Northanger Abbey* had been written before the Austens settled in Bath, when Jane Austen was still enthusiastic about the city knowing it from the perspective of a visitor. Contrary to that, she disapproves Bath in *Persuasion*, written after she had lived there. (see Selwyn 43) Thus, the claim that Jane Austen had a positive attitude towards the town of Bath is only partly true.

The last part of the horizontal triptych is a painting showing Jane Austen, which here is interestingly treated as New in comparison to Hantsweb, where the same picture is placed into the area of the Given. The placement of the image on the right side here can be interpreted in the way that the reader is ought to pay special attention to Jane Austen in Bath, that he or she as a prospective tourist can actually find traces of the author in the spa resort. On the painting, Jane Austen's view points towards the Centre, and this gaze direction acts as a vector. Hence the reading path is likely to go from the salient image on the right to the detailed information to its left.

Further on the webpage there are several sections all divided by horizontal lines which act as framing devices. Each section consists of a photo, the Given, and a text right to the image, the New. Here it is the text that is treated as New, since it holds information the reader should pay more attention to. The effect that is created here is that the picture leads the viewer to the text, i.e. the salient element is likely to be gazed at first, but due to the position of the verbal text right to the picture, the information given in the written text is treated as important. If the picture was placed right to the verbal element, the new arrangement of the elements would consequently also create a new effect. In such a case it would be the text that leads to the visual image, and therefore the image could be regarded as being the object of special interest. What is furthermore important is that all sections, which are headed 'Free Audio Walking Tour', 'Accommodation', 'Things to Do' and 'Taking Refreshments', provide links leading to the same pages as the equally labelled links in the blue rectangles mentioned above. Therefore, the tourist has more than one possibility to be forwarded to further webpages, namely by choosing either the links in the blue rectangles or the links after some written information has been provided. (see Bath website, Jane Austen)

The 'Free Audio Walking Tour' promises to "[f]ollow the footsteps of Bath's most famous resident" (Bath website, Jane Austen), which shows reference to the traces of the 'saint', and the words "Bath's most famous resident" used here give Jane Austen a certain celebrity status. Also her books seem to play an important role in the 'Audio Walking Tour', as the visitor is called on to "[I]et the pages from her novels come to life as you visit their locations" (Bath website, Jane Austen). Following the link, one is referred to a page that shows the same structure as the page described above. Here the tourist is provided with more information on the audio tour, which can be even downloaded for free. The reader also learns that the audio tour includes passages from Jane Austen's novels as well as her letters, "which brilliantly describe Bath as it would have been in it's Georgian heyday" (Bath website, Audio Tour). With these words especially those tourists are attracted that are searching for an idealised past, which is, in Pucci and Thompson's words "made again, re-made as in a repetition" (2). The potential visitors are promised to be transported into another time, into the time of their admired writer, and indirectly anticipation that they might – so to say – encounter the writer there is created, because it is Jane Austen herself who tells the visitors about Bath's history.

On the page dealing with accommodation even Bath's Georgian hotels and their surroundings are related to Jane Austen's presence in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when she for instance used to "promenade in front of the Crescent [Hotel]" (Bath website, Accommodation). In the Tasburgh House Hotel tourists can find a room named after the writer, and with reference to her love for the rural the Beeches Farmhouse, which is situated outside Bath, even Bath's surrounding places are promoted on the website. (see Bath website, Accommodation)

The fact that Bath's tourism management tries to draw on Jane Austen's residence in the town in as many ways as possible can be seen when one follows the link 'Things to Do'. First of all, the website suggests several itineraries to discover Jane Austen's Bath on foot, among them the 'Audio Walking Tour' is again promoted. (see Bath website, Things to Do) Another highlight the city presents is the 'Jane Austen Centre', which "offers a snapshot of life during Regency times and explores how living in this magnificent city affected Jane Austen's life and writing" (Bath website, Austen Centre). Here the visitors are promised to experience the environment of the novelist in many different ways, including offerings such as costume expositions, gift shops and different events, such as 'Jane Austen's Regency Christmas' and the 'Jane Austen Festival'. (see Bath website, Austen Centre) The annual Jane Austen Festival takes place every autumn and attracts people with "Europe's largest Regency costume Promenade" and events like "[s]mall soirees, theatre, concerts, walking tours, food, talks and [...] dancing plus the opportunity to dress throughout the week [...] in 18th century costume" (see Bath website, The Jane Austen Festival). The seasonal accordance with the events leaves no doubt that the town is worth visiting round the year, which brings up issues of commercialisation. Since tourist managers try to make profit with help of as many tourist offers as possible, they have to invent attractions in order to get money from as many sources as possible. The existence of giftshops and numerous exhibitions and festivals in Bath throughout the year are the best examples of influences of commercialisation. In addition to that, some attractions offered are said to show historical facts, e.g. the way in which Jane Austen celebrated Christmas. Such an exhibition is likely to hold instances of commoditisation, which most tourists might not recognise, and some of them might even experience their visit being quite authentic. Others may recognise such commercialised offers but still enjoy that kind of staged authenticity that can be encountered there, e.g. when taking photos of people in historic costumes.

Furthermore, offerings such as the 'Thermae Bath Spa', 'shopping and evening entertainments', the 'local theatre' as well as a number of other attractions are all mentioned in relation to either the Georgian era or Jane Austen herself. (see Bath website, Things to Do) It is obvious that here tourism promotion tries to reach, on the one hand, an audience that is especially interested in Jane Austen in particular, and on the other hand, people interested in cultural heritage in general, and therefore the whole city is presented with reference to past times. Following Herbert's qualities of a literary place, Bath, therefore, appeals to both literary tourists and other tourists. Readers might create the desire of making a time-travel to this kind of past when taking a look at the website.

It seems to be Bath's tourist agents' mastery to advertise the city in every respect with the name of the novel writer, when even 'Taking Refreshment' is related to her. They declare that "[d]rinking tea was also popular in Jane Austen's day and Bath has a number of welcoming tea rooms." (Bath website, Jane Austen) This statement becomes very ironical by considering the fact that drinking tea has been a typical feature of the English culture for many centuries, having no extraordinary connection to Jane Austen. Bath's tourism managers brilliantly dwell on habits of taking refreshments at Austen's time by referring to the practice of taking the waters, which is the drinking of spa water at the 'Pump Room'. This idea is supported with an extract of *Northanger Abbey*, in which Jane Austen describes a typical event at the Pump Room. (see Bath website, Taking Refreshment) Here the notion of Englishness is apparently a feature that is used to address travellers who want to experience such an authentic English atmosphere.

The link 'Days Out' leads to a page on which further destinations related to Jane Austen are briefly described, among them Steventon in Hampshire, Southampton, Lyme Regis, Chawton and Winchester. (see Bath website, Days

Out) Here, the single tourist destination of Bath is combined with other places to visit, and altogether they build a whole sequence of locations, which are analogous to Jane Austen's biography. Thus, the tourist is given the opportunity to become a pilgrim when wandering from one place to another to follow Jane Austen's footsteps. Bath is only one sequence of a whole story, of the plot of Jane Austen's life, which can, so to say, be revived by the tourist.

To sum up, with the background knowledge that Bath was considered an exile by Jane Austen (see Grosvenor Myer 89), the absolute positive formulations for describing tourist attractions in the city are even more striking and strengthen the position of tourism trying to capitalise on visitors.

### 4.5.2 Website of the Jane Austen Centre

The website of the Jane Austen Centre displayed in figures 8 and 9 shows an information value of Centre and Margin. The Centre with the white background contrasts strongly with the Margin, whose background is shaded in different tones of blue.

The Margin comprises a rectangle on the right as well as an L-shaped frame that spans the left and top part of the page. Due to its blue colour the marginal frame is the most salient element on the page, and it basically includes links that lead to other pages of the whole website, for instance 'Giftshops', 'Regency Tea Rooms', 'Jane Austen Festival', 'Regency Christmas', 'Jane Austen Forum', 'Book Shop' and 'Regency World'. In addition to the links the name of the website, the phrases "The Jane Austen Centre" and "Celebrating Bath's most famous resident" (Jane Austen Centre website) can be read in the top left corner. Equally to the website of VisitBath the phrase "most famous resident" gives Jane Austen some kind of celebrity status. On the top right corner the visitor can switch to the languages French, Spanish, German and Japan, which indicates that Austenian tourism promotion here operates on an international level, and that Jane Austen apparently appeals to people worldwide.

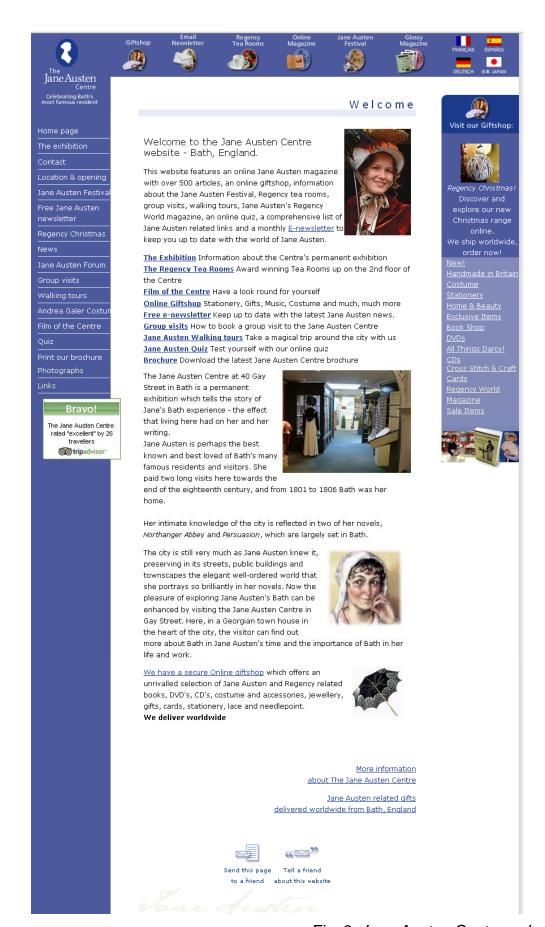


Fig. 8: Jane Austen Centre website

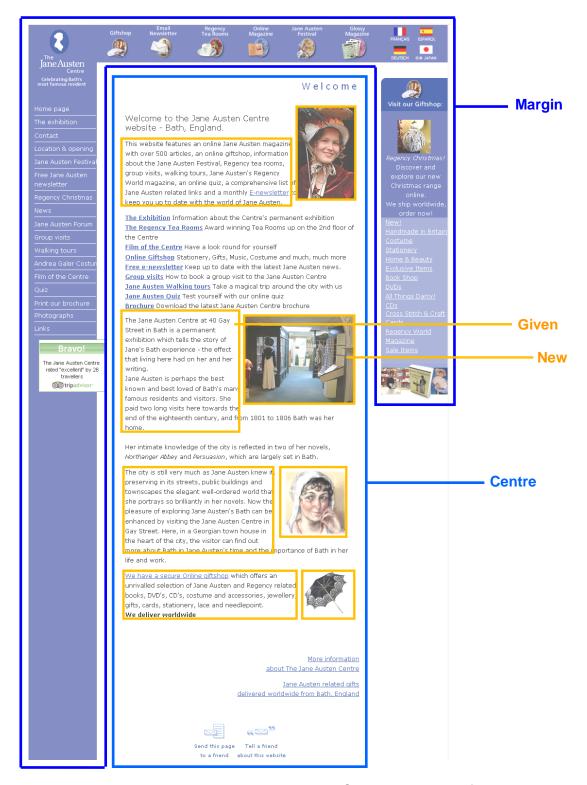


Fig. 9: Jane Austen Centre website, information value

Another salient element within the Margin is a box containing a note, which says that the Jane Austen Centre was "rated 'excellent' by 26 travellers on tripadvisor" (Jane Austen Centre website), and a link leading to these ratings is provided. On the website of TripAdvisor personal entries of visitors to the Jane

Austen Centre can be read, among them positive statements like "[a] lovely glimpse into Jane Austen's world" (19 November 2009) and "[a] scholarly and fun visit" (20 October 2009), but also negative statements such as "[a]wful" (12 November 2009) and "[t]he only time in my life I felt I'd been completely ripped off" (17 October 2009). (website of TripAdvisor) This shows that the recent popularity of web-based communities' discussions on tourism (see Page 12) is also an issue in Austenian tourism. The Jane Austen Centre can, on the one hand, benefit from visitors' positive statements; but on the other hand, managers have to cope with negative feedback on such independent platforms, which might prevent people from visiting the centre. Nevertheless, such negatively formulated statements can be seen as an incentive to improve a tourist destination's offers. Of course, the interaction between the two different website operators here is an important issue in the promotion of tourism, since the convenient tourism web-promotion meets Web 2.0. Although further analysis of this kind of collaboration and especially of the blog entries in the internet community are important and of peculiar interest, this is not part of my thesis, and therefore, I will not go into further details here.

The blue Margin of the page gives the impression of enframing the white Centre, and the elements in the Margin subserviently lead to what comes up in the Centre, where the core information is shown.

In the central part of the website general information of the Jane Austen Centre is given. The first paragraph of the text tells about what can be found on the website, and it is the Given to a portrait photo of a young woman in a Regency costume, the New. Thus, the visitor is likely to pay more attention to the picture, which is a salient element, than to the text itself. The next paragraph enumerates links to other pages of the whole website and gives a short introduction to what can be found on the specific pages. Interestingly, all the links can also be found in the Margin described above, which leaves room for interpretation that these links are considered the most important ones by the website's editors. Altogether there are three more text passages that show a Given-New structure with a verbal text as the Given and a picture as the New. Again, the salient elements are the images, which are treated as New, and therefore the reader is supposed to pay special attention to them. The Given-New structure that can be found here is exactly the opposite of what has been

described concerning the image-text-relation of Given and New on the Bath website, and therefore, a different effect is created as well. Although the verbal text of the Jane Austen Centre in the Centre of the page outweighs the visual images in quantity, the focus is clearly on the visuals. Thus, by paying special attention to the images, the website visitor ought to decode especially the visual messages, and therefore, the visuals may also be intended to convey the most important impressions.

In paragraph three it is outlined in which way Jane Austen is related to the city, and it is stated that the "exhibition [...] tells the story of Jane's Bath experience—the effect that living here had on her and her writing" (Jane Austen Centre website). The statement that Bath had a special effect on Jane Austen, which is even mirrored in her writings, brings up issues of place-myth, which is – according to Shields – constructed via past images and stereotypes. (see 60-61) Hence, it is not only Bath that had an effect on Jane Austen, but also the writer shaped the tourist destination in terms of its image and stereotypes. Tourists might wish to travel to Bath, because they want to experience that certain kind of place-myth by gazing at the objects to be found in the place (see Urry 3), and the desire for this experience is already shaped when reading the advertisement.

Later it is promised that "[t]he city is very much as Jane Austen knew it, preserving in its streets, public buildings and townscapes the elegant well-ordered world that she portrays so brilliantly in her novels" (Jane Austen Centre website), which guarantees a time-travel that can be made to the quintessential English city. A visit to the Jane Austen Centre is regarded as a highlight, which is outlined by the words "the pleasure of exploring Jane Austen's Bath can be enhanced by visiting the Jane Austen Centre in Gay Street" (Jane Austen Centre website).

At the bottom of the website another of altogether three links to the Centre's giftshop is provided, which indicates the importance of that link. Customers are given several possibilities to get to the online giftshop, which may increase numbers of visits to the giftshop page as well as numbers of purchases. Moreover, the phrase "[w]e deliver worldwide" (Jane Austen Centre website)

addresses an audience that goes beyond the borders of the United Kingdom, and is in turn an indicator for the novelist's popularity around the globe.

Entering the online giftshop one is overwhelmed by the huge number of items offered there. The collection ranges from books, CDs and DVDs to stationery, jewellery and costumes, as well as craft items and articles devoted to Mr Darcy - just to mention a few examples. To make search easier, links leading to the items are categorised under the headings 'Shop by Department', 'Shop by Price', 'Shop by Gift' and 'Main Pages'. (see Jane Austen Centre website, Giftshop) The seemingly infinite number of articles offered by the shop can be regarded as a proof of the equally great number of Jane Austen admirers, who are in comparison to other people more likely to become customers of the giftshop. In addition, special seasonal offers, e.g. Christmas gifts, and ever renewed items like the 'Regency World Magazine' help to keep customers, who are ought to buy gifts more than once. (see Jane Austen Centre website, Giftshop) The online shop gives the opportunity to get hold of a Jane Austen souvenir around the year, even if the customer is not able to visit the centre; and for tourists who intent to visit the attraction, the online shop might create the wish to enter the real store in order to be able to see, touch and purchase the items displayed in reality. As outlined in the chapter of Fandom, the buying of souvenirs can be regarded as a substitute for an authentic relic of the writer. (see Turner 18) However, taking a closer look at the items offered, one soon recognises that articles such as an 'I love Darcy mug' and a pink quill (see Jane Austen Centre website, Giftshop) are far from being authentic. Tourists, therefore, might rather focus on a 'good shopping experience', 'aesthetics' or 'functionality' (see Littrell, Anderson and Brown qtd. in Jamal and Hill 220) of the products instead of taking care of issues of authenticity. Another argument leads to Urry's theory of the tourist gaze, in which one criterion is that tourists want to capture their gaze, e.g. by taking pictures, in order to re-experience the impressions later again. (see 3) A souvenir serves as another example of objects that remind travellers of their touristic experience at a later point of time.

Since the Jane Austen Festival was the idea of the Jane Austen Centre's director David Baldock in 2001, the event is of course also promoted on the website. Following the link 'Jane Austen Festival', the visitor gets detailed background knowledge and a description of the procedure of organisational

matters concerning the festival. Moreover, it is pointed out that in 2009 "the Guinness world record for the '[I]argest gathering of people in Regency costume'" (Jane Austen Centre website, Festival) was broken, and a link to a video of this gathering is provided. The Jane Austen Festival is a typical example for celebrity marketing, since it is not an event which has a traditional background, but it was established especially for Jane Austen admirers, who lack personal access to the author. (see Turner 18) But also other 'conventional' tourists might simply get pleasure from visually consuming e.g. the parade. Furthermore, the gathering of people who dress up in Regency costumes can be referred to Benedict Anderson's imagined communities. (see 6) The people participating in the promenade quite likely get the feeling of belonging together, contrasting the visitors who just watch. However, the mass character of the event prevents the participants of getting to know all the other promenaders, therefore the community is only imagined.

Another instance in which the notion of imagined communities turns up is the website's online forum, where registered members have the opportunity to discuss anything that concerns them. Here they can be sure to find fellows interested in topics dealing with Jane Austen they can communicate with. Discussion topics range from 'General Jane Austen Discussions', which include topics such as 'Cooking with Martha and Jane' or 'Gardening with Jane Austen', to 'Film and TV representations' as well as to a great deal of discussion entries that are concerned with rather scholarly topics, such as the entry of a woman who calls attention to a recent article in the *Literary Review*. However, what has to be noted is that the entries are majorly posted by a small group of people who actively participate in the discussion group. In contrast to this, the number of views is much greater, which means that there are many more people who merely read the posts, but do not post anything themselves. (see Jane Austen Centre website, Forum)

Similar to the 'Audio Walking Tour' and 'Itineraries' promoted on the VisitBath website, also the Jane Austen Centre has 'Walking tours' on offer. The website refers to Bath's "architectural masterpiece" and its designation as "one of three 'World Heritage Cities'" (Jane Austen Centre website, Walking Tours), and to the fact that Bath has hardly changed since it was home to the writer. The phrase "[w]hat is fantastic for Jane Austen fans" (Jane Austen Centre website,

Walking Tour) addresses the novelist's admirers directly, which can be regarded as a typical promotional tool. But also people who are not particular lovers of the novelist but are interested in cultural heritage and history in general are appealed here due to the reference to Bath's history.

Another thing website visitors might get pleasure from is a regularly updated quiz dealing with facts about Jane Austen and her life. The current quiz is about details in Jane Austen's novel *Emma* (see Jane Austen Centre website, Quiz), which therefore only addresses readers of her books.

Although the website has even more on offer, I do not want to analyse all aspects in order to avoid getting lost in details. In general it can be stated that the website of the Jane Austen Centre in Bath is a perfect example for showing the existence of the so called 'Austenmania' that has been referred to by several critics. Lovers of the writer can enjoy themselves when visiting the website and the load of information about the centre builds the ideal promotion for travelling to the destination. Finally, it has to be mentioned that the website inheres some kind of mass character, which can be related to Urry's argument of the mass character in tourism. The website perfectly shows the popularity of the Jane Austen Centre, so it can be concluded that many people travel to Bath in order to visit the Centre. In Urry's theory it is suggested that the general appeal of a place is also dependent on its frequency of visitors; consequently a great deal of people taking a look at the website might create the desire of visiting the Centre due to its obvious popularity.

## 4.6 Lyme Regis

In the years of 1803 and 1804 the Austens went on holiday to Lyme, also referred to as Lyme Regis (Latin for King's Lyme), whose picturesque landscape inspired Jane to her writings of *Persuasion*. (see Grosvenor Myer 108)

### 4.6.1 Website of Lyme Regis

Due to the fact that Lyme was not a home town but merely a tourist destination for Jane Austen, there is much less reference to the novelist in web promotion compared to the locations she lived in. Although the tourist information website of Lyme Regis is rather comprehensive, there is not much attention given to the novel writer. One page of the website is devoted to Jane Austen's visit to the seaside resort; this however, is a rather unspectacular page without any pictures or salient elements, thus, no analysis in terms of multimodality can be done. In the text, Richard J. Fox includes basic information about Lyme's history and its connection to Bath as well as some facts about the visit of the Austen family. There is, however, no incidence of the use of promotional tools in terms of Austenian tourism, i.e. tourists are not called on to visit Lyme by reason of Jane Austen's connection to the town. (see Fox, Lyme Regis website)

# 4.6.2 Website of Literary Lyme

Another website is devoted to 'Jane Austen's Lyme Regis', but this website is also not very comprehensive, as it can be seen in figure 10. As far as its layout of is concerned, framing devices are used to divide the page into two basic elements, i.e. a vertical rectangle on the top and another element below. In terms of information value, these two elements can be interpreted as Ideal and Real. The Ideal – the violet rectangle on the top – comprises the heading "Jane Austen's Lyme Regis" and the subheading "Jane Austen Tours: Walk in the Footsteps of Austen Around Her Beloved Lyme" (Literary Lyme website). Thus, the Ideal typically represents the promise, which is that tourists can simulate being pilgrims, and are therefore able to symbolically walk in Jane Austen's footsteps. The metaphor used here is equal to what Robinson and Andersen describe as the desire of literary tourists, namely "to go where the [writer] went for inspiration" (Introduction xiii), since Jane Austen was inspired by Lyme's rural landscape for her novel *Persuasion*. (see Grosvenor Myer 108) Of course, the question of intimacy may not be disregarded here, since the phrase "walking in her footsteps" immediately creates the impression of entering an intimate world.

The Real of the webpage is, of course, the product – the tourist offer – itself. The most salient element here is a picture of a woman in a Regency costume, walking along the seaside and directing her view towards the sea. Thus, the tourist might expect that at least one of the walking tours is leads along the

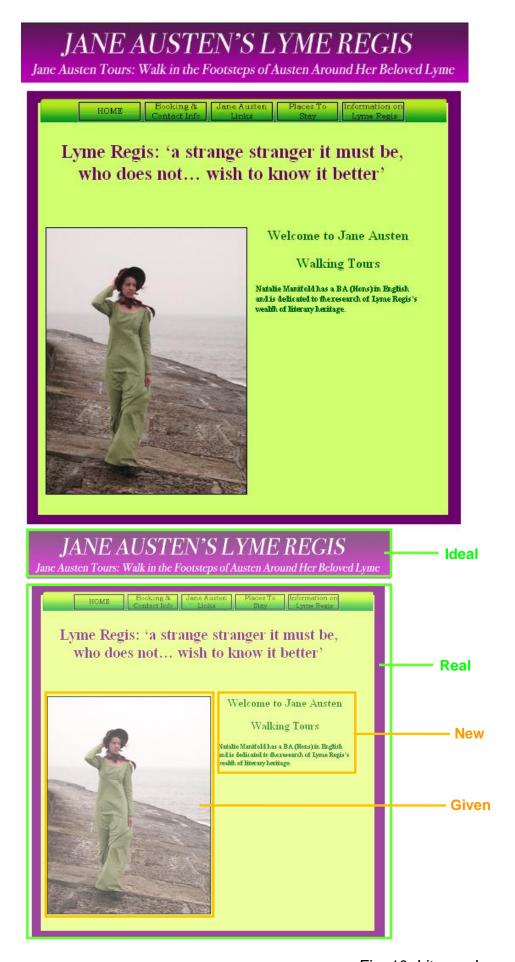


Fig. 10: Literary Lyme website

coast, and so the traveller will have the opportunity to experience the typical atmosphere of an English seaside resort. Moreover, the Regency costume might conjure up nostalgic feelings and the longing for re-experiencing the idyll of the past may evolve. The picture itself is in turn the Given to the written text next to it. The text, which can be treated as New, gives more detailed information about the organiser, who "is dedicated to the research of Lyme Regis's wealth of literary heritage" (Literary Lyme website). These words give the impression that the person responsible is reliable as far as information about Jane Austen is concerned, which means that the tours might especially appeal to those people who are particularly interested in an authentic representation of Jane Austen's life, and so also search for an authentic experience. According to the interpretation of information value of Given and New by Kress and van Leeuwen, it is the text that is treated as New, and therefore, that bears the 'problematic' information worth investigating more deeply. However, due to the size of the picture, which is to a great degree larger than the verbal text next to it, the photo becomes the most salient element, and consequently, the general impression the page creates is determined by this large image.

Another salient element in the information value of Real is a citation of Jane Austen's novel *Persuasion* which says that "a [very] strange stranger it must be, who does not [...] wish to know it [(Lyme)] better" (Austen, *Persuasion* qtd. on Literary Lyme website). This citation creates curiosity, and consequently desire to visit and see the place described. Furthermore, lovers of Jane Austen's novels immediately recognise the literary citation. In the tour the history of Lyme in connection to Jane Austen will be revealed, and so, those who "wish to know it better" are addressed. Moreover, the mass character pointed out in Urry's theory of the tourist gaze (see 3) plays a role here, since it is indirectly claimed that Lyme is popular with most of its visitors, and therefore the reader's interest is more likely to be aroused.

Finally the page provides links to further pages of the whole website, i.e. 'Booking & Contact Info', 'Jane Austen Links', 'Places To Stay' and 'Information on Lyme Regis'. On the page about 'Booking & Contact Info' it is told that tours

can be done throughout the year, if they are booked in advance. There is no detailed description about the tours, but only contact details are given, for tourists have to get in touch with the person responsible in order to be informed about up-to-date happenings. This is quite unusual in tourism advertisements, since the tourist cannot imagine what to encounter on their tours and so desire to participate in the tours is less likely to be created. Moreover, the prospective traveller has to expend effort in order to be informed in detail, which might prevent him or her from doing so. (see Literary Lyme website, Booking)

The page 'Jane Austen Links' provides links that lead to other websites dealing with Jane Austen. One is informed that 'Jane Austen's Lyme Regis' can be found on Facebook, which is another example for the multiple discussion groups on the web. Moreover, the Facebook profile is used in order to hand on information regarding Jane Austen events in Lyme Regis, therefore, it acts as an alternative possibility to promote Austenian tourism. Another link leads to 'Lyme Regis webcam', and it is stated that the steps Louisa Musgrove, who is a character in Jane Austen's *Persuasion*, fell from can be seen. Among all the links there are two more leading to websites that deal with Jane Austen, namely 'The Jane Austen Centre' in Bath and 'Jane Austen's house museum' in Chawton. (Literary Lyme website, Links) Again, the combination of several destinations represented by the links given on the website, form together some kind of story. Lyme Regis can be regarded as only one part of the whole story-plot, and consequently the tourist destination is also only one station of a whole trail, which leads from one location dealing with Jane Austen to another.

The page 'Places To Stay' promotes three kinds of accommodation, which are all said to have "a literary connection" (Lyme Regis website, Accommodation). 'The Old Lyme Guest House' might be the most interesting one for tourists travelling on the traces of Jane Austen, for it is stated that there is an interesting connection to the writer. The promotion of this guest house with the name of the famous writer satisfies tourists who search for intimacy with the author, since staying somewhere over night is quite a private activity, and so the guest may have the feeling of sharing that kind of privacy with Jane Austen.

Following the last link, one gets information on Lyme's history and its literary connections. In terms of Jane Austen, Lyme here is not only promoted with her

name, but the main focus is on her novel *Persuasion*, which is partly set in Lyme. The text advertises the walking tours that can be done in the town and again promises to solve the mystery about which steps Louisa Musgrove jumped down in *Persuasion*. Morover, the outline of general facts makes the tourist destination attractive not only for tourists that are on the traces of Jane Austen, and so the literary place becomes an attractive setting in general. (see Herbert 104)

To conclude it can be said that Lyme is, on the one hand, an attractive tourist destination for literary pilgrims searching for traces of Jane Austen. As we saw, the town was also promoted as one of several tourist destinations connected to the author on the website of VisitBath. On the other, hand, the fact that Lyme was not one of Jane Austen's hometowns but acted as a tourist destination for herself, too, leads to fewer and less compulsive results of online tourism promotion using her name as an advertising tool. Moreover, the town might mainly attract visitors that are more interested in the setting of her novel than in the life of the author herself. Due to the salient pictures, the visuals act as essential promoting tools, which have to be decoded by the visitors of the website.

# 4.7 Clifton - Stoneleigh Abbey

When Jane Austen's family left Bath for Clifton, which is now a suburb in Bristol, she is said to have happily escaped. (see Selwyn, 43)

### 4.7.1 Website of Visit Bristol

Due to its complexity and its comparatively rare use of colours, the information value of the complete Visit Bristol website, which can be seen in figures 11 and 12, is not as distinct, as e.g. on the Visit Bath website. Nevertheless, the general pattern of a Margin-Centre-Margin triptych on the vertical axis can be identified. The top Margin contains, on the one hand, the website's name, and on the other hand, links to Visit Bristol's home page, to frequently asked questions and to contact as well as a search field. The Centre typically includes the detailed and essential information, and the bottom Margin holds publishing

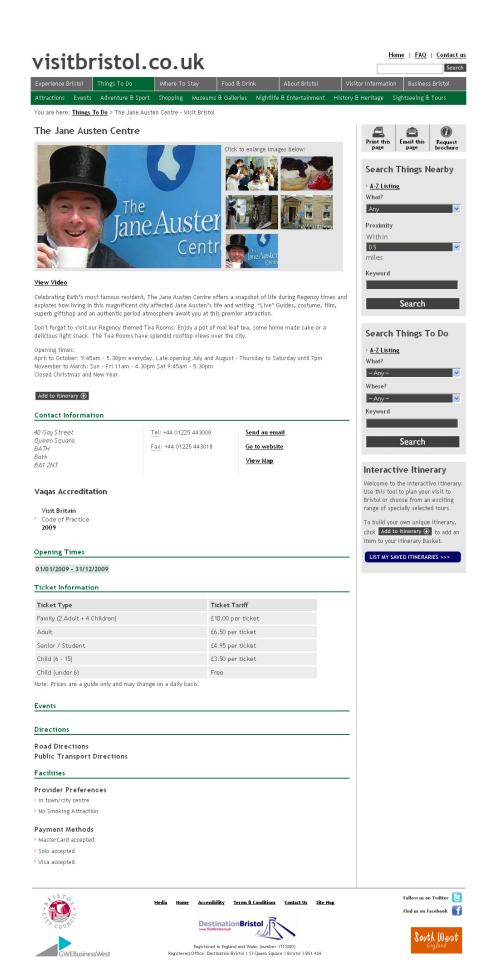


Fig. 11: Bristol website

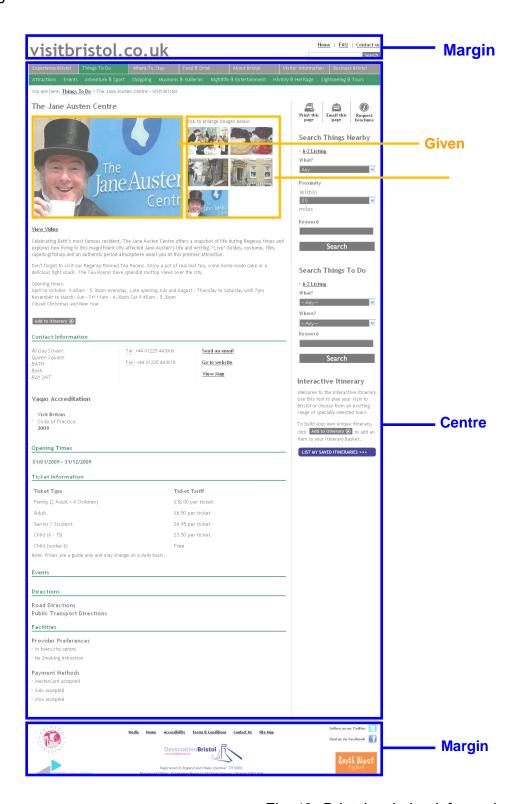


Fig. 12: Bristol website, information value

information and more links to other pages of the website as well as links to Facebook and Twitter. (see Bristol website, The Jane Austen Centre) On the top of the central element links are provided in order to be able to navigate to other pages of the Visit Bristol website. The basic information in the Centre is

about the Jane Austen Centre in Bath. The most eye-catching, i.e. the most salient, element is the compilation of several pictures, which is contrasted to the rest of the page due to its grey-shaded box in the background. The big image on the left side can be interpreted as the Given to the small thumbnails to its right, which form the New. Here, the Given is what the reader usually looks at first, and to get more visual information, he or she has to click on the thumbnails next to it, which in turn pop up on the left and so become the new Given. When the visitors of the website take a look at the pictures, they already get the most important information about the Jane Austen Centre in Bath, and need not read the written part anymore. Thus, the decoding of the pictures is almost sufficient for getting the information needed. Here, the focus is clearly on the images, thus, due to visualisation the experience of the tourist gaze already takes place in advance, which in turn leaves room for interpretation that such a previous experience of the tourist gaze is less likely to take place if the focus is on written texts. In addition to the photos, the website provides a video promoting the Jane Austen Centre, so the prospective tourists even get a more realistic impression of what the location has on offer. Similar to the Visit Bath website, Jane Austen is referred to as Baths "most famous resident" (Bristol website, The Jane Austen Centre), which again draws on the tourist's visual sense, and moreover appeals to the writer's celebrity status and might consequently attract especially those people who call themselves fans of the author.

Below the description of the tourist offer general information such as opening hours and ticket prices are given. (see Bristol website, The Jane Austen Centre) What is important to note here is that the Jane Austen Centre, which is promoted on the official tourist website of Bristol, is not located in Bristol but in Bath. This makes obvious that the two cities work together in terms of tourism advertisement.

Among other literary writers such as William Wordsworth, Samuel T. Coleridge and Charles Dickens, Jane Austen is devoted a short paragraph about her stay in Clifton. (see Bristol website, Literary Bristol) However, the fact that the website does not promote any attraction situated in Bristol with reference to Jane Austen's life leads to the conclusion that Bristol is not a typical station for literary pilgrims following her traces. Also by studying works about Jane Austen's life there seems to be less effort to describe Clifton, which was her

home for a short period of time in 1806. (see Chapman qtd. on the JASA website) However, Jane Austen is claimed to have made many visits to Adlestrop and Stoneleigh Abbey, which will be the issue of discussion in the following chaper, during that period of time. (see Grosvenor Myer 124-125)

# 4.7.2 Stoneleigh Abbey

Figures 13 and 14 show the website of the Stoneleigh Abbey, which consists of a central element that is contrasted to its background with help of a white frame. The dark red background acts as a Margin to the Centre and gives only little information, such as the name of the website, links to other pages of the website and publishing information.

As far as the information value of the Centre is concerned, it is in turn divided into a Given-Centre-New triptych on the horizontal axis. The Given on the left hand side is contrasted to the other elements by another dark red vertical rectangle and contains links to different pages of the website. Here, the information is Given, since the visitor first has to glance at the links first in order to be able to navigate to the particular webpages, which turn up in the Centre as well as in the area of the New. Hence, the current activation of the link 'Jane Austen' entails display of detailed information regarding the author in the Centre and New.

The Centre holds written information as well as pictures, and is clearly contrasted to the rest of the page due to its white background. Therefore, the Centre, with its role of giving the essential information, is also the most salient part of the page. Here the heading "jane [sic!] austen [sic!]" shows the visitor what the information provided is about, and below the heading there is a photo of three apparently joyful women wearing Regency costumes and sitting on cosy armchairs in a historic room. The photo can be regarded as Ideal to the written text, the Real, below, since the image shows the promise of what can be encountered when visiting the abbey. As far as the text is concerned, it holds detailed information, promising that "you can walk in the footsteps of Jane Austen and see the portraits of some of her ancestors" (Stoneleigh Abbey website). Noticeably the footsteps turn up on this website again as a typical

means of advertising literary tourism, which seems to be a red thread for promoting tourist attractions in relation to Jane Austen.



Fig. 13: Stoneleigh Abbey website

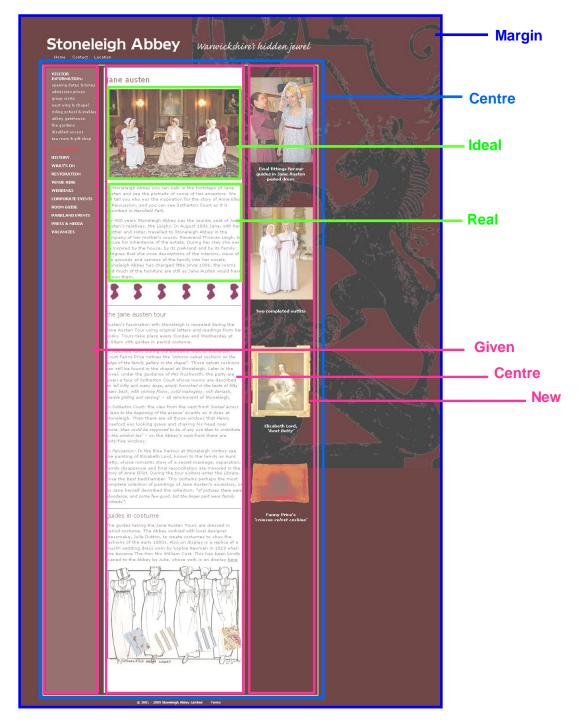


Fig. 14: Stoneleigh Abbey website, information value

The exhibition of her ancestors' portraits is especially interesting for the fans that look for intimacy with the author, for there can be learned more about the private Jane. This kind of intimate insight into her family relationships is furthermore pointed out by reference to the 400 years period of occupation of the abbey by Jane Austen's relatives the Leighs. The website describes Jane Austen's impressions of the building by stating that "she was so inspired by the

house, by its parkland and by its family intrigues that she wove descriptions of the interiors, views of the grounds and cameos of the family into her novels[;] Stoneleigh Abbey has changed little since 1806, the rooms and much of the furniture are still as Jane Austen would have known them" (Stoneleigh Abbey website). Again, reference to a private Jane Austen is made, since the intimate feelings of the novel writer are presented. Therefore, visitors might desire to reexperience this kind of Jane Austen's feeling, and with the statement that there has been hardly any change as far as the building is concerned since the author's visit in 1806, this experience that is anticipated by the tourist is in a way guaranteed. The visitor might feel notions of nostalgia and his or her interest in the history of the Stoneleigh Abbey is likely to be aroused. Moreover, due to the fact that the building has remained almost the same over the years, its visitors can be looking forward to an authentic experience of the place, since the spirit of the place (see Girard and Torrieri 221-23) will be similar to that of Austen's time.

For those who are not satisfied with the mere visit to the abbey, the destination offers a special 'Jane Austen Tour', in which the author's "fascination with Stoneleigh is revealed" (Stoneleigh Abbey website). With this statement, which refers to Jane Austen's impression of the place, the website seems not to exaggerate, for Grosvenor Myer points out that the Austens "enjoyed their visit" (126). Moreover, the wearing of 'period costume' by the guides during the tours is a tool to attract those visitors that want to experience the nostalgia of a past Englishness, since it helps visitors imagine making a time-travel to the era of Jane Austen.

Finally, the elements in the New on the right hand side of the page are more pictures of what the visitor is about to encounter in Stoneleigh Abbey. The photos can be treated as New, since the salient elements are ought to be given special attention to by the reader and bear a special reference to the location. However, due to the central position of the verbal text and its contrast to the rest of the page, the text can still be regarded as being superior to the images. If the position of written information and photos would be reversed, i.e. the text would become New and the images would turn into Centre, the focus would definitely change to visualisation, and the salient images would gain the upper hand. Of course, the verbal text would still be important due to its information value of

New, but it would lose at least some significance. To sum up, it can be said that the use of visuals on this website is an essential tool, but the elementary information is meant to be conveyed by the text.

# 4.8 Southampton

After their rather short stay at Clifton, the Austens moved to the city of Southhampton in 1809, which would be their home for the next three years. (see Grosvenor Myer 130)

#### 4.8.1 Hantsweb

The city of Southampton with regards to Jane Austen is promoted on the website of Hantsweb, whose homepage is displayed in figure 5. Under the heading "Jane Austen's Southampton" (Hantsweb, Southampton) the reasons and circumstances of the novelist's movement to the city are described. The family's house is mentioned with reference to the 'Bosun's Locker', which is said to be placed where once the Austen's accommodation was. Thus, Jane Austen's name is used here to promote the city of Southampton, whereas traces of her can actually hardly be found. Alternatively to her house, tourists might visit the 'Bosun's Locker', whose grounds represent the place the novelist used to live. Moreover, it is claimed that the writer much appreciated the medieval town. So it is stated that "Jane continued her long walks when she was in Southampton through the lovely countryside surrounding the town, beside Southampton Water and along the banks of the Itchen and Test rivers" (Hantsweb, Southampton). Here, the notion of intimacy is again a promotional tool, since visitors might also wish to walk where Jane Austen walked, and the mentioning of concrete places help travellers find their ways. In addition to that, the "lovely countryside" described points towards the typical English countryside that is indirectly promised to be encountered today as well. (see Hantsweb, Southampton)

Under the link 'To the New Forest' website visitors find out that the Austens "used to go on boat trips to the New Forest, famous for its wild ponies and beautiful scenery" (Hantsweb, New Forest). It is stated that Jane Austen knew 'Buckler's Hard' as well as 'Beaulieu Abbey', which both can still be visited

today. Again, references to a wild and beautiful countryside create the nostalgic wish to re-experience the historic world of Jane Austen. (see Hantsweb, New Forest), and people going there may disregard aspects of modern life and focus mainly on what is considered to be old heritage.

# 4.8.2 Visit Southampton

Jane Austen is not devoted an own page on the website of Visit Southampton, therefore layout analysis of the website would not serve its purpose here. Under the category 'Famous Southampton people' Jane Austen is the first of a couple of famous inhabitants mentioned. Like on a number of other websites, the reference to her famousness upheaves the author to the state of celebrity, which may especially attract people calling themselves fans of the author. Despite the fact that the house she and her family lived in does not exist anymore, the place is still promoted to be worth visiting for pilgrims on the footsteps of the writer. One location advertised is the 'Dolphin Hotel', where Jane Austen is said to have participated in dances. Moreover, the tourist is promised to encounter at least some features of Southampton Old town that have remained unchanged since the time the novelist saw them. These features serve as connection points to the past, and Jane Austen's followers will want to look for such remains when visiting the city. Even more of such connection points can be encountered when walking on the 'Jane Austen Trail', on which a traveller is promised to find "eight plaques each at a location associated with Jane" (Visit Southampton website). Here a literary pilgrimage in Ousby's sense can be practiced, since, according to him, pilgrims "trod a beaten path towards a communally agreed, indeed a well-publicised, goal" (Ousby, Introduction 7). Although in the case of the 'Jane Austen Trail' described on the website it is not a particular goal that is in the foreground, but it is the previously defined trail marked by the eight plaques that shows similarities to typical features of Ousby's "beaten path". Moreover, the path's marks remind one of the Christian traditions to walk on the Stations of the Cross; thus, the trail promoted here shows typical religious features. (see Visit Southampton website)

To sum up, the reference to Jane Austen as a saint, which has been made by several critics, fits perfectly well here, because literary tourists can go on a pilgrimage to find traces of that saint.

### 4.9 Chawton

In 1809 Mrs Austen and her daughters moved to Chawton Cottage. The house and lifestyle of the women was rather modest and quiet. Jane and Cassandra cared for the poor by teaching children reading, writing, and household chores. (see Grosvenor Myer 165-167)

#### 4.9.1 Hantsweb

The website of Hants, whose homepage is displayed in figure 5, promotes Chawton as "Jane's literary home" (Hantsweb, Chawton), where she lived in a small house that can still be visited. As far has the house is concerned, several rooms and the activities Jane Austen used to do there are described, such as "the parlour where Jane wrote on the small table" (Hantsweb, Chawton). Another activity that the writer is known to have pursued is making patchwork quilts and on the website it is claimed that the life in Chawton was quieter in comparison to her earlier places of residence. The reference to Jane Austen's activities she pursued at Chawton points towards a rather domestic life, which was, according to Jones's separate-spheres argument (see 14), typical for that time. Moreover, tourists will be able to see original documents of Jane Austen, such as letters written by her. The Chawton House is one of the most typical examples in Austenian tourism where notions of intimacy, nostalgia, and authenticity meet. Tourists here have the opportunity to share private and intimate places with the author, and so the experience of the place increases the intimacy with the novelist. This leads to the conclusion that Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities plays a certain role as well. It is particularly fans of the author who might feel somehow connected to each other, and to share such an intimate experience might even strengthen the feeling of not only having things in common with Jane Austen, but also sharing particular feelings and experiences with other admirers of the writer. After the visit, Austenian tourists are able to talk about their experience of the place with other people who have already visited the location. Of course, the notion of nostalgia cannot be disregarded, since the objects gazed at in the museum are remains of the past, and so they build a link to that certain kind of past. As far as authenticity is concerned, the promotion of original documents to be seen at the Jane Austen house might appeal especially to those tourists, who are interested in authentic samples to be gazed at, hence in an authentic experience, and as we have learned from Herbert's study at the Chawton House Museum, it is only "[a] small number of tourists [who] thought that items displayed in the house might not be genuine" (118)

The sentence "a pretty garden surrounds the house, stocked with many old varieties of flowers and herbs and Jane's donkey carriage is displayed in the adjoining old bakehouse" (Hantsweb, Chawton) typically points towards an Englishness as well as – again – towards the specific kind of past that can be encountered there. Austenian tourist might feel to actually enter the world of the author as it was at her lifetime.

#### 4.9.2 Website of Jane Austen's House Museum

As outlined in the previous chapter, the house where Jane Austen spent the last eight years of her life can be visited in Chawton, now being "Jane Austen's House Museum". As far as information value of the museum's website, which is shown in figure 15, is concerned, the general pattern on the vertical axis shows an Idea-Real construction. The Ideal on top of the page is formed by a vertical rectangle, which displays the website's name as well as links to other pages of the whole website. Moreover, next to the headline there occurs a part of a photo of the brick house, and accordingly, the headline acts as Given to the picture, which can be treated as New. Altogether, the Ideal typically represents the promise, thus, the visitor of the website immediately learns what he or she is about to see when travelling to the place, namely a location connected to Jane Austen.

Below, the Real consists of a multimodal text with a bright antique pink in its background, which contrasts the Ideal, which is coloured in green. The text says that "[t]he novelist Jane Austen is known worldwide for her popular novels describing the society of pre-industrial England" (Jane Austen's House Museum

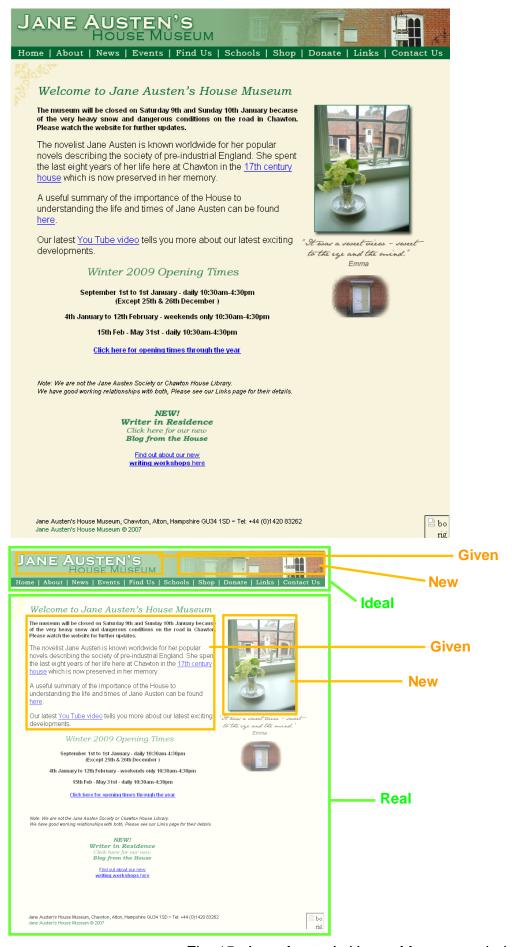


Fig. 15: Jane Austen's House Museum website

website), and so it is immediately referred to the novelist's state of celebrity and her fame and popularity which go beyond the borders of the UK. Moreover, the words "the society of the pre-industrial England" invoke thoughts of a past Englishness before industrialisation, and thus particularly tourist in search for such a remote past might be appealed. The verbal text can be interpreted as the Given to the photo to its right, which shows the view outside a window with flowers placed on the windowsill in the foreground. The text, the Given, is what Austenian tourists are considered to know about Jane Austen, and the photo, the New, gives a new perspective of the house, namely a view from inside. Therefore, the prospective tourist can expect to be able to have the same view as shown on the photo when travelling to the place, and by treating the image as New, the effect that there is even more to discover is created. By showing only a small part of the house, the tourists' curiosity is aroused and they are likely to wish to discover more.

To get more information about the museum, links are provided that lead to e.g. a video about the house on Youtube, which is another example for the fact that the author has found her way into various new media. (see Jane Austen's House Museum website) Again, the value of a visual stimulus accompanying the verbal text may not be disregarded, whereas the verbal information here takes up much more room and gives, therefore, also the basic information.

Following the link 'About', the website visitor learns that "Jane Austen is one of the most popular and important novelists that England has ever produced" (Jane Austen's House Museum website). Here, the woman writer's celebrity status is again used as a promotional tool, and moreover, she is even claimed to be *made by* England, which points towards characteristic of typical Englishness Jane Austen inheres. Moreover, a link leads to a written document which tells about Jane Austen's life in Chawton. (see Jane Austen's House Museum website)

In the text is claimed that in general it is easier to get insight into her stories than her life, which is claimed, however, not to be the case at the museum in Chawton. For tourists who look for places that are connected to Jane Austen's biography, the statment "in Jane Austen's house in Chawton we find some clues to the life and habits of the writer" (Sutherland) acts as a promise to

actually be able to get insight into what the author was like. Especially the sentence "[o]nly at Chawton do the details of particular domestic spaces and daily chores assume substantial significance in our understanding of Jane Austen's own art of domestic spaces and daily rhythms" (Sutherland) serves its purpose in promoting the Jane Austen House Museum with regards to insight into the novelist's privacy. According to this, it is the museum at Chawton where the writer's admirer is able to get to know the novelist better, and here the step from calling her more formally Jane Austen to naming her simply Jane is likely to take place.

In addition to the exhibition at the museum, the museum's library offers print media about studies dealing with the author as well as different language-samples of Jane Austen's novels. This special offer might in particular attract people that are more deeply interested in Jane Austen's life, and it serves as an example that Austenian tourism not only takes place on the level of mass-tourism.

Moreover, Jane Austen's House Museum offers a varying programme with lots of events for all kinds of visitors throughout the year, which keeps the location attractive for people who might return more than once. The museum's educative purpose becomes obvious by having a look at the page 'Schools', where special offers for young pupils are presented. A 'writing competition' and a 'Gifted and Talented programme' conducted by the museum helps keep alive and encourage young people's interest in the skill of creative writing; and in addition a new audience for visiting the place is being addressed.

The souvenir shop is another example for the importance of souvenirs as a kind of religious relic purchased by the literary pilgrim. In comparison to the gift shop in the Jane Austen Centre in Bath, however, the focus here is on books for both adults and children, which in turn gives the impression of being less affected by instances of commercialisation. (see Jane Austen's House Museum website)

# 4.9.3 Chawton House Library

Another place to be seen in Chawton is the Chawton House Library, which offers "a unique collection of books focusing on women's writing in English from

1600 to 1830" (Chawton House Library website). However, there is no particular page devoted to Jane Austen, therefore, layout analysis would go too much into detail here. On the right hand side of the homepage there is a column that displays current events, where a lecture by a professor of the University of Stirling about "Mary Russel Mitford and her reading of Jane Austen" taking place on 21 January 2010 is announced. This clearly shows that the Chawton House Library's audience represents a rather scholarly readership, and thus Austenian tourism at this location is more likely to be practiced by an academic audience than by a popular one. Furthermore, there can be found reference to one of Jane Austen's brother, whose name is not given though, and a link leads to more information. (see Chawton House Library website, Home) From here one is conveyed to an extract of a list of the collection of women writers' works and a bibliography list of the writers is given. (see Chawton House Library website, Collections and Women Writers) Both lists, however, do not mention Jane Austen, which is guite astonishing, since Chawton has a close connection to the novelist, since the town was the home of her for the last years of her life. However, Jane Austen fans might still get their money's worth at the House Library, since her original manuscript of her adaptation of Samuel Richardson's The History of Sir Charles Grandison is exposed in the library. (see Chawton House Library website, *Library*)

Similar to the writing programme at the Jane Austen House Museum, the library tries to support people interested in writing, and so the library arranged a short story competition in 2009. This shows again that the target audience here is an academic one, in contrast to many other commodified literary places, which are more likely to appeal a mass audience.

Although the Chawton House Library does not lay its focus merely on Jane Austen but on a number of early influential women writers, it can definitely be concerned as a destination in Austenian tourism worth visiting.

#### 4.10 Winchester

In 1817 Jane fell very ill. Being pale and dizzy she was almost unable to leave her bedroom. When she was a bit better, she decided to go to Winchester for treatment hoping that she would find remedy there. However, her hope should not be fulfilled and she died on 18 July 1817. (see Grosvenor Myer 227-235)

#### 4.10.1 Hantsweb

On the website of Hampshire, whose homepage displayed in figure 5, has already been analysed, Winchester is promoted as "Jane Austen's final resting place" (Hantsweb, Winchester). Tourists can still pass the house where she spent the last weeks of her life; this house is, however, only a private house today, whose interior cannot be visited. It might still be satisfying for Austenian tourists to see the building's exteriors only, since it is a 'Black Spot' where a "dramatic event in the writer's life" (Herbert 104) happened, and so the visitors can mourn after this painful period in the novelist's life.

Moreover, the website mentions her burial and her grave at Winchester Cathedral, and it is lamented that "the inscription on her tomb [...] makes no mention of her literary talents" (Hantsweb, Winchester); however, a brass tablet esteeming her literary talent was added later. Jane Austen's grave as her last resting place might also be the final destination of an Austenian tourist travelling on Jane Austen's footsteps. The grave and the tombstone represent the author (see Döring 253), and the tourists can go where the author actually *is* in comparison to the places where the author *was*. This presence of Jane Austen might cause and increase the feeling of intimacy even more than at other locations.

### 4.10.2 Winchester Austen Trail

Interestingly, compared to the information value of most other websites, the layout of the whole page of the Winchester Austen Trail website represented in figure 16 does not show any framing devices. Thus, analysis according to information value can only be done with respect to certain elements. The most salient elements are of course the pictures. In the top part of the page there is the image of a loupe that magnifies an old hand-written document, and this

image can be interpreted as the Ideal to its text below. Thus, with help of the image of the loupe, the visitor is promised to find out more about the places promoted and to get a clearer sight of things that have to do with Jane Austen.

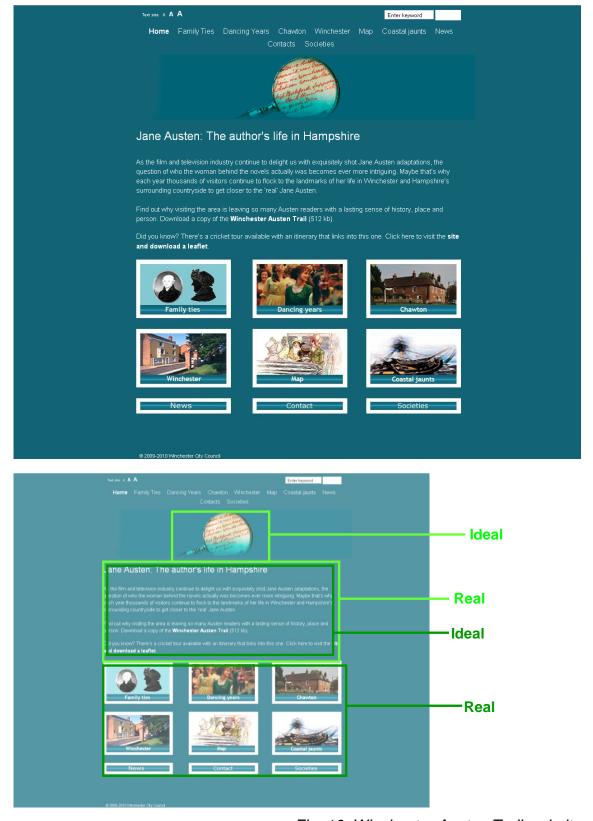


Fig. 16: Winchester Austen Trail website

It can be argued that the text below, the Real, outlines and explains what is promised by the picture, for it is stated that "each year thousands of visitors flock to the landmarks of her life in Winchester [...] to get closer to the 'real' Jane Austen" (Winchester Austen Trail website). First of all, the statement that "thousands of visitors" come to Winchester every year can be referred to Urry's theory of the mass character of the tourist gaze, in which he claims that a tourist destination gets more attractive to visitors if it is generally visited by lots of people. Second, the verb "flock" used here for emphasising the number of tourists who come from all directions can be compared to notions of pilgrimage in literary tourism. In the manner of Benedict Anderson's imagined communities, people from over the world have the same aim, namely to travel to a destination with reference to their beloved author. They might already meet on the way to Winchester, and so, in Anderson's words "a consciousness of connectedness" (56) might come up. Thirdly, the words "to get closer to the 'real' Jane Austen" (Winchester Austen Trail website) evokes, on the one hand, feelings of intimacy due to the closeness to the author, and on the other hand, questions of authenticity. Here, prospective tourists are promised to get a real, in other words an authentic or genuine insight into Jane Austen's life, and therefore, tourists who are interested in a historic perspective are more likely to be appealed here.

The text also shows typical features of tourism advertisement, e.g. the words "find out" (Winchester Austen Trail), and the question "[d]id you know" directly address the reader and so he or she is immediately personally involved into the topic.

Below the text there are six pictures that function as links to other pages of the website, and three more links without pictures. Together the images can be interpreted as Real to the text above, which here becomes the pictures' Ideal. Thus, the written text acts as both Real in combination with the picture above it, and Ideal in combination with the images below. As far as its role of the Ideal is concerned, the reader's curiosity about the place promoted is awakened by reading the phrases given earlier in this chapter, and in order to get more down-to-earth information, the reader has to turn his or her attention to the pictures below, which act as links to the new information. (see Winchester Austen Trail website) The focus here is definitely on the visuals, since the text "only" gives

the promise, but it does not hold any important information regarding the tourist offers. In order to be informed in more detail, the website visitor has to concern oneself with the images and with help of the titles adjunct to the photos, the meaning of the images can easily be decoded. Moreover, the exact arrangement of the pictures help customers to orient themselves easily and the effect of a clear structure is achieved.

The link 'Family Ties' leads to a page that tells about Jane Austen's and her family's lives and relationships. (see Winchester Austen Trail website, Family Ties) From there, one is forwarded to a page informing about Jane Austen's last months by the link 'Jane's Winchester'. Here it is mentioned that "the heartbroken Cassandra was not able to attend the funeral" (Winchester Austen Trail website, Jane's Winchester), and also admirers of the writer might be 'heartbroken' because of her early death; but by visiting the "Black Spot" (Rojek 136) they can mourn over the tragic event, since, according to Döring, graveyards are "constructed for [...] the living" (265). As on Hantsweb, the memorial stone and the brass plaque at her grave are mentioned; and in addition people are informed that a stained glass memorial window devoted to her as well as a silhouette of Jane Austen, which can be found in the cathedral's library, can be seen. However, the reader is called attention to the "unauthenticated inscription 'Jane Austin [sic!] by herself" (Winchester Austen Trail website, Jane's Winchester). The fact that the famous novelist's name is spelt wrongly here raises the question whether the cathedral can be regarded as trustworthy according to its authenticity in 'marketing' Jane Austen. Especially fans of the author might be appalled by the wrong reference to the novelist.

By following the link 'News' the website visitor learns about current events in Hampshire connected to Jane Austen. So one gets to know that souvenirs can be purchased at the Winchester Tourist information, which again shows the necessity felt by many literary tourists to get hold of relics related to the author. (see Winchester Austen Trail website, News)

Although the website's name 'Winchester Austen Trail' makes one think that the website deals with Winchester only, one can also find information about Steventon, Chawton, Portsmouth and Southampton as well as some other

places connected to the author. Thus, Winchester is promoted as only one of many possible destination worth visiting when practicing Austenian tourism, and together with the other locations, a trail for the tourist's pilgrimage is formed, which enables to re-experience Jane Austen's life. However, the importance of her death, which is often felt as having been too early, may not be disregarded, and so Winchester has a special meaning to tourists, who might go there "to lay flowers on the grave" (Lynch, *Cult* 116)

### 4.10.3 Winchester Cathedral

Although there is a close connection between Jane Austen and the Cathedral at Winchester, there is no special page on the website of Winchester Cathedral that deals with the author. The page 'Visiting the Cathedral' gives information about Jane Austen's tomb, which is said to attract "alot [sic!] of visitors - she is one of several famous women associated with the cathedral" (Winchester Cathedral website, Visiting). Here, issues of Urry's mass appeal of the tourist gaze come up, since the cathedral might appeal to visitors just for the fact that the place is attracted by a great number of other tourists. (see 3) Moreover, as it could have already been seen in many other instances of the promotion of Austenian tourism, the writer's celebrity is used here in order to advertise the place.

The cathedral offers several tours, among them a tour called "Jane Austen – Her Life and Times", which promises to give an "intimate and often amusing insight into her life" (Winchester Cathedral website, Tours). It is very ironical to see that Jane Austen's burial place of all destinations offers an "amusing insight", which, however, might increase curiosity in what will be amusing about her life with respect to a location that acts as her final resting place.

Although Jane Austen did not spent a long period of her lifetime in Winchester, an important meaning regarding the writer is ascribed to the place, for it represents the last station of her life. Thus, also for Austenian tourists the town of Winchester and especially the Winchester Cathedral are essential stations on their pilgrimage to places connected to the novelist's biography.

# 4.11 Jane Austen Tours – Tourism as a Story

The preceding analyses of websites advertising tourism destinations in terms of Jane Austen's biography have shown that in combination they can be regarded as telling some kind of story. Moreover, the frequency and significance of story telling as a promotional tool in tourism has been outlined in the chapter of *Literary Tourism*. (see Robinson 45) In this chapter, the focus will be no more on websites concentrating on a single tourist destination, but the way in which Jane Austen's life as a whole story plot is represented will be analysed.

### 4.11.1 Hidden Britain Tours

The website of Hidden Britain Tours in figure 17 shows an information value of a Margin-Centre-Margin triptych on the vertical axis. Both Margins are dominantly held in green, which contrasts them to the Centre, whose background is white. The top Margin gives, on the one hand, the website's name, which is printed in white and therefore is one of the most salient elements on the page, and on the other hand, links to other pages of the whole website. In addition, a line of photos of primarily natural landscapes is embedded into the top Margin. The bottom Margin also comprises links, which, however, can be found among the links given on the top as well. Although the Margin of this website typically holds subservient information, its attractiveness due to the use of a great number of photos is striking. The images effectively awake interest, and the visitor's curiosity to enter other pages of the website is likely to be aroused.

As far as the Centre is concerned, it typically gives the basic information, i.e. what the visitor wants to get to know about the Jane Austen Tour, and therefore, most attention will be paid to this part of the page. Here, comparison can be drawn to the Stoneleigh Abbey website displayed in figures 13 and 14, since in both instances the Centre is strongly contrasted to the information around it. Moreover, the focus in the Centre on verbal information is explicit on both websites, whereas the general use of images on the two pages may not be underestimated.



### Jane Austen Country Tour

#### View the Brochure

It is a truth universally acknowledged that a visitor to Hampshire must be in search of an appreciation of Jane Austen

Follow in her footsteps with a personal guide. Visit what Jane called 'the neighbourhood', the picturesque villages, ancient churches, country houses, and trace the Austen and other families that she mentions in her early letters.

This unique tour will take you to the quieter, special places less frequented by the majority of visitors, where she spent the first

Explore and experience the countryside that inspired her to write Northanger Abbey, Sense and Sensibility, and Pride and Prejudice.

Your guide will help you understand the social and cultural influences on Jane Austen's formative years.

Take a morning, afternoon or a full day tour with friends, family or colleagues in an air-conditioned people carrier. Perhaps lunch in a country inn. Why walk when you can ride with a guide?

Departures from Basingstoke, Jane Austen House Museum, Chawton, local railway stations, or elsewhere by arrangement. Customised itineraries can be made by special arrangement, price upon application.

For further information or to book a place, please call 01256 814222.

Home | About Us | Bookings | Contact | Links



Fig. 17: Hidden Britain Tours website

In the top area of the Centre several sponsoring institutions are represented, however, the website visitor is more likely to take a look at the heading of the text first, which says "Jane Austen Country Tour" (Hidden Britain Tours website, Jane Tour). Above the text, a link to the brochure of the tour is provided, which has already been referred to in the chapter of *Following the Saint's Footsteps*. The first sentence of the text is salient, because it is printed in bold, and it says that "[i]t is a truth universally acknowledged that a visitor to Hampshire must be in search of an appreciation of Jane Austen" (Hidden Britain Tours, Jane Tour). People familiar to the works of the writer immediately recognise the reference to her novel *Pride and Prejudice*, whose first sentence is formulated in almost the same way.

Moreover, the phrase "[f]ollow in her footsteps" (Hidden Britain Tours website, Jane Tour), which is stated later in the text, is one of the most typical slogans for promoting literary tourism; and it typically evokes the feeling of intimacy, since it the image of being able to walk exactly where the author went comes up. By visiting "picturesque villages, ancient churches [and] country houses" as well as "quieter, special places less frequented by the majority of visitors" (Hidden Britain Tours website, Jane Tour), the tourist is indirectly promised to encounter a past and historic Englishness, and the experience of the place goes hand in hand with a time-travel to the era of a pre-industrial past. What is striking here, is that the opposite to Urry's argument of the mass-appeal of a touristic place (see 3) is promoted, namely places that are not so familiar to most of the tourists; thus, the reader here is so to say given an insiders' tip. Consequently, participating in the tour enables to escape from everyday-life.

Furthermore, for those people who are not interested in walking an air-conditioned people carrier is on its disposal. This is a typical example for instances of commodification, since such a modern means of transport represents the opposite to a foregone rural and idyllic past. Nevertheless, as we have learned in the chapter of authenticity, tourists may not realise such instances of modern life and the rural past is likely to be the only impression perceived consciously.

A special offer is the opportunity to book a customised itinerary, which guarantees the visitor an individual and unique travelling experience. (see Hidden Britain Tours website, Jane Tour)

### 4.11.2Tours International

The information value of the Tours International website in figures 18 and 19 can be divided into a Margin-Centre-Margin triptych on the vertical axis. The top Margin consists of a rectangle coloured in different tones of blue, which gives, as most other internet pages do, the name of the website and links which lead to other pages of the whole website.

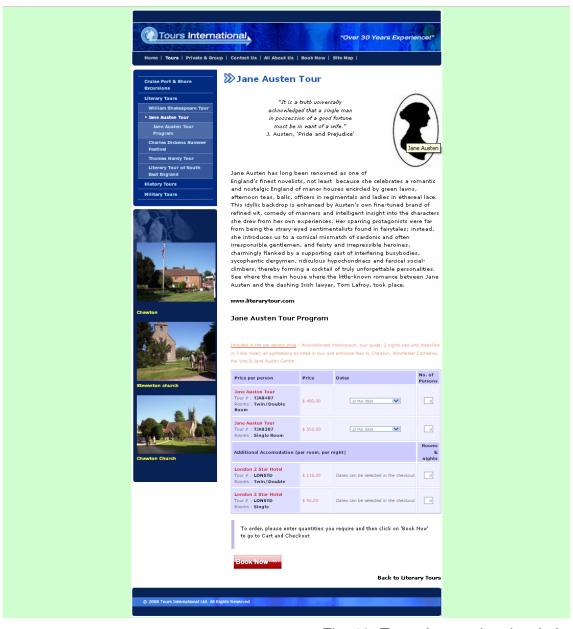


Fig. 18: Tours International website

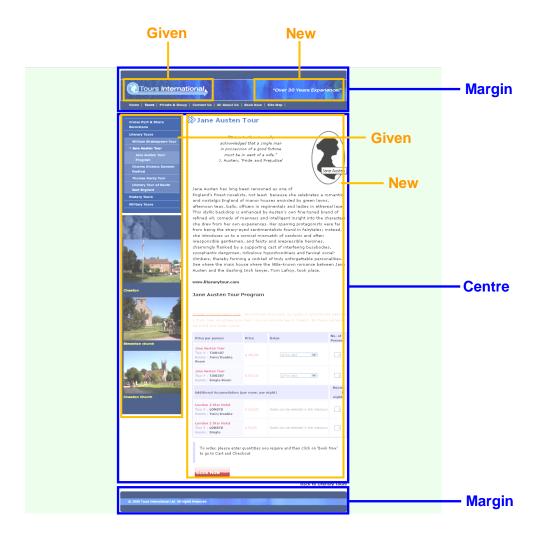


Fig. 19: Tours International website, information value

The heading "Tours International" is underlined by an arrow pointing towards the right, which acts as a vector and leads the reader's eye to the right hand side, where the words "Over 30 Years Experience!" are written. Here, the websites name acts as Given to the slogan, the New, which the reader is ought to pay special attention to. The bottom Margin is constructed in the same manner and gives publishing details.

The Centre of the page can in turn be divided into the Given on the left, which consists of a blue navigation bar with more links to the website's subpages, as well as a blue field containing pictures of Chawton, Steventon Church and Chawton Church. The navigation bar can be regarded as Given, since it displays what will pop up on the right hand side, the New. Also the pictures can be treated as Given, because they show what is described on the right hand

side, and so they can be interpreted to lead the reader to the verbal information. The New represents the information the reader is ought to pay more attention to; consequently, the focus here is clearly on the written information, not only due to the position of the text in the New, but also because of its strongly contrasting background, which is held in white, as well as the quantity of the text.

The New, then, consists of in depth information about the Jane Austen Tour. Similar to the website of Hidden Britain Tours, Tours International here gives the original first sentence of Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice. Reference to her celebrity status is established in the sentence "Jane Austen has long been renowned as one of England's finest novelist" (Tours International website). Moreover, one striking promotion tool here is the naming of things related to the writer that can be considered as examples of typical Englishness, i.e. Jane Austen's celebration of "a romantic and nostalgic England of manor houses encircled by green lawns, afternoon teas, balls, officers in regimentals and ladies in ethereal lace" (Tours International website). The word 'nostalgic' used here also creates a nostalgic longing for that stereotypical England, and in participating in the tour the desire to experience that old kind of Englishness created here will be satisfied. Later in the text the tourist is called on to "[s]ee where the main house where the little-known romance between Jane Austen and the dashing Irish lawyer, Tom Lafroy, took place" (Tours International website). Again, due to the use of the words "little known", the sentence can be interpreted to give an insiders' tip, and here, Jane Austen fans are indirectly promised to get to know something about the novelist's most intimate secrets. Thus, the tour advertised may be attractive especially for those who want to share such intimate feelings with the author.

The link 'Jane Austen Tour Program' leads to a page, on which the 3-days-tour, which starts of Friday, is described in detail. Here it is promised that tourists are taken "back to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century" (Tours International website, Programme), and so they can escape modern life, for example when hearing about means of transports of that time or having lunch in a typical 18<sup>th</sup> century pub. Thus, here not only a time-travel to the time of Jane Austen takes place, but tourists can also imagine what travelling at the time of the writer was like. In

Winchester a walking tour will lead the travellers to the city museum, the house where Jane Austen died as well as her grave at Winchester Cathedral.

On the next day, Bath is the city to be visited. There tourists will "enjoy a walking tour of the places where Jane lived, walked, visited and shopped" (Tours International website, Programme). Here the author is referred to merely by her name, which increases intimacy with her; and moreover, tourists are promised to get familiar with Jane Austen's daily activities, which is another method to create some kind of closeness to her by making her an ordinary person. Furthermore, the Bath Centre is said to give an "authentic period atmosphere" (Tours International website, Programme), which calls on people who are interested in the author's genuine life. Also the tea room gardens are advertised as a place, where "a typical English afternoon tea" (Tours International website, Programme) can be consumed, which satisfies the longing for the experience of the characteristic Englishness.

On Sunday Steventon, the place of Jane Austen's birth and youth, will be visited. The tourist is called on to "[f]ollow the route often taken by Jane herself to Steventon" (Tours International website, Programme), which addresses the tourist's wish to follow the saint's footsteps. In addition, Chawton, which is said to be Jane Austen's literary home, is visited.

What is interesting here is that the tour starts with Jane Austen's burial place and ends with the town where the writer was born and grew up. Thus, the tour offered here does not typically lead the tourist through Jane Austen's life in a chronological order, but the traveller visits some of her life's stations in an arbitrary order, which will, however, not prevent most people from participating in the tour.

### 4.11.3 Jane Austen Tour

The website of the Jane Austen Tour by Julian Spencer Rouse promises to offer an "Exclusive Travel Service". As it is shown in figures 20 and 21, there are no framing devices that divide the page into several units. The top part, is the most salient element of the page and gives the name of the author in an old pink field, which acts as the Centre to the marginal images to its left and right

sides. On the left there is a black silhouette of Jane Austen, and on the right side a drawing that also shows the author is placed. The images enframe the name of the writer, and this creates the effect that the writer is also the most important object to be followed. The name acts as a metonymy for Jane Austen as a person, and the pictures to its left and right act as additional information.

Also in the top area of the page, the traveller is given the phone number and email address of the person in charge, as well as a photo of a man, who apparently is the organiser. Altogether, the elements form the Ideal, i.e. the promise of the tour, to the rest of the page below, the Real, which gives more detailed information.

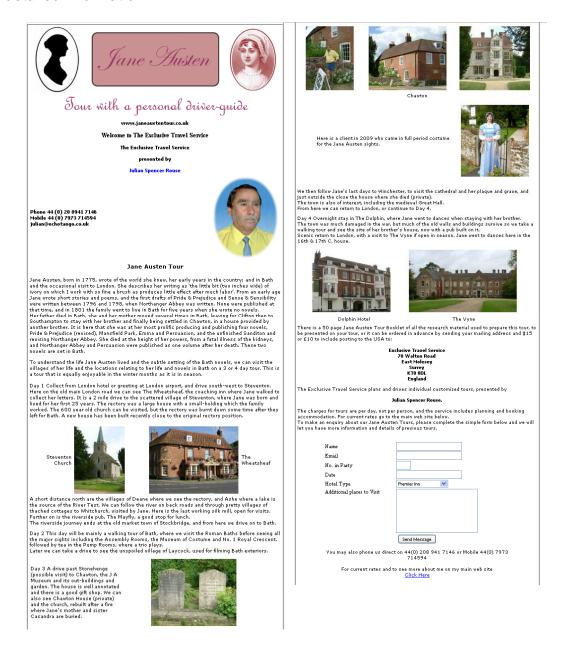


Fig. 20: Jane Austen Tour website

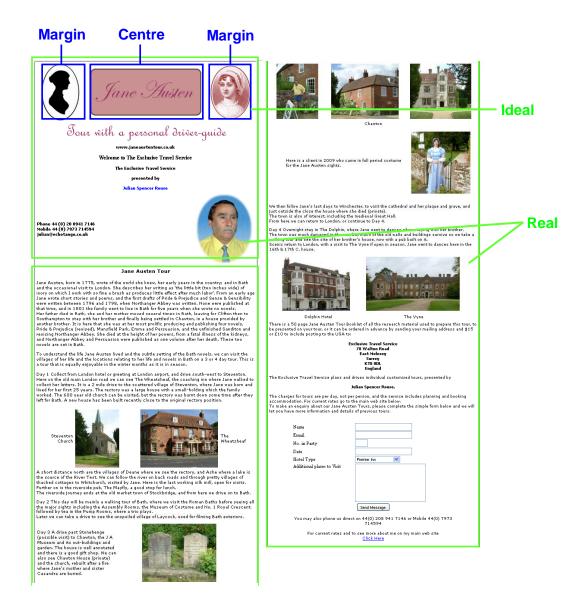


Fig. 21: Jane Austen Tour website, information value

First, the text gives an insight into Jane Austen's biography by mentioning some of the places that played a role in her life. After that, it is stated that the Jane Austen tour offered helps to "[u]nderstand the life Jane Austen lived", and that it is "equally enjoyable in the winter months as it is in the season" (Spencer Rouse, Jane Austen Tour website). Thus, the tour is promised to give an insight into the historic novelist's life and tourists might expect an authentic experience that can be gained throughout the year.

On the first day of the tour, which departs from London, travellers can visit Jane Austen's birthplace Steventon as well as surrounding places that are connected to her. The phrase "[w]e can follow" (Spencer Rouse, website of Jane Austen

Tour) evokes the typical image of literary pilgrims on the traces of their author admired, and the use of the pronoun 'we' suggests a feeling of inclusion. As a consequence, it is no more the single tourist who travels independently on the traces of the author, but he or she is accompanied by fellows that pursue the same aim.

The second day is mainly devoted to Bath, and the on third day the tour leads to Chawton and Winchester. On the way to Chawton tourists have the opportunity to stop at Stonehenge, which especially addresses tourists that are not only interested in Jane Austen but in England's general history, and also Winchester is promoted as a town of general interest. A special feature of the journey is the "[o]vernight stay in The Dolphin, where Jane went to dances when staying with her brother" (Spencer Rouse, website of Jane Austen Tour). For those tourists who want to get informed of the tour more detailed in advance, a 50 page Jane Austen Tour Booklet can be ordered.

Of course, the page here is a multimodal text, too, and so several images support the written information. The images conform with the red thread of the journey described; however, the written information is essential in order to be informed about the details of the tour. The website visitor is likely to decode the impressions given by the images first, to decide afterwards whether or not to read what the tour offers.

All in all, the Jane Austen Tours typically represent how literary tourism as a story can be practiced in the manner of a literary pilgrimage. As we have seen from the examples, the places do not necessarily have to be visited in the chronological order of the author's life; the most important thing is that tourists are guaranteed to get to know places connected to the author in order to share experiences of place and to increase intimacy with her.

# 4.12 Travelling within the Societies

As it has already been mentioned in the chapter of *Jane Austen Societies*, travelling within the societies can be regarded as a special form of Austenian tourism. The following passages will briefly discuss in how far journeys play a role in the Jane Austen Societies of the UK, of North America and of Australia.

The Jane Austen Society of the UK has an agenda full of events planned for 2010. Even on the home page there are hints that point towards travelling activities that take place within the society. So the "Annual General Meeting [of 2009], held at Chawton house" (Jane Austen Society o the UK website) is mentioned, which points towards the necessity of society members to travel to Chawton in order to be able to participate in the meeting. Such kind of Austenian tourism can be compared to business tourism, which is already indicated by the purpose of the journey, namely the meeting. Other events that are referred to on the home page and bear the character of business affairs are the "Society's day and weekend conferences" (Jane Austen Society of the UK website). Moreover, with regards to their effort to fulfil educational purposes, students undertaking research in connection to Jane Austen are granted Travel Bursaries, which is another indicator that travelling has a certain meaning to the societies and is even supported by them. (see Jane Austen Society of the UK website)

As far as the Diary of Events in 2010, apart from the meetings mentioned above, is concerned, there are several other activities undertaken by the society in which travelling is involved, among them two 'Jane Austen Weekends' in Alton, a 'Jane Austen Study Weekend' at the West Dean College in Chichester, a 'Jane Austen Day' and a 'Jane Austen Study Day' as well as a trip to 'The Horncastle Regency Festival' (see Jane Austen Society of the UK websites, Events).

Also the Jane Austen Society of North America (JASNA) refers to Jane Austen weekends as well as different Jane Austen tours, which are, however, organised by external operators. So society members are called on to travel to different parts of the United States, to the United Kingdom and even to New Zealand and Australia. (see JASNA website, Events) As it is the convention in

the society in the UK, the JASNA organises an Annual General Meeting, which is held every year in October at a different location. (see JASNA website, AGM)

Of course the Jane Austen Society of Australia (JASA) has many activities for its members on offer. Several lectures and discussion groups are held at Roseville, and in order to be able to take part in the weekend conference taking place annually in September, the members have to travel to Canberra. (see JASA website, Calendar)

To sum up, members of one of the Jane Austen Societies are given the opportunity to share their knowledge and admiration of the author with other people interested in her life and works. In order to be able to make the best of their membership, travelling to certain places is required. This special form of Austenian tourism is among of the most representative examples for Benedict Anderson's imagined communities, since the great number of membership makes it impossible to get to know all the other members personally; and still people travel to certain places in order to meet others sharing the same interests.

# 5 Conclusion

By considering tourism as one of the main contributors to the capital in a country, it becomes obvious that the market is continually searching for niches. The heritage industry has made enormous contribution to the rise in tourism in Great Britain, since it can claim to be a special market. By advertising literary places connected to Jane Austen, the tourism industry strives to make the best out of its sources in order to achieve a mass audience. Here, the phenomenon of popularisation of a high culture facilitating a flourishing and money-making branch of the tourism industry can be recognised.

When I was analysing the websites, I was astonished at the seemingly unlimited number of touristic offers advertising in the name of Jane Austen. However, for my study the number of websites taken into consideration was limited to just a few in order to be able to do a qualitative analysis in terms of layout and content.

As far as the layout analysis, which has been done on every home page of the respective websites, is concerned, it was striking that websites as multimodal texts are typically divided by framing devices and usually bear a number of salient elements that are obviously more eye-catching than others. There is a general tendency of the division of the individual parts of the page by marginal and central elements, whereas the form of a vertical or horizontal triptych is most common and the Centre expectedly bears the essential and, therefore, the most important information. Here it was striking that the Centre is usually quite text-heavy, which means that the detailed information can be read from verbal comments. However, the fact that websites are usually multimodal texts entails also a frequent use of visuals, and instances of visualisation could clearly be identified. By analysing the pages, I recognised that visuals are often the most salient objects, and therefore, play a part in contributing to conveying impressions, which in turn have to be decoded by the viewer. It has to be noted that the arrangement of written text and images plays an important role in the way the elements are perceived, which means that, e.g. the placement of a verbal text as Given and a corresponding image as New creates at least a slightly different effect than the opposite order, since the New can usually be regarded as conveying the information worth considering more deeply. To

conclude, images are an indispensable tool in advertising tourism destinations, and although tourism managers use verbal descriptions to explain their offers in more detail, they mostly rely on visuals in order to be able to pass on impressions.

The second focus of the website analysis was on the content, i.e. the language of promotion in Austenian tourism. Here I could recognise traces of all factors contributing to literary tourism that were outlined in the theoretical part of the thesis. As an example serves the search for intimacy and closeness of a literary pilgrim to his or her author admired, which, in the case of Austenian tourism, could be identified in several instances, such as in the promotion of "Hampshire [as the] inspirational home of Jane Austen" (Hantsweb). Moreover, by reading promotional texts, the tourist experiences a construction of desire in Baudrillard's sense, which goes hand in hand with issues of authenticity and commercialisation, as shown in the thesis.

Finally it can be concluded that in advertising Austenian tourism a kind of story is created, be it in the individual tourist attractions isolated from others or in the sum of destinations using Jane Austen's name as a promotional tool. It can be argued that each attraction examined narrates some kind of story in itself, e.g. the analysis of the Bath Centre website has shown that the tourist destination in a way re-creates the novelist's period of life she spent in that town. Furthermore, the sum of websites analysed does also form some kind of narration, namely the story of Jane Austen's *whole* life, which is composed by the individual stations now promoted as tourist attractions. The analysis has further shown that some tourist operators combine the single tourist destinations in order to sell such a kind of story to the travellers by offering predefined Jane Austen Tours.

All in all it can be said that Austenian tourism serves as a classic example for literary tourism, in which ordinary travellers are able to enjoy themselves in the role of pilgrims on their ways to a literary shrine.

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# **German Abstract**

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Thematik Kulturtourismus, insbesondere mit dem Bereich Literaturtourismus in Verbindung mit der Britischen Autorin Jane Austen. Ziel der Arbeit ist es, verschiedene Konzepte, die im Literaturtourismus eine entscheidende Rollen spielen, und deren Aufscheinen in der online Tourismuswerbung in Bezug auf Jane Austen zu untersuchen. Ein weiterer Untersuchungsgegenstand ist der auf Webseiten auftretende Zusammenhang von Text- und Bildmaterial im Sinne einer Multimodalität.

Im ersten Teil der Abhandlung werden für den Kultur- und Literaturtourismus bedeutende Theorien aufgegriffen und erläutert. Es wird darauf eingegangen, wie es zum heutigen Ansehen von Kultur und Kulturerbe und im Zuge dessen zur Beliebtheit dieser Form des Tourismus gekommen ist. Jene Aspekte des Literaturtourismus, die besonders berücksichtigt werden sollen, sind Themen der Authentizität, der Kommerzialisierung sowie der Erfahrung von Erlebnissen vor und während einer Reise. Weiter soll erläutert werden, welche Gründe und Motivationen hinter dem Praktizieren von Literaturtourismus in besonderem Zusammenhang mit Jane Austen stehen.

Im zweiten Teil der Arbeit folgt die Analyse verschiedener Webseiten von Tourismusportalen, die Destinationen und Regionen mit dem Namen Jane Austen bewerben. Der Fokus hier wird auf das Auftreten der zuvor behandelten Konzepte im sprachlichen Werbetext gelegt. Es sollen auch die Fragen beantwortet werden, ob die verbalen Beschreibungen als eine Art Geschichte wahrgenommen werden können, und ob weiter die Summe aller untersuchten Internetseiten zu einer Art Erzählung der Biografie der Autorin zusammengefasst werden können. Zudem soll auch die Sprache der Bilder und die Anordnung von visuellen und verbalen Elementen untersucht werden.

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