ABSTRACT

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Gettysburg is the site of the largest battle and death toll during the entire American Civil War. Ghost tours are a tourism business and performance genre that arose out of the notion that the spirits of these dead soldiers have lingered on since the battle. Some tourists join a ghost tour in hopes of encountering a ghost, but almost all tourists expect to be entertained. My project is to define the ghost tour as a distinct genre and examine each of the elements that comprise a ghost tour performance. I argue that the most effective ghost tour is the tour that is best able to render ghosts as a potential truth and perform potential truth as a form of entertainment. How do ghost tour guides render ghosts' presence a genuine possibility for their tour groups? How might we understand performance and entertainment as a means to activate sincere belief?

ENTERTAINING GHOSTS: GETTYBURG GHOST TOURS AND THE PERFORMANCE OF BELIEF

By

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> When the guide begins you'll look around just to see what's out there. Check out your surroundings. When all of a sudden in the shadows of the trees in the distance or in an alley between two buildings, figures of men will appear out of nowhere. Sometimes there's two, sometimes there's three of them, each with their own heights and builds, sometimes they're wearing hats, sometimes they're not. But what they do is stand perfectly still and just stare at the group. What's strange is, when the group picks up to move on to the next stop, the figures just vanish into thin air... Now under a different tree or in a different alley between two different buildings, the same number of figures will appear, same heights, same builds, same types of hats on, again standing motionless and staring at the group. But when the group picks up and moves on the figures again disappear... So you see, when you're here in Gettysburg and you're out looking for ghosts, maybe the ghosts are out looking for you. And you might want to watch the shadows and the alleys for the rest of the tour. Please follow me into the trees.
>
> -Ray Davis, "Seminary Ridge Tour"

Introduction

Most tourists begin a ghost tour reasonably doubtful that they will experience a ghost, although they may recall seeing a special on the paranormal on television or having had a strange experience at home. The job of the ghost tour is to persuade the tourist that she or he may encounter a ghost. On an effective tour, the longer the tour goes, the more convinced the tourist becomes. There may be moments when doubt peeks through, but a new story or a new site convinces the tourist anew. The more convinced the tourist becomes that she or he may encounter a ghost, the more thrilling the tour. Usually, tourists do not encounter ghosts directly, but every once in a while they do (or they perceive that they do). This "real possibility" of encountering a ghost is the elusive and unlikely basis on which ghost tours build a performance to entertain their audiences.

Ghost tours hand out advertisements on the street to encourage tourists to join their tour. Ghostly Images promises to "take you inside a truly haunted house," and Sleepy Hollow's Seminary Ridge tour flyer suggests that "untimely endings, regrets, and unfinished business leave this area in an unending march of spirits." On a Farnsworth

House candlelight ghost walk, the tourist can expect that "the veils of the spirit [will] open to catch a glimpse of soldiers and civilians long dead, who still reach across the barriers of time." The primary context for tours, indeed the most central agreement struck with tourists, is that ghosts are present in the spaces that the tours visit, and that ghost tour guides will lead their tour groups to them. But this is not to suggest that ghost tours are all serious paranormal investigation and no play. A hot pink Battlefield Memories flyer features a dancing skeleton, the Civil War Hauntings brochure depicts a family of smiling ghosts above the promise of a free glow bracelet with every tour, and the Ghosts of Gettysburg advertisement asks "do you believe in ghosts?"

Ghost tours do not promise ghosts, they perform them. They tour sites through the streets and fields of Gettysburg, using narrative to construct ghosts in the spaces they visit. They blend the quest for the genuine ghost encounter with the quest for pleasure and entertainment. They entertain their tour groups by enticing them to entertain the possibility of ghosts. The fact that this ghost play is taking place on the streets of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, adds another dimension to the performance. Ghost stories are prevalent throughout the country, but Gettysburg bears a particularly unique and noteworthy reputation. It is arguably the most mythologized spot in the country or at least the most mythologized Civil War battlefield. It has been constructed as "the turning point of the Civil War" and features more monuments than any other battlefield in the country. It also bears the distinct reputation of being a place where roughly 11,000 men and boys died. All of these individuals died violently and, in many cases, horrifically. Ghost tour guides consistently reference the number of the dead and the horrific nature of their deaths. Quantity and trauma form an important basis for the assertion that there are

significant ghostly phenomena in Gettysburg. How do ghost tours play with Gettysburg's ghosts, and how does play serve to help guides in rendering ghosts as a possible presence on their tours? How do ghost narratives, as the central feature of the tour performance, convince tourists that ghosts wander the streets of Gettysburg? And what place does the ghost encounter occupy in the tour performance?

My research was conducted over the course of four months from August to November of 2007. I visited the town weekly, staying for between one and four days each week. My research methodology included participant observation, interviews, surveys, audience questionnaires, and archival research. I conducted eighteen formal interviews with guides and proprietors as well as numerous informal interviews with residents, business owners, park rangers, and local historians. I participated as an audience member on fifteen tours. I audio recorded a tour from each of the eight companies recognized by the borough of Gettysburg and took notes on twelve of the fifteen tours. I attended history tours, visited museums, spoke with re-enactors, attended a ghost storytelling competition, and sat with tour guides while they solicited tourists on the street. In October, I was invited by the Sleepy Hollow of Gettysburg ghost tour company to become a guide. I performed fourteen tours as a ghost tour guide over the course of six weeks and kept a journal in which I recorded the events of each tour.

Throughout my research and analysis I have taken what sociologist Erik Goode identifies as a moderate constructionist approach (2000: 37). The moderate constructionist scholar holds that the truth or falsity of paranormal claims is secondary, but not irrelevant to the study of paranormal belief cultures. As David J. Hufford argues, "events accurately observed and reasoning properly carried out are in some cases central

in the development and maintenance of folk belief" (1982: xiii).Thus, although I have focused my attention on how ghost tours construct the paranormal through tour performances, I have also considered the variety of strange phenomena that often become part of the tour performance. Whenever possible, I have attempted to investigate the paranormal claims made by tour guides and tourists to see what truth there is to their assertions. These investigations will only enter my analysis insofar as they help me to better understand the dynamics of the ghost tour performance.

My project is to define the ghost tour as a distinct genre. Ghost tours do not fit neatly into existing categories created by history tourism, storytelling, the performance of folklore and legend, or traditional theatrical performance. Ghost tours reference and borrow from these forms, but they also innovate on and depart from them to establish their own unique category. In order to define the genre, I will examine each of the elements that comprise a ghost tour performance: the tour group, the tour guide, the spaces that tours visit, the ghost narratives, and those events that tours contextualize as paranormal encounters. I will further investigate how these elements can be utilized to create the most effective ghost tour. I will argue that the most effective ghost tour is the tour that is best able to (1) render ghosts as a potential truth and (2) perform potential truth as a form of entertainment. A performance of potential truth should be understood as the assertion of the possibility (as opposed to the absolute promise) of the reality and presence of ghosts in Gettysburg. Ghost tour guides entertain and engage their audiences by playing with the paranormal, never positively asserting nor denying Gettysburg's ghosts.

> I really want them to know what happened at Gettysburg, to the town and its people. I want them to gain some history and the sense of awe I feel...I want them to remember Gettysburg for what happened here and if something paranormal happens that's an added bonus for them.
>
> -Sandy Kime, ghost tour guide

Chapter I: Ghost Tour History

Gettysburg is located in south central Pennsylvania, just north of the border with Maryland. According to the most recent published statistics from the borough, Gettysburg has a population of 7,490. Of Gettysburg's residents, 6,401 are white, there are about 400 more women than men, and 155 families live below the poverty level. The median income in Gettysburg is $40,489 and the median value of a house is $109,400. Scholar John Weeks estimated that 1.7 million tourists visited Gettysburg in 2000 (2003: 198). My sources have indicated that this figure has risen to roughly 2 million. The Gettysburg Convention and Visitor's Bureau estimated that tourists spent $264 million in Gettysburg in 2002 and that number rose to $312 million in 2005.

Since Gettysburg is a town whose fame and tourist appeal is directly linked with its historical significance as the site of one of the largest battles of the Civil War, the relevant history for my project goes back as far as the summer and fall of 1863. The days of the battle, July 1, 2, and 3, mark what might be called the most influential moment in the town's history since they form the basis for a significant shift in the town's identity. The military campaign ending in Gettysburg was the second invasion of the Union by Confederate forces. At Gettysburg, the Confederate's Army of Northern Virginia under the command of General Robert E. Lee was successfully repelled by the Union's Army of the Potomac under the command of General George Meade. This event has since been mythologized as the turning point of the Civil War. The location of Pickett's Charge–the

final climactic Confederate assault–has been preserved as a national park, and the event itself has been labeled the "high water mark" of the Confederacy's military effort. The battle was the most devastating in terms of casualties of the entire American Civil War (Sears 2004). It marked the beginning of and the basis for the tourist culture to follow as well as much of the folklore surrounding ghosts in the town. The tours' stories draw from 1863 to the turn of the twentieth century and then roughly from 1960 to the present. There is a gap of about sixty years from 1900 to1960 that few (if any) of the stories discuss.

In 1986, the proprietors of the Farnsworth House, a bed and breakfast on the main street in town, employed storytellers to share ghost stories in their basement. These stories never left the basement so they do not represent the first ghost "tour," but they are the first live performance of ghost stories in Gettysburg. In 1994 Mark Nesbitt opened The Ghosts of Gettysburg, the first official company to bring groups of tourists on a walking tour of the town while performing ghost stories.[1] In 1997, Cindy Codori Shultz began a walking tour for the Farnsworth House. These walking tours represented an expansion in Farnsworth's ghost storytelling business. The Farnsworth House's storytellers continued to perform ghost stories in the basement under the management of Patty O' Day. In 2001, Tammy and Jeff Raseo started the third tour company in Gettysburg, Civil War Hauntings. Shortly afterward, Cindy split with the Farnsworth House and formed Sleepy Hollow of Gettysburg. Farnsworth continued to give ghost tours as well as stories in the basement. In 2002, Haunted Gettysburg started giving tours.

1 One of my informants suggested that an individual gave ghost tours to tourists in the 1960s, but accounts are sparse and dubious at best. In any event, if this tour existed it is decidedly disconnected from the movement that I am attempting to track here.

That company split the following year, forming "the Black Cat" tour. In 2005, Ghostly Images of Gettysburg formed and became the first tours centered on touring the insides of historical buildings: the Jennie Wade House and Museum, the "orphanage," and the Hall of Presidents. The most recent tour in my investigation, Battlefield Memories, was started by Ed Reiner in the summer of 2007. Since then, a ninth company has formed, giving "haunted" trolley tours of the town.

There are several phases from which Gettysburg's ghost stories derive. Many of the ghost stories told on the tours come out of the events that occurred between 1863 and 1900. I call this Phase One. Phase Two was a "down time" in the development of ghost stories from 1900 to1960. Phase Three, roughly from 1960 to 1986, represents a resurgence of ghost stories, as discussed earlier, many based on ghosts said to have died as a result of the battle. Phase Four, from 1986 to the present represents a transition in the oral tradition of ghost stories in Gettysburg: the beginning of commercial performances for tourists and the proliferation of ghost tours in the town.

The ghost tour "season" begins in March, when middle and high school classes travel to Gettysburg on field trips and are brought to the ghost tours in groups in the evening. From July to August the regular tourist season begins, and tourists on summer vacations, largely brought to Gettysburg because of its Civil War history, provide the bulk of the ghost tour industry's profits. During the month of September, the business slows but does not stop completely. From October to November, the tourists' focus shifts as a result of the Halloween season. More tourists arrive specifically for the ghost tours. Gettysburg is largely an outdoor vacation, and cold Pennsylvania winters cause a significant drop in tourism from November to March. This is the ghost tours' off season.

Key events that generate a spike in audience numbers and profits are the anniversary of the battle, July 1 through 3, the weekends preceding Halloween and Halloween itself, and the weekend before or including the anniversary of the Gettysburg Address, November 19 (also known as Remembrance Day).

As with many oral cultures, Gettysburg's oral ghost culture is very fluid (see Bauman 1977 and Lord 2000). There are certain stories that recur on tours over and over again, many of which I have told myself as a guide. An important event in the history of Gettysburg's ghost tour industry was a court case in 1997. Mark Nesbitt, founder of the first tour in town, sued Cindy Codori Shultz and the Farnsworth House for infringing on his copyright over the ghost stories that he had published in his books and were being told on his tours. The judge ruled in favor of the Farnsworth House, asserting that Nesbitt's stories were "folklore and legend," and as such could not be copyrighted. The stories belonged to the entire community. As a result of that ruling, tour companies and guides now freely borrow from one another. Proprietors worry over borrowing, but there is little they can do to stop it.

This is not to say that the tours in town are necessarily repetitive. You will hear stories from the "canon"[2] of Gettysburg ghost tales on every tour, but every tour is also personalized by the guide. A tour with any guide in town will inevitably include stories that come directly from the guide's own personal experience or have been passed exclusively to the guide (or tour company) by an audience member or member of the

2 Canon is a convenient term, but it requires some qualification. Although many of Gettysburg's ghost stories are recorded in text by authors like Mark Nesbitt, guides do not necessarily go to these books to gather their stories. The guides at *Sleepy Hollow*, for example, take their stories from each other. The stories that I would locate as being in the canon are transmitted orally, through text, or through some combination of both. What makes them canon stories is that they are told by more than one tour company.

Gettysburg community. As a guide, I began exclusively with the stories from the canon that I had gathered attending tours in town. Indeed, I continued to use many stories for the duration of my tenure. However, after about a week as a tour guide, audience members began sharing ghost experiences that they were having both in the town and on my tours. My role as a ghost tour guide encouraged people to share their stories in ways that my role as a researcher did not. I included these stories in the content my tour, and my tour gradually formed into something that was unique to me.

The tours are run out of souvenir stores, sutler shops, from roadside stands, and one company–Mark Nesbitt's Ghosts of Gettysburg–has its own building (see Images 1, 2, and 3). These bases of operation are located primarily on Steinwehr Avenue and Baltimore Street, but Ed Reiner operates his tour from York Street. "Town" tours are linked to each company's operational base. Tourists leave from the operational base and the tours are bounded by the space that can be covered during a sixty to ninety-minute tour. A second spatial genre of ghost tours sends its audience to meet at a location that is not the tour's base of operation. For example, Sleepy Hollow of Gettysburg and Ghosts of Gettysburg give tours at the Lutheran Theological Seminary. A third spatial genre blends a walking tour of the town with a tour of a historical building. Currently, the Farnsworth House and Ghostly Images of Gettysburg are the only two tours entering buildings. I should also note that some companies and individual storytellers perform outside of Gettysburg. Mark Nesbitt recently opened a ghost tour at Fredericksburg, another significant Civil War site in Virginia, and Ed Reiner indicated that he would be telling ghost stories in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Gettysburg is one of many ghost tour traditions in America and Europe. It is

difficult to trace the history of ghost tours, but one of my informants suggested that the "Jack the Ripper" tour in London was among the first in existence (Raseo, interview, August 07). Guides have different opinions on just how haunted Gettysburg is in relation to other American towns. I have heard different guides refer to Gettysburg as the first, third, and seventh most haunted town in America. When asked to suggest which towns are more haunted, one guide volunteered Baton Rouge and New Orleans in Louisiana (Lyons tour, August 07). Salem is also a name that frequently surfaces as a close competitor, if not more haunted space than Gettysburg. This is not to say that these are the only sights that offer ghost tours. Ghost tours are so prolific today that you can find them in small towns like Bordentown, New Jersey and blatantly unhistoric tourist destinations like Myrtle Beach, South Carolina.

> All the other ghost tours that can't come in [the Jennie Wade House] tell their people if you put your finger through that [bullet] hole in the outside door you'll get a proposal of marriage within a year... So I'm in the kitchen and hear this girl outside... all-of-a-sudden I see this finger come through the hole. Well, I couldn't help myself. I grabbed the girl's finger. She let out a scream that must have been heard blocks away. But the problem was, she started pullin' so fast and I had her finger, I was afraid if I let go she might fall backwards down the steps... And she's screamin' even louder. She's callin' to whoever else is out there: 'help me! help me! the ghost has my finger!'
>
> -Joe Svehla, ghost tour manager and guide

Chapter II: Ghost Tourist

Touring Ghosts

Why do tourists attend ghost tours? A surface glance at the emerging ghost tour tradition might suggest that tourists are motivated by the desire to encounter a ghost. What other purpose could a ghost tour serve if not to bring the tourist and the ghost together, to "tour ghosts" in a manner of speaking. If ghosts were an accepted feature of Western culture's physical world like buildings or trees, it would be much easier for Western society to accept this motivation as central to the tour. But ghosts, by their very nature, are the antithesis of the concrete. They are unrecognized by mainstream science, often identified as a product of superstition and backward thinking. Despite proofs offered by paranormal investigators, ghosts are generally understood as a matter of belief. The ghost is a controversial entity, and this is what makes the seemingly facile encounter between tourist and ghost an endlessly complex event. Is it reasonable for a tourist to expect to encounter a ghost on a ghost tour? How can you tour something that may not even be there?

What is a ghost? Cultures the world over offer vast and variegated answers to this question (c.f. Bennet 1999, Freed and Freed 1993, Gainer 1975, Montell 1975, Williams

1934, and Finucane 1984). Ghosts are understood as the continued conscious presence of an individual after her or his death. This presence is independent of the individual's physical body and can be said to have exited the body at death. Many tour guides, in the context of their tours, talk about ghosts as existing in a separate plane that is spatially layered on top of our own. In other words, the ghosts exist in the same space that the living do, but are not immediately perceptible to living people.

Ghost tours hold that ghosts can make a conscious effort to manifest themselves to the living. "Manifestation" is a term used to describe an instance in which the ghost allows the living to sense her or him. Manifestations are very often a visceral encounter with the feelings and sensations that the ghost experienced in life. Certain spaces, called "haunted" spaces, are said to be locations in which manifestations are more common. Haunting implies that a ghost is regularly present in that space. In other words, whether or not the ghost chooses to render a manifestation, she or he is likely to be occupying the haunted site. The ghost encounter happens when a tourist experiences a manifestation in a haunted space. Ray Davis[3] constructs the ghost encounter by offering a complete breakdown of ghost manifestations in his tour introduction:

> Tonight I would like to start by explaining how people experience ghosts... Visual apparitions appearing out of thin air do make for the better stories, but for the most part people normally don't see ghosts. Rather the most common way to experience a ghost is by hearing them... you might hear glass breaking on the floor or a door open and close. Well when you go to investigate there is no broken glass anywhere and the door is still locked and you are all alone in the room. Another way to experience a ghost is by smelling them. You might smell pipe smoke in the air and look around and no one is smoking a pipe or gunpowder

3 Ray Davis is notable as the only member of the ghost tour community that I have come across (guide, manager, or proprietor) who consciously "theorized" the practice. He composed a manual for the company he managed, Ghosts of Gettysburg, that offered both practical advise about giving tours and more abstract suggestions on the best way to perform a tour and a narrative. Ray was the first to suggest to me that a ghost tour was about creating the "possibility" of the ghost rather than insisting on the ghost's presence (interview August and September 07).

> in the air and never hear any gun shots go off.... Another way it is said you can experience ghosts is by feeling them. For example you might be walking through an older building here in town, down a hallway or up a staircase and you experience a cold spot, a drastic change in the temperature of the air, very seclusive to one part of the room Many believe that is a ghost as well (transcript, February 06).

Ray begins by discounting the visual sensation as unlikely. His implicit message is, "do not be disappointed if you do not see a ghost tonight." An important facet of the perception of the ghost manifestation is that it is anomalous. The more dramatic the experience, the rarer its frequency. The anomalous nature of ghost manifestations is part of what make ghost tours and ghost stories so appealing. Visual sensations are also the furthest stretch of the imagination. It is less difficult, however, for the tour group to entertain the possibility that they may hear or feel a ghost. As Gillian Bennett argues, "storytellers' and audiences' knowledge of what constitutes a proper supernatural event helps create the final shape of the stories... conversely, knowledge of the stories is part of the shape we give to our supernatural experiences" (1999: 5). A subtle experience like a scent, sound, or touch is more believable as a "proper supernatural event." Consequently, Ray's narrative prepares the audience for those kinds of experiences.

Ray encourages his audience to play with their sensations, to open themselves to the idea that a sound or a smell may be an encounter with a ghost. The notion of play is essential to Ray's list: you *might* hear glass breaking, you *might* smell pipe smoke, *it is said* you can feel ghosts, *many believe* that is a ghost. Ray is not insisting that these sensations are always evidence for ghosts. Rather, he is inviting the audience to question their sensations. In this way, the tour group's degree of willingness to open themselves to the possibility of ghosts will in part determine whether or not they are able to have a ghost encounter on the tour.

Certain individuals among the living are said to have a particular ability to sense the dead. In other words, in a given circumstance a ghost may become perceptible to certain individuals present but not others. Mike Lyons, a Farnsworth tour guide told a story of bringing a group of sorority sisters from the University of Maryland to a field by Gettysburg High School: "I couldn't see a thing. Half of them [the group] couldn't see a thing. But the other half were watching three men down there by the trees... three men digging away" (tour, August 07). Certain technology may allow individuals to make ghosts perceptible when they are not otherwise detectable to the limited senses of the human body. Electromagnetic meters, sound meters, and digital cameras are the devices most used on tours for this purpose. Civil War Hauntings provides their tourists with their own electromagnetic meters to sense ghosts, and every tour that I attended referenced the digital camera's ability to photograph ghostly phenomena. In a broader culture that places so much value on empirical, scientifically verifiable experience, photographs, electromagnetic readings, and recordings are a popular means for encountering the paranormal. Photographs are concrete and not subject to accusations of hallucination or delusion.[4] If I am the only person in a group to experience a strange scent, for example, there is no way for me to corroborate my experience. Ghost photographs, on the other hand, can be passed around, shared, and investigated by many individuals.

Ghost tourists know that the experience with the ghost is rare, and they know that they lack the expertise to encounter the ghost unguided. To that end, the tourist purchases a ticket for a ghost tour, enlisting the services of a ghost tour guide in order to seek out or

4 After a tourist has left the tour with her or his picture, computers allow for photograph manipulation that throw considerable doubt on the images. But out on the streets of Gettysburg, the pictures are shared soon after they are taken and before tourists have access to the necessary tools to alter the images.

be "guided" to the ghosts. The fact that the ghost meeting is both anomalous and subject to skepticism is the challenge that the ghost tour guide must meet in order for the tour to succeed. The ghost tour guide's task is to mediate between the world of the ghost and the world of the ghost tourist in order to perform an effective tour. This is no small task, but guides meet it every night as they tour ghosts in the streets, fields, and historical buildings of Gettysburg.

Although the tourist might want a direct encounter with the paranormal, she or he does not demand it. Ghost tourists generally understand that such an experience is unlikely, and they are often content to accept the possibility of the meeting in its stead. In other words, if the tourist is convinced or at least able to entertain the possibility that she or he may experience a ghost on the tour, this is often enough to satisfy the desire for a ghost meeting. Usually, the tour achieves this through story. The tour guide tells purportedly true stories about ghosts in or around Gettysburg in order to establish the idea that they might appear on the tour. The tourist wants to experience the thrill of possibly encountering something paranormal during the tour, but does not have to actually have that experience in order to enjoy the tour. Thus, the ghost meeting can be hypothetical, but it must also be performed as genuinely as possible in order to be effective.

Ghost Tourism

Tourism is often defined in terms of the objective of the tourist. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Edward M. Bruner define the tourist's objective as "pleasure or edification" (1992: 300). David Brown goes a step further and suggests that the quest for pleasure is a quest for the self, and the quest for what he calls knowledge or experience is the quest for the other (1996: 35). Both of these quests are evident in the ghost tour. On

ghost tours, tourists do not quest for a culturally foreign other, but rather a paranormal other. Colin Davis argues that "the spectre is also a figure of the other, of the strange and the stranger, of that which in me is other than myself and that which outside me is more than I can know" (2007: 76). The ghost is always unfamiliar to us, existing within us in a place we cannot identify and outside of us in a world we know little or nothing about. Ghost tourists join a tour, in part, to encounter the paranormal other and learn something about it through their experience. Ghost tourists also quest for entertainment. Having spent the day learning Gettysburg's history, they want some relief from the seriousness of the battle. They want a performance that will entertain rather than educate them. So, to the extent that ghost tourists seek a kind of fanciful entertainment, they are on a pleasure quest. To the extent that they seek a genuine experience of the paranormal, they are on a quest for the other.

In the composition of a ghost tour group, there are various combinations of tourists seeking many different kinds of experiences. In *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, Dean MacCannell argues that, "all tourists desire [a] deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel" (1976: 10). Thus, all tourists are "authenticity" seekers. From MacCannell's argument, I might suggest that all ghost tourists are to some degree seeking an authentic experience of the paranormal. Erik Cohen, on the other hand, suggests that although some tourists are interested in authentic experience, some travel for recreation or diversion. The recreational tourist tends to have "a playful attitude of make-believe" and the diversionary tourist "seek[s] mere diversion and oblivion" and "will remain unconcerned with the problem of authenticity" (1988: 377). Recreational and diversionary ghost

tourists might approach the ghost tour as a fun exercise in fiction as opposed to a genuine experience with a haunted space. In other words, authenticity seekers are very likely motivated by the meeting with the ghost, whereas recreational and diversionary pleasure seekers are not.

I collected forty-one audience surveys in three separate tour groups with three different ghost tour companies (see Appendix A). One of my questions was: what made you decide to come on a ghost tour tonight? There were only eight responses that I would categorize as identifying authenticity seekers: three respondents mentioned haunting or the paranormal and five respondents mentioned curiosity or the desire for a new experience. On the pleasure side, nine respondents mentioned fun or enjoyment. I would not suggest that these results offer any clear idea of how many people attend purely to be entertained versus how many attend purely to experience a ghost. In fact, a majority of the respondents offered reasons that have little do with either motivation. Eleven respondents indicated that they were attending for someone else: "my wife believes," "my parents wanted to do this with the grandchildren," etc. It is impossible to determine how many of these eleven respondents had some individual desire to attend and how many were coerced against their will by a friend or family member. One respondent said he was attending "just for the hell of it," another that it was a "beautiful evening for a ghost walk," and yet another than she had come to Gettysburg every year and never been on a ghost tour before. Although these responses may hint in one direction or another, they do not provide a definitive sense of why tourists choose to become ghost tourists.

I cannot deny the likelihood of recreational and diversionary tourists attending ghost tours, however, the typical ghost tourist does have at least some desire for the

authentic ghost meeting. As an audience member and as a ghost tour guide, the question I most frequently heard before a tour began was some variation on, "Am I going to see a ghost tonight?" As Sleepy Hollow guide Ed Kenney said during the introduction to his tour: "I've been doing ghost walks for a decade now... and a lot of people have questions, people want to know what is a ghost walk, what do you do, and one of the real common questions people have is they wanna know am I gonna see a ghost?" (tour, August 07). Ghosts of Gettysburg offers several different tours in different areas, and Ray Davis told me that the question he hears that "drives him crazy" is "which tour are you gonna see the most ghosts on?" (interview, August 07). This question was only occasionally asked as joke, and often implied: (1) the asker's willingness to believe in the possibility of seeing a ghost; and (2) the asker's desire to actually see a ghost. Ghost tourists often demonstrated a predisposition to believe in ghosts by sharing their own ghost stories with their guides. In the journal I kept while working as a ghost tour guide, there are numerous examples of tourists sharing stories of their own experiences with the supernatural. The following is a paraphrase of a story that a woman shared with me after one of my tours had ended.

> I had been having a series of experiences in my house that led me to believe it was haunted so I invited paranormal investigators to come out. They confirmed my experiences as being paranormal in origin and told me that if I kindly asked the ghosts to leave, they would. So I asked them to leave, and they didn't bother me anymore (November 17, 2007).

After telling her story, the woman proceeded to ask me if I had experienced any ghosts while giving tours. Tourists' ghost beliefs are evident in their personal narratives about the ghosts they have encountered outside the tour context. From the last tourist's question about my experiences, I can infer a certain desire to confirm the reality of the ghost meeting in Gettysburg. Tourists have also shared stories with me of experiencing

ghosts in hotels, on previous tours, in other cities, and of capturing ghost images in film (see Appendix H).

Tourists' attempts to photograph ghosts are perhaps the greatest evidence for their desire to encounter a ghost. Ghost photography is based on the premise that although a ghost may be invisible to the naked eye, it might still create an image on a digital camera. Ghost tour guides usually suggest that digital cameras have a particular propensity to capture ghost images that conventional cameras lack. This explains why ghost photographs have become much more prevalent in the last ten to fifteen years. Digital cameras capture a range of images including fogs, spectral faces, and–in one photograph sent to me by a ghost tourist–swooping lines of laser-like colored light. The most frequent photographs captured by digital cameras, however, are "orbs," which look like simple colored circles of light, usually white (see Images 4, 5, and 6). Tourists snap pictures wherever the guide suggests a ghost may appear, seemingly in hopes of capturing one on their digital screen.

On almost every tour that I attended or guided, at least one tourist and often several brought cameras and attempted to photograph ghosts. On the Ghostly Tales of Gettysburg Tour, an audience member took a series of photographs that he showed the guide, saying "look, orbs" (August 07). A Haunted Gettysburg guide suggested that "anyplace I take you, you can come back... we do get really neat pictures on our walks." Shortly after the guide's comment tourists began taking pictures and capturing orbs (September 07). On a Ghostly Images tour, the guide spoke to a particular ghost, inviting her presence so that the audience could photograph her. He encouraged the use of

cameras to capture orbs, and members of audience wandered around snapping pictures while the guide talked (August 07).

The Ghostly Images tour company bases its business model on the tourists' desire for the ghost photograph. As far as I was able to observe, Ghostly Images tours had the greatest ratio of tourists to cameras of all the companies in town. In each of the buildings that the company tours, they have galleries of ghost photographs hung on the walls, and they always allow special time on the tour for tourists to go around attempting to photograph ghosts. On the Haunted Orphanage Tour, ghost tourists are brought down into a basement and invited to photograph the room in the dark. On the tour that I attended, the guide, Bob Michels, suggested that a particular back corner was a popular spot to capture photographs of ghosts. Although the corner was cramped and required tourists to bend and even get down on the ground, several in the group happily complied in their effort to photograph a ghost.

In addition to their scientific import as empirical evidence, ghost photographs have added value as souvenirs. Even though the tourist may never directly sense a ghost, the photograph becomes a testament to the fact that the tourist was present in the same space as a ghost. Alice Rayner suggests that "the impulse of the tourist to collect objects from sites visited surely belongs to a desire to possess the durability of the past and future and to feel that other as the same" (2006: 82). In capturing the ghost photograph, the tourist is attempting to form a permanent and durable identification with the ghost. The photograph renders this ultimate other, "the strange and the stranger" in Colin Davis's terms, into something that can be possessed. The tourist can bring the ghost home, transforming the ghost into a subsumed part of her or his life.

When a tourist stands passively listening to ghost stories and following a guide around the streets, fields, and buildings of Gettysburg, it is difficult to suggest that this tourist has any particular motivation for or expectation of encountering a ghost. When that same tourist takes out her or his camera and begins photographing an empty parking lot or blank wall, however, the situation changes. Lifting the camera, looking through the viewfinder, and snapping the picture transition the tourist from a passive to an active role. This action indicates that the tourist entertains the possibility that a ghost is present (although invisible) and asserts the tourist's desire to experience that ghost. If the tourist can manage to capture the ghost photograph, she or he has confirmed the ghost's presence, thereby encountering the ghost. Haunted Gettysburg guides suggest that tourists photograph an empty gravel lot and a weed-ridden creek bed beside Gettysburg's hospital parking lot; Farnsworth recommends photographing the field beside the Gettysburg High School track; and Sleepy Hollow offers a parking lot across from the municipal building. None of these locations make for particularly scenic photographs, and tourists outside the context of ghost tours would probably never give them a second look. Nevertheless, as soon as the tour guide indicates that ghosts may be present or have previously appeared in photographs in that area, ghost tourists quickly pull out their cameras and start snapping away.

Tourist Belief

These narratives and photographs are not meant to suggest that ghost belief is an unquestioned part of ghost tourists' worldviews. In the quest for the ghost, doubt is as much a motivation as belief. Colin Davis imagines the internal monologue of a ghost believer and disbeliever respectively in *Haunted Subjects*: "I know ghosts don't exist, but

I still believe in them; or, alternatively, I don't believe in ghosts, but I don't entirely believe my lack of belief" (2007: 8). In *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, Jean-Claude Schmitt defines belief as "a never-completed activity, one that is precarious, always questioned, and inseparable from the recurrences of doubt" (1998: 7). Finally, Linda Degh argues that "belief is fluctuating, hesitant and selective, not consistent or absolute" (1996: 39). As I stated earlier, the desire for the ghost encounter indicates a willingness to entertain the possibility of the ghost as a genuine reality. It is not evidence for definitive belief in the paranormal. Even when a tourist has a ghost experience or captures a ghost photograph, doubt often remains. From a purely objective perspective, there is nothing about a photograph of an orb that would suggest a ghost. These photographs are connected to ghosts through a strong context that is based in the paranormal investigation community. There is also the chance that photographs could have a perfectly natural explanation: dust, weather, reflecting light, etc. Ghost tour guides are not content to look at a photograph and qualitatively state, "that is a ghost." Instead, the guide usually suggests that the tourist take further measures to corroborate the photograph and make a stronger case. Most guides talk about ghost photographs as probable rather than definitive proof of the existence of ghosts.[5]

Most ghost tourists never experience a ghost meeting (or what they interpret as a ghost meeting) in the course of a tour. I gave fourteen tours over six weeks, and I would

5 Joe Svehla, manager and guide for Ghostly Images, told the following story: "I went down the cellar [of the Jennie Wade House] about three o' clock in the morning. It's pitch dark and I'm down there with nothin' but a flashlight... the flashlight hit the plexiglass in front of the painting and all-of-a-sudden here was a 'ghost' on the back wall. And then I realized as I moved the flashlight here or there I could make this 'ghost' move back and forth. So it turns out all those pictures weren't a ghost. The crack in the plexiglass creates this image." He went on to say that he gets many ghost photographs from tourists in the mail, and if he can provide a natural explanation for the photograph, as with the plexiglass, he apologetically writes back that the tourist has not captured an image of a ghost. (interview, September 07)

estimate that among the hundreds of ghost tourists in my groups, only about ten had an experience that they understood as paranormal in nature. Does it follow then that most ghost tourists are dissatisfied with their ghost tour? The short answer is: no. The fact that the business and tradition have not only lasted but grown immensely over the last decade suggests that tourists must enjoy the tour in spite of the fact that they rarely ever experience a ghost. What does that say about the tourist's desire for a genuine ghost encounter? I suggest that, in the context of a ghost tour, the tourist's ghost quest is best understood as buried within a much larger, predominating pleasure quest. On my surveys, I asked tourists if they enjoyed the tour. Not all responded, but those who did said very little about ghosts. Instead, tourists focused on the entertainment aspect of the tour. They consistently mentioned enjoying the stories, the storyteller, or finding the tour "interesting." None mentioned experiencing a ghost or failing to experience one in their judgment. I asked ghost tour guides about the compliments and complaints they had received, and had similar results. One guide indicated that "the only complaint that anyone has ever voiced to me directly was that the walk was too far" (Pritt, pers. comm., October 07)**.** Other guides talked about tourists disliking their sense of humor, the length of the stories, the volume of the guide's voice, and the historical inaccuracy in the narratives. Only one guide mentioned a complaint in which the tourist "wanted her money back because she didn't see a ghost" (pers. comm., September 07). Otherwise, ghosts did not figure into the guides' responses. Compliments tended to revolve around the guide's ability as a performer or storyteller. Thus, although the desire for the ghost meeting is prevalent among tourists, it is not something that they require from the tour.

A brief comparison with history tours reveals the primacy of entertainment in the

ghost tour performance. Bob Michels is a history tour guide at the Jenny Wade House and Museum by day and a ghost tour guide for Ghostly Images by night.[6] I asked Bob which tours he preferred, and he chose the ghost tours. In the first place, he said that ghost tours offered him more variation. His history tour was the same day after day, but there were nine different variations of ghost tours in different areas or buildings that he might perform on any given night. In terms of his audience, he said:

> It's more fun... because... it's entertainment in a way... and [my audiences] are curious about the other side, and a lot of people have fun on the tours. Now history is interesting but it isn't always exactly fun, it's more informative (interview, September 07).

When I toured the Gettysburg National Cemetery, the tour was free and the guide invited tourists to drop out at any time. I noted that the guide did not seem to be talking to anyone on the tour, and did not even notice that I was taking notes on his performance in a notebook. This history guide was not particularly interested in entertaining his audience. He was there to provide historical information, and it mattered very little to him whether or not his audience found it engaging. In contrast, ghost tour guides are consistently preoccupied with engaging their audience and holding the tour group's attention. Guides were so aware of my notebook that they often referenced it aloud to the tour group, and I chose to leave it in my car more than once for fear that it was changing the nature of the tours. As opposed to ghost tours which usually end with one, two, or maybe three questions from the audience, the National Cemetery tour ended with a twenty-minute question and answer session. This suggests the "informative" nature of the

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6 Ghostly Images is run through the Jenny Wade House and Museum, and gives ghost tours of the house as well as other haunted buildings in the vicinity. I attended one of Bob's ghost tours first and his Jenny Wade history tour several weeks later. I conducted my interview with him on the same day that I attended the history tour.

history tour. The history tour guide is primarily concerned with providing accurate or "authentic" information about "authentic" sites and not particularly motivated to entertain. The ghost tour guide, although similarly interested in authenticity (in terms of the ghost encounter), has a far greater focus on entertaining and engaging the tour group.

> If you have really good guide, you're gonna have a really good time. And that's what I want. I want to get a reputation with that.
>
> -Tammy Raseo, ghost tour proprietor and guide

Chapter III: Ghost Tour Guide

The Guide is the Tour

The ghost tour guide is the central feature of the ghost tour. The tour guide is often the only person that the tourist interacts with during the entire ghost tour experience. Guides usually perform alone.[7] Another party usually sells the tourist a ticket and some companies have a manager or owner who introduces the guide before the tour, but once the tour itself begins, the guide is the tourist's only (living) entertainment. There are two ways to view the guide's performance, dependent upon whether or not we hold that ghosts are actually present in the spaces that tours visit. From a non-believer's perspective, the tour guide can be understood as the entirety of the performance. In other words, if we hold that there never were, are, or will be ghosts in Gettysburg, the guide's performance is all that tourists purchase with their ticket. From the believer's perspective, however, the guide is not alone because the ghosts serve as some portion of the evening's experience. Regardless, the guide's performance continues to fill a high percentage of the tour because the ghost encounter is rare and often very short, lasting no more than a few seconds.

The ghost tourist wants to be entertained and wants to entertain the possibility that she or he may encounter a ghost on the tour. The ghost tour guide's ability to satisfy tourists' dual desires depends largely on how the guide presents her or himself. In order to

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7 Tour guides generally perform alone with one notable exception. Ghostly Images offers a "midnight psychic tour" in which tourists interact with a different guide in every room. As the title of the tour indicates, one of those guides is a psychic.

entertain the tour group, the guide must appear to have the special status of a performer or one who has a unique capacity to engage the group's attention. In order to convince the tour group, the guide must be someone the group can believe. In other words, the guide must appear both skilled and genuine. Often, projecting these two aspects of the role creates a contradiction. Other factors like the practical demands of the ghost tour and the tours' commercialism further challenge the guides' ability to entertain and convince. I will consider the ways in which guides navigate these contradictions and mitigate these challenges in order to perform the most effective role.

Who are the ghost tour guides? In 2007, guides in Gettysburg were mostly Caucasian. They were both male and female, with neither gender clearly predominating. They ranged in age from seventeen to seventy, but most of the guides that I encountered were in their twenties, thirties, and forties. Guides in Gettysburg were generally from the middle class and toured as a part-time occupation or "summer job." Guides were full-time college students, retirees, teachers, writers, hotel clerks, actors at living and natural history museums, history tour guides, sutlers, advertising executives, office managers, sales associates, and massage therapists. Avocationally, I encountered guides who are also paranormal investigators, Civil and Revolutionary War re-enactors, and psychics. Many guides had bachelor's degrees in a number of fields including history, theatre, and education. One guide had a master's degree in American History and another was pursuing a master's in art education. Guides were intelligent, well-spoken, and forthcoming individuals, and I had little difficulty getting them to talk at length about their jobs, lives, and experiences. Guides were often charismatic, engaging, and inclined to tell stories even when they were not performing for a tour group.

Costume and Props

At all but one company in town, guides were required to wear a costume reminiscent of the middle of the nineteenth century. The one exception, Ghostly Images, required that their guides wear a burgundy polo shirt featuring the company's logo. Female guides wear hoop-skirt dresses and male guides wear military uniforms or less formal period "civilian" clothes. I say "reminiscent" because there is a certain range in the style and period accuracy of the costumes guides wear. Ed Reiner, proprietor and sole performer for Battlefield Memories, appears in painstakingly accurate period costume. For the tour that I took with him, he wore a Berdan Sharpshooter's uniform: a green coat and pants and matching hat with a maroon belt, white gloves, epaulets on his sleeves, a knapsack with gold and blue print, and black shoes (tour, August 07). In contrast, when I began giving tours for Sleepy Hollow, I was given a pair of wool pants and a checkered shirt from the Gap, a vest that vaguely matched the pants, and a straw hat (see Image 7). The total outfit alluded to an earlier period, but with far less attention to detail than Ed's complete Berdan uniform.

Often, the challenge presented by costuming is one of balance. Guides must balance the practical demands inherent in guiding a tour and the expense of purchasing period-authentic clothes with the requirement to appear in nineteenth-century dress. When I asked about her costume, Sleepy Hollow guide Tara Leas said,

> I wear period attire: hoop skirt and dress. I generally do not wear all the appropriate underpinnings as they are cumbersome. I try to wear shoes that look period correct enough from a distance (which is why I think my feet hurt all the time!). I do try my best to give a good period impression, I know there are a few things that are a little off and obviously my glasses are way off, but I was not feeling up to shelling out big bucks for period eye wear and also, with not having

> insurance, I thought it best not to be walking blindly into traffic. Only a few have given me real grief about it. Oh, and I did have someone give me heck about plastic buttons once (pers. comm., September 07).

Guides will often mix and match accurate costume pieces with less accurate costume pieces. As Tara notes, there are various reasons for this including comfort, weather, and cost. Costumes and uniforms accurately constructed to match articles worn during the nineteenth century can cost between three hundred and a thousand dollars for a full outfit. There are a number of reasons why guides find authentically recreated clothing inappropriate for ghost tours. Ghosts of Gettysburg guide Steve Anderson noted that, although he has "very nice, very formal outfits" for his job performing living history, "I *don't* use them for tours. I need to be casual, comfortable, approachable, friendly—and if any nasty weather should happen to come up, I can't be freaking out about letting my best wool get wet" (pers. comm., September 07). Thus, the costume is both part of his projected persona and a practical necessity as a result of unpredictable weather.

Male guides are more likely to have less accurate garments as visible portions of their costume. They may wear an authentically created jacket or hat but have a department store button-down shirt on underneath. In colder weather, female guides will wear pajama or gym pants under their skirts. Footwear is the article that most guides feel is most permissibly open to an inaccurate interpretation. Guides are required to walk for as many as three hours a night in back alleys and over fields. Period shoes would prove to be uncomfortable at best and treacherous at worst under these conditions. That having been said, I have never seen a ghost tour guide in sneakers. As Tara notes, the goal is to "give a good period impression." Most guides wear some variation on a boot, usually black or brown. The main pressure to present period-accurate clothing comes from

history-savvy tourists who will challenge guides about inaccuracies like "plastic buttons." Of these tourists, the most critical are the Civil War re-enactors who take great pride in the expensive authenticity of their own outfits. Re-enactors often mock ghost tour guides openly for their more practical and economical gear.

Sleepy Hollow guide Nancy Pritt suggested that the costume contributes to the fun she is able to have on the tour as well as building her tour persona: "I find myself using different voices and posture to keep the effect of a countrified gentlewoman" (pers. comm., October 07). For Nancy, the costume is more than what she is wearing. It is also a symbol for the storyteller and performer that she is embodying. Guides had much to say about how the costume contributed to their audience's experience. Haunted Gettysburg guide, Eileen Hoover, said, "the dress is very important in setting the mood and staging the performance" (pers. comm., August 07). In other words, the costume satisfies the audience's expectations and sets a certain tone for what is to follow. Another guide for Haunted Gettysburg, Betty Roche, stated that "folks want to see what ladies looked like then and I also feel that being in period dress gives you a great deal of credibility" (pers. comm., September 07). Sleepy Hollow guide Ed Kenney offered a similar idea: "I think it adds to the experience some as the guide is not just some Joe off the street but has probably got some experience" (pers. comm., November 07). Both Betty and Ed seem to suggest that the costume is part of what authorizes the guide as a performer. The guide is set apart as someone with "credibility" and "experience," thereby providing the guide with the necessary platform to become a leader and performer within the tour group. In Richard Bauman's terms, the costume is part of what keys a guide's performance (1977: 15). In his discussion of living history tour guides, Michael Mayerfeld Bell argues that

"the visitor knows that the costumed guides are not ghosts, of course, but their presence assists in the mental construction of the apparitions of place" (1997: 829). It informs the audience that the performance will make reference to nineteenth-century history. Understood in this way, the costumes help to make ghosts more present by providing a living example of how they might appear. Without the costume, the guide might get lost in the group and lose some of the connection with the period from which Gettysburg's fame and so many of Gettysburg's ghost stories derive. It is important to note that the costume only go so far as to hint at a historical time. The guide does not use the costume to portray a historical character but rather to make a connection with the history of the space in which they are performing.

Two distinctive props complete the ghost tour guide's ensemble: the satchel and the lantern. Gettysburg guides, including those who do not dress in period clothing, carry these items on their tours. The knapsack is mostly a practical accessory. It is usually a drab beige or off-white. It hints at something a Civil War era soldier might carry without making any real effort at period accuracy. Satchels are carried by women and men alike and contain anything the guide might need in the course of the tour: water, tickets collected from tourists, and matches or a lighter for the lantern. Some guides carry their water in a period or period-like canteen, but most carry the more contemporary Deer Park, Poland Spring, or Aquafina plastic bottle. Although the satchel is largely utilitarian, the lantern is an important key for the guide's performance. The guide carries the lantern from spot to spot, usually placing it on the ground between her or himself and the group to tell stories. Steve Anderson theorizes the import of the lantern to the ghost tour aesthetic: "And of course I must have my candle lantern, partly for a touch of period,

partly for a bit of light to reassure people, and partly ‘cuz kids grow up hearing ghost stories around a campfire—I tell them the lantern is my portable campfire" (pers. comm., September 07). The lantern both adds to and subtracts from the ghost tour's "spookiness." It contributes by alluding to popular images of stories around a campfire and walks through haunted castles, dungeons, and houses with a lit torch or candle. It reassures by lighting otherwise dark and frightening tour stops. Some guides will carry additional props. Ed Reiner carries an authentic Civil War bullet and passes it around to his tour group when he talks about fighting conditions and war injuries. Nancy Pritt carries an album of ghost photographs that she brings out in the middle of her tour and passes around to members of the group. In these instances, props are a way for guides to authenticate their narratives. The bullet is physical proof for Ed's assertions about Civil War ammunition, and the album is proof that the ghosts in Nancy's stories have some physical and concrete basis.

Wages and Tips

This question of salary stirs some controversy in the ghost tour community because there are two different methods that companies use in paying their guides. Ghosts of Gettysburg, representing the first system, pays its guides by the tour. Guides make a set amount (usually between twenty and thirty-five dollars per tour), depending on their level of skill and experience. Sleepy Hollow, representing the second system, pays it guides by the number of tourists in the guide's tour group. Guides make two dollars per tourist if the tourist has paid full price for their ticket and one dollar and fifty cents for discount tickets. Guides' preferences vary. Ghosts of Gettysburg has several guides who have joined them from companies like Sleepy Hollow because they were not

making enough money. On the other hand, Cindy Codori Shultz told me about a meeting she held several years ago in which she asked her guides if they would like to switch from the second system to the first and they unanimously declined. The amount that a guide is able to make in a year depends on the number of tours that the guide is able to give and the time(s) of year in which the guide works. Ghost tour guiding is part-time work. At Sleepy Hollow, some guides worked a full season from March to November, others only worked on occasion or during certain seasons. Guides generally give either one or two tours per night. On average, they work three to five nights a week during the busy season.

Guides earn tips on their tours, but they need to remind tourists that tipping is appropriate. Tourists may be familiar with the custom of tipping waiters and barbers, but the practice of tipping tour guides is less widely known. Consequently, guides often develop tricks or tactics to inform tourists that tips are desired. During the course of one of his stories, Ed Kenney narrates an incident in which his main character attends a ghost walk: "she goes on a ghost walk and found the fella tellin' the stories to be real entertaining... and because she had such a good time she gave the guide a big tip at the end of the walk" (tour, August 07). Ray Davis has several methods for soliciting tips, among them his technique for "planting and watering the seed." At the start of his tour, he says, "I will only accept your tips if you have fun" and then checks in with his group several times throughout the tour to make sure they are indeed having fun. His theory is that if you remind them that they are having fun, they will be more likely to tip. He also distributes lollipops to his group with the understanding that if they feel like they are getting something for free they will be more likely to reciprocate with a tip (interview,

August 07). In my experience both on tours and giving them, I have seen groups tip generously and not at all. Usually, some or most of the group tips, but rarely all participants. Individual tips generally range in size from one to ten dollars.

The fact that tourists pay for tickets and that guides make requests for tips serves to remind the tour group that ghost tours are a commercial venture and guides have a financial motive. But being a "good" guide means your motive must in some way move beyond money. I asked ghost tour guides why they decided to take up this job. Several indicated that they were either persuaded or informed of a job opening by a friend. Many mentioned seeing an advertisement in the newspaper. Guides regularly brought up the desire for supplemental income in conjunction with a certain pleasure they imagined taking in the job: "I wanted to earn extra money and this seemed like an enjoyable way to do so;" "I thought that a part time job was better than no job and that it sounded like fun;" "I needed a part time job and thought it would be fun to do" (Pritt, pers. comm., October 07; Leas, pers. comm., September 07; Kime, pers. comm., September 07)**.** One guide suggested her interest in working with tourists and several cited an involvement in theatre as at least a portion of their motivation. Bob Michels said simply that he "was looking for something that was not the usual job" (interview, September 07). The factors that surfaced most often were supplemental income, an interest in history, and an interest in performing. It is important to note that although money was a consistent motivation for guides, it was never provided as the sole motivation for taking the job.

The "Good" Guide

Nearly anyone can attempt to be a ghost tour guide in Gettysburg. Among the eight companies, numerous jobs and positions frequently open up. Ghosts of Gettysburg

invites applicants to attend as many tours as they need to before giving a tour to the company's proprietor, Mark Nesbitt. Mark then decides if the guide is ready to tell stories to tourists. The company that I worked for required that I attend three tours given by other guides with the company. Guides then give an "apprentice" tour, but there is no final audition. I simply started giving tours. This is not to suggest that tour guiding requires minimal skills or that it is easily accomplished. Like acting or creative writing, anybody can be a ghost tour guide, but only select individuals can do it well. High school and college students are frequently hired, but they tend to be a mark of disgrace for older guides. I talked with, toured with, and worked with nearly thirty guides during the course of my field research. Only one of those thirty was a high school student, and only two were college-age students. The remainder of my contacts were adults who had been performing ghost tours for between three and eleven years.[8]

Tour proprietors all have standards for their guides and must occasionally fire them for failing to meet those standards. As Richard Bauman says, "performance as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence" (1977: 11). The reasons for which guides are fired or the circumstances under which they quit reveal the most rudimentary skills a guide is required to have in order to function. A certain amount of confidence and self-assurance is essential to ghost touring. Cindy Codori Shultz told me that she had fired a guide for being "boring" and not having a "character" (interview, August 07). Cindy's use of the term "character" should not be understood to mean a theatrical

8 This is likely a product of the fact that I began my field research after the busy summer season in July, but it provides a more or less accurate reflection of those guides who perform most often and for the longest duration each year in the various tour companies.

character but rather a performance persona. In theatre, it would be referred to as stage presence. A guide must entertain by providing a service that the tourist can in some way identify as a performance. In other words, a guide must put on a performance self. If a guide fails to perform, then the guide fails to entertain and consequently fails at the tour.

Cindy Codori Shultz suggested that a guide must engage with the audience physically and vocally in a performance, and the guide must focus on the customer during the course of the tour (interview, August 07). Ed Kenney said that his tours are lacking when he has something else on his mind, and that he gives his best performance when he is focused on performing (pers. comm., November 07). Tara Leas said that her performances are most effective when she gets caught up in her own stories (pers. comm., September 07). Knowledgeableness and a connection to the subject of one's stories are two other important qualities for a guide to have. Civil War Hauntings guide and proprietor Tammy Raseo argued that a good guide "knows what happened here and feels strongly about it" (interview, August 07). Steve Anderson insisted that a guide should be educational without boring the audience (pers. comm., September 07). Nancy Pritt cited a need to "know [her] subject matter" (pers. comm., October 07) Almost all guides displayed a certain preoccupation with capturing and holding their audience's attention. Nancy Pritt and Betty Roche talked about a guide's ability to "read" or "see if [the audience is] tuned in" as essential to a successful performance (ibid; pers. comm., September 07). Tara Leas discussed holding the audience's interest by varying voice, movement, and tempo (pers. comm., September 07). Many guides mentioned humor as an important aspect of their performance. Telling jokes, inciting laughter, and balancing the horrific and macabre with humor came up regularly in the guides' responses.

> I feel there's nothing better than to do a tour that people can relate to. The one question you get is are these stories true and I tell people if it happened to me it's true, if people told me about it it's folklore and legend.
>
> -Ed Reiner, ghost tour proprietor and guide

IV. The Genuine Guide and the Playful Performance

The Performance Persona

The guide's genuine sincerity is essential to her or his ability to convince the tour group of anything, let alone the existence of ghosts. The fact that the guide performs ghosts poses a number of challenges to that sincerity which the guide must mitigate. The first challenge comes from the act of performance itself. Guides create a performance persona in order to present a routine, often performed on a nightly basis during the height of the tour season. This performance self is an inevitable product of repetition. Guides' stories are rarely ever "scripted" word for word, but all guides have routes that they are comfortable with and narratives that they perform regularly. This may bolster the ghost tour guide's ability to identify as a skilled performer, but it poses a considerable challenge to their sincerity. Erving Goffman says,

> We tend see real performances as something not purposely put together at all, being an unintentional product of the individual's unselfconscious response to the facts in his situation. And contrived performance we tend to see as something painstakingly pasted together, one false item on another, since there is no reality to which the items of behavior could be a direct response (1997: 105).

Guides overcome this contradiction by maintaining their personal sincerity at the expense of their performance's sincerity. In other words, guides assert throughout the tour that they are sincere while hinting at the fact that their performance may or may not be entirely sincere. There are two significant ways that guides achieve this. First, guides usually perform as themselves. Elizabeth Tonkin argues that "it is open to any storyteller

to construct a self, but because the telling is 'in person' it may be risky to create a persona which deviates too much from what others think is one's personality" (1992: 48-49). The risk that Tonkin refers to is the risk of seeming disingenuous, of not being believed. Of the seventeen guides that I saw perform in Gettysburg, only one performed in character. The other sixteen guides introduced themselves with their own names and never took on a consciously "fictional" self. This removes a level of artifice and illusion from the outset. From the audience's perspective, guides are understood as being no different on tours than they are in daily life. This helps the ghost tour guide to appear more genuine, but the "purposely put together" routine continues to nag at the guide's sincerity by demanding that the guide assume a performance self.

Guides combat the insincerity of this performance self by rendering it porous. The performance self is not an absolute persona that guides assume for the entirety of the performance. Guides move in and out of it, blending it with their non-performed or "real" self. Tourists are introduced to the "real" guide before the tour begins. Tourists are asked to arrive between ten and fifteen minutes before the tour's scheduled start time. The purpose of gathering early is to assure that the tour leaves on time, but this gathering phase has the unintended side effect of establishing the guide's sincerity. Tourists have access to the guide, but the guide is not performing. Although not physically in any "backstage" space, the guide exists in a backstage state. During the gathering phase, guides will often light their lanterns, adjust their costumes, or just hang around and wait for the tour to begin. Their interactions with tourists are entirely informal. They may talk about the paranormal or they may talk about their day job, the best restaurants to eat at, the weather, their costume, etc. Guides rarely address the entire group until the tour

begins, and so these pre-tour interactions are usually one-on-one or with only a few members of the larger group. It is as if the tourist has walked backstage at a play and had a conversation with the actors before the show.

Guides return to this non-performed state every time they move between tour sites. Guides almost never speak to the entire tour group while traveling between sites, and their interactions with tourists become informal and more individual again. Guides always encourage questions, and, since the audience's questions cannot be rehearsed for in advance, guides' answers both appear and often are uncontrived. Even during the course of a story, when the guide's performance self is most firmly assumed, an unanticipated occurrence may inspire the guide to momentarily drop the performance. Loud noises, hecklers, and audience reactions are common opportunities for the guide to drop her or his performance self and respond.

An important metacommunication takes place in these transitions from the performance self to the non-performance self. Barbara Babcock defines metacommunication as "any element of communication which calls attention to the speech event as a performance and the relationship which obtains between the narrator and his audience" (1977: 66). She goes on to argue that, "the storyteller must not only create an illusion of reality but must make certain that we are aware that it *is* an illusion" (ibid: 70). In breaking the performance, the guide essentially steps out from behind the performance self and winks back at the performance, revealing it as something less real or illusory. The guide's approach to the performance and the ghosts at the center of the performance resembles Gregory Bateson's (1972) concept of play.[9] Bateson theorized that

9 There is also a resemblance to Brecht's (1957) alienation effect insofar as the performer seeks to create a

play substitutes the "nip" for the "bite," which is to say play references something serious (the bite) in a non-serious or non-threatening way (the nip). Similarly, the ghost tour references something serious (paranormal belief) in a non-serious way (the ghost narrative). The ghost tour departs from Bateson's concept insofar as the guide's "nips" have a specific purpose, i.e. to entertain. Bateson's play is done for its own sake rather than with any particular function in mind. Bateson's play does not require an audience and the ghost tour does, thus the ghost tour is not play directly but a conscious performance of play.

The implicit message for the audience is that the guide can be trusted, but the guide's performance is suspect. This poses an interesting problem for the guide's objective to persuade tourists of the possibility of ghosts. If the tourist cannot trust the performance, the guide's own personal beliefs become increasingly important to the tourist's ability to believe or entertain belief. This explains why so many tourists, like the woman who approached me to tell me about the ghosts in her house, are interested in the guides' beliefs. It also gives greater weight to interactions between tourists and guides when guides are not performing.

The question becomes, to what extent do guides believe in the ghosts, or, to borrow Goffman's terminology, to what extent do they give a "sincere" performance? Goffman identifies the sincere performer as one who "believe[s] the impression fostered by [her or his] own act" and the cynical performer as one who has "no belief in his own act" (1959: 18). Goffman suggests that these are ideal forms, best considered as poles on

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critical distance from the performance, but the ends sought by the ghost tour are very different from those that Brecht theorized. Distancing is a technique that ghost tour guides use to persuade the audience of their personal sincerity. Ultimately, guides want to convince their audiences of the possibility of ghosts rather than inspire debate on the paranormal.

a continuum. In other words, individuals may have varying degrees of belief in their own performances.

I asked both guides and proprietors, "Is it necessary to believe in the ghosts of Gettysburg in order to give an effective performance?" Cindy Codori Shultz told me that she expects her guides to believe in their stories enough to convey that belief to the audience. In other words, the audience should believe that the guide believes (interview, August 07). Nancy Pritt said, "I don't think it's necessary to believe in ghosts to give an effective performance if one is a good actor, but I think an audience can smell a 'fake' and will not tend to believe your stories if... you don't believe them either" (pers. comm., October 07). Lack of belief requires that the guide fill the void by "acting," or assuming a false enthusiasm. Betty Roche suggested that, "unless you are a trained stage or screen performer--it's difficult to convey the eerie feeling they are looking for" if the guide does not believe (pers. comm., September 07). Guides must convince their audience that they believe in the ghosts on trial if they are to prove the ghosts' existence. The guide's belief (or performed belief) forms the basis for the assertion that the tourist may encounter a ghost on the tour. The tour itself revolves around the guide's attempt to create the possibility of the ghost meeting as a real event.

The question of guides' beliefs is significant to my understanding of the performance of ghosts as real. Several guides identified themselves as skeptics but then proceeded to qualify their skepticism:

> As for me, I'm skeptical but willing to be convinced. So if you show me a picture with 'orbs,' my first thought is going to be that there were some little drops of water on your lens. But if half a dozen people's cameras all show an orb the same size outside the same window of the same building at the same time, as has happened at the Old Schoolhouse on East High Street on three separate tours this year, I start paying more attention (Anderson, pers. comm., September 07).

> If you are at least open, this thing may have just happened and I think that gets into the person's voice when telling the story. I consider myself to be a skeptic, but as I tell folks on my tours, there are a lot of things that I have encountered on the walks that don't really have another credible explanation at this time. I think that helps the storytelling experience (Kenney, pers. comm., November 07).

Steve and Ed suggest that they believe something inexplicable or mysterious is happening on the streets of Gettysburg, but they are unwilling to definitively assert that ghosts are the only explanation for those phenomena. In other words, something anomalous is occurring, but there is no way of knowing its cause. Other guides are more willing to interpret anomalous experiences as ghost encounters:

> I do honestly believe that there are ghosts in the places that I take my tour groups. I have seen and felt evidence of the many lives lost here in the streets of Gettysburg. Consider a trip to the Vietnam War Memorial or the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC. No bodies or physical evidence of the men and women are there, and yet no one can dispute the fact that the memorials inspire feelings of great sadness and loss (Pritt, pers. comm., October 07).

> I believe in spirits... Most people when they think about it they probably realize there [were] some things that happened in their lives that they can never explain. And... sometimes it's more obvious or forceful than other times. But I think all of us experience moments when we have a feeling that there isn't a logical explanation for what's goin' on. And I think all of us being mortal we do at times ponder what's gonna happen next. And this is one of the great frontiers here: ghosts (Michels, interview, September 07).

Nancy and Bob contextualize the ghost experience as something that is perhaps more common than many realize. Nancy argues that common experiences like feelings of loss at certain memorials may be based in a paranormal sensation or connection with the spirits of the dead. Bob argues that "most people" have experienced a ghost in their lives but are either not willing to acknowledge it or ascribe it to the paranormal. In both cases, the ghosts are conceived of broadly as a general truth and not specifically as "the ghosts that I perform." In other words, both Bob and Nancy believe that ghosts exist and are

present in Gettysburg, but they do not argue for the truth or falsity of the ghost stories that they perform on their tours.

Thus, "good" ghost tour guides are sincere performers, even if they do not accept every premise of the ghost tour experience. The sincere guide, winking out from behind the contrived performance, either enforces ghosts as a reality or entertains a genuine curiosity about ghosts as a possible reality. In other words, guides perform a sincere belief or sincere openness to ghosts. Their performance may in some way exaggerate or skew that belief, but they do not have to fabricate belief in order to create the possibility of ghosts for their audiences.

Ghost Narratives as Potential Truth

Even though the guide winks back at her or his performance of the ghost narrative, this is not to suggest that the guide believes these narratives to be entirely false. In most cases, guides are neither convinced nor unconvinced that their stories are true. In other words, they understand their stories in the same way that they perform them: as potential truth. Where do guides get their stories? When I began working for Sleepy Hollow, I was expected to attend three tours by three separate guides. My first narratives were supposed to come from those tours. Ghosts of Gettysburg and Haunted Gettysburg both produce books of ghost stories, and those are the sources that their guides use for many of their tour narratives. On my guide survey, I asked if ghost tours were scripted. Mike Lyons replied, "all of us are given a set of folklore and legend and experiences from the house and tours when we start working here. But anyone who works with us builds up their own repertoire of personal experiences and guest experiences" (pers. comm., September 07). The same is true at every company in town. Guides are a kind of magnet

for paranormal stories. I have pages of stories that I collected in the six weeks that I toured (see Appendix H). These stories came from tourists who approached me either before or after the tour to share their own personal ghost narratives. One evening, as I was walking back from a tour, I was approached by a woman who was not on my tour and claimed to have never taken a tour. She recognized that I was a guide because of my costume and the lantern that I was holding and proceeded to tell me about several personal experiences in Gettysburg that she interpreted as paranormal.

Guides are often unconcerned with validating whether or not a story is "true," before they tell them as "true." Tourists' ghost narratives are next to impossible to confirm because they are often individual experiences with no witnesses. In these cases, the best the guide can do is make a determination as to whether or not the source is telling the truth before including the story on the tour. Stories borrowed from other guides or ghost books[10] are often taken on faith. This is not to suggest that guides would knowingly tell fraudulent narratives but rather that if a story appeals to a guide, the guide is unlikely to make an effort to discredit it.

I visited several of the buildings featured on ghost tours to ask the people who worked in and owned them if they thought the ghost stories told about them were true. The Rupp House dates back to the time of the battle. It is owned by the Friends of the National Park Service and has been transformed into a museum. During the battle, the Confederacy and Union had a gunfight through the house, and ghost tours tell stories about visitors hearing the sounds of whizzing bullets inside the house. The historians and

10 See *Ghosts of Gettysburg* vols. I-VI by Mark Nesbitt (Thomas Publications, Gettysburg: 1991), *Haunted Gettysburg* vols. 1-3 by Jack Bochar and Bob Wasel (Gettysburg: Americana Souvenirs and Gifts: 1996), *Ghostly Images* vols. 1-2 by Joe Svehla (Gettysburg: Americana Souvenirs and Gifts: 2005), and *The Battlefield Dead* vols. I-III by Elizabeth Matusiak (Denver: State of the Art, Ltd.: 2000).

curators knew nothing about this claim, but they said that there was a time when tours were telling stories about a ghost curling up their carpet. Tourists would come and sit for hours, waiting for the carpet to curl, but the curators assured me that the reason it was curling had nothing to do with the paranormal. It was simply that the carpet had been poorly installed. They also mentioned that some tours told of ghostly figures appearing in the windows. They found this to be a dubious claim because no one had died inside the house during the battle. Although the historians and curators decried the tours for perpetuating lies and myth, they did not rule out the possibility of ghosts altogether. One curator told of a photograph of orbs that a tourist had shared with him. The photograph had been taken in the field beside the Rupp House, and the curator indicated to me that he did not know what to make of it (October 07).

At Servant's Olde Tyme Photos, featured on several tours, I spoke with the business's long-time owner. There are several stories told about this building because it was the place that General Reynolds, the highest ranking officer killed during the battle, was laid out after he died. One story told of a girl who looked through the window of the shop one night and saw the general laid out on the table with a woman in nineteenth-century dress sitting and knitting in a rocking chair beside him. The current owner's parents operated the shop at the time when the sighting occurred, and the sighting was never confirmed with them. The current owner told me that he did not believe it ever took place. There is a story, however, that he does believe because he has witnessed it himself. This story is featured by Civil War Haunting and Haunted Gettysburg. A certain group of tourists comes to Servant's every year to have their picture taken, and every year a mysterious dark figure appears in the picture. The owner told me that this has been

happening for three years, but these are the only unusual or "paranormal" photographs he has ever seen (interview, October 07). At both the Rupp House and Servant's, I got a sense that something mysterious may be happening at these locations, but it was not happening exactly as the ghost tours described it.

Several tours spoke of a "ghost file" as the source of their stories. They suggested that a special file containing narratives of ghost encounters had been kept by the park service, dating back many years before the ghost tour tradition began. I phoned the research library at the Gettysburg National Military Park and asked around at the visitor center, but no one had ever heard of such a file. Rangers and employees were quick to tell me that the park service's mission was based on teaching and preserving history, and ghosts did not figure into that mission. At the Gettysburg Public Library, a librarian there said they used to keep a vertical file of newspaper clippings (since computerized), but there was never a collection of eye-witness accounts. Finally, the Adams County Historical Society was able to produce a ghost file. It contained the following: a copy of a small ghost booklet entitled *The Haunts of Adams and Other Counties* by Sally M. Barach, an orange sticker distributed to members of Ghosts of Gettysburg tour groups, a copy of Mark Nesbitt's first ghost book, and several ghost-themed articles from a variety of publications including *The Gettysburg Times*. The oldest article in the file dated to 1987. There was no file of ghost narratives that pre-dated the ghost tours, no written source to which I could trace the origins of these stories.

Bob Wasel's "Haunted Gettysburg" book series forms the basis for his tours. His stories come largely from letters sent to him by Gettysburg's many visitors. Bob told me that if a story recurred enough times in these letters, this was proof enough of the story's

validity. He also suggested that if a story was particularly interesting and seemed honest, he might consider including it regardless of any verification (interview, August 07). I came across several challenges to the validity of Mark Nesbitt's stories. One challenge asserted that a fictional story written in a creative writing class at Gettysburg College had been incorporated into Mark's books. The other challenge suggested that battlefield guides had fabricated a ghost story in order to discredit Mark, and he unknowingly included it in his most recent book (interview, October 07).[11] These challenges may be fabrications themselves, but they help to elucidate the trouble that guides and writers have in validating ghost stories.

Evidently, there are multiple openings for untrue and fabricated stories to enter ghost tours. A tourist or resident could tell a guide a convincing lie or type out a particularly persuasive invented account and send it to a ghost book author. A guide could exaggerate a story until the truth is stretched to the breaking point, or a perfectly ordinary occurrence like the curling of a carpet could be transformed into something paranormal. Ghost narratives rest on a shaky foundation. Can I conclude from this that ghost authors and guides are willfully ignorant and perpetuate lies? Such a conclusion, although tempting, would be a gross misjudgment based on a fundamental misunderstanding of what a ghost narrative is. Ghost narratives should not be confused with historical narratives. Historical narratives are told as fact: General Lee commanded the Confederacy, the Union's battle line was a fish hook formation, etc. Ghost narratives, in

11 I was unable to meet with Mark Nesbitt to ask him about these challenges, but the various systems utilized in the collection of ghost stories suggests that it would be difficult to ferret out well-crafted fabrications.

contrast, are told as *potential truth*.[12] They reference something that is both true and real to the teller, but they do not necessarily assert the veracity of every detail that they contain. Guides and tour proprietors often refer to their narratives as folklore and legend. Some folklore scholars may contest this assertion, but interrogating the ways in which ghost narratives do and do not match scholars' understanding of folklore reveals how ghost narratives function as potential truth.

Folklore scholars debate the definition of their identifying term. Barre Toelken's definition is most inclusive. He asserts that "the critical factor is not whether an item is found in oral circulation or in print (or on a record), but whether it does or does not exhibit dynamic, substantive variation" (1976: 32-33). There is incredible variation between tours and the ways narratives are told. Guides are constantly changing their tours as they hear and incorporate new stories or new versions of old stories. Stories repeated by multiple guides in multiple companies were never told the same way. A story is "true" if the guide hears or sees it told as true, whether by a resident, ghost book, or another guide. When the guide passes the narrative on to the tour group, the meta-message is not "this is absolutely true," but rather "this is true *as far as I heard*." It is likely that the same meta-message inhered when the guide first heard the story, and so stories are passed around as hearsay rather than fact. The variability and orality of ghost narratives is the first basis for their playfulness. This dynamism establishes the truth of ghost narratives as something fluid and flexible.

Further classifying ghost tours as legend reveals how performance heightens their

12 To be sure, historical narratives are no less constructed than any other narrative. In the context of the ghost tour they are made to appear more solidly factual in comparison to the more dubious ghost narratives. Their heightened truthfulness is entirely a matter of perception and not inherent to the history conveyed in the narrative itself.

playfulness. Dan Ben-Amos (1992) broke the broad category "folklore" into three subcategories: myth, legend, and folktale. Myth is "believed to be true," legend "purports to be true," and folktales are "inherently untrue" He argued that "legends involve identifiable personalities, dates, or places, yet their events have an extraordinary quality, often involving interactions between humans and supernatural beings or forces" (ibid: 102). Defined in this way, ghost narratives are most definitely legends. Degh complicates this assertion, however, when she argues that "legend does not have its own reserved occasion for performance... there are no planned 'legend sessions,' only unpredictable, spontaneous tellings" (1996: 35). So what happens when a legend is incorporated into a "legend session" and becomes self-consciously performed?

Degh's claim that legend is not performed in the context of a "reserved occasion" rests on the degree to which we understand legend as purported truth. Degh understands the legend narrative as something that the teller believes to be true. Legends surface in "unpredictable, spontaneous" ways because the teller is wary of ridicule or only wants to share the legend with those who are most likely to believe it. The teller's personal credibility is deeply intertwined with the narrative. The major difference between Degh's idiosyncratic tellers and ghost tour guides is that the idiosyncratic teller *purports* truth whereas the ghost tour guide *performs* truth. The difference is subtle but substantial. In my discussion of the guide's sincerity, I argued that the guide's "real" self winks back at her or his performance self. This reflexive wink adds an unarticulated question mark to the end of each of the guide's narratives. The meta-message underneath the narrative is not "this is true," but "maybe this is true." Thus, tours are "not-serious," incorporating humor and rendering narratives playful. This defends guides against ridicule by non-

believers and buries their message about the possibility of ghosts under the superficial details of the playful narrative. Guides open their narrative to listeners who may deny it, but direct it at listeners who will accept its fundamental premise.

The guide's own sincere personal belief is the source of the tour's power to persuade tourists of ghosts' possible presence. The distance that the guide creates between her or himself and the narrative by rendering the narrative playful is an exercise in preserving that sincerity. If the guide completely invests her or his credibility in a narrative that the tour group deems dubious or invalid, the guide loses all hope of truthfully asserting anything, let alone the reality of ghosts. Thus, non-personal narratives (in which the guide invests minimal personal credibility) tend to be more outlandish and personal or secondhand narratives (in which the guide invests a greater degree of personal credibility) tend to be more tame. Non-personal narratives involve mysterious deaths and dramatic phantom sightings whereas personal narratives focus on subtle scents, sounds, and mysterious photographs. If the guide claims to have witnessed a mysterious death or come face to face with a full-form phantom, the guide risks appearing fanatical and delusional to the tour group. A personal narrative from Mike Lyons's Farnsworth ghost tour will help to illustrate my point:

> I came out here last October with about 45 sorority sisters from the University of Maryland. I don't know where this job was when I was twenty and single but I had the wrong job man. [audience laughs].... They were freaking out on this hill. As soon as we got out here they asked me, 'who would be digging down at the bottom of a hill on a saturday night?' I said 'what?' I couldn't see a thing. Half of them couldn't see a thing. But the other half were watching three men down there by the trees... Three men digging away... Well, what are we gonna do? What any sensible person would do: get their lantern and go check it out... I started on down the hill. Didn't take about five seconds for them to catch up... Nobody around, no picks, no shovels, just shadows moving inside the tree line. That's when one of the girls felt somebody grab her arm just above the left elbow. She said 'what is that?' I said, 'chances are one of them ghosts wanted to come and check you out.' She said 'lets

> go.' I said, 'alright, come on up the hill.' By the time we got up here four more of 'em had been taken above their left elbow (tour, August 07).[13]

Mike begins his story with a joke. His tale might be a bit much for his tour group to accept, and so he begins by implicitly informing them that he is not entirely serious about his story. Then, in the narrative itself, he dissociates himself from the paranormal experience. He does not experience the paranormal himself but rather experiences a group of girls experiencing the paranormal. The guide does not see the ghosts or feel them touch his elbow. That encounter rests entirely with the sorority girls. The guide suggests that this tale is strong evidence for the paranormal, but keeps a safe enough distance from the narrative to maintain his credibility in the event that the audience is not convinced.

(Not) Taking Ghosts Seriously

Ghost tours are "not serious," insofar as they are not taken seriously by the residents, shopkeepers, and historians of Gettysburg. Numerous tours that I both attended and gave were heckled by Gettysburg locals, usually riding by in cars. Hecklers would shout out at tours, sometimes forming words like "boo," other times screaming incoherently. One sutler that I visited talked about a video that a local student had made mocking the tours (October 07). In a discussion with several historians of the Friends of the National Park Service, they expressed their opinion that tours were mostly lies. When asked what ghost tour they recommended to tourists, the historians said "none" (October 07). Shopkeepers and residents alike complained about getting around the sidewalks, being kept up by tours outside of their houses, and the litter tourists leave on their lawns. But despite all of this ill will, there has yet to be any concerted effort to stop or remove

13 See Appendix E for another example of a personal narrative.

ghost tours from Gettysburg's streets. This is perhaps the greatest evidence for the fact that the Gettysburg community does not take its ghost tours seriously. They are perturbing and an inconvenience, but not worth the effort to address as a real or serious problem.

Ghost tours embrace their "not seriousness" and incorporate it as a prevalent theme on the tour. Many guides announce it from the outset, adding the "rule" that tourists "must have fun" to their introduction (see Appendix B). Essentially, this "not seriousness" forms the basis for the entertainment aspect of the tour. The most blatant sign that any performance is "not serious" is when that performance incorporates humor. Every tour that I attended utilized humor as a key component of the tour. A storyteller in the basement of the Farnsworth House began his performance by giving accounts of tourists in former audiences who either did or asked something "stupid" (cellar stories, September 07). Many guides incorporate "stupid tourist questions" on their tours: How come all Civil War battles were fought at national parks? How come there are not any bullet holes in the monuments? What time does the eight o' clock tour start? Ed Kenney renders characters in his stories as comical figures, like the girl who calls a local bed and breakfast to order a "room with a ghost" (tour, August 07). Physical humor is also employed, as when Nancy Pritt bent a tourist over and used him as a table to demonstrate how a character in one of her stories shot at his enemies (tour, September 07).

The "not serious" nature of the tours is a large part of their appeal. Gettysburg is a very serious vacation. Tourists come for an experience with a bloody and cataclysmic segment of America's history. They tour cemeteries and battle sites, hearing about bloody deaths, complicated military maneuvers, and political speeches. Ghost tours offer tourists

an opportunity to escape from the seriousness of the battle to the playful "not seriousness" of ghosts. This is not to say that ghost tours do not address very serious topics like war hospitals, battlefield massacres, and the horrific and tragic deaths of countless soldiers. In fact, ghost tours touch on all of these things in a very reverent and serious tone. But the ghost tour juxtaposes the serious with the "not serious" in ways that history tours do not. In some ways, the "not serious" aspect of the ghost tour allows guides to go farther in conveying the true seriousness of Gettysburg's history. In the first place, the "not serious" entertains and holds tourists' attention so that they are more likely to be listening closely when a serious moment arises. In the second place, the juxtaposition of the serious with the "not serious" renders the serious that much more serious by comparison.[14] To perform ghost as *potential* truth, ghost tour guides must assert the presence of ghosts as a possibility rather than an absolute. Tourists will doubt Gettysburg's ghosts, and so the guide must acknowledge that doubt and incorporate it into the performance or risk overloading tourists' capacity to believe. Paranormal belief has a certain stigma attached to it in Western society. As Bennett (1999) suggests, individuals in Western culture are often ashamed of their paranormal experiences and reluctant to talk about them for fear of being ridiculed. Giving a personal account of a paranormal experience or asserting one's belief in ghosts is often accompanied by many qualifications and justifications because the speaker anticipates a derisive or dismissive response from her or his audience. If tours take ghosts *too* seriously, they will make tourists uncomfortable and limit their ability to accept ghosts as a real possibility. The

14 The ghost itself serves a similar purpose if we think about the seriousness of the mass deaths that happened during the battle of Gettysburg. Ghosts offer proof of an afterlife, reassurance that death is not the end of the individual. Without some hope or belief in an afterlife, the tragic and untimely deaths of roughly 11,000 lives is difficult to fathom and impossible to justify. Ghosts offer a way to make these deaths more palatable.

"not serious" nature of tours allows guides to play with ghosts without demanding that tourists commit themselves to believing or disbelieving the paranormal.

The Business of Ghosts

Tammy Raseo told me about a visit she made to Gettysburg's Evergreen Cemetery: "I tell a story about a man named James McCleery. There was his stone, someone had placed flowers. I was a little overwhelmed at finding his grave and realizing that... I've been telling these stories for years about the Culp Family and Shrivers and Jennie Wade, they were just stories, but now they just seem so real" (interview, August 07). Ed Reiner suggested that "there's some times when you can tell they're not very happy. I can feel them. I've been in certain parts of the battlefield where I can feel the emotion so strong and it's cold. They're sad. You can feel it" (interview, August 07). Guides may approach their performance as something playful, but the people-turned-ghosts at the center of their narratives are something they take very seriously. If humor and playful winking are part of the "potential" aspect of guides' performance, the tragedies of these historical figures are part of the the "truth." In addition to guides' openness to belief in ghosts, their connection to the historical characters in their stories is another important source of their sincerity. This sincerity, in turn, is a significant means through which tours mitigate the insincerity implied by their commercialism.

Who are the ghosts of Gettysburg? Most of them were soldiers who died during or immediately following the Battle of Gettysburg. Sometimes these soldiers are identified as a group and sometimes they are identified as individuals. Sometimes they are given names like Talbot Richter and Amos Humiston, and sometimes they remain anonymous. Most of these soldiers belong to the rank and file. They are rarely described as uniquely

heroic or noteworthy in their actions. By and large, their deaths occurred in the regular performance of their duties as soldiers: charging a hill, sharpshooting from a window, or defending a military position. These soldiers' sacrifices are no less meaningful for being undramatic, and this is perhaps one of the main underlying messages of the ghost tour. The hoards of nameless soldiers, cut down in the thousands in the streets and fields of Gettysburg, deserve their own narratives as much as anyone else. This is not to suggest that Civil War soldiers are the only ghosts in Gettysburg. Generals, specifically Reynolds and Sickles, also surface with some regularity. Women join ghost narratives as residents who suffered the trauma of the battle and its aftermath. Jennie Wade, the only civilian killed during the battle, and Agnes Bar, a woman who baked bread for wounded soldiers in field hospitals, are the subjects of tour narratives with some frequency. Children, specifically from the nineteenth century, also surface as characters of ghost narratives. Jeremy, a Farnsworth House ghost who died in a carriage accident before the war broke out, and war orphans gathered at an orphanage in town are featured on several tours.[15]

Guides and tour proprietors believe in Gettysburg's ghosts. They believe that the spirits of men who died tragically in the streets and fields of Gettysburg continue to

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15 As a rule, ghost tours tend to ignore issues of race and make no specific reference to soldiers or residents of color. This seems to imply that most of the ghosts in narratives are white. This may have something to do with the apolitical stance that ghost tours attempt to take toward their subject matter. Strange as it may seem, some of Gettysburg's visitors still have very deep political affiliations with the confederate or union cause. Consequently, ghost tours make a concerted effort to side with neither the confederacy nor the union. Tammy Raseo professes a love for popular figures on both sides, including General Lee and union Colonel Joshua Chamberlain. I introduced myself to my tours as a resident of Maryland, and identified my state as one that sent soldiers to fight for both the union and the confederacy. Ray Davis told a story about confederate soldiers demolishing an abolitionist minister's home, but tempered it with a story of one confederate preserving the minister's Bible by placing it carefully on a shelf. Desjardin suggests that confederate sympathizers have removed slavery from the confederate cause, replacing it with a less damning quest for state's rights (2003: 109-126). It may be that ghosts of color are kept from narratives to prevent inciting the anger or discomfort of confederate sympathizers. As a guide, I managed to add several historical narratives to my tour about freed slaves living in Gettysburg, but I had no success in uncovering any Gettysburg ghost stories that specifically stipulated an African American spirit.

wander the sites where they gave their lives. They believe that these Civil War ghosts mingle with the ghosts of lost friends and local girls who suffered their own private tragedies.[16] And they sell tickets to see them. The average price of a ghost tour ticket is $7. The highest price that I have seen for a walking tour is $10. Specialty tours that involve psychics or paranormal investigators are usually more expensive costing between $12 and $15. Trolley or train tours can be as much as $20. Tour companies pay a 5% amusement tax to the borough in addition to their sales taxes. A portion of their ticket sales is also paid to the business out of which they operate. For example, Cindy Codori Shultz pays $1.50 to the souvenir shop where she keeps her base of operation. Stores that sell tour tickets but do not house the base of operation usually receive $1 from each ticket. In short, ghost tours are a business.

The entire tourism industry in Gettysburg comes out of the death and suffering of the thousands of men and boys who died during the battle. They justify this capitalization by arguing that they are honoring the sacrifices of these soldiers in reminding people of the cataclysmic events that happened here. Ghost tours are no different in that regard. Nancy Pritt was the only guide that I toured with who brought her tour inside a cemetery. It was a very small Methodist cemetery containing roughly thirty headstones. She told a story about a boy buried there who was shot playing with a gun left behind after the battle

16 Ghostly Images features several contemporary ghosts on their Jennie Wade Tour. One ghost, called "Deb," is the spirit of a girl who died in a car accident just outside of the Jennie Wade House within the last decade or so. Bob Michels told me that tourists have seen images of the girl in a mirror, and the psychic employed by Ghostly Images identified her. When I started at Sleepy Hollow, I was given a straw hat that belonged to a guide, Wes, who died relatively young as result of a medical condition. Nancy Pritt was hired just after Wes had passed away, and tourists have sighted the figure of a man fitting Wes's description and wearing a straw hat on her tours. He is often spotted behind her, and the guides at Sleepy Hollow suggest that he is simply continuing to follow his tour route as he did in life. Cindy Codori Shultz would often mention him to my tour groups before my tour began, suggesting that the hat might encourage his presence on my tours as well.

had ended. I asked Nancy if she had any qualms or concerns about entering the cemetery, if she worried about disrespecting the dead. She said, "People visit Gettysburg because they're 'fans' of Civil War history and the Battle of Gettysburg and it's sometimes easy to forget that war is an awful thing and should be avoided at all possible costs. I have no concerns about going into the cemetery because I am paying honor to those lives lost. Being a storyteller gives me the perfect opportunity to demonstrate that 'war is not good for children or other living things'" (pers. comm., October 07). When I asked her about ghosts' presence on her tours, she said, "I am proud of the stories that I tell about our ghosts and I think that I do justice to their sacrifice and service in the battle. In my opinion, if a ghost were to hear my stories I believe the spirit would feel that he had not died in vain and that his presence was welcome" (ibid).

Ed Reiner visits sites in Gettysburg that other tour companies never venture to. I asked him how he could be so sure that tourists will capture ghost photographs on his tours. He said, "I knew they were there. I knew that nobody goes out there and the spirits are there for that. And my goal is to make sure that tourists know the brickyard's there, to make sure that these soldiers are not forgotten" (interview, August 07). In contrast, he argued that places frequented by ghost tours were tiring for ghosts: "You get tours coming through [a site] all the time and it's like I think the spirits are just getting sick of being constantly put on stage" (ibid). Ed suggested that 'forgotten' ghosts' deserved to have their stories told and that other ghosts are perhaps too much remembered and deserve to be given some rest. Although Ed qualifies the extent to which ghost tours should visit haunted spaces, he agrees with Nancy that ghosts value having their stories told. Thus, from the perspective of the guide, the ghosts on ghost tours are mostly

accepting and embracing of the new ghost tour tradition. Along with the guide and the tour group, they are an active part of the ghost tour experience.

From the tourist's perspective, Dean MacCannell argues that "a defining quality of a true attraction is its removal from the realm of the commercial where it is firmly anchored outside of historical time in the system of modern values" (1976: 157). Ghosts cannot be bought and sold. In purchasing a ticket for a ghost tour, tourists are not purchasing a ghost. They are purchasing the services of a guide who may suggest ways to encounter ghosts and bring them to spaces said to be inhabited by ghosts, but they are not purchasing the ghosts themselves. With the exception of the indoor tours, access to Gettysburg's ghosts is free. Anyone can wander the streets or the fields of Gettysburg with a digital camera, electromagnetic meter, voice recorder, or simply the desire to seek out the paranormal. In short, ghost tours do not sell ghosts. They sell a performance about ghosts. And that is often all the tourist is interested in purchasing in the first place.

Harmless Ghosts

The ghosts in ghost tour narratives range from passive to dangerous, but ghost tours are careful to keep the dangerous ghosts carefully confined to the narrative. In the context of the tour performance, malicious spirits pose no immediate threat to the tourist. The ghost encounter is something to be desired, not feared. The most unusual and most dramatic ghost encounter that I experienced during my research (September 29, 2007) serves to illustrate this premise. In the basement of the Farnsworth House, the guide had just finished telling a series of stories about the ghost of a young boy named Jeremy. One of the ghost's most popular antics was stealing guests' technological equipment like cellular phones or laptop computer and not returning them until the guest left out a toy.

When the guest returned, the toy would be taken and replaced by the missing device. The basement was decorated as a nineteenth-century mourning parlor, at the center of which was a casket. On top of the casket was a collection of toys, purportedly collected there by Jeremy's ghost. In providing this narrative, the guide suggested that Jeremy's ghost was a fun and playful ghost.

To conclude the tour, the guide invoked Jeremy's presence, using divining rods. Divining rods are two sticks bent and placed in cups that the user holds one in each hand. The sticks are situated in the cups such that they can move back and forth independent of the motion of the user's hands. When the rods cross, this is meant to indicate a response from a ghost. Through the rods, Jeremy answered questions put to him by the guide. The guide asked for a volunteer from the audience to hold the rods. An older woman took them. They asked Jeremy several questions, and the rods crossed in response. The guide asked for another volunteer and a blond girl who looked to be about fourteen years old was volunteered by her mother. The mother claimed that the girl was a sensitive, i.e. sensitive to the paranormal. Earlier, the same girl had claimed that Jeremy had been pulling her hair during one of the guide's stories. The girl took the rods, the guide put questions to Jeremy, and the rods crossed. Something about the way the rods crossed, however, made the guide suspicious. He asked if the ghost was Jeremy, and the rods crossed significantly. The guide said "it's not Jeremy" and quickly took the rods away from the girl. The guide had suggested earlier that there was a malicious ghost in the basement along with Jeremy. In taking the rods abruptly from the girl and saying "it's not Jeremy," the guide implicitly suggested that the malicious ghost had taken control of the communication. Talking with Jeremy was fun and playful because Jeremy's ghost was fun

and playful, but as soon as the malicious ghost took over, the fun ended and so did the performance.

Film offers innumerable images of vicious and vengeful ghosts. *The Haunting, Amityville Horror*, *Poltergeist,* and *The Ring* (to name just a few) all center on the deadly and frightening exploits of dangerous ghosts. Usually, these dangerous ghosts are excluded from tours as a matter of course. Ghost narratives may discuss ghosts who are deadly or macabre, but these ghosts are never made a danger to the tourist. They remain in the narrative or manifest themselves in nonthreatening ways. Cupboards are rattled, hair pulled, even clothes folded, but the walls never run with blood. The Louisiana Tigers may grab your ankle, but they will not drag you under the cement (see Appendix D). Unpleasant specters only become an immediate danger to ghost tours when they are invoked. A few guides (and one psychic) made a distinction between touring ghosts and invoking them. They suggested that, in calling out to the paranormal, one runs the risk of inviting a dangerous spirit into one's presence.[17] Ghost tours avoid dangerous ghosts through their passivity. They simply tour, and any ghost encounters that happen must be the work of ghosts who have a beneficent or, at worst, neutral purpose. To be sure, there is a certain leap in logic here: how can guides be so confident that dangerous ghosts only manifest themselves when invoked? Regardless, this is how ghosts are contextualized for tourists. Unlike the dangerous haunts in horror films, ghost tours' ghosts are completely harmless.

17 The Farnsworth House, for example, bans its guests from using Ouija boards for just this reason.

> A man with an electromagnetic meter told me it had spiked red at the start of one of my stories. He indicated that some entity must like my story. He's the first person on one of my tours to have brought such a device.
>
> -from my ghost tour guide journal, November 17, 2007

Chapter V: Haunted Sites

The Ghost Pilgrimage

The quest for authenticity, especially when that authenticity offers evidence for an afterlife, can be understood as a sacred journey or pilgrimage (Selwyn 1994: 6; MacCannell 1973: 593). As Nelson H. H. Graburn suggests, "vacations involving travel, i.e. tourism, since all 'proper' vacations involve travel, are the modern equivalent for secular societies of the annual and lifelong sequences of festivals for more traditional, God-fearing societies" (1977: 21). Brown further explicates this idea: "the structure of tourism is basically identical to that of all ritual behaviour: it first translates the tourist into a sacred world, then transforms, renews him, and finally returns him to normality. This other world is sacred because it is out of space and out of time" (1996: 35). In Brown's terms, tourists enters a "sacred world" when they arrive at Gettysburg because they exit their normal day-to-day lives. Gettysburg is sacred because there is something distinctly different or unique about it, identifying it for the tourist as other than home. Gettysburg's historical significance is largely the factor that renders its spaces unique. The ghost tour is a still deeper sacred departure because it breaks with the normality of the Gettysburg vacation. It is, in a sense, a vacation from a vacation. Ghost tours depart from the mainstream Gettysburg vacation by contradicting many of the fundamental premises of Gettysburg tourism. As a result, they are separated from both the town and tourism culture. Gettysburg is a serious historical vacation, and ghost tours are playful.

Gettysburg is a day trip, and ghost tours happen at night. Gettysburg tourism is centered around the battlefield, and ghost tours usually happen in the town. In my analysis of the ghost tour, I want to explore how separation functions in order to render the ghost tour as a deeper sacred experience and construct the possibility of the authentic ghost meeting. This separate status is largely thrust onto ghost tours, not something they choose, but separation is an important part of the tours' appeal and of central importance for the establishment of a sacred and authentic haunted world.

Tours generally start between eight and ten at night and last between one and two hours. The latest tour that I attended finished just after midnight. As the days grow shorter in autumn, companies tend to advance their start times, beginning tours as early as seven, but groups generally will not begin leaving until dusk. Tourists rarely come to Gettysburg exclusively to attend a ghost tour. The main focus of the Gettysburg vacation is its history, which fills the entirety of the tourist's day. Tourists come to tour the battlefield, but they can no longer physically see the battlefield after the sun sets. Ghost tours pick up where the battlefield leaves off, essentially snapping up the "leftovers" of the tourist's day. Ray Davis suggested that before the ghost tours started, most tourists considered Gettysburg to be a day trip (interview, August 07). Tourists would stop for a morning and/or afternoon and then continue on to New York, Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Boston, etc. As a result, ghost tours have proved valuable to the hotel and restaurant industries in Gettysburg. The fact remains, however, that although ghost tours give tourists a reason to stay the night, they do not provide the main motivation for the tourist's trip.[18] Interestingly, this temporal separation fits perfectly with the ghost tour's

18 There are some exceptions to this rule. During my term as a ghost tour guide in October and November,

aesthetic. Popular associations between ghosts and darkness run rampant in movies, plays, books, and camping trips.

Spatially, ghost tours are set apart because they happen away from the focal center of the Gettysburg vacation: Gettysburg National Military Park.[19] The center of the park is the "high water mark" of the confederate charge, the closest that the Confederate Army came to winning the battle and, arguably, the Civil War. The federal government has done its best to preserve the land surrounding this spot, including the areas where the two armies formed their battle lines preceding and during that fateful charge. Tourists are sometimes disappointed that ghost tours do not visit the battlefield, and stories circulate throughout the town of freelance guides who have gotten into trouble for touring the battlefield with tour groups (interview, August 07). Since the national park is federally funded, ghost tour companies cannot bring for-profit tours onto park land. They travel on the margins of the battlefield, often coming right up to the edge of federal property, but never crossing the boundary.[20] Most tours travel the streets of the town, a marginal tourism space as compared with the battlefield, and the noise of the traffic and

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I frequently encountered tourists from Pennsylvania and Maryland who had come just to attend a ghost tour. Usually, they were not spending the night, and their choice was often based on the Halloween Season, but the ghost-motivated tourist may be a rising trend in Gettysburg. Recently, I heard a story of a woman who changed her vacation plans in favor of a trip to Gettysburg because she saw a television show about paranormal events in the town.

19 Several guides and managers suggested to me that mothers, wives, and girlfriends were the primary motivating force for bringing a family or a heterosexual couple on a ghost tour. My informants suggested that men come to Gettysburg for the battle and war history, but the women (and children) are bored by the masculine content of Gettysburg's history and force the men to attend a ghost tour at night. This is, of course, a generalization, but it is interesting to consider. The concept could be extended to interpret the battlefield as a masculine space (a site of violence and battle) and the town as a feminine space. The masculine is the mainstream Gettysburg vacation, centered around the battlefield, and the feminine exists temporally and spatially on the margins of the masculine vacation. This allies both the ghost tour and the paranormal with the feminine.

20 Battlefield Memories stands just outside the boundary of the "Brickyard;" Farnsworth travels to the end of the parking lot bordering Cemetery Ridge; Ghostly Images brings tourists just outside the gates of the National Cemetery; Farnsworth and Sleepy Hollow travel to the field behind Gettysburg High School just under Cemetery Ridge.

interruptions from hecklers have driven tours even deeper into the margins. Sleepy Hollow travels up a back alley that runs alongside Baltimore Street and Haunted Gettysburg utilizes the parking lots and alleys behind Steinwehr Avenue. All of the tours make ample use of parking lots, shortcuts, and public lots off of the main streets in order to tell their stories.[21]

Back Regions

It is useful to consider the park as the "staged" region of Gettysburg and the town as the "unstaged" region.[22] Interestingly, these unstaged spaces or "back regions" of Gettysburg may actually aid the tour in its quest to establish the haunted nature of its spaces. In order to consider this possibility, I must first discuss what I mean in calling ghost tour sites "back regions." Goffman theorized the import of regions: "accentuated facts make their appearance in what I have called a front region; it should be just as clear that there may be another region--a 'back region' or 'backstage'--where the suppressed

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21 The town figured prominently in the second day of the battle, and many of the buildings in the town were used as field hospitals immediately following the battle, but the federal government never purchased land from the town. As a result, the town progressed and changed while the fields purchased by the park service were preserved as "special" spaces. The areas that town ghost tours visit include the municipal building, public library, firehouse, various churches, Gettysburg High School, the parking lot of the hospital, the parking lot of a tour business, a novelty photograph shop, and the parking lot of a motel. Some of the buildings that tours stop to discuss date back to the Civil War, some are reconstructed, and some are no longer there. Tours often ask audience members to imagine the way a given area looked back in 1863 because in its modern day form the spot is paved over, bull-dozed, or built on top of. The closest that ghost tours come to a "battlefield tour" is at the Lutheran Theological Seminary. Ghosts of Gettysburg and Sleepy Hollow have exclusive permission to tour the fields of the seminary's property. The seminary remains marginal because it is far enough away from the national park that tourists have to drive to reach it. Furthermore, although the seminary has preserved many historic buildings, it is not a "preserved" historic space. Much like the town, the seminary has modernized with the passage of time. The park, as a point of contrast, is currently pursuing a project to make all of its property appear exactly as it did during the days of the battle, monuments notwithstanding.

22 Weeks suggests that the town itself is also to a certain extent "staged" because many buildings are made to look "more historical," like banks and restaurants. Although these efforts are evident, they are not to be compared with those taken in Colonial Williamburg, for example (see Handler and Gable 1997). A McDonald's made to fit a certain aesthetic is none-the-less a McDonald's. The park, on the other hand, models itself on a more Williamsburg-like aesthetic. This has been its goal since John Bachelder first started persuading the local, state, and national government to purchase and preserve the sight surrounding the "high water mark" in the months and years immediately following the battle.

facts make an appearance" (1959: 112). In Gettysburg, the accentuated fact is Gettysburg's historicity. Gettysburg stresses its significance as a Civil War battle site by directing tourists to areas that have been staged to resemble the time of the battle or memorialize the battle itself. These sites are what make Gettysburg "special" and mark it as a tourist destination. The town's "suppressed" facts are those pedestrian elements that show the town as typical or the same as any other American town: the library, the firehouse, the high school, the hospital, parking lots, and alleyways. One might note that these are the exact sites that ghost tours visit. In many ways, Gettysburg's functioning sites challenge its preserved sites. Tourists come to experience something other than home, and the backstage areas of the town deny that otherness and identify Gettysburg as familiar, i.e. "just like my home town." The vacation from the vacation becomes a departure from difference in order to tour the familiar.

Even if I understand Gettysburg outside of its tourism context as simply a town, the times during which tours are conducted render the spaces that they visit back regions. Goffman says, "a region that is thoroughly established as a front region for the regular performance of a particular routine often functions as a back region before and after each performance" (1959: 127). Ghost tours usually visit the parking lots of souvenir and photograph shops after the daily "performance" at those places has come to a close and the "performers" have gone home. Similarly, when tours visit the high school or library, the visit happens after those places have closed up for the day. At the Seminary, classes have ended and students are all indoors when the ghost tours begin crossing the fields. The Jennie Wade House, which is staged for history tours during the day, takes on the aura of a back region at night when all of the historical exhibits are turned off or ignored

in favor of a ghost hunt.[23] Since Gettysburg is mostly a "day trip," the entire town actually becomes a kind of back region around the time that the ghost tours take to the streets. Some ice cream stores, hotels, and restaurants remain open, but a majority of the town shuts its doors before eight.

The journey into back regions is a journey into increasingly secret and intriguing spaces. Dean MacCannell argues that "just having a back region generates the belief that there is something more than meets the eye; even where no secrets are actually kept, back regions are still the places where it is popularly believed the secrets are" (1973: 591). Tourists are not barred from Gettysburg's back regions, but they are dissuaded from entering and looking on them.[24] Thus, the impression is fostered that some "secrets" may be kept in those regions, and ghost tours exploit that impression by identifying those secrets as ghosts. I would not suggest that tourists are naturally interested in Gettysburg's back regions. As I said, these sites are pedestrian and the kinds of things suburban tourists can see in their own home towns. If ghost tours did not turn a spotlight on Gettysburg's backstage sites, tourists would probably never acknowledge them. But, in moving through back regions, ghost tours accentuate these spaces' natural capacity to convey the impression that they bear secrets.

According to MacCannell, "it is always possible that what is taken to be entry into

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23 Interestingly, the Jennie Wade ghost tour inverts the order of the history tour. When I took the history tour, I began in the front parlor and ended in the basement. On the ghost tour, I entered through the basement and left through the parlor. This inversion further suggests that the tour is turning its historical staging "on its head" to look "behind" the scenes for the house's paranormal secrets.

24 There are a few notable exceptions. The first is Ghostly Images' Haunted Orphanage Tour. This tour brings tourists into the basement of the Soldier's National Museum after the museum has closed. During the museum's daytime hours, tourists are not allowed access to the basement. The second and third are the basement and attic of the Farnsworth House, also inaccessible unless the tourist pays for a ghost tour ticket. These tours take different attitudes toward "staging." The Farnsworth basement is elaborately staged as a nineteenth-century "mourning theatre" complete with a casket and large arrangements of flowers. The Orphanage, by contrast, has put down some benches and the water heater sits prominently in the room.

a back region is really entry into a front region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation" (1973: 597). Although they tour the back regions of Gettysburg, through the act of touring those back regions become the front regions of the ghost tour performance. The spaces themselves may be not be staged in the way that a theatrical production is staged, but the guide's performance serves to "stage" them through narrative. In other words, the spaces are (usually) selected because the guide has a ghost story that she or he can share about the space. They are part of a pre-set plan that the guide has developed. Guides make no effort to conceal the fact that they have a plan. In fact, in calling themselves "guides," they claim a certain responsibility for knowing the best places to visit. This is the point at which the "realness" or "authenticity" of the back region breaks down. Tourists do not venture out on a ghost tour to look at middle schools and libraries after hours. They want to experience ghosts. Guides must break the mundane facade of their sites by transforming them into a performance space, and, through the performance, filling these ordinary sites with extraordinary specters.

Narratives and Spaces

If the guide's sincerity underlies the guide's ability to perform ghosts as potential truth by asserting ghosts' presence as a possibility rather than a certainty, then the performance itself has greater freedom to make the more audacious claim that the paranormal is real. In other words, because the guide implicitly says, "this might not be true," the narratives are free to explicitly assert that ghosts are present. In order to achieve this, the narratives must connect with a place that they can define as haunted. This space, much like the narratives, cannot be arbitrary. Just as guides must be able to understand their own narratives as potential truth, they must also be able to understand the spaces

that they visit as potentially haunted. The connection between ghost tours and spaces is integral. Not only does the performance contribute to the ghost's presence, but the ghost's presence contributes to the efficacy of the story. I attended a ghost storytelling competition at the Northeast Storytelling Festival, held annually in Gettysburg (September 21, 2007). This was the first year for the ghost storytelling competition, and it offered an interesting outlet to consider the guide outside of the haunted space.

Guides performed on a stage in front of a seated audience in a large yellow tent erected in a field beside the Gettysburg Outlet Mall. Seven storytellers competed. Of those seven, five were ghost tour guides and two were storytellers associated with the festival. The five ghost tour guides wore the nineteenth-century costumes that they always appeared in on their tours. The two non-guide storytellers, on the other hand, did not wear period costumes. The five ghost tour guides told stories from their tours.[25] The stories were purportedly true and based in Gettysburg. Of the two non-guides, one told a purportedly true story based in her home in Maryland and the other told a fictional story reminiscent of a folktale. The fictional storyteller's tale concerned a young couple who peeled off their skins to become wolves. The narrative had little to do with ghosts and more to do with what one might characterize as a "scary" story. The audience voted on which performances they liked best, rating each performer on a scale from one to five. Three finalists were selected from the seven: two ghost tour guides and the fiction storyteller. Of these three, the fiction storyteller was ultimately selected as the winner of the competition.

By and large, guides' narratives and performances were the same as what they

25 I had been on tours with four of the five guides competing. Of those four, I heard the story that they told during the competition when I was on their tour.

brought to their tours. The only substantial difference was that in that yellow tent beside the outlet mall, ghost tour guides had little hope of conjuring the sense that the ghosts in their narratives were lurking among the audience. The fact that the fiction storyteller, whose tales had no recourse to space, prevailed suggests the impact of the haunted site on the ghost tour guide's narrative. The purpose of the ghost tour narrative is to render the ghost present. The ghost is made present through the conjunction of the narrative and the haunted space. When one or the other is removed, the ghost vanishes, and both the narrative and the space are drained of their significance. This marks the ghost tour narrative as distinct from other narrative genres and also distinguishes it from stories recorded in ghost books. Ghost tour narratives must be performed live in haunted spaces in order to render their full effect.

Placing Ghosts

Bell argues that, "the ancient belief in the release of the soul upon death, and its tendency to lurk about if that death was unsatisfactory or unjust in some way, is one continuing dimension of the social experience of place" (1997: 826). This is the premise on which ghost tours construct tourists' sense that ghosts are present in the sites that they visit. If ghosts are actually present, they may choose to manifest themselves or they may not. Ghosts are uncertain, and, as such, must be made present by tour guides. There is nothing inherently interesting about the parking lots, fields, and back alleys that tours visit. The guide must render these spaces interesting through performance by populating them with ghosts. MacCannell terms this kind of performance "marker involvement" Marker involvement is the addition of significance to a site that is not empirically evident in the site itself. Markers are signifiers layered on top of the signified site. A patch of dirt

is not interesting until a marker (in the form of a monument, placard, statement from a guide, etc.) labels it as the former site of General Meade's headquarters or the place where General Reynolds was shot. MacCannell argues that, "marker involvement can prevent a tourist's realizing that the sight he sees may not be worth his seeing it," and that most tourists "do not arrive expecting to see anything and are content to be involved with markers" (1976: 113-115). Gettysburg tourists are particularly oriented toward marker involvement because Gettysburg itself is a marker-based vacation. There is nothing inherently interesting about Gettysburg's fields that differentiates them from any other fields until their history is layered on top of them through marker involvement. Gettysburg's ghosts, much like its history, must be socially constructed and performed in order to lend significance and interest to its sites.

Ghost tours' markers are best considered as a series of frames. Through narrative, guides construct increasingly tighter frames around the potential ghost meeting in order to render that meeting increasingly likely for the tour group. Another way to think of it is that the guide makes the ghost increasingly present for the tourist. Working through frames, the guide builds the sense that ghosts, though invisible, are nonetheless present on the tour. Each frame forms the basis for the next until the case for the ghost is more or less proven. Ghost tour frames build in the following order: history, ghost or haunted history, and the ghost encounter. History, in terms of ghost tours, is the assertion that many people died tragically in Gettysburg. Ghost history is the assertion that the ghosts of those who died have been and can be experienced in the town. Finally, the ghost encounter frame sets up the terms under which the tourist can personally experience a ghost. The ghost encounter frame is what connects the ghost tour narrative with the

haunted space. The fact that all frames build toward the ghost encounter is what distinguishes the ghost tour narrative as a unique genre. I should note that all of these frames exist within the broad frame of the tour itself, established by the tours' "not seriousness," back region location, and the guide's presentation of self. It is important to keep in mind that all of the internal frame-building of the performance is contextualized by this larger event frame.

Each frame occurs twice in what I call a general and specific (or site-specific) form. General frames make broad assertions such as: many people have died in Gettysburg, ghosts are experienced in Gettysburg, and you might experience a ghost in Gettysburg. Ray Davis's list of the ways in which a tourist might experience a ghost is an example of a general frame narrative (also see Appendix C). Notice that I have limited my general frames to Gettysburg. I might consider that there is a still broader set of general frames contextualizing Gettysburg, but I want to keep my analysis grounded in the town. In most cases, general frames already exist for the tourist before she or he begins a tour. It is widely known that many people died at Gettysburg, and popular media generates the haunted history frame through vacation specials on Gettysburg's ghosts and ghost books. Since general frames already exist, the ghost tour renders those frames more concrete by providing more specific information about the deaths, the ghosts, and the tours. Specific frames, on the other hand, do not already exist for the tourist. Specific frames establish the presence of particular ghosts in particular spots: somebody died on this site, a ghost was experienced here, and the guide or a previous tour experienced a ghost here (see Appendix D). Specific frames, in descending order, exist within the general frames, also in descending order (see Image 8). Each frame

strives to bring the hypothetical ghost closer and closer to the actual present space and the actual present moment.

These frames build toward a hypothetical rather than an actual ghost meeting. Guides bring tourists closer and closer to the *sense* that they will experience a ghost, but stop short of physically manufacturing anything meant to be perceived as a ghost. According to the terms of the tour, the actual ghost meeting (or what tourists may perceive as an actual ghost meeting) is entirely independent of the guide's performance. The performance provides a context through which tourists can interpret their experiences as paranormal encounters, but it does not produce those encounters. In other words, guides help tourists to understand a shadowy figure behind a wall as a ghost, but they do not stage or provide the figure itself. Consequently, guides cannot and do not promise that tourists will experience a ghost on any given tour.

Frames are a useful theoretical construct to understand how guides create ghosts on tour sites, but guides rarely ever build the frames in the strict order that I have presented them. They often blend frames, overlap frames, and move back and forth between frames, sometimes bouncing over several at a time. The general frames form the context for the specific frames, so guides will usually begin to construct them before moving on to the specific sites, but this is not always the case. Steve Anderson, for example, begins his tour with a specific story about the place where his tour company is housed and saves the larger historical and ghost context for later. Also, guides will often return to general frames throughout the tour, pausing to talk about the conditions of the Civil War wounded, bringing up a story about a ghost off-site, or tossing in a personal anecdote from a previous tour in another location. In short, there are as many styles and

types of frame construction in Gettysburg as there are ghost tour guides, and single frames almost never exist in guides' narratives independent of other frames.

The "Ghost Connection"

The "ghost connection" is a term I have developed to describe the moment in the ghost tour narrative when the facts presented can no longer be explained without the ghost. This occurs when the ghost must be used to connect a mysterious circumstance to either documented history or a compelling piece of evidence. A story may contain one or several ghost connections. Multiple ghost connections are a sign of greater complexity. The longer a story is able to draw out the historical narrative or mysterious event and put off the ghost connection (or first ghost connection), the more the tension will build. This is not to suggest that length and tension are unequivocally correlative. Building tension is contingent upon the guide's ability to hold the audience's attention.[26] As long as the audience is engaged with the story, the guide can build tension by drawing out the tale, but as soon as the audience's attention drops, the tension begins to dissipate. The greater the tension, the more able the story is to convince the tour group and make the guide's case for the possibility of ghosts.

Ghost tour guides often tell a story about a creek bed that has since been filled in with cement where Confederate soldiers drowned after an assault on the Union line (see Appendix D). On this cement, people today are said to trip or fall down with unusual frequency. It is mysterious that people stumble so often in this one location. The ghost connection links the soldiers' deaths to the trips and falls by asserting that, in an effort to

26 According to Robert Georges, "as the storyteller receives and decodes the responses of the story listener and interprets and responds to them as feedback, the interaction between the storyteller and the story listener intensifies and begins to shape the message" (1969: 321). Ultimately, the tension shifts into story itself and develops until the narrative reaches its peak.

claw their way out of their watery grave, the ghosts of the dead soldiers are tripping passersby. Without the ghost to connect the trips and falls to the battle history, these mysterious stumbles would have to remain unexplained. Tammy Raseo tells a story of two re-enactors who are approached by an uncannily authentic-looking figure in a Union uniform while out on the battlefield (see Appendix F). The soldier gives them live ammunition which strikes the re-enactors as odd since re-enactors only use blanks. When they have the bullet analyzed, an expert informs them that it dates back to 1863. In this case, the mysterious circumstance is the authentic-looking soldier with the live ammunition. The compelling piece of evidence–the fact that the bullet dates to 1863–is employed to validate the connection. If we understand the soldier as a ghost, that explains why he had live ammunition from the Civil War. Without the ghost, these circumstances must remain a puzzle.

Documented history and compelling evidence both belong to the world of the concrete and verifiable. This is what makes the ghost connection so effective and so challenging. Although the mysterious circumstance is presented as unexplained, it is often an event that can be explained naturally with some effort. The two re-enactors may have been hallucinating in the hot sun when they saw the authentic-looking soldier, and it may just be a coincidence or a flaw in the cement that explains why so many people trip and fall by the creek bed. But the hard evidence and archival history call these simple explanations into question. The re-enactors may have been hallucinating, but then how did they get their hands on a period bullet from 1863? It may be a coincidence that so many people trip and fall over the creek bed, but is it perhaps too much of a coincidence that so many soldiers died trying to claw their way out of that exact spot? When the ghost

connection happens, the tourists are called upon to suspend their disbelief in ghosts in order to make sense of the narrative. Without the ghost, the circumstances in the narrative become a mysterious jumble. The demanding nature of the ghost connection is the reason why ghost tour guides are careful to distance themselves from its claims. It is also the reason why the ghost connection is often the first aspect of the performance that skeptical tourists reject.

Through the ghost connection, the narrative asserts, either implicitly or explicitly, that ghosts must exist. The ghost connection holds the most prominent place in the ghost narrative, and the narratives are the most prominent aspect of the ghost tour. This prominence is what gives the ghost connection its significance. The guide's disavowing winks and "not serious" approach may limit the ghost connection's ability to make a sincere case for ghosts' presence, but sincerity is not the narrative's purpose. The ghost connection, as the most "visible" part of the performance, serves as a signifier for the tour's underlying message. It represents the guide's genuine ghost belief and the meta-message that the ghost is present for the tour group to experience. The ghost connection is content to remain potential truth because it cites something deeper than itself.

> You can feel like you're on an adventure. You know, so many of us don't have adventure anymore in our lives, in day to day living. This gives you an out, this gives you a way where you're feeling like you're escaping the doldrums of day to day living and you're experimenting with something that nobody knows that much about so it's an adventure.
>
> -Bob Michels, ghost tour guide

Conclusion

I have identified the ways in which the ghost tour departs from the history tour, formulates a new variety of storytelling tradition, and reconfigures folklore and legend. The question remains: do ghost tours represent a new genre of performance? To what extent might this analysis consider ghost tours as a hybrid of several genres? Is it perhaps more useful to consider ghost tours as a subset within the larger genres of tourism performance or storytelling? My research hints at answers to these questions without offering any definitive conclusions. I have uncovered the ways Gettysburg ghost tours operate within established genres to perform an entertainment that does more than simply entertain.

Ghost tours are about fun and entertainment. They are not taken seriously by the residents and historians of the town in which they are performed. Ghost tour guides break from the serious and educational Gettysburg vacation by dressing up in costume, telling jokes, and leading tourists down dark alleys with candlelit lanterns. Tours are shamelessly commercial: distributing flyers, seeking to draw attention with flashy displays, and selling tickets to tour parking lots in the dark. To the casual observer, they might seem like little more than a frivolity, a trifling a product of popular culture and touristic stupidity. But there is more to the ghost tour than simple commercial entertainment. A modern oral narrative tradition has emerged among the guides, proprietors, tourists, and

residents who share the stories that the tours perform, and tourists have been given a new opportunity to pursue the ultimate "other" in the rediscovered ghost. These are both important bases for establishing ghost tours' significance, but there is still more to this cultural phenomenon that goes beyond the implications for performance, narrative, and tourism scholarship.

Buried deep at the center of the ghost tour performance is the tenuous and fragile problem of paranormal belief. Ghost tours play with this belief, teasing tourists with questions of its truth or falsehood, dancing around the hotly contentious issue of the afterlife, but always maintaining a safe distance for fear of getting burned. Ghost tours cite belief in the afterlife, but the tour performance hides the seriousness of human mortality and questions of death in a humorous and playful entertainment. But if ghosts are really more than a simple fiction, what does that say about what it means to live and die? How does that change the way we view the world? Paranormal theorist, Eric Carlton, argues that "despite all the doubt and reservations [about paranormal phenomena], there is a residue of cases that still defies adequate explanation. Admittedly, many of these are anecdotal and have never been–perhaps cannot be–properly investigated" (1979: 165-166). Ghosts are too much or perhaps too bizarre for society as a whole to accept, and so the affirmation or denial of their validity falls to the individual. The individual must decide for her or himself if ghosts exist. For many, deciding on the existence and nature of the afterlife is a tremendous and overwhelming task. And so we call upon the ghost tour guide to lead us.

In *Cities of the Dead*, Joseph Roach asserts that "performers are routinely pressed into service as effigies, their bodies alternately adored and despised but always offered up

on the altar of surrogacy" (1996: 40). The ghost tour guide is a surrogate believer, willing to accept the ghost if only enough to question it. Daringly exposed to ridicule and shame, the guide's sincerity stands in for the tour group's inability or unwillingness to openly confront the unknown. The tour group hides, huddled up in their own doubts, and must be guided out into the world of possibility presented by the ghost. They must take a "vacation" from their own nagging closed-mindedness and follow the guide both literally and metaphorically on this journey beyond death's door. In this way, the ghost tour can become more than a simple entertainment. It can become an adventurous exploration of belief.

Images

Image 1. Civil War Hauntings base of operation. Photograph by Katie Lesser.

Image 2. Haunted Gettysburg base of operation. Photograph by Katie Lesser.

Image 3. Farnworth House advertisement. Photograph by Katie Lesser.

Images

Image 4. Orbs in a field. Photograph by Tracey Craley.

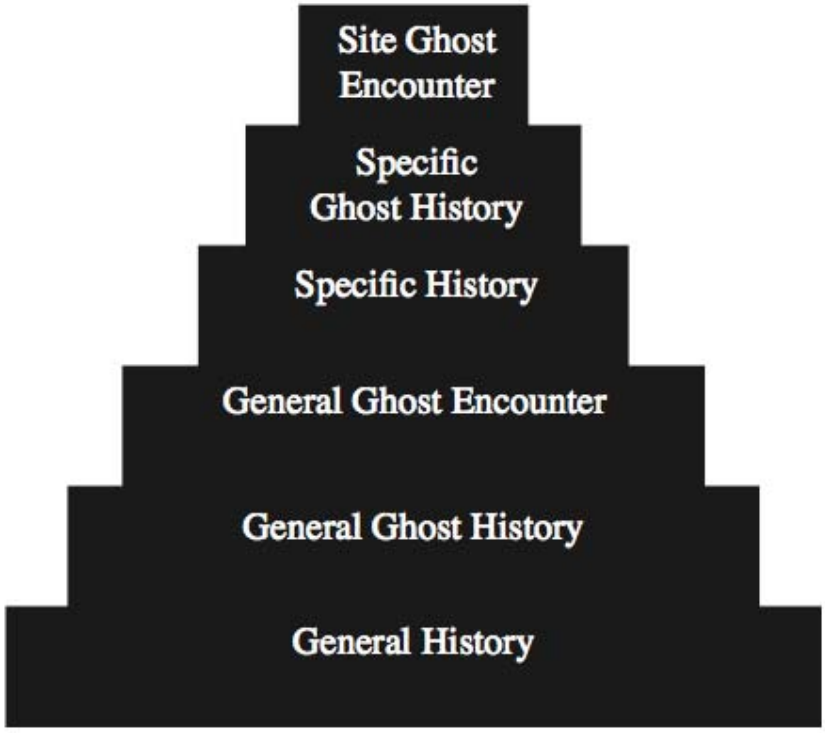
Image 5. Orbs in the air. Photograph by Tracey Craley.

Image 6. Orbs by Reynolds building. Photograph by Tracely Craley

Image 7. The author performing as a ghost tour guide. Photograph by Lauren Thompson.

Images

Image 8. Ghost tour narrative frame construction.



Appendix A
Audience Survey

GETTYSBURG GHOST TOURS
& PERFORMANCE
AUDIENCE INTERVIEW

Age:_____ Gender:_____

Where are you from?:_____

Questions to be answered BEFORE your tour:

1. Have you ever been on a ghost tour before?

2. What made you decide to come on a ghost tour tonight?

3. How did you choose this company?

Questions to be answered AFTER your tour:

4. Did you enjoy the tour? Why or why not?

If you would prefer to return the survey before the tour and answer any questions later, please provide your email address.

_____

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Appendix B

Ghost Tour Introductory Monologues

"As you've heard my name is Steve, I'm gonna be your guide this evening, before we get on our way there are just a few rules... Before you do anything rash, hear me out, the rules are very simple and there are only three of them. Rule number one: as you may have noticed there are more of you than there are of me tonight. If you have any questions, any comments, anything you'd like to share, I would love to hear it... On the same token if at any time you can't hear me... please do let me know, say 'hey Steve speak up a little bit...' Rule number two: some of the sidewalks we're walkin' on may not be quite even [and] perhaps a little bit damp here and there... Please do be careful. With approximately 450 tours here in town, I have never had anybody get hurt. I do not want tonight to be the night so please watch your step... Rule number three: whatever happens over the next hour, hour and fifteen minutes or so, whatever happens here in the dark, whatever happens here in Gettysburg, one of the most haunted places in America, whatever happens, whatever happens, you absolutely positively must have fun. You guys can handle that right?" (Anderson tour, August 07).

"Ok. Come a little closer please. I do bite but it's not a full moon tonight. Little closer... Anybody here from out of town? Welcome to Battlefield Memories. My name is Ed and I'll be your storyteller on the evening. Now before we get started I want to lay out the ground rules. Number one: we'll be crossing the street a few times. Please let's stay together as one huge group... Number two: if you have one of these things, from what I understand they are called cell phones, please turn them off... And number three: see how the sidewalks are uneven, please be careful, I don't want to lose anybody tonight, but if you do trip and fall I have a waiver for you to sign, if you cannot sign it I will be more than happy to sign it for you" (Reiner tour, August 07).

"Can you all take like three steps forward? I usually don't bite. Ok. Good evening. Welcome to the Sunday night edition of Sleepy Hollow Candlelight Walking Ghost Tours here at Gettysburg. My name is Miss Tara and hopefully I'll be your fearless leader for this trip. We'll find out when we get out there. Now before we actually leave, I do want to go over a few of my rules and I know I can see the look on your faces. You're saying to yourself: you're on vacation you don't want to hear anything about any rules tonight. But don't worry I've only got three of them. The first one is by far the most important rule of all, you need to pay very very close attention to this one, tonight first and foremost you are going to have fun. (pause) Everybody please hold up two fingers like this now take those fingers and place them beside your neck like this, you feel anything there? (group laughs) Ok. Rule number two: this one is much more serious, we will be crossing Baltimore Street in just a few moments I ask that you wait and let me step out first. I will be taking my trusty lantern along with me and if everything goes according to plan traffic will stop. However, if everything does not go according to plan, I hope that at least one person on the tour tonight has a cell phone please call 911... And our third and final rule please keep in mind that we are just visiting here in Gettysburg and that there are still living breathing people out there..." (Leas tour, September 07).

Appendix C
Contextual Narrative

A contextual narrative presented at the beginning of Ed Kenney's ghost tour. Ed's narrative demonstrates how guides go about constructing general frames and establishing the possibility of the ghost encounter.

"Now I want to take you back in time 141 years ago back in 1863. Gettysburg was a town of about 2,500 people. All of a sudden we have converge in this area almost 200,000 men, two grand armies meet and a great battle takes place, a battle that leaves thousands upon thousands of men dead in the street... We didn't have shovels enough to bury the dead. So they laid in the streets and the fields four, five, six, eight, ten days in the July sun. Those that did get buried were buried in shallow graves about eighteen inches deep... just imagine that smell. Now in addition to that we had about 16,000 horses and mules killed during this battle. Now if we can't bury soldiers we ain't burying horses. So what they would do is they would drag 'em into piles in the middle of the field... they would douse the pile with kerosene, they would light a match and set the pile afire... imagine *that* smell... As I said we're a town of about 2,500 people when all of a sudden converge into this area nearly 200,000 men, 50,000 horses and mules that eat sleep and wake up in the morning. What's one of the things you usually like to do when you wake up in the morning? You like to do you duty. In 1863, ladies and gentlemen, Gettysburg did not have indoor plumbing. Just imagine *that* smell...

"...As I'm sure you can picture ladies and gentlemen in the early days of July 1863 this town s*tunk*. It was so bad that people couldn't go out of their houses without gagging on the stench... [people would get a handkerchief and] they would soak it in something like peppermint or lilac... they would take their handkerchief, they would hold it up to their face, and they would breathe through the handkerchief... the most powerful sensation related to this town ladies and gentlemen is not a sight or a sound but a smell. the smell of lilac or peppermint, perhaps those death piles... I do strongly recommend that you keep your eyes and ears open not just for safety reasons... but I suggest that you keep this [points to his nose] open as well because your next experience with a ghost here at Gettysburg could be right under your nose" (August 07).

Appendix D
Site-Specific Narrative

Performed by Steve Anderson.

"Confederates settled down to wait for the order to attack, settled down in three groups: one over this way about where the fields are today, one over this way just past where the parking lots are today, and right over this way. As you look around there really isn't any place to take shelter, I mean there are riflemen up there on the hill who will shoot at any target they can see... Fortunately, though, there is one other thing that wasn't here at the time, this concrete I'm standing on. It was added shortly after they built the middle school to stop kids from falling into a stream that ran here.... it was the only shelter to be had and men dropped down into the stream, they hunkered down against the side...

[Curious soldiers pop their heads up over the course of a day, some are shot and fall back into the creek. The soldiers wait for the order to charge the hill. The order is given, and the soldiers charge the hill. Union reinforcements arrive and drive the Confederacy back down into the creek bed. After the Battle of Gettysburg ends and the Confederacy withdraws, many soldiers remain behind in the creek. The day after the battle, there are torrential rains that flood the creek.] 'Over and over they tried to climb out, only to slide back down into the muck, back into that raging water. In the end, only a handful of them managed to claw their way out to solid ground. The men behind would grab their legs, their ankles, their feet begging them to pull them to safety, only to slide back down into the water... The men who drowned here they were from the Ninth Louisiana, the Louisiana Tigers they were called... You know those tigers from Louisiana they haven't given up... they are... bound and determined to claw their way out of their watery grave here in Gettysburg.

'About 1900 the town of Gettysburg built a little bridge across the stream. lovely little thing. probably be on postcards today except a couple weeks after they finished building it, they started noticing scratches in the wood, long, narrow scratches grouped in fours and fives that looked for all the world as if somebody had reached up and grabbed on and were dragged back again by their fingernails. gave people the willies... they tore the whole bridge down altogether. I told you earlier they put the concrete in shortly after they built the middle school to stop kids from falling in. What I didn't tell you, is they did that because kids did fall in. Over and over and over they fell in. Finally the school district said fine fine fine we'll cover it over, that'll solve the problem... [It] still didn't quite solve the problem. Not entirely. People still fall down right here all the time: trip over their own feet, fall off their bicycles, have the skates fly out from under them. When you ask them, well what happened... It's amazing how often you hear the same answer. 'I know,' they say, 'it was weird... I'm telling you I felt somebody grab me by the leg or by the ankle or by the foot, pulling desperately as if their life depended on it, as if they were trying and trying to pull themselves out of somewhere.' We are gonna move along, but I will ask you please as we follow the path of Weinbrenner Run, do watch your step" (August 07).

Appendix E

Personal Ghost Encounter Narrative

Performed by Tara Leas.

"Now many of us that tell ghost stories do come down here to Gettysburg on our own time and we'll go poking around and do our investigating, try to find some new stories or check out certain stories that we've heard. So one evening I decided to come down with one woman that I used to work with and we decided to go to the battlefield and to go to the Seminary. So we went out and we took some P.I.R.A. [Paranormal Investigation and Research Association] approved equipment with us. Two digital cameras. A digital thermometer. We took a tape recorder which you can do EVPs with which are electronic voice phenomenon... We took an EMF detector which detects electromagnetic fields and... a set of dousing rods...We went down to the triangular field..." [Tara describes how she and the second guide took temperature readings and weren't getting anything until] "My co-worker grabs her camera and she starts snapping some pictures over in my direction and she took a series and in the first one there was a very big orb of light right next to me. She snaps another one, it moves back into the woods. She snaps another one. It moves right back up next to me. She snaps another one, it's gone... We got excited, we got out the EMF detector again" [In the narrative, Tara feels a warm change in temperature] "There was a very big bright orb of light right about there, right over my behind, and I'm pretty sure that with this photograph I got evidence that men were exactly the same in 1863 as they are today ladies and gentlemen."

"[Later on the same trip] as we walk around the corner we are hit by this overwhelming smell. And I looked at her and I said, 'do you smell lilac?' And she said 'uh huh.' And it was there for about a minute and then very quickly dissipated... Now we were out there in early March and lilacs bloom in later April early May here in Gettysburg... So we continue on... She gets the dousing rods out... the one rod starts to swing over and point straight to me... We suddenly realize that there is this crunching sound of dry leaves around us, and it sounded like there was somebody walking around and around and around... And all of a sudden the crunching stops and the rods fall still" (September 07).

Appendix F
Off-site Narrative

Performed by Tammy Raseo.

"And if you happen to visit Little Round Top this weekend you'll notice we have re-enactors here in Gettysburg every weekend. They're from all over the world. Well, a few years ago we had a particularly big re-enactment... two re-enactors were sitting up on Little Round Top just kind of resting for the day's events and they looked down into that valley that eased over into devil's den. All of a sudden, they saw a union soldier step out from behind a bush and start walking up the hill towards them. Was his uniform authentic! When he got up a little closer they even noticed the black powder around his mouth and on his teeth where he bit those cartridges open and dumped that powder down his musket. He was amazing-looking. He walked up to them, simply said, 'hot day today, isn't boys.' Yes sir, it was. He reached in a cartridge box, took out a few shells, handed them to one of those re-enactors and then just said, 'hey, you boys might be needing these later." He turned, he started to walk down the hill. As the re-enactors started to examine the shells, they realized, these have mini-balls in them. That's live ammunition. Our re-enactors don't use live ammo–hopefully... They went down the hill to say something to that man. He was gone. Well, they took those shells to the park service ranger, told their story. He took a look at the shells and he said, 'you know, I have a friend here in town, he's an artillery expert. I'd really like him to take a look at these shells.' So they took the shells to the expert, they told their story of Little Round Top, that mysterious soldier. The expert examined the shells, they repeated the story, kind of went back and forth for awhile. Finally, the expert hands the shells back to one of the re-enactors, scratches his head with kind of a puzzled look and says, 'you have the real thing here. These shells are from 1863.' And that re-enactor still has those shells today" (August 2007).

Appendix G
Off-site Narrative

From a tour transcript by Ray Davis.

"In the 1890's or early 19 'aughts, there was a young couple here in Gettysburg. Childhood sweethearts. They decided at an early age, that when they were old enough they were going to get married and let nothing stop them. Yet when they were old enough, for some reason they weren't allowed to wed... They decided that since they weren't allowed to be together in life, they would be together in death, eternally in the afterlife by committing a double suicide. The method that they chose was to leap off that clock tower and be together forever... They made the long slow climb up the stairs and stood in the openings above the clock. As they braced themselves, they looked at one another to say their last good-byes and I love yous. They said on the count of three we'll jump. They counted 1…2…3…and she jumps (pause) but he chickens out. She of course falls to her death and he backs off the ledge and was never heard from again... many believe that she returns and haunts the clock tower there at Glatfelter Hall. Normally the men students report seeing her, although the girls at the college mention seeing her every now and again. What they say is that as the guys are walking across campus, they will look up to Glatfelter just to see the time. But in the openings above the clock a beautiful woman appears. She is wearing a white dress and has long hair and is leaning over trying to catch the attention of the young men below. It is said when she gets their attention, her gaze is very enchanting and she beckons them to join her there in the tower... It is believed that what she wants him to do is to leap off the clock tower. And join her eternally in the afterlife after she was jilted at the alter of death there at Glatfelter Hall. Guys, when you're on the college campus, be wary of the woman in the clock tower" (February 2006).

Appendix H

Tourist ghost stories

From my ghost tour guide journal.

"Before my tour, one woman who came out with me talked about the Seminary tour she'd taken and showed me pictures of orbs.... She also told me a story about her husband in a local B & B that her family had stayed in the night before. He was talking in his sleep, saying 'Let go!' He had never talked in his sleep before. The next morning he told her he had a dream that a woman [Civil War nurse] was grabbing at his arm saying that she had to take it [i.e. amputate his arm in the fashion of Civil War doctors]" (October 6, 2007).

"After the tour, a young couple wanted to ask me a question. They didn't really have a question but wanted to tell a story of staying at a building by the Lee Museum. They had an eerie feeling staying there like someone was with them. She wouldn't go in the basement or the bathroom. They heard noises all night: cabinets opening and closing, creaking on steps even though the building had installed very thick carpets. [They] walked with me a good way back" (October 6, 2007).

"After the tour I invited people to stay and ask questions or share experiences. Two girls and one guy first approached me and talked about a shadowy figure they had seen off behind the corner of the "Buford" building while I was talking. They told other personal ghost stories unrelated to Seminary Ridge, including one about being poked by an unseen hand at a Gettysburg restaurant... A teenage boy with a phone camera showed me a picture he'd taken on a cell phone of a strange mist. I corroborated that it might be a spectral mist and talked about ectoplasm. A girl with a camera showed me a picture of myself at the first stop of the tour with a small green light with a tail hovering over my shoulder as I'm talking" (October 13, 2007).

"After the tour, a man told me that he had seen a dark figure by the school while we were at the walnut tree. He felt a nudge that he thought was his girlfriend but wasn't. He felt that the nudge was meant to point out the presence of the dark figure to him" (October 27, 2007).

"As I was walking back, after I told 'Buried Alive' the woman told me a story of seeing a blue lady in nineteenth-century dress at the hospital where she worked (she was a nurse). The blue lady walked through the floor where [the tourist] worked, out onto an outside porch, walked off the porch and disappeared" (November 2, 2007).

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