

“There are *things* going bump in the night
all over this town”: Gothic Tourism,
Haunted London, and the Geographies of
Haunted Space

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Abstract

London, with its historical legacy as a haunted space that dates back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, remains a top destination for global and domestic ghost tourists. Despite London's thriving supernatural status and its consistent popularity with ghost tourists, there has yet to be a sustained study of, or dedicated edited volume on, the phenomenon of London ghost tourism and its history to date. My project represents an attempt to fill this lacuna. Using the eighteenth-century aesthetics of associationism as a point of departure, this thesis deploys a mixed or hybrid methodology to achieve three objectives: first, to provide original research by means of case studies on sites of hauntings, ghost tourism practices, and/or the use of ghosts in heritage; secondly, to offer an overview of London ghost tourism trends from the nineteenth century to the present day; and thirdly, to introduce select spatial and cultural theories to situate how haunted space and its associated tourism practices achieve a certain kind of "in-placeness". In total, this study offers a thorough exploration of London ghost tourism practice from the nineteenth century to the present-day and argues that ghosts and hauntings are inextricably tied to place, alter our relationship to the urban landscape, and allow us, as either 'armchair' or in-person tourists, to navigate the liminal realm of real and imagined Gothic space. To achieve these objectives, each chapter situates a particular aspect of ghost tourism within the relevant London tradition—imaginative literary tours, walking tours, multimedia virtual tours, and so forth—and, then, deploys the methodology best suited to the phenomena under consideration. This interdisciplinary approach aims to provide an original theory of how Gothic and/or ghost tours engage with the supernatural in a way that is distinctive, imaginative, and *sui generis*.

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Introduction

London has the reputation of being the most haunted capital city in the world.

Its ghosts span the centuries and often illuminate dark corners of its brutal past. From those who perished inside England's most haunted building, the Tower of London, to the tragic victims of the world's most famous serial killer, Jack the Ripper, many of the phantoms that roam the capital are an essential part of British history, folklore and legend.

— Richard Jones, *Haunted London*

Modern-day London is portrayed, consumed, and navigated as a haunted city.

The success of Danny Robins' recent BBC Radio 4 docudrama podcast, *The Battersea Poltergeist* (2021), attests to Britain's fascination with "real" ghost stories and the search for haunted places. Robins retells the story of the poltergeist that haunted the Hitchings family of 63 Wycliffe Road starting in 1956, including the fact that not only did the BBC attempt to contact the poltergeist on live prime-time TV but also that it was discussed by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons (Robins "The Story of the Battersea Poltergeist"). While the house may no longer stand, interest in the mysterious poltergeist and the peculiarities of the space the house once occupied remains a lively topic of public interest. Certainly, this is evidenced by eager listeners from across Britain, and in some instances the United States, who emailed the podcast producers to query evidence, share theories, and pose questions about the relationship between haunting, the geography of the house and its environs, and the history of the site before the house was built (Robins "Case Update"). This is unsurprising, as public interest in haunted places and ghost stories has a longstanding history in print culture. From Elliott O'Donnell's *Haunted Houses of London* (1909) to more recent popular-cultural texts such as Edrick Thay's *Ghost Stories of London* (2004) and David Brandon and Alan Brooke's *Haunted London Underground* (2008), there have been myriad books published that now adorn the

shelves of amateur ghost-hunters and supernatural enthusiasts. The interest in haunting and ghost stories extends beyond imaginative engagement with books that document and map hauntings to include ghost tourism. Those readers, viewers and/or listeners captivated by tales of the supernatural often wish to visit the very places that allegedly harbour the spirits. London, with its historical legacy as a haunted space that dates back to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, remains a top destination for global ghost tourists. For example, the infamous Cock Lane Ghost Affair of the eighteenth century and 50 Berkeley Square of the nineteenth century are both key sites in London's haunted history, sites where people have gathered in the hope of encountering its ghosts. Today, tours have exponentially increased and have been standardised by the tourism industry. In fact, there are a number of ghost-walking tours and a tour bus, known as the Ghost Bus, operating in the city on a daily basis.

The Gothic and the ghost story have a close-knit relationship. In early Gothic novels, ghosts and hauntings appeared as embedded narrative episodes within the larger story (Freeman, "The Victorian Ghost Story" 93). By the nineteenth century, these narratives developed into a distinct genre of short fiction that focused explicitly on a supernatural visitation, with their supernatural events remaining unexplained (Freeman, "The Victorian Ghost Story" 93; Briggs 123). For Julia Briggs, between 1830 and 1930, the most characteristic form of the Gothic was the ghost story (123). As a sub-genre within the Gothic mode, the ghost story may share themes, motifs and characters. The central difference between the ghost story and the Gothic mode more broadly is a matter of form. We can consider the relationship between Gothic tourism and ghost tourism in a similar vein. Much like the distinction between the Gothic mode and the ghost story, ghost tourism is a subcategory of the larger

disciplinary designation of Gothic tourism. Gothic tourism, according to Emma McEvoy, is a general conceptual paradigm for tourism that relates to Gothic tropes, motifs, conventions and narratives (*Gothic Tourism* 4-5). It includes a spectrum of practices that only require the tourist to be engaged with any element of the Gothic. Conversely, ghost tourism, as defined by Michele Hanks, is “any form of leisure or travel that involves encounters with or the pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunted” (*Haunted Heritage* 13). Ghost tourism, then, is a narrowed, specific practice within the larger spectrum of Gothic tourism.

Despite London’s thriving supernatural status and its consistent popularity with ghost tourists, there has yet to be a sustained study of, or dedicated edited volume on, the phenomenon of London ghost tourism and its history to date. Scholarship on ghost tourism and/or Gothic tourism, as I will detail shortly, has a tendency to be confined to single case studies in articles or single chapters in larger works. Out of the studies that have been published on ghost tourism, the singular focus on guided walking tours misses the rich opportunity to explore the eclectic and diverse range of ghost tourism practices and materials, most notably guidebooks. My project represents an attempt to fill this lacuna. As such, this thesis has three objectives: first, to provide original research by means of case studies on sites of hauntings, ghost tourism practices, and/or the use of ghosts in heritage; secondly, to offer an overview of London ghost tourism trends from the nineteenth century to the present day; and thirdly, to introduce select spatial and cultural theories to situate how haunted space and its associated tourism practices achieve a certain kind of “in-placeness”. In total, this study offers a thorough exploration of London ghost tourism practice from the nineteenth century to the present-day, and argues that ghosts and hauntings are inextricably tied to place, alter our relationship to the urban landscape,

and allow us, as either 'armchair' or in-person tourists, to navigate the liminal realm of real and imagined Gothic space.

Associationism and the Gothic Imagination

Deploying modern and postmodern critical theories to historical artefacts and practices may be dismissed as anachronistic. However, when due weight is given to the eighteenth-century aesthetic of associationism, it is clear that the curious phenomena of supernatural attachment to specific places and spaces remains an historically appropriate object of scholarly interest. Thus, to consider the spatial implications and configurations of haunted space it is necessary first to sketch and, then, to locate historically the aesthetic origins of Gothic spatiality and its relationship to literature. While this project begins its investigations in the nineteenth century, the transformation of an architectural body or landscape into a Gothic spatial imaginary dates back to the eighteenth century and coincides with the rise of the Gothic novel. It is, therefore, fitting to consider the foundational principles of the eighteenth-century aesthetic of associationism. As Robert Miles argues, associationism was not a clearly articulated philosophy, but "more a set of assumptions that found different expression in different areas" (50). An exhaustive historical review of the entire philosophical, aesthetic, and political uses of associationism in the eighteenth century is beyond the scope of this study. What follows, though, is a select overview of associationism with a focus on its intersection with Gothic literature and its affinity with contemporary theories on Gothic and haunted spatial imaginaries.

The rudimentary principles of associationism derive from the empiricist philosophy of John Locke. In an addition to Book II that he made in the fourth edition

of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke coined the phrase “association of ideas” and attempted to explain the acquisition of unreasonable or irrational thoughts in the mind of men (Townshend, *Gothic Antiquity* 46). He posited a distinction between ideas of “natural Correspondence and Connexion” and those owing “to Chance or Custom”. These ideas represent the two poles of a binary opposition: the former holds up to reason and rationality while the latter are learned associations between an object and a related set of ideas, links that Locke stigmatises as being of the order of “wanton Phancies” or “Madness” (Locke 222-23). Further, learned ideas or associations “not at all of kin” to the objects that bring them to mind are determined by Locke to be infectious and problematic, the forebearers of irrationality that, once set in place, are “very hard to separate” (222). However, Locke recognises that the causation of certain associations is not a universal process when he states that “this strong Combination of *Ideas*, not ally’d by Nature” made in the Mind, voluntarily or by chance, “comes in different men to be very different, according to their different Inclinations, Educations, Interests [*sic*]” (223). Locke warns against this “great cause of errors”, these “wrong connexions” of great influential force lest false associations “set us awry” in our actions, morals, and reason. Crucially, in order to illustrate an instance of the dangers that attend the “wrong connection” of association, Locke evokes the supernatural:

The *Ideas* of *Goblins* and *Sprights* [*sic*], have really no more to do with Darkness and Light; yet let but a foolish Maid inculcate these often in the Mind of a Child, and raise them there together, possibly he shall never be able to separate them again so long as he lives, but Darkness shall ever afterwards bring with it those frightful *Ideas*, and they shall be joined, that he can no more bear the one than the other. (223)

While focused on matters of associationism, Locke makes an astute observation on the power of stories and the imagination, an observation that is a key contention of this thesis: stories about the supernatural can mould our imaginations and sow associative threads that condition our lived experience, understanding, and practice of everyday life. While Locke identifies the potential association between darkness and fear, we can extrapolate from his commentary several other applications. These “wrong connexions” or associations instigated by stories enable the mind to imagine the very idea of the supernatural as well as the conditions and spaces that the specific supernatural entity, such as ghosts, are likely to occupy.

Joseph Addison would redress Locke’s anti-associationist stance and, in certain writings, would address Locke’s views on the supernatural directly. Dispersed throughout his eleven essays on “Taste and Pleasures of the Imagination” that were published in *The Spectator* in 1711 and 1712 are interrogations and critiques of the associations made between architecture and landscape through art and literature. Addison stresses a rejection of British empiricism and its obsession with a purely rational understanding of the world and, instead, encourages thinkers to embrace the visionary (Addison, *Taste and the Pleasures* 176-77). It is important to note that Addison means ‘visionary’ in its primary sense, that is, writing that “our sight is the most perfect and most delightful of all our senses. It fills the mind with the largest variety of ideas” (*Taste and the Pleasures* 175). Addison then suggests that the imagination—or “fancy”, a synonym for the imagination that he uses “promiscuously” throughout his essays—is furnished with ideas arising from or associated with visual objects (*Taste and the Pleasures* 175-76). He divides the “pleasures of the imagination” into two kinds: “primary” and “secondary”. “Primary pleasures” are the pleasures of immediate sight, those pleasures “which arise from the actual view and

survey of outward objects” (Addison, *Taste and the Pleasures* 176, 178).

“Secondary pleasures”, by contrast, are those “which flow from the ideas of visual objects” when the object is absent from our immediate sight, “but are called up into our memories, or formed into agreeable visions of things that are either absent or fictitious” (Addison, *Taste and the Pleasures* 176). These “secondary” pleasures, the pleasures of imaginative association, are innately connected to visual arts and literature, and Addison references ideas called up into our minds “by paintings, statues, descriptions or any of the like occasion” (*Taste and the Pleasures* 176). Ultimately, Addison’s framing of “secondary”, imaginative associations within his typology is apposite for understanding how and why the literary Gothic inspires supernatural-infused spatial imaginaries in the mind of its readers, from the eighteenth century to the present. Addison argues that architecture has a more immediate tendency to produce those primary pleasures but does not address a Gothic architectural imaginary—architectural space conditioned by the literary Gothic mode—directly. He does, however, posit that places can be envisioned with imaginative associations or “images” promulgated by literature and the arts (*Taste and the Pleasures* 190-191).

The accumulation of “secondary pleasures” does not, however, posit the individual as a passive receptacle for information gained from the world of the senses. In fact, the associations of ideas, according to Addison, are structured by and infused with subjective difference. While Addison may, somewhat problematically, limit association to sight, he nonetheless asserts that we all have the power to retain, alter, and compound sensory images into a variety of pictures and visions (*Taste and the Pleasures* 176). Furthermore, Addison clarifies that we must consider ideas retrieved through the arts as comparable to the sensory visual,

emphasising that a direct gaze upon the object is not compulsory. For Addison, then, it is sufficient for the imagination to have accumulated “places, persons or actions, in general” bearing a resemblance to what we find represented before us (*Taste and the Pleasures* 190). In essence, the power of the imagination has the ability to extract, reformulate, and create an imaginative bricolage of an infinite combination of “seen” and artistic objects.

It is the action of the mind that places the “primary” and “secondary” pleasures in an infinite array of associations. Importantly, Addison isolates the function of associations deriving from words and credits language with having an impact on the visionary imagination that is equivalent to statuary and painting. According to Addison, the power of words can offer “more lively ideas than the sight of things themselves”. Correspondingly, the intensity and vividness of images garnered from a surveyed scene can be enriched to a greater degree “by the help of words” (Addison, *Taste and Pleasure* 192). For example, when he addresses the role of the poet, Addison attributes the diversity of imaginative responses to the same text to variations in readers’ judgment, taste, or ideas (Addison, *Taste and Pleasure* 193). Ultimately, for Addison, the literary arts are capable of contributing a wealth of associations for the imagination whereby the reader may, in turn, develop imaginative scenes and/or fictitious places without ever needing to visit the physical place described. The ways in which this concept is later enlarged by Gaston Bachelard in his *Poetics of Space* (1958 [1969]) will be discussed in Chapter One, which argues that the literary ghost tour is no more than a series of imaginative scenes. Each imaginative scene is nuanced by and ‘belongs’ to the imagination of each unique and individual reader. In order to account for the relationship between the literary descriptions and the conceptualised imaginative places as an inevitably

individual process, I frame the reader as an ‘imagining subject’. This term is used to reject any assumptions of the reader as a passive receptacle for knowledge and, instead, to sustain a focus on the reader’s imagination and their active participation in reading and interpretation.

It is in 1711, in essay “No. 110” of *The Spectator*, that Addison addresses Locke’s reluctance to acknowledge the importance of association to the workings of human consciousness, a point that he argued through an account of supernatural imaginings, haunting, and architectural association. Addison explores the association between the supernatural and ecclesiastical ruin—“the Ruins of an old Abby [*sic*]”—near the house of his fictional friend Sir Roger, which came to develop a reputation for being haunted (Addison, “Nos. 12 and 110” 16). The butler informs the persona of Addison about the mysterious and supernatural occurrences on the path and pleads against its traversal at night. Ignoring his warnings, Addison in his literary guise takes a walk in the dark hour between nine and ten at night:

[he] could not but fancy it one of the most proper Scenes in the World for a Ghost to appear in. The Ruins of the Abby are scattered up and down on every Side, and half covered with Ivy and Eldar-Bushes, and Harbours of several solitary Birds which seldom make their Appearance till the Dusk of the Evening. The Place was formerly a Church-yard and has still several Marks in it of Graves and Burying-Places. There is such an Eccho among the old Ruins and Vaults, that if you stamp but a little louder than ordinary you hear the Sound repeated. At the same Time the Walk of Elms, with the Croacking of the Ravens which from time to time are heard from the Tops of them, looks exceeding solemn and venerable. These Objects naturally raise Seriousness and Attention; and when Night heightens the Awfulness of the Place, and pours out her supernumerary Horrors

upon every thing in it, I do not at all wonder that weak Minds fill it with Spectres and Apparitions [sic]. (“No. 110” 17)

While Addison may attribute the perception of hauntedness to “a weak mind”, the passage attests to the visceral and immediate impact of the Gothic on the night walker’s imagination. Clearly, Addison countenances the general associations between darkness and the supernatural that Locke summarily rejects and marks the specific associations of this Gothic space (Townshend, *Gothic Antiquity* 49-50). Dale Townshend identifies a knowing allusion in this scene to John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613-14) and, in so doing, highlights its literary intertextuality, a key tenet of associationism and haunted places. The scene of ecclesiastical ruin is not one that intrinsically filled with ghosts, but one imbued with literary and dramaturgical associations of haunting; it is a perception mediated by the imagination and a product of “secondary pleasures” that infuse the “primary” imagination. Although Addison emphasises the imagination as a product of sight, the aural qualities of this scene, particularly the ‘Eccho’ and the ‘Croacking of the Ravens’, support the idea of haunted space as a multisensory phenomenon. This thesis explores both the origins and the workings of the multisensory effects and affects of haunted space throughout the body of the work, but most significantly in Chapters One and Two.

While it does not address architecture specifically, David Hume’s *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1738) describes the imagination as mediator between the internal workings of the mind and the physical objects of the world. While the imagination can alter the experience of external objects, it too, according to Hume, is restricted by its knowledge of the subject. He distinguishes between what he terms “impressions” and “ideas”. “Impressions” for Hume are those perceptions that enter with force and

violence and are attributed to our sensations and passions “as they make their first appearance in the soul”. Their counterpart, “ideas”, are “the faint images of these in thinking and reasoning” (311). Yet, for Hume, these two elements not only coexist within the mind, but “ideas” are always linked closely to the impressions of the imagining subject. While the two are interconnected, Hume stresses an important distinction: “our impressions are the causes of our ideas, and not our ideas of our impressions...We cannot form to ourselves a just idea of the taste of pine-apple, without having actually tasted it” (Hume 315). Later, Hume advances another important distinction, one between “Memory” and “Imagination”, the former being “more lively and strong” than those of the imagination, which paints its objects “in more distinct colours”. For Hume, imaginative perception is faint and languid and, upon losing its vivacity, becomes the perfect idea (317-18). While Hume may reduce the imagination to an enfeebled form of perception, he does give credit to its variation and is flexible in his understanding of its many possible origins, stating that the imagination “is not restrain’d to the same order and form with the original impressions” (Hume 318). Moreover, Hume writes, “neither the lively nor faint ideas can make their appearance in the mind” unless there rests the preceding impression (318). He then sets out three “universal principles” to describe association via the imagination: “RESEMBLANCE, CONTIGUITY in time or place, CAUSE and EFFECT.” The latter, relations of cause and effect, produce the stronger of connections in the imagination (Hume 319). This study integrates three key features of Hume’s thought into its consideration of a Gothic architectural and spatial imagination: first, that without a ‘taste’ for or a preceding impression of a location or space, the “Gothic Imagination” cannot begin to perceive, much less conceive, the supernatural; secondly, that cause and effect, or the supplanting of a certain

impression and/or idea, can impact strongly upon how the imagining subject understands and imagines Gothic spaces; and thirdly, that Hume's principle of resemblance is important to this study as it identifies the synthesising process between the internal ideas about and the sensory impressions of the external world that occurs within the imagining subject. This complex but largely instinctual blending of the material and the fictional is not only the cause of Gothic association, but also a fundamental premise of Gothic tourism.

In the wake of Addison and Hume, other critics in the eighteenth century explored the relationship between art and the imagination. In *Essays on the Nature and Principle of Taste* (1790), essayist Archibald Alison argued that fine arts "are considered the arts which are addressed to the imagination" (3). His detailed treatise on the imagination examines the impact of associations forged when an individual makes a distinction between what Alison defines as "natural" versus "relative" beauty. In his deliberation on the scope of "relative beauty", Alison distinguishes a subcategory, namely the "accidental": those causal associations that produce the same expressive connection, but which are peculiar to the individual (188). Accidental associations, he argues, "take their rise from education, from peculiar habits of thought, from professions"; these are not transcendental and shared by all, but "only felt by those whom similar causes have led them to the formation of similar associations" (Alison 322). On the matter of Gothic architecture, Alison argues that its impact and imaginative properties are not an intrinsic quality of its materiality but a consequence of the imagining subject projecting qualities derived from relative and accidental associations with "compositions both in prose and verse" (324). Phrased differently, how the imagining subject understands their material environment is subject to the "accidental" associations forged through engagement with Gothic and

supernatural literature. The strong imaginative relationship, identified in the eighteenth century, between the arts and the material environment continues to inspire the work of postmodern spatial theorists such as James Donald.

William Hazlitt, in an 1816 review of John Black's translation of A. W. von Schlegel's *A Course of Lectures of Dramatic Art and Literature* (1809), published in *The Edinburgh Review*, clarifies Schlegel's distinction between the classical and the Romantic (Townshend, *Gothic Antiquity* 74). Hazlitt suggests "the most obvious distinction" between the two is that the classical "is conversant with objects that are grand or beautiful in themselves, or in consequence of obvious and universal associations". The Romantic differs insofar as it is conversant with objects "that are interesting only by the force of circumstances and imagination." According to Hazlitt, a Grecian temple, as a classical object, excites immediate admiration. Classical art "remains always the same, and suggests nearly the same impressions," whereas the Romantic style of art functions differently (70). Hazlitt elaborates that

the ruins of a Gothic castle have no beauty or symmetry to attract the eye; and yet they excite a more powerful and romantic interest from the ideas with which they are habitually associated. If, in addition to this, we are told that this is Macbeth's castle, the scene of the murder of Duncan, the interest will be instantly heightened to a sort of pleasing horror. (70)

As a result, the associations belonging to Romantic art and aesthetics "may vary infinitely, and take in the whole range of nature and accident" (Hazlitt 70). As Hazlitt suggests, the Romantic style dwells "on the ideas which they suggest to the imagination" rather than any given object's immediate impression on the senses (Hazlitt 72). In keeping with the historical ideas, this thesis argues that fiction can heighten our interest towards an edifice and, in so doing, alter how we decode,

'read', and react to material buildings. Specifically, I argue that all forms of literary and artistic ghost storytelling offer an array of imaginative opportunities to engage with haunted buildings and sites.

My intention thus far has been to acknowledge and to foreground the contributions of historical thinkers to our present understanding of how specific features of the Gothic and imagined Gothic associations mediate our experiences of supernatural and haunted places. Even in its modern and contemporary expressions, the Gothic is a consciously affective and evocative mode, one that is susceptible to leaving a permanent impression on its readers' imaginations. A major element of the Gothic's imaginative force is its use of the supernatural (Punter 2). David Punter suggests that the ghost story is indebted to themes and styles of earlier Gothic writings, the greatest writers deriving their techniques of suspense and sense of the archaic past directly from the pages of its works (3). Bearing Punter's theory in mind, a strong case can be made for the ghost story as being a comparable, if not a greater, influence on the imagination.

A return to Joseph Addison, specifically his contemplation of the ghost story's affective quality, is instructive in this respect. Addison's essay "No.12", published in *The Spectator* in March 1711, presents a strong case against ghost stories on the grounds that they establish disorder in the faculties of their young listeners. His persona, Mr. Spectator, makes the following report of an evening in his London lodging house:

I remember last Winter there were several young Girls of the Neighbourhood sitting about the Fire with my Land-lady's Daughters, and telling Stories of Spirits and Apparitions. Upon my opening the Door the young Women broke off their Discourse, but my Land-lady's Daughters telling them that it was no Body but the

Gentleman (for that is the Name which I go by in the Neighbourhood as well as in the Family) they went on without minding me. I seated my self by the Candle that stood on a Table at one End of the Room; and pretending to read a Book that I took out of my Pocket, heard several dreadful stories of Ghosts as pale as Ashes that had stood at the Feet of a Bed, or walked over a Church-yard by Moon-light; And of others that had been conjured into the *Red Sea*, for disturbing People's Rest, and drawing their Curtains at Midnight; with many other old Womens Fables of the like Nature. As on Spirit raised another, I observed that at the End of every Story, the whole Company closed their Ranks and crouded about the Fire [*sic*]: I took Notice in particular of a little Boy, who was so attentive to every Story, that I am mistaken if he ventures to go to bed by himself this Twelvemonth. Indeed, they talked so long, that the Imaginations of the whole Assembly were manifestly crazed, and I am sure will be the worse for it as long as they live. I heard one of the Girls, that had looked upon me over her Shoulder, asking the Company how long I had been in the Room, and whether I did not look paler than I used to do. This put me under some Apprehensions that I should be forced to explain my self if I did not retire; for which Reason I took the Candle in my Hand, and went up into my Chamber, not without wondering at this unaccountable Weakness in reasonable Creatures, that should love to astonish and terrify one another. ("Nos. 12 and 110" 14-15)

Following this passage, Addison makes a direct reference to John Locke's attack on ghost stories for children in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) by stressing that if he were a father, he would take great efforts to preserve his children from "these little Horrors of Imagination" which they are "apt to contract" in their youth and be cravenly enthralled to in adulthood. Addison sides with Locke on the

dangers of transmitting stories of the supernatural that set up in the mind of the listener associations that defy empirical reason. Supernatural association does not discriminate, and as Addison makes clear, all minds are susceptible to its sway (Addison, "No.12" 15).¹ Ironically, to reject and warn against the consequences of ghost tales is to recognise the symbiotic, almost parasitic, relationship between the stories of the supernatural and the imagination in even the most rational of minds. We can live our lives without ever encountering the materialised supernatural yet still hold vivid in our imagination the supernatural's sight, sounds, smells, and spaces. To borrow from David Hume, the ghost story grants readers the "taste of the pineapple", or rather, the imagined, the rather foreign and exotic, and the sensuous knowledge of ghosts and the spaces they haunt.

Literature Review

The quasi-infectious spread of the Gothic into myriad cultural practices has been identified by numerous scholars and is referenced routinely in introductory chapters of Gothic criticism, including Catherine Spooner's *Contemporary Gothic* (2006), Fred Botting's *Gothic: New Critical Idiom* (2013), and Glennis Byron and Dale Townshend's *Gothic World* (2014). The sheer volume of essays, spanning historical periods, media, and cultural practices, compiled in Byron and Townshend's *Gothic World* signals the enduring interest in Gothic historically and in modern-day culture. According to Marie Luise Kohlke and Christian Gutleben, "Gothic has permanently emerged from the crepuscular cultural unconscious into the brightly lit mainstream" (1). The publication of Lorna Piatti-Farnell and Maria Beville's edited collection, aptly titled *The Gothic and the Everyday: Living Gothic* (2014), attests to the thriving state of the Gothic. Piatti-Farnell and Beville commence their collection by declaring that

“the Gothic has never been more alive than it is today. Like a contagion, of late, it has travelled across cultural and media landscapes to permeate even the most banal aspects of everyday living” (1). As an extraliterary phenomenon saturating everyday life, the Gothic is now “a perspective on the world that shapes our sense of experience and identity” (Piatti-Farnell and Beville 3). It is thus no surprise that the Gothic has ‘infected’ the tourism industry, a cultural practice forged at the intersection between experience and identity. Gothic tourism has been on the rise since the eighteenth century and is flourishing within the context of contemporary tourism.

Despite travel and tourism being an integral and longstanding element of the Gothic narrative and aesthetic, Gothic tourism, a burgeoning field of research within Gothic studies, remains latent (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 4; Bennett 173). In fact, there has been just one full-length publication officially dedicated to Gothic tourism to date. The term “Gothic Tourism” first appeared in William Hughes 2003 essay in *Gothic Studies*, “‘An angel satyr walks these hills’: Imperial Fantasies for a Post-Colonial World”. Hughes deployed the term to describe an effective mode or discourse of a highly fictionalised form of “Gothic Social Reporting” in literature. “Gothic tourism” refers to a discourse analogous to the late-Victorian and Edwardian Empire Gothic, but applied to domestic, “home-grown” Gothic Otherness to the perceiving self (Hughes, “An angel satyr” 122). Recently, however, the term “Gothic Tourism” has shifted away from Hughes’ definition, having been redefined by Emma McEvoy. In her influential Gothic tourism scholarship, McEvoy delineates a unique form of tourism influenced by Gothic texts and imaginaries. Her essay “West End Ghosts and Southwark Horrors: London’s Gothic Tourism”, published in Anne Witchard and Lawrence Phillips’ *London Gothic: Place, Space and the Gothic*

Imagination (2006), was later enlarged to a full-length study, *Gothic Tourism* (2016). McEvoy defines Gothic tourism as the “act of visiting, for the purpose of leisure, a location that is presented in terms of the Gothic.” It is a form of tourism “that is intimately connected with Gothic narrative, its associated tropes, discourses and conventions” (*Gothic Tourism* 4-5). Her use of the Gothic is directly related to the literary conception of the mid-eighteenth century which was itself derived from works like Horace Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Ann Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), Mathew Gregory Lewis’ *The Monk* (1796), and the Gothic’s nineteenth-century revival in Wilkie Collins’ *The Woman in White* (1860), Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897), and many subsequent popular-cultural productions (*Gothic Tourism* 3). McEvoy’s seminal work lays the groundwork for numerous scholars who are interested in historical and modern-day ghost tours that include walking tours, officially managed heritage sites, as well as thrill-based tourism sites such as The London Dungeons. McEvoy’s work also outlines important histories, questions the acceptance of Gothic by the heritage industry, and explores how the Gothic is deployed in mainstream culture. McEvoy offers a substantial and valuable survey of various engagements and performances of Gothic tourism across England. Given the scope of *Gothic Tourism*, it cannot also provide a specific consideration of Gothic tourism trends over time in one particular place. My thesis, by contrast, examines Gothic tourism of London exclusively to identify and illuminate not only the histories of tourism in a city famed for its haunted past but, also, an array of imaginative and in-person ways of ‘touring’ the supernatural.

It should be noted that there is other work on Gothic tourism aside from McEvoy’ analysis. Nonetheless, she is correct when she notes that “academic attention to it has been thin on the ground” (*Gothic Tourism* 199). Although

positioned in terms of literary tourism, Duncan Light's *The Dracula Dilemma: Tourism, Identity and the State in Romania* (2012), with its critical focus on tours related to Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) and its enduring legacy, is an important contribution to scholarship on Gothic tourism. In his exploration of the literary and popular culture legacy of *Dracula* in conjunction with Romanian history, politics, and patterns of tourism, Light articulates the tensions between tourism profitability and constructions of identity and heritage. As such, Light's work provides a study of how the Gothic has shaped cultural and identity politics in Romania. A focused geographic approach enables Light to produce a thoughtful and thorough history of a particular Gothic tourism phenomenon as it changes over time and responds to shifts in Romania's political climate. Furthermore, his work offers insight into how the Gothic can be rebranded, moulded, and contested at the level of heritage. Light is not the only scholar to investigate Dracula-centred tourism. Catherine Spooner, in her recent work *Post-Millennial Gothic: Comedy, Romance and the Rise of Happy Gothic* (2017), explores tourism in Whitby, with a specific focus on its literary connection to *Dracula* and its popular Gothic festivals.

London as a supernatural city has been well-documented in scholarship. In addition to the large volume of scholarly publications exploring supernatural texts set in London, others draw specifically on London's supernatural histories. E.J. Clery in *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction 1762-1800* (1995) and Sasha Handley in *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Belief and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth-Century England* (2016) discuss and historicise London's infamous hoax, the Cock Lane Ghost Affair, as a prominent and influential supernatural event. Karl Bell focuses his attention on nineteenth-century supernatural phenomena. His landmark study, *The Legend of Spring-Heeled Jack: Victorian Urban Folklore and Popular Cultures* (2012), provides

a robust history of the monstrous legend of Spring-Heeled Jack. As significant as Spring-Heeled Jack is to London's supernatural folklore, Bell reminds his readers that:

[he] was by no means unique in being a 'ghost' in the metropolis, for London was undoubtedly as haunted as anywhere else in Victorian England. The Hammersmith Ghost, the St Giles Ghost and the Bermondsey Ghost were perhaps only the better known of the mass of phantoms that informed nineteenth-century London's rich folklore. (*Spring Heeled Jack* 123)

In a later essay, "Phantasmal Cities: The Construction and Function of Haunted Landscapes in Victorian English Cities", Bell documents more examples of London's phantoms, from rumours of haunted houses to the instance of a haunting at Shadwell churchyard that attracted curious crowds. Others take a more unique approach to historicising London's supernatural. Roger Luckhurst's essay, "An Occult Gazetteer of Bloomsbury: An Experiment in Method" (2010), draws on Franco Moretti's mapping method to uncover the relationship between Bloomsbury and its supernatural connections. In doing so, Luckhurst establishes Bloomsbury as a centre of Spiritualist and occult activity. Lastly, Emma McEvoy's analyses of London ghost walking and the London's Necrobus in *Gothic Tourism* speak to how contemporary London continues to be marketed and presented as a supernatural city.

London's identity as a supernatural city is greatly influenced by its role as a central setting in urban Gothic fiction and popular culture. Urban Gothic fiction saw its rise in the nineteenth century, as the surge in industrialisation and urbanisation caused cities to become "a surrogate for the gloomy fastnesses of earlier Gothic" (Wasson, *Urban Gothic* 3). As a critical term, 'Urban Gothic' was first deployed by

Kathleen L. Spencer in her article “Purity and Danger: Dracula, the Urban Gothic, and the Late Victorian Degeneracy Crisis”, published in 1992. Spencer considered the term ‘Urban Gothic’ as a particularly appropriate term to acknowledge the literary movement’s eighteenth-century Gothic ancestry while “identifying the major modifications that have been made to adapt the fantastic to the needs of a new era” (200-201). This nineteenth-century narrative insisted upon a modern urban setting. Further, she writes, the discourse of empiricism was adopted “even to describe and manipulate supernatural phenomena” (Spencer 200). According to Spencer, the aim of Urban Gothic is “to reduce anxiety by stabilizing certain key distinctions, which seemed, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, to be eroding” (203). Her article explores how Urban Gothic is a “perfect literary reflection of the cultural crisis in Britain experienced between 1880 and 1914” (Spencer 208). As such, Spencer’s use of the term was restricted to a nineteenth-century context and its specific socio-cultural concerns. Later, Robert Mighall, in his landmark *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History’s Nightmares* (1999), echoes Spencer in the importance of setting for Urban Gothic texts. Positioning its origin with the publication of George W.M. Reynolds’ serialised *Mysteries of London* (1846), Mighall rightly outlines urban Gothic as “not just a Gothic in the city”, but “a Gothic of the city. Its terrors derive from situations peculiar to, and firmly located within, the urban experience” (30). It is a scholarly designation used to express specific motifs, tropes, characters and atmosphere peculiar to urban settings.

The early definitions provided by Kathleen L. Spencer and Robert Mighall are in response to specific critiques of Gothic writings set in London and Paris. It is worth noting, however, that Robert Mighall would later examine New Orleans as an American urban Gothic case study in his short essay, “Gothic Cities”, included in

Catherine Spooner and Emma McEvoy's *The Routledge Companion to Gothic* (2007). While this work has laid the groundwork for further scholarship on urban Gothic fiction from the Victorian period onwards, an ongoing focus on London and Paris does not necessarily account for the multiplicity of urban Gothic writing. Holly-Gale Millette and Ruth Heholt's *The New Urban Gothic: Global Gothic in the Age of the Anthropocene* (2020) offers a corrective and decentres and expands the urban Gothic discourse by providing a global perspective. In the introduction, Holly-Gale Millette rightly identifies the issue of definition, as "inevitably, there is not one single unified idea of urban Gothic. As in older Gothic fiction, different locales affect tales of the urban and imbue them with a specific sense of space and place" (12-13). In agreement with Millette, I do not offer an essentialist definition of urban Gothic but a stance. Urban Gothic is an umbrella term for a collection of Gothic urban imaginaries whose motifs, tropes and narratives are particularised by the socio-cultural conditions of its specific city setting. Each Gothic city does not necessarily have a unified imaginary but is comprised of a series of Gothic districts and/or regions. In the case of London, what I term "Haunted London" in the body of this thesis is a specific region of London's urban Gothic constructed and navigated through ghost stories found in literature, popular culture, tourism literature, and ghost tourism performance. This imaginary exists simultaneously with other London urban Gothic imaginaries inspired by other literary and popular culture texts and practices. Phrased differently, urban Gothic is any number of spaces that, when imagined and practiced, become urban places.

Another approach that underscores the necessity for more dedicated work to be done on Gothic tourism is that of heritage studies. A prime example would be Dale Townshend's "Ruins, Romance and the Rise of Gothic Tourism: The Case of

Netley Abbey, 1750-1830" (2014). With its historical focus on specific heritage sites and the Gothic literary associations that imbue architecture and/or sites with spectres, phantoms and ghosts, Gothic heritage studies such as Townshend's offer a tantalizing invitation to scholars interested in ghost tourism by identifying with great care and minute detail sites rife with supernatural entities and associations. As Emma McEvoy argues "there has been scant attempt to think about the *history* of the cultural practices dominant within Gothic tourism, and little in the way of considering these practices in relation to a literary or wider cultural tradition." Further, McEvoy identifies a marked trend in tourist studies to "take the contemporary, or late twentieth-century, world as their context" (*Gothic Tourism* 200). By exploring ghost tourism from the nineteenth century to the present day, this thesis is developed in response to this particular gap in current scholarship: it presents a sustained analysis of the literary and cultural histories of ghost tourism in and around London, as a form of Gothic tourism.

Ghost tourism has recently started to attract more critical attention (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 200). As Dennis Waskul and Marc Eaton put it, "the supernatural is experiencing a renaissance". Media representations are ubiquitous, and there is a reported increase in the number of people who believe in and have had encounters with the supernatural (5). There is also an increase in ghost tourism practices such as ghost walking and parapsychological investigation by both 'professional' and amateur ghost-hunters and enthusiasts. A strong indication of the role of ghost tourism in ghost culture is the incorporation of Scott Brewster's short essay on ghost walking in the *Routledge Handbook to the Ghost Story* (2018). Its inclusion signals the importance of ghost tourism in the ghost story's history, consumption, and culture. However, like McEvoy's wider concern with the state of Gothic tourism,

ghost tourism criticism, with the marked exception of John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold's *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism Since 1750* (1995) and David Inglis and Mary Holmes's "Highland and Other Haunts: Ghosts in Scottish Tourism" (2003), focuses primarily on modern-day examples rather than a historical review of ghost tourism. In fact, Owen Davies goes so far as to claim that ghost tourism did not come to fruition until the twentieth century, even though he cites examples of nineteenth-century ghost tourism in his work (62). My project seeks to offer a corrective by documenting the emergence of ghost tourism practices proper starting in the nineteenth century; practices that are performed by modern-day tourists.

As my study will demonstrate, modern-day tourism practices do not detract from but, rather, inform and complement critical studies on ghost tourism. The majority of existing scholarship focuses its attention on ghost walking tours or ghost-hunting experiences, and research includes hands-on participation from scholars. Robert C. Thompson explores questions of performing belief on ghost walks in "Am I Going to See a Ghost Tonight?: Gettysburg Ghost Tours and the Performance of Belief" (2010). Emma McEvoy, in her work on Gothic tourism, includes three case studies of ghost walks that she undertook in different regions of the United Kingdom. Her comparative analyses expose how ghost walks serve a particular purpose dependent on the place and intent of the tour guide. Julian Holloway, in his 2010 article "Legend-tripping in spooky spaces: ghost tourism and infrastructures of enchantment", surveys the state and categories of ghost tourism. Holloway also offers an examination of how the tourism industry uses legend-telling and practices of enchantment imaginatively to transform material urban space into haunted sites suitable for ghost tourists. The transformative power of ghost tourism to alter the

tourist's relationship to space has been examined by other critical theorists, too. In "Walking with the Dead: The Place of Ghost Walk Tourism in Savannah, Georgia" (2007), for example, Glenn W. Gentry explores how ghost walking in the United States allows for tourists to develop a deeper sense of place. Drawing on critics such as Yi-Fu Tuan and Michel de Certeau, Gentry's careful analysis of the role of walking to capture a sense of place and enact and/or recreate a particular experience is particularly relevant to understanding both the agency of the ghost tourist as an active participant in the tour and the effects and affects generated when tales of haunting and supernatural encounters are told *in situ*. The work of both Holloway and Gentry lays the groundwork upon which my thesis builds by examining walking as a form of imaginative negotiation between a haunted place and ghost tourist. The physical presence of the body in places imbued with supernatural imaginaries has been addressed by Annette Hill in her chapter "Psychic Tourists" in *Paranormal Media* (2011) with a specific reference to Steve Pile's concept of "emotional geography". This study enlarges Hill's considerations on ghost tourism as a sensory journey in Chapter Two.

An important landmark study on ghost tourism *in situ* and its intersections with populism, authenticity, history, and heritage was published in 2015: Michele Hanks' *Haunted Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Ghost Tourism, Populism, and the Past*. Although Hanks does explore imaginative engagement through tourism texts and popular culture, like the television franchise *Most Haunted*, at the outset of her work—an important component that inspired my work on haunted guidebooks in Chapter Two—her primary focus rests on physical interactions with haunted spaces, ghost-hunting experiences, and tours. Hanks' anthropological and sociological approach provides helpful distinctions between various forms of ghost tourism: ghost

walks, commercial ghost hunts, and non-profit ghost hunts and paranormal investigations. Her definition of ghost tourism, albeit in a form that has been modified and enlarged, is a focal point of this thesis. Hanks' work also serves as a point of departure for the broader examination this dissertation undertakes of the relationship between ghosts, heritage, and place. Her work on "haunted heritage" underpins my own scholarship and sets the precedent for the exploration of a full range of ghost tourism performances beyond ghost-walking tours.

Early work in heritage studies, namely David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985), and Robert Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987) proposes heritage as entropic and an inferior cultural construction to History. This thesis eschews this problematic critical perspective and centres its attention on the relationship between the ghost and the process of 'heritage production'. Heritage is a socio-cultural construction. It is not a single "thing", historical or political movement, but rather a set of "attitudes to, and relationships with, the past" (Harrison, *Heritage* 14). My analysis of heritage production, particularly in Chapter Three, is indebted to Rodney Harrison's dialogical approach to heritage. In *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2013), Harrison situates heritage as an active relationship between humans and non-humans, "none of which are necessarily privileged as the origin of meaning-making, and all of whom are collectively involved in this 'dialogue' in different ways" (215). The central concern of the dialogical model is with "the various ways in which humans and non-humans are linked by chains of *connectivity*." As such, heritage emerges from a relationship between "people, objects, places and practices" (Harrison, *Heritage* 4). Heritage is not established by a set of organic relationships but a process of forged connections.

It is deceptively simple but 'heritage production' is the process whereby these relationships and connections are created to produce heritage.

It is important to note that both haunted heritage and ghost tourism scholarship have come under fire for a number of reasons. Tiya Miles, in *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era* (2017), scrutinises the problematic use of ghost tourism to negotiate and depict histories of racial minorities in the Southern United States. The important study exposes the problems and limitations of ghost tourism because of its exclusionary focus on white Anglo-American histories and practices, an ironic tendency given the established practice of ghosts as figures of subversion and 'otherness'. Additionally, when ghost tourism is framed as a form of "legend tripping", "an excursion to places where something uncanny has allegedly occurred with the intention of experiencing something supernatural", the ethical and moral dimensions of Dark Tourism must be interrogated (Ironside 96). Dark tourism, a term coined in 1996 by Malcolm Foley and investigated in the full-length study co-authored with J. John Lennon, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (2000), refers to tours that turn sites of death and suffering (such as concentration camps) or catastrophe (such as Chernobyl) into tourist attractions. In the edited volume by Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (2009), ethical and philosophical questions surrounding the consumption of violent death and disaster through tourism are examined at length. While Ironside, Gentry, and Holloway position ghost tourism as dark tourism, Hanks rightly points out that a distinction must be made between a morbid fascination with the 'real' dead and attempts to commune with ghosts of legend and lore.

In addition, as Sara Wasson has observed, “a certain sense of spatiality has remained central to definitions of the Gothic throughout each decade” (“Gothic Cities” 132). It thus follows that, as a practice of architectural as well as of rural and urban spaces, ghost tourism has a strong connection with cultural geography, specifically with how space and place intersect with the Gothic. In *Imagining the Modern City* (1990), James Donald forges key links between representations of the city and its influence on popular culture. Donald suggests that the city is “an imaginary space created and animated as much by the urban representation to be found in novels, films and images as by any actual urban places” (x). It is, therefore, unsurprising that an urban space such as London has been transformed into a Gothic place through all manner of texts and associated cultural practices. Given its status as a locus of anxieties about empire, gender, sexuality, and crime, from the nineteenth century onward, urban centres in general, and London in particular, have become a key setting for Gothic literature. Victorian Gothic criticism often confirms the role of a city like London as a Gothic site of fear and anxiety. For example, *In Darkest London: The Gothic Cityscape in Victorian Literature* (2013) by Jamieson Ridenhour explores the literary production of haunted London by authors such as Richard Marsh, Charles Dickens, and Bram Stoker, utilising critical paradigms such as Mikhail Bakhtin’s heteroglossia. Further, London Gothic scholarship is not confined to the nineteenth century. Sara Wasson explores the Gothic mode in writings on Britain’s home front in *Urban Gothic of the Second World War: Dark London* (2010), whereas scholars of modern Gothic and London’s palimpsests have a tendency to gravitate towards reading the fiction of Peter Ackroyd through the Gothic, as in “Vulnerable Visibilities: Peter Ackroyd’s Monstrous Victorian Metropolis” (2014) by Jean-Michael Ganteau and “The Abhuman City: Peter Ackroyd’s Gothic

Historiography” (2014). While the bulk of spatially inflected scholarship centralises textual criticism, works such as Philip Lawrence and Anne Witchard’s aforementioned interdisciplinary collection of essays, *London Gothic*, demonstrate the breadth of possible London Gothic cultural output with work on text, film, and cultural practices such as tourism.

Urban space is but one aspect of spatiality that has been enlivened by considerations of the Gothic. Gaston Bachelard, in his seminal work *The Poetics of Space* (1958), asserts that the imagination augments a subject’s relationship to and understanding of their material reality (3). Dale Townshend’s *Gothic Antiquity* (2019) evidences the interrelationship between architecture and Gothic and Romantic literature. His argument that eighteenth-century Gothic is “nothing if not the writing of Gothic-architectural association, an imaginative self-consciously ‘romantic’ response to architecture” is highly persuasive (*Gothic Antiquity* 51). Further, this work sets the precedent for a consideration of Gothic’s link to the architectural imagination in the following century. Manuel Aguirre identifies the shift in Gothic settings during the nineteenth century, from castles to mansions, houses, and apartments (115).

The scholarship that does exist on the concept of the “haunted house” is rather limited and often based on specific examples. As a result, the concept of the haunted house, both in British and American cultural formulations, and its related criticism remains primarily hermeneutic. Interestingly, though, there is a greater amount of critical works on the American haunted house than its English counterpart. For example, Dale Bailey, in *American Nightmares: The Haunted House Formula in American Popular Culture* (1999), reminds us that the Gothic is one of the few genres where setting has a defining role, astutely noting that “in gothic fiction, setting is destiny – and it’s been so from the first” (4). Bailey distinguishes ‘the ghost story’

from 'the haunted house tale' in order to determine their formulae and to identify how both are rooted in the American Gothic and horror tradition. The integral role the haunted house plays in the American Gothic tradition is articulated in Diane Goldstein, Sylvia Ann Grider, and Jeannie B. Thomas's *Haunting Experiences: Ghosts in Contemporary Folklore* (2007), a study that has entire chapters dedicated to the conception and the commodification of 'The Haunted House'. Other scholars have traced the architectural histories behind the rise of the Victorian haunted house. Sarah Burns, for instance, surveys the culture of Victorian architecture and its representation in the popular imagination in the twentieth century in "Better for Haunts': Victorian Houses and the Modern Imagination" (2012). Barry Curtis, in his *Dark Places: The Haunted House in Film* (2008), provides a sustained study of the role of haunted houses in cinema with a specific emphasis on how architecture, place, and narrative produce spaces that can harbour ghosts. Curtis' theories draw helpfully from Bachelard and Anthony Vidler's "architectural uncanny" to analyse the imaginative scope of the haunted house. Like Burns, Curtis argues that the nineteenth century is the period which founded the 'idea' of the haunted house imaginary that is known and widely represented in modern-day Gothic pop culture.

As in the case of ghost tourism, my thesis attempts to fill a gap in scholarship by revisiting the 'idea' of the British haunted house. It is important to note the two works that have opened up new possibilities for understanding of the English haunted house. As if in agreement with Sarah Burns, Sharon Marcus, in *Apartment Stories* (1999), identifies the need to discuss the material conditions of the house rather than its metaphorical function. Her chapter "The Haunted London House, 1840-1880" tackles this issue by giving a history of the city through the point of view of the mid-nineteenth-century house. She too acknowledges the lack of scholarly

attention paid to developing a formula for the urban haunted house tale and to examining the relationship between the urban haunted house tale and London identity (116). Chapter One of this thesis undertakes these tasks. Moving beyond the house as a metaphor for a cultural and/or social issue, this study explores how haunted houses become an integral feature in the dissemination of knowledge regarding London's identity and history. Emma Liggins' recent monograph, *The Haunted House in Women's Ghost Stories: Gender, Space and Modernity, 1850-1945* (2020), informs the gender-inflected analysis of the haunted house and the ghost tour that appears in this study. This thesis also draws upon key spatial theorists such as Gaston Bachelard and Anthony Vidler in an effort to explore how the nuanced and complex spatial imaginary of haunted spaces, places, and practices can be understood in relation to a venerable and still haunted London whose ghosts can be toured.

Michele Hanks' *Haunted Heritage* and its exploration of the function of ghosts as a conduit for history, memory, and heritage underscores the importance of the role played by the supernatural in understanding places like London. In fact, a central argument of Jeannie Banks Thomas' collection of essays, *Putting the Supernatural in Its Place: Folklore, the Hypermodern, and the Ethereal* (2015), is that the 'in-placeness' of the supernatural is not trivial but a central matter (6). An impressive array of supernatural entities, including ghosts, witches, and zombies, are deployed to confirm that both the supernatural and its meaning are tied to the specific places they inhabit. This study also examines how ghosts function as a metaphor for the past and analyses this proposition in history, social memory, and heritage. This thesis also references *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (1997), specifically Avery F. Gordon's argument that the ghost is a social

figure and confirms his supposition that “investigating [the ghost] can lead to that dense site where history and subjectivity make social life” (8). Scholars such as Judith Richardson have also argued for the need for further socio-historical scholarship on a focused geographic region to uncover the rich histories and functions of the ghost over time. Richardson’s interdisciplinary work in *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley* (2003) confirms how diverse forms of ghosts can be used to narrate the past, claim the landscape, and to negotiate contested and liminal spaces. This study also draws upon ideas outlined in Martyn Hudson’s *Ghosts, Landscape and Social Memory* (2017) and, using his formulation of the ghost seeks to understand how ghost tourism serves as a mediator between the ghost as a sign and signifier of “congealed histories” and the material landscapes to which these ghostly narratives are attached (xviii).

Methodology

Using the eighteenth-century aesthetics of associationism as a point of departure, this thesis deploys a mixed or hybrid methodology. This is not to suggest that Gothic tours and/or ghost tours are so diverse that each requires a unique theoretical approach. Rather, it is my intention to pick the examples that best illustrate the noteworthy features of ghost tourism in general and, at the same time, to examine specific historical sites that have become the premiere destinations for ghost tourism in London. In order to accomplish this objective, each chapter situates a particular aspect of ghost tourism within the relevant London tradition—imaginative literary tours, walking tours, multimedia virtual tours, and so forth—and, then, deploys the methodology best suited to the phenomena under consideration. This

interdisciplinary approach aims to provide an original theory of how Gothic and/or ghost tours engage with the supernatural in a way that is distinctive, imaginative, and *sui generis*.

Furthermore, the geographic focus of this project responds to Roger Luckhurst's reservations about a pervasive trend in current scholarship. In his commentary on the 'spectral turn' in the humanities and social science, Luckhurst argues that a generalised "critical language of spectral or haunted modernity has become a cultural-critical shorthand" in the wake of Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx* (1993 [1994]). Luckhurst adds that this 'shorthand' can only go so far in elaborating the context for specific topographies and concludes that the generality of this approach "is symptomatically blind to its generative loci" (528). As such, it is necessary to examine the specific features and processes of haunting for each place, for, as he writes, "the ghosts of London are different from those of Paris, or those of California" (Luckhurst 542). As a result, this project focuses exclusively on London and its various forms of haunting to identify and illuminate not only how its ghosts are particularised to their locale but, also, to identify the symptoms of cultural 'dis-ease' for which they stand.

In other work, a parallel has been drawn between psychogeography and ghost tourism. In her concluding remarks on ghost walking, Emma McEvoy suggests "similar cultural work" occurs on the ghost walk and "the explorations of the psychogeographer". For McEvoy, both forms of walking "are staged in relation to the messy temporalities of the modern city/town, and the tropes they have recourse to are sometimes strikingly similar. Both rehearse a sense of absent presence and both may flourish in the least promising locales" (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 124). While both walking practices may have some intersecting features, this thesis eschews

deploying psychogeography as a main conceptual paradigm for negotiating haunted space. Psychogeography as concept and practice is complex and its meaning is difficult to pinpoint (Coverley 9). According to Merlin Coverley, it is a nebulous term that encompasses a literary movement, a political strategy, “a series of new age ideas,” and “a set of avant-garde practices” (9-10). However, psychogeography is not without a formal definition. The often-cited definition of psychogeography derives from French theorist Guy Debord in his 1955 publication, “Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography”. In his work, Debord defines psychogeography as “the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, whether consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behaviour of the individual” (8). Based on this definition, psychogeography becomes an unsuitable conceptual model for this study. The emphasis on how the *material environment* impacts the emotions and behaviour of the individual conflicts with this thesis’ foundation that, in relation to the formation and negotiation of haunted space, the imagination is the preceding force. In other words, it is not the geographical environment itself but the projection of the imagination onto the material environment that creates the moment of haunting and its effects and affects. Further, psychogeography as a conceptual model remains heavily gendered. As Morag Rose points out, “the language and practice of masculinity still dominates the psychogeographic canon” (158). Given the concern for the embodied experience of a female walker explored in Chapter Two, to draw on a male-dominated model problematises the possibilities of an inclusive approach to ghost walking and urban Gothic tourism more broadly.

In addition to the issue of definition, the nature of psychogeography as a walking practice warrants its exclusion. A psychogeographical walk and a ghost tour are two separate and distinct walking practices. As Tina Richardson writes:

Psychogeography does not have to be complicated. Anyone can do it. You do not need a map, Gore-Tex, rucksack, or companion. All you need is a curious nature and a comfortable pair of shoes. There are no rules to doing psychogeography – this is the beauty of it. (1)

For Richardson, psychogeography is “disruptive”, “unsystematic” and “random” (1). Ghost tours may be disruptive because they create moments of uncanny, but they are certainly not unsystematic or random. To locate haunted places within a city requires the use of a map/guidebook or tour guide rather than purely a curious nature. As such, most ghost tours—with exception to the possibility of a flexible self-guided tour— are structured walks with a set itinerary of predetermined checkpoints and/or sites of interest. There are rules and expectations to ghost walking. For instance, to complete a ghost walk requires a tourist to follow a specific route which does not necessarily accommodate random exploration. In practice, psychogeography varies too significantly from ghost walking to be a viable method of analysis.

Chapter One, “Spatial Haunting: The Nineteenth-Century Haunted House and Literary Tourism”, establishes the chronology of the study. Beginning in the nineteenth century, it analyses how the literary haunted house is established as a Gothic *topos* and explores how the reader is transformed into an ‘armchair tourist’ through the act of reading ghost stories. Further, it explores the material implications of the highly spatialised and evocative writing style of the Victorian ghost story. Through an application of Gaston Bachelard’s theory of domestic space as well as Anthony Vidler’s concept of the architectural uncanny, the initial chapter examines two forms of the English haunted house: the ancestral home and the urban haunted house. Sir Walter Scott’s “The Tapestry Chamber” (1828) and Elizabeth Gaskell’s

“The Old Nurse’s Story” (1852) are examined at length to illuminate the key features of the antiquated house and the role it plays in this highly spatialised mode of writing. With a sustained focus on spatial modes of writing, Chapter One offers systematic readings of Edward Bulwer Lytton’s “The Haunted and the Haunters; or The House and the Brain” (1859), “The Story of Clifford House” (1878), Charlotte Riddell’s “The Old House in Vauxhall Walk” (1882), and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu’s “Mr Justice Harbottle” (1872) to identify important changes in the representation of the urban haunted house within the London haunted imaginary. The chapter concludes with an analysis of a “real” haunting at 50 Berkeley Square to demonstrate how literature, under the correct imaginative conditions, can inspire the production of visitable haunted places.

Chapter Two, “Haunted Guidebooks: Itineraries of Haunted Space,” examines the production of real-and-imagined haunted spaces for the purpose of offering the first focused study of ‘haunted guidebooks’—that is, guidebooks dedicated to ghosts and haunting. Starting with John Ingram’s *The Haunted Homes and Family Traditions of Great Britain* (1883-4), the second chapter of this study revises the assumption that haunted guidebooks are a product of the twentieth century. Drawing on Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatarri’s paradigm of ‘smooth’ and ‘striated’ space, Chapter Two considers how Ingram and his work produce and map haunted space. Using Xavier Aldana Reyes’ notion of ‘Gothic Affect’, this chapter shifts its focus to Charles G. Harper’s *Haunted Houses: With Some Account of Hereditary Curses and Family Legends* (1907) to underscore how sensory experience is mapped and, in so doing, argues that haunted guidebooks produce a sensuous textual journey through architecture. Building on this affective model, Chapter Two provides an investigative critical reflection of my own self-guided walking tour experience using Richard Jones’

modern-day haunted guidebook, *Walking Haunted London: 25 Original Walks Exploring London's Ghostly Past* (2009). This portion of the chapter deploys Paul Rodaway's paradigm of 'sensuous geographies' to examine the relationship between the guidebook and the material landscape and theorise how it evokes the uncanny and transports the tour-taker to an affective, Gothic place of haunting.

Chapter Three, "Touring the Necropolis: London and its Haunted Heritage," builds upon theories from memory studies, heritage studies, tourism, and the Gothic to examine the connection between ghost, place, and heritage. The third chapter attempts to reconfigure the value of heritage, particularly when presented through the lens of the Gothic and the figure of the ghost. It examines the use of the supernatural at two of Her Majesty's Historic Royal Palaces—Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London—both historically and in the present day, to demonstrate how the site is staged as a haunted space and how ghosts are used as conduit for history and heritage. In the case of the Tower of London, Chapter Three questions the omission of the site's rich supernatural history in its modern-day presentation and examines how it mediates its Gothic identity. This chapter also explores one of the most popular forms of ghost tourism, the in-person guided walking tour. Two walks guided by Richard Jones, "Hidden Horrors" and "Alleyways and Shadows", are analysed in order to understand the role that storytelling plays in the ghost walk. Chapter Three argues that tour guides tell stories not only to disseminate a particular history of London but, also, to evoke what Viktor Shklovsky terms 'defamiliarisation'. In so doing, this chapter identifies how the Gothic is used to construct and entrench new and specific intertextual historical memory for tour-takers and create what Pierre Nora terms as *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory.

Chapter Four, “Virtual Haunts: Armchair Ghost Tourism for the Twenty-First Century,” explores the implications and possibilities of technology-enhanced, virtual armchair ghost tourism. Through the analysis of video games, recorded YouTube walking tours, and a fully online ghost tour, this chapter illustrates how ghost tourism needs to be considered as a transmedia practice. Moreover, it rejects the critical stance that the virtual is no more than an inferior or ‘cheap’ imitation of in-person ghost tourism. Instead, drawing from Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin’s concept of ‘remediation’, the fourth and final chapter positions the virtual as an age-old practice that has been repurposed by new media. An analysis of the ghost-hunting mission to 50 Berkeley Square in the video game *Assassin’s Creed Syndicate* (2015) highlights not only how gameplay mimics the performance of ghost tourism, but also how historical games create themed heritage spaces for players to explore. The second case study identifies the role of YouTube in creating a platform for tourists to distribute their own virtual tour and travel vlog content. An analysis of YouTuber Marek Larwood’s self-guided walking tour through a comic Gothic lens positions Haunted London as a participatory space that transforms tour-takers into tour creators. The final case study, an examination of Flecky Bennett’s “London’s Highgate Ghost & Vampire Walk,” showcases the similarities between the virtual and in-person tours to demonstrate how the virtual tourist experiences remain a spatialised imaginative practice that forges the same, crucial heritage connections and memories as their in-person counterpart.

¹ Demonstrative of his great ambivalence, he praises a 'Sound Imagination' as a blessing of life but simultaneously restricts what content is suitable to satiate the appetites of the imagination. To counteract this seemingly inevitable connection, Addison requests that we arm ourselves with Reason and Religion to combat such weaknesses of our faculties ("No. 12"15). Other thinkers in the eighteenth century similarly repudiated the supernatural, with Mark Akenside in *Pleasure of the Imagination* (1714), for example, including a rewriting of this fireside scene and calling for a renunciation of the Gothic Imaginary for the sake of reason (Townshend, *Gothic Antiquity* 53-54).

Chapter One: Spatial Hauntings: The Nineteenth-Century Haunted House and Literary Tourism¹

*Some dreams we have are nothing else but dreams,
Unnatural, full of contradictions;
Yet others of our most romantic schemes
Are something more than fictions.*

*It might be only on enchanted ground;
It might be merely by a thought's expansion;
But, in the spirit of the flesh, I found
An old deserted Mansion...*

*O'er all there hung a shadow and a fear;
A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said, as plain as whisper in the ear,
The place is Haunted!*

—Thomas Hood, “The Haunted House: A Romance”



Fig. 1. H. Railton, “For over all there hung a cloud of fear”, 1896.

The opening lines of Thomas Hood’s long poem “The Haunted House: A Romance” (1896) summarise the tenuous boundary between the imagination and

the experience of the haunted house. The illustrated edition of this work takes its readers on a literary tour of the “deserted mansion”, providing intimate access to the imaginative exchanges between the speaker and the architecture of the place (fig. 1). Is the place truly haunted, or is the haunting achieved “merely by a thought’s expansion” (29)?

While avid readers of ghostly tales may not have physically visited a haunted house, they have undoubtedly made many journeys through those found in the stories that they consume, those places hung with the shadow of fear, those literary spaces of mysterious and sinister delight. We, as readers, are tourists of these Gothic sites of reverie, and at times take our adventures beyond the pages. But, we must ask ourselves, why can we so readily associate such a place with haunting? In other words, how do the conventions and characteristics of haunted house tales become joined with or sutured to these extraliterary architectural spaces themselves? This is the precise question that propels the explorations of this chapter. My argument is twofold: first, I argue that the Victorian English haunted house is an inherently textual phenomenon. Secondly, I claim that the spatiality and emotive qualities of the nineteenth-century ghost story both coax and instruct the reader’s imagination to develop an architectural imaginary of the haunted house, a process that drives ghost tourism in London during the nineteenth century.

This chapter seeks to interrogate the role that the literary ghost story plays in developing the spatial imaginary of the nineteenth-century English haunted house and the ramifications thereof. It demands a reconsideration of the notion of ‘haunting’, one defined here not merely as the appearance or visitation of an apparition, but as a polysensory condition of space that is promulgated by literature. While the eighteenth-century aesthetic of architectural associationism is a point of

departure for my study, here I draw on modern theoretical considerations of domestic space to interrogate the relationship between the literary haunted house and our conception of the material environment.² Through a dissection of the nineteenth-century English literary haunted house, I will explore how the ghost story as a genre entrenches ideas of haunting through both its content and its form, illuminating its rich spatiality and verisimilitude that, together, enhance possibilities for tourism. In order to evidence my claims about nineteenth-century ghost tourism, this chapter includes an account of the historical case of the infamously haunted London townhouse 50 Berkeley Square, analysing the implications of the ghost story for tourism and how early accounts of literary ghost tourism came to fruition.

Before we begin to probe the hallmarks of the nineteenth-century haunted house and its spatial imaginary, it is imperative to define the conceptual paradigms of 'Gothic' and 'ghost tourism' that underpin the discussion at hand. In *Haunted: A Social History of Ghosts*, Owen Davies argues that ghost tourism did not come to fruition until the twentieth century (62). This statement may be accurate if we limit the totality of its definition to the uniformly commodified and industrialised practices that are found in abundance across the United Kingdom today. Conversely, however, to adopt this definition is to overlook and dismiss the rich historical precedent of ghost tourism in previous centuries. It is, in short, to ignore the very cultural practices that, later, became absorbed by the commodified tourism sector.

The chapter argues for the crucial role that the literary haunted house tale plays in codifying the Victorian haunted house as a Gothic tourist landmark. Phrased differently, I argue that literature about the haunted house, be it literary or 'factual' writing about an experience of haunting, inspired the phenomenon of ghost tourism in the nineteenth century. Michele Hanks' definition of ghost tourism is most useful in

this regard. She defines the practice as “any form of leisure or travel that involves encounters with or the pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunted” (*Haunted Heritage* 13). I shall use this as a working definition as it highlights not only ghost tourism *in practice*, the “travel that involves encounters with” the supernatural but extends its scope to include *any* act of leisure or “the pursuit of knowledge”, mental travel included. This, in turn, allows for a more inclusive and diverse consideration of tourism practices, which I will explore throughout this thesis.

Ghost tourism scholarship has yet to reach a consensus on a singular disciplinary approach, although two central frameworks currently lead academic discourse: Dark Tourism, on the one hand, or via the Gothic mode, on the other. Dark tourism, the critical terminology first coined by Malcolm Foley and John Lennon in the 1990s, refers to tourism relating to death and suffering, ranging on a spectrum from the pale to the dark. Alternatively, and a markedly superior model for the sake of this thesis, is Gothic tourism, a practice coined by Emma McEvoy. This is the critical terminology deployed to define tourism that is intimately connected with Gothic narrative in this chapter (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 6). It is not to suggest, however, that the terms are mutually exclusive. As McEvoy claims, Gothic tourism is “both more and less than dark tourism”: less than, because it does not deal with sites such as concentration camps, but “More, in that there is more to Gothic tourism than ‘Dark Fun Factories’” of the London Dungeon type, and its concerns and content cannot be contained within a spectrum concerned with death and disaster (*Gothic Tourism* 201). Indeed, when dealing with ghosts one inevitably confronts tourism relating to death and potential suffering, the stuff of ‘dark tourism’; however, the paradigm is deficient in addressing my central concerns in this chapter, and, to utilise the words of Catherine Spooner, “‘dark’ does not adequately summarise the multivalences of the term

'Gothic' . . . because it does not engage with the literary models which script tourist encounters" (*Post-Millennial Gothic* 166).

Gothic tourism is an intermedial cultural practice: as McEvoy claims, "it plays to those already in the know, those who are possessed of knowledge – of a specific body of texts, their conventions, narratives and tropes" (*Gothic Tourism* 201). We can draw two vital considerations from this definition: first, that Gothic tourism relies on textual competence by its participants and, secondly, that it functions to connect, or at least to prompt the connection of, literary narrative to one's material world. It plays on association, on the ability to navigate one's material environment and project, or at least to perform its imaginary qualities in material spaces. As Gothic tourism is founded by a strong textual relationship, I find it necessary to yoke this paradigm to what Nicola J. Watson describes as 'literary tourism'. Watson concisely defines this mode of tourism as the practice of visiting places associated with particular books (1). To broaden the literary sources beyond books, we can readily modify this definition to encompass all variations of texts, or rather stories, without changing its fundamental implications. Moreover, we can integrate this into our working definition of ghost tourism: the practice of encounters or pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunting *and their stories*. Ghost tourism is rooted in narrative and the ways in which our textual and spatial readings collide to produce haunted spaces in our environments. To put it simply, Gothic tourism is founded on association, and therefore this chapter is also guided by the following questions: how does the ghost story forge an imaginary of the London haunted house? How does the creation of this spatial imaginary translate into and inspire tourist interest?

The Ghost Story and the Cultural Imagination

The Gothic is a consciously affective and evocative mode, one that is susceptible to leaving a permanent impression on its readers' imaginations. The supernatural, a seemingly central element of the Gothic, often supplies the mode with its imaginative vehemence, whether its presence is explained away or left open to interpretation (Punter 2). David Punter suggests that the ghost story is indebted to themes and styles of earlier Gothic writings, the greatest writers deriving their techniques of suspense and sense of the archaic directly from the pages of its works (3). Falling within the tradition, the ghost story has a comparable, if not greater, hold over the imagination.

A core principle of supernatural imaginative sway rests on the fragile boundary that delineates the differences between factual accounts and the fictional.³ The literary ghost story has always had a close-knit relationship with cases of "real" haunting, with their reporting going as far back as ancient Roman Latin writings. An early example of this narrative overlap between sites of experienced haunting and reporting is the 'Daemon of Tedworth'. In *A Blow at Modern Sadducism in Some Philosophical Considerations About Witchcraft* (1688), Joseph Glanvill included a report on the poltergeist of Tedworth House, Wiltshire, where reportedly, in April 1661, the house of Mr. Mompesson of Tedworth was disturbed by a supernatural entity. Mompesson allegedly took the drum of a demobilised roundhead, and, after refusing to return it to its rightful owner, sought, instead, to exhibit the instrument in his home. Within a month his house was beset by drumming noises, starting in different areas of the house and then localising in the same room as the drum. Similarly to other apparition narratives of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Glanvill's report was prompted by the writing of the supernatural so as to evidence and support his anti-materialist theological positions. However, the

Tedworth haunting became a template for reporting supernatural phenomenon and serves as a textual account of haunting (Finucane “Historical Introduction” 10). Contained in the document is an inventory of haunting manifestation beginning with the sound of drumming, but also going on to include the experiences of floating objects, temperature changes, smells and tappings; all of these symptoms of supernatural presence align with more modern reports of haunting (Finucane “Historical Introduction” 10).⁴ Writings on the supernatural have a powerful impact on how the supernatural is conceived and understood, and in effect they contribute to the ways in which a cultural body learns how to address and conceptualise haunting manifestations. Its influence can be noticed in its adaptation: it was adapted by Joseph Addison in his mock-ghost comedic play, *The Drummer, or, The Haunted House* (1716), which features a phantom who frequently disrupts the peace of the Gothic country house with his drumming.

The rise of print culture in the eighteenth century further entrenched a vernacular of haunting, one that would exponentially expand in the following century. The publication of supernatural accounts in the periodical press, particularly in its infancy, offered a conduit to encourage and participate in current cultural debate. In this period, a hybrid form of ghost writing came to fruition. The new form combined stylistic qualities of the “ghost stories of cheap print fame” and “the empirical method of Restoration scientists” (Handley 96). A prime example is Daniel Defoe’s well-known apparition narrative, *A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal* (1706). The story derives from a popular case of ‘real haunting’ and was featured in a number of written and oral accounts.⁵ As an apparition narrative, there is an overt empirical tone to the narrative; the description focuses on the interaction and purpose of the apparition and gives a matter-of-fact transcription of events and

dialogue exchange between the two women, rather than lengthy, evocative descriptions of the scene or setting up suspense like modern ghost stories; at times, the narrative style deemphasises strangeness (Boone 182). Defoe's work may be purposed for empirical evidence, but the modern reader cannot help but notice how the narrative reads like a piece of literary entertainment.⁶ There are interjections of spectacle, not least the dramatic pause and exclamation that the entire visitation between Mrs Bargrave and Mrs Veal had, in fact, occurred the day after Mrs. Veal had died of fits (Defoe 10). 'Real' or factual accounts, as E. J. Clery argues, were always on their way to becoming entertaining spectacles (24). For Sasha Handley, the mixture of fact and fiction in *A True Relation* helped partially to redefine the ghost story as a work of fiction and, she writes, "foreshadowed and perhaps eased the subsequent incorporation of ghost stories into novels and Gothic fictions of the later eighteenth century" (82)

By the nineteenth century, British culture was saturated with the supernatural. As Nicola Bown, Carolyn Burdett and Pamela Thurschwell explain, the Victorians delighted in ghost stories and fairy tales, and in legends of strange gods, demons and spirits; in pantomimes and extravaganzas full of supernatural machinery...Even avowedly realist novels were full of dreams, premonitions and second sight. It was not simply a matter of stories and storytelling, though, for the material world they inhabited often seemed somehow supernatural...the baffling feats of mesmerists and apparently real communications from the dead elicited by Spiritualist mediums made the world seem as if it were full of invisible, occult forces. Of course the Victorians mocked their own fascination with the supernatural in satires and skits directed at earnest foolishness of believers in supernatural phenomena, and often they indulged their taste for it in fun, getting

up table-rapping parties and playing at fortune-telling...The supernatural was both fearful and terrible and ardently desired; it was a spooky sense that there was more to the world than the everyday and an intimation that reality might be transfigured by something above and beyond...an important aspect of [the] Victorians' intellectual, spiritual, emotional and imaginative worlds, and took its place in the domestic centre of their daily lives....(1-2)

The nineteenth-century ghost story and its evocative style is deeply entangled in the Victorian production of supernatural culture. One of its contributing veins in the network, the Gothic novel, altered and transformed ideas and imaginaries of the ghost story and haunted spaces (Freeman, "The Victorian Ghost Story" 93-94). However, extra-literary factors impacted upon the reception and social engagement with the supernatural, too. The invigorated tradition of ghost storytelling around yuletide caused a popular return of Joseph Addison's fireside scene in his essay "No. 12" and accompanying chilling tales of ghosts and ghouls; print media added to this by mass-producing volumes particularly for the Christmas season, to be delighted in by all ages, and headed by literary icons such as Charles Dickens.⁷ The nineteenth century also witnessed the inauguration of Spiritualism, a theological, philosophical and pseudo-scientific movement that began in New York in 1848. By 1852, Spiritualism had journeyed across the Atlantic, cultivating a growing market of leisure activity, printing and spectacular attractions in England (Noakes 26). Interests in the afterlife and ghostly encounters caused another surge in print media, with texts such as *Real Ghost Stories* (1897) by Pall Mall journalist and editor W.T. Stead, published in *Review of Reviews*, and later republished as its own volume, selling 100,000 copies in its first week (Grimes 83). This period saw the founding of The Society for Psychical Research and The Ghost Club, both societies dedicated to the

research, investigation and, in the case of the Ghost Club, more informal sharing of ghost stories and accounts of haunting;⁸ the popularity of the *séance* invited ghosts of all sorts to enter the home as welcomed guests. The entanglement of all these cultural factors were participating in tandem, and as Simone Natale argues, “placed ghostly apparitions and supernatural phantasmagorias at the very core of popular culture” (3).

Spiritualism played a significant role in the configuration of the supernatural imaginary. An example of a proto-Spiritualist text that illustrates the unintentional supernatural spectacle is Catherine Crowe’s *The Night-Side of Nature; Or, Ghosts and Ghost-Seers* (1848).⁹ The text anticipates the spiritualist cause, being published a year before Spiritualism travelled to England (Heholt, “Speaking of Seeing Ghosts” 25). Crowe provides a folktale collection, a compendium of supernatural phenomena and the subjective experiences of those who have encountered them. Its impetus, according to Crowe, is a “higher aim than merely to afford amusement. [She wishes] to engage the earnest attention of [her] readers, because the opinions [she is] about to advocate ... would produce very beneficial results” (7). She wants to engage her readers in the worthy cause of evidencing the supernatural, but upon further examination, the work is not immune to the interjections of spectacle and entertainment. Though written in the matter-of-fact tone, it is difficult not to read the following account as a literary ghost story, exemplified in her telling of a house in St. J— Street that had gained public attention. The first part of her tale describes the experiences of a man—a soldier or a sailor—who stayed a single night in a room, unaware of its reported ill-repute; he terminated his visit when his nightly rest was disturbed by a series of faces looking at him through the bed curtains. A second haunting event is described:

After this period, this house stood empty again for a considerable time, but was at length taken, and workmen sent in to repair it. One day, when the men were away at their dinner, the master tradesmen took the key, and went to inspect progress and having examined the lower rooms, he was ascending the stairs, when he heard a man's foot behind him. He looked round, but there was nobody there, and he moved on again; still there was somebody following, and he stopped and looked over the rails, but there was no one to be seen. So though feeling rather queer, he advanced into the drawing-room, where a fire had been lighted, and wishing to combat the uncomfortable sensation that was creeping over him, took hold of a chair, and drawing it resolutely along the floor, he slammed it down upon the hearth with some force, and seated himself in it; when, to his amazement, the action, in all its particulars [*sic*] of sound was immediately repeated by his unseen companion, who seemed to seat himself beside on a chair as invisible as himself. (Crowe 95-96)

Horrorstruck, the worthy builder started up and rushed out of the house (Crowe 96). Crowe, it appears, makes a conscious effort to build a sense of anticipation: a thorough description of the events that builds to its final climactic moment where the unseen has caught up to the master tradesmen. In many ways, the excerpt reads just as a literary ghost story, the narrative voice detailing the movements and sensation experience of the story's central character as he encounters what he perceives to be a ghost. Despite Crowe's goals to distinguish and elevate her work from purely entertainment-based stories, she cannot escape the effect of its expression which parallels its fictional counterpart. Andrew Smith too identifies the similarity between Spiritualist writings and supernatural literature, observing that "the culture of spiritualism played an important part in shaping a language of spectrality

which in turn informed literary representations of ghosts” (97). Spiritualist publications replicated the patterns and strategies of contemporaneous popular literature (Natale 116-17). Conversely, the literary ghost story also incorporated models of Spiritualism, or was used as a conduit for the author’s own Spiritualist enquiries, such as the writings of Charles Dickens (Henson 44-55).

Certainly, the supernatural, then, became that which was “fearful and terrible” yet “ardently desired” (Bown et al 1). The success of the ghost story’s allure partially relies on specific narrative devices and writing techniques employed to evoke these feelings of fear and immerse the reader to the point where they adopt and enact visceral reaction equivalent to the characters within the texts. Removing the distinction between the “real” and the fictional is one strategy to accomplish this aim. Another writing strategy involves the spatiality within the texts. The material environment of the reader imparts imaginative traction. As such, where and how one *reads* has equal weight to how one tells stories. To devour haunted tales by the flickering glow of candlelight does not necessarily guarantee the elision of the boundary or separation between the fictional world and the space in which the reader is located, but it can help to render the reader willingly complicit in the conventions of the text (Cox and Gilbert xi). The atmosphere is just one aspect. According to Nick Freeman:

with bedtime reading a growing pastime in an increasingly literate nineteenth-century Britain, the content of stories often echoes the circumstances of their consumption, and transformed the bedroom from the traditional place of safety and repose to a site of unrest and horror. (“The Victorian Ghost Story” 94-5)

Setting the ghost story in modern spaces, one contemporaneous with its readers, increases the chances of association, of fear, and the collapse between fact and

fiction, literature and life; there must be a degree of actuality strong enough for the reader to identify with the story beyond the role of distant spectator.¹⁰ This is, however, not a new tactic to inspire the imagination. As Charles Dickens mocks in “The Christmas Tree” (1850), the telling of ghost stories “round the Christmas fire” left a listener, “the middle-aged nobleman”, in a state of fright and susceptible to ghosts as they ventured off to their chamber in “an old house” that likely mirrors haunted places depicted in the fireside tales (27). The spatiality of the ghost story, and its relationship to the material spaces of the reader, is equally responsible for its affective powers.

Just as those in the eighteenth century could ‘know’ Gothic castles and project the literature of horror and terror, so too did the ghost story prime its readers with a sense of haunting worlds superimposed on their own. To become what Nicola J. Watson terms as the “reader-tourist”, the reader must have an underlying awareness of the textual space or its associated author to seek out the referent site in their lived world. Watson’s paradigm presents a tourist seeking the sensibilities implied by the texts—literary, sub-literary or non-literary— “which readers then endeavour to recapitulate through the protocols of tourism” (12). As a form of literary tourism, the prerequisite of haunted house tourism is to know the ‘sensibilities’ of haunting and the ghost story.

Haunted House as Gothic *Topos*

As it is often argued, the nineteenth century saw the domestication of the Gothic, the mode largely relocated from its medieval European settings to the intimate homes of its readers.¹¹ In his 1865 review of Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s novels and the novelty of sensation fiction, Henry James acknowledged this change in readers’ perceptions,

suggesting “instead of the terrors of Udolpho” the relocation to “cheerful country houses and busy London lodgings...were infinitely more terrible” (qtd. in Kontou 141). James’ commentary may have been made to render the Gothic obsolete, but he effectively achieves the opposite by recognising the ability of Gothic effect to engulf and mutate familiar places and spaces, rendering them uncanny. To evoke a recognisable world, stories re-create a common fictive world of the ordinary, which then is invaded by a supernatural entity. The home, then, “a domestic centre of daily lives,” becomes a familiar space for supernatural possession (Bown et al 2).

The haunted house is by no means an invention of Gothic literature, but precedes Gothic fiction proper, and had even featured in Latin writings. In a letter to his patron Lucius Lucinius Sura (circa 1 B.C.), Pliny the Younger, in his contemplation of the existence of ghosts, transcribes a story of a haunted house in Ancient Athens:

There was at Athens a large and spacious but ill-reputed and pestilential house. In the dead of the night a noise resembling the clashing of iron, was frequently heard, which, if you listened more attentively, sounded like the rattling of fetters; at first it seemed at a distance, but approached nearer by degrees; immediately afterward a phantom appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and squalid, with a long beard and bristling hair, rattling the gyves on his feet and hands. The poor inhabitants consequently passed sleepless nights under the most dismal terrors imaginable. This, as it broke their rest, threw them into distempers, which as their horrors of mind increased, proved in the end fatal to their lives. (qtd. in Corstorphine 111)

As Kevin Corstorphine observes, the story contains common motifs of haunted spaces that have remained relatively unchanged for two millennia (111). These symptoms of haunting as they are outlined by Pliny’s story—the sound of chains, the

appearance of a ghost, the house of ill-repute and difficult tenancy—are the stock features of the nineteenth-century re-imagining of the ghost story. For the Victorian and modern-day reader, the sound of rattling chains may recall Dickens' ghost Jacob Marley;¹² the ghost causing a fatal fright is echoed in other stories such as the anonymous "The Dead Man of Varley Grange" (1878). It is clear that nineteenth-century writers continued the long-standing legacy of the 'haunted house', albeit the haunted spaces that they produced were their own, refurbished and renovated to their own ghosts and domestic scenes. This refurbished haunted space would become, Anthony Vidler argues, the most popular *topos* in the period (Vidler 17).¹³

Victorian writers were tasked with becoming architects of unique Gothic domiciles. A 'haunted house' as a designation is problematic because the spatiality of a house is riddled with ambiguity. By definition, a house is a "building for habitation", its signification not dependent on its architectural features but its social function ("House," def. A1). As a geometrical object, a house may come in many shapes and a variety of meanings in the consciousness of the imagining subject. As Dale Townshend argues, eighteenth-century Gothic writing in its many forms "is nothing if not the writing of Gothic-architectural association, an imaginative, self-consciously 'romantic' response to architecture" (51). This 'romantic response' was built upon by the nineteenth-century revival of the Gothic with a modest alteration: the Victorian haunted house tale is a "'romantic' response to architecture" that writes, forges, and actively constructs these haunted edifices. Thus, Gothic literature is not only architect of the structural ruin but interior designer, furnishing its interior with 'horrid scenes', sounds and scents of Gothic effect. Architecture as literary object undergoes a hollowing-out, a rebuilding of sorts by authors using these sites as vessels for their own imaginative places of social critique. In this literary exchange

between architectural materiality and imagination, the supernatural was written into the architecture, and in effect became an element of its spatial condition. To address this new spatiality in the Gothic imagination, we must transport our discussion from the eighteenth century to modern criticism in order to interrogate what is termed 'domestic space'—the abstract space of the domestic dwelling—and identify how the house can be transformed into a Gothic space.

In his psychoanalytic-cum-phenomenological study *The Poetics of Space* (1964), Gaston Bachelard invites us to reconsider the domestic dwelling beyond its materiality. He advocates for an understanding of the house as a spatial microcosm which the individual experiences "in its reality and in its virtuality, by means of thought and dreams" (Bachelard 5). The imagination—thought and dreams—according to Bachelard, augment the values of reality, because it has precedence (Bachelard 3). For Bachelard, then, "spaces call for action, and before action, the imagination is at work. It mows and ploughs" (12). Space, in this sense, is an abstraction requiring interpretation. Hence, to think of a particular space is to imbue it immediately with certain associations and interpretative meanings. Our imagination alters us, our movements, and how we approach all objects including the house and all its intricate spaces. For Bachelard, the house constitutes a body of images that we might constantly reimagine. Each room is an interconnected space with its unique imaginaries that compare and contrast, a resting place of reverie (Bachelard 15).

The heterogeneity of each room is further dependent on our imaginative layout; where our house is located topographically (for instance, city, country, hillside) dictates its interior spatiality and where the imagination wishes to build (Bachelard 20).¹⁴ Yet, this home always has an origin, a point of genesis that Bachelard

identifies as the childhood home, a site which, for him, becomes the blueprint or the 'first house', its rooms and interior ploughed by the imagination, and imprinting its grooves in the new architectural space (15).

How can we reconcile Bachelard's paradigm with a purely imaginative Gothic space such as the haunted house? Bachelard follows in the wake of eighteenth-century aestheticians by spotlighting the inspirational role that literature plays in the imagination, and subsequently, in sites of recollection. The absence of the 'first house' does not leave us without inspiration for our spaces of reverie. "A tower is the creation of another century", he writes, and to build a "new tower would be ridiculous" (25). However, we can still venture to these sites, those unreachable historical periods, and places, through literature. As he continues, "we still have books, and they give our day-dreams countless dwelling-places. Is there one among us who has not spent romantic moments in the tower of a book he has read?" (25). We must think of this new typology of the Gothic house as analogous to the Gothic abbey and ruinous castle: it too is a site of reverie and an imaginative space encouraged and fostered by literary association. It is always a mutable place sowed within the imagination through combined fragments of 'images' extracted from various texts and altered through the exchanges between the imagining subject and the material environment.

When the house is treated as a dream space, we must also contend with its adjective 'haunted'. While it may be tempting to treat the haunted house as a stable signifier of supernatural space, it is important to note that 'haunted' modifies the imagined spatial material conditions. The words 'haunted' and 'house' are complex signs with variable meaning and connotations which Gothic literature, to a great extent, helps to codify. Haunting is a subjective perception by the imagining subject

that is informed by their reading and cultural competence. If we consider, for example, William Holman Hunt's *The Haunted Manor* (1849) (fig. 2), we can draw attention to how every gaze is actually an interpretative act reading a landscape. How we read the painting with its modifier 'haunted' is entirely conditioned by the literary material that we can recall in our memory and imagination. The scene is transformed into a mysterious isolated place, and the eye is drawn to the house as we become curious about the ominous presence lurking within.

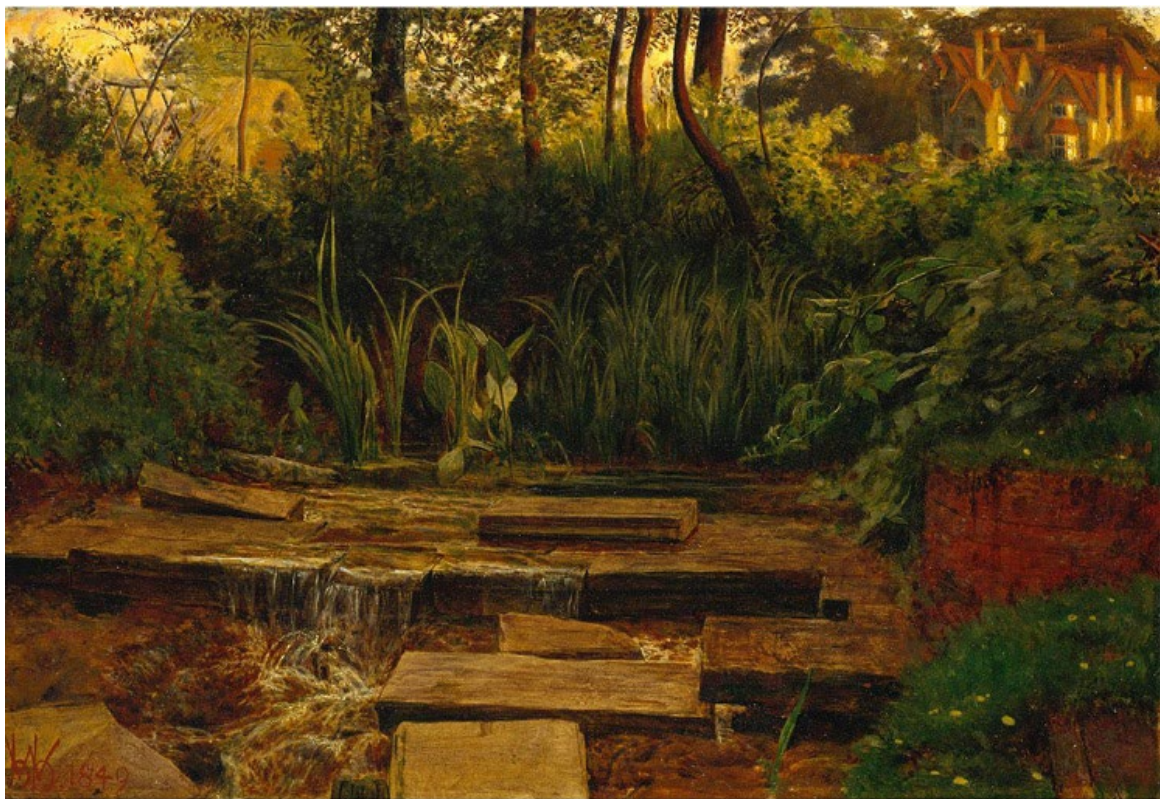


Fig. 2. Digital reproduction of William Holman Hunt's *The Haunted Manor*. 1849, Tate Museum.

To encompass its multiplicity, I argue that the haunted house can be defined as an intersection of a *topos* (a place), a motif and Northrop Frye's definition of an archetype. All three elements combined encapsulate its function and development as a spatial imaginary. As a *topos* it articulates a literary convention and/or a traditional motif, or formula or rhetorical commonplace. It can be said with little dispute that the

haunted house is, indeed, an integral motif in Gothic literature. That being said, it should not be reduced to a repetitious symbolic object. And while reading the haunted house as a reoccurring motif can be a useful designation, I wish to take this one step further. If we understand association as necessitated by knowledge to inspire the imagination, it is most useful to consider this Gothic *topos* as an archetype as framed by Northrop Frye. He defines an archetype as an associative cluster, writing that they are “specific learned associations which are communicable because a large number of people in a given culture happen to be familiar with them” (Frye 102). These associations are a collective of literary, architectural, iconographical and sensory elements combined to produce the stock of the haunted house that become a part of cultural commonplace. This archetypal space is a Frankenstein’s monster-like creation, a collection of parts melded together through imaginative labour of the imagining subject. The haunted house tale, then, participates in a semiological process of signifying the domestic space, scripting a series of prompts, settings and cues. Not only are the readers acculturated to the symptoms of haunting, but to ideal material environments conducive to the experiences of ghost-seeing and/or experience too. Consequently, instilled in each imagining subject is a conceptualised haunted house forged from the bricolage of textual sources combining and synthesizing to formulate their own haunted house. At this point, a critical question looms: how was the nineteenth-century haunted house presented in literature? An exploration of literary ghost stories will reward us with the ability to identify its inherent spatiality.

Spatiality of the Haunted House Part I: The Ancestral Home

Although haunting is a set of spatial conditions, literature prescribes these traits to a

specific locality, tutoring the imagination to make certain associations. To visit a haunted house is both to understand the complexities of haunting and to know where to locate this edifice in the material city. The English nineteenth-century haunted house developed two typical forms in literature, as described by Catherine Crowe in *Night Side of Nature*:

EVERYBODY has heard of haunted houses; and there is no country, and scarcely place, in which something of the sort is not known or talked on; and I suppose there is no one who, in the course of his travels, has not seen very respectable, good-looking houses shut up and uninhabited, because they have this evil reputation assigned to them. I have seen several such, for my own part; and it is remarkable that this *mala fama* does not always, by any means, attach itself to buildings one would image more obnoxious to such a suspicion. For example, I never heard of a ghost being seen or heard in Haddon Hall, the most ghostly of houses, nor in Holyrood, nor in many other antique, mysterious-looking buildings, where one might expect them, whilst sometimes a house of a very prosaic aspect remains uninhabited, and it ultimately allowed to fall into ruin for no other reason, we are told, than that nobody can live in it. (95)

Crowe's observation not only reveals the inconsistent nature of haunted houses but sheds light on the dyad of the haunted house *topos*: the antiquated ancestral home and the more modern prosaic building common in urban spaces. This is a model that both reiterates and dissolves the bifurcations of the country and city binary. The latter of the two is a direct product of the rise of urban Gothic, where cities like London became a recurrent location for supernatural stories, subverting the rhetoric of the city as heart of modernity and dissolution of superstition. Nonetheless, the

social and architectural variation between the two presented nuanced modes of spatial writing; each dwelling as a haunted house codifies a peculiar spatial imaginary. A comparison between the country house and the London dwelling, through analyses of exemplary texts, will allow us to identify the methods of description used by writers to animate these spaces.

The antiquated, ancestral home, ostensibly a commonly presented Gothic imaginary of haunting, features in many texts, and is an essential component of the nineteenth-century ghost story. As Charles Dickens remarks:

There is no end to the old houses, with resounding galleries, and dismal bedchambers, and haunted wings shut up for many years, through which we may ramble, with an agreeable creeping up our back, and encounter any number of ghosts.... ("A Christmas Tree" 14)

The country house serves as a medial setting in the shift from feudal and wild landscapes of earlier Gothic fictions, naturally housing many of the similar characters from those great literary Gothic ruins in the United Kingdom and continental Europe. A close reading of Sir Walter Scott's "The Tapestry Chamber" (1828) and Elizabeth Gaskell's "The Old Nurse's Story" (1852) illustrates certain key features of the antiquated house and highlights the highly spatial mode of writing employed by the writers effectively to create Bachelard's blueprint of the haunted country house.

Walter Scott's "The Tapestry Chamber" details the ghostly encounter experienced by one General Browne when visiting his schoolboy friend, Lord Woodville, at his ancestral home, Woodville Castle, which is nestled in a "small country town" of uncommon beauty and "a character peculiarly English". It is here where he witnesses the grotesque ghost of an old woman in a sacque dress. The place is haunted, indeed, but the environs of this place show no indication of "the

solitude of decay” (Scott 14). The description of the exteriors of Woodville Castle deliberately accentuates the antiquity of its architecture:

amongst many venerable oaks and tangled thickets, the turrets of a castle; as old as the wars of York and Lancaster, but which seemed to have received important alterations during the age of Elizabeth and her successor... The wall of the park ran alongside of the highway for two or three hundred yards; and through the different points by which the eye found glimpses into the woodland scenery, it seemed to be well stocked. Other points of view opened in succession; now a full one, of the front of the old castle, and now a side glimpse at its particular towers; the former rich in all the bizarrerie of the Elizabethan school.... (Scott 15)

A large ancestral home isolated in the wood and thicket offers the dwelling as its own microcosm existing outside the usual rhythms of society. What is crucial in the passage is the emphasis on sight as the readers’ ‘gaze’ is informed and guided by the description of “glimpses” by the narrative “eye”. As Emma Liggins argues, the “tourist gaze” infuses Victorian descriptions of the haunted house (25). The “tourist gaze” is a gaze, as theorised by John Urry, that is a socially organised way of seeing the spaces and places we encounter out of the ordinary (Urry and Larsen 1). Upon closer inspection, we can notice that the description is not privileged by some omniscient narrator but determined by the scope of the protagonist’s gaze as he moves towards the house. The benefit of Liggins’ perspective is that it foregrounds any given meaning on that which is largely instinctual and based on archetypal imaginaries. For instance, that which is visually from the “age of Elizabeth and her successor” is already a learned pattern of perception, based on a number of culturally constructed representations, that are adopted by the reader (Scott 15). An emphasis on the gaze and seeing is instructive, especially in a genre of writing that

is predicated on possibilities of seeing the unseeable and visiting places that are entirely imaginative.¹⁵ Our access to the spatial dimensions of the home is entirely dependent on the narrator's perceptions, perceptions which we, as readers, adapt as our own within the textual world.

The passage advocates for a palimpsestic reading strategy, one akin to a guidebook that historically situates the house within the landscape and frames how we are to 'see' it. But this description remains ambiguous about any defining features that give Woodville Castle a distinct location. In the preface to the story, Scott explicitly states that the names have been changed and that he will not avail any particulars "concerning the localities of the details" (14). And as with many of these narrative adaptations of purportedly authentic hauntings, it occludes and masks the precise location with vague markers that supply a generalised architectural imaginary, but which stray from exact details.

The exterior is more than a marker of palimpsestic space. Rather, the antiquated home is an archaeological space of history, a mausoleum of artefacts and heirlooms, preserving the legacy of lineage. The ancestral home housing the ghosts that stain the ancestral legacy is a common motif of the country estate tale, as well as in the Gothic mode overall. These houses are dwellings of remembrance, legacy and preservation of familial legacy. The Gothic mode as a genre of negative aesthetics, of revealing the unspeakable, the horrific and the tragic, evokes the repetitious appearance of that which we mean to keep hidden (Botting, *Gothic* 1). In the case of Woodville Castle, the unspeakable past is "incest and unnatural murder" by an ancestress (Scott 27). Despite efforts to silence the sordid past, material remnants such as portraiture, or the chamber maintaining its historical presentation, all serve as mnemonic devices that preserve the ghosts from complete erasure. A dated

material environment permits temporal disruption and can serve as a liminal space hovering between the spatial-temporal plane of the narrator and that of the ghost. Ghosts are the residue of the deceased and are traditionally bound, in death, to those places known to them in life. Ghosts, therefore, become a part of the interior materiality of antiquated spaces—an immaterial trinket of the past with their own narratives that contribute to the interiority of the space and disrupt the grandeur of its family.

General Browne becomes the hapless occupant of the house's haunted chamber, an 'old fashioned' chamber furnished with the following description:

The bed was of the massive form used in the end of the seventeenth century, and the curtains of faded silk, heavily trimmed with tarnished gold. But then the sheets, pillows, and blankets look delightful to the campaigner, when he thought of his 'mansion, the cask'. There was an air of gloom in the tapestry hangings, which with their worn-out graces, curtained the walls of the little chamber, and gently undulated as the autumnal breeze found its way through the ancient lattice window, which pattered and whistled as the air gained entrance. The toilet, too, with its mirror, turbaned after the manner of the beginning of the century, with a coiffure of murrey-coloured silk, and its hundred strange-shaped boxes, providing arrangements which had been obsolete for more than fifty years, had an antique and in so far a melancholy, aspect. (Scott 18)

The description reveals temporal depth. When the narrator catalogues the bed, tapestries and toilet, he further itemises the "tarnished gold" and "murrey-coloured silk" as visual determinants. The description of the room and its objects is paradoxically both detailed and ambiguous with objects being described by their affective qualities or periodisation. Phrased differently, while the inventory of items in

the room is clear, the reader is required to invest a certain level of imaginative labour fully to actualise the text and to spatialise the description. Reader-response criticism suggests the literary text is incomplete and requires the reader to actualise it into “an aesthetic object”. This process requires the reader, according to Marie Laure-Ryan, to “fill in the gaps and places of indeterminacy” with their own internal knowledge and life experience (Ryan 44). The reader is partly responsible in the furnishing of this room; the imagination is enticed to align the details of the types of objects and subtleties, such as the curtains trimmed with tarnished gold, with their own mental images. Spatial imaginaries are the product of an entanglement between texts, reader association and their referents in their lived world or known textual worlds.

Beyond offering an inventory, we are presented with the subtleties of the narrator’s sensory and emotive experience of the room: the “air of gloom” in the tapestries, the “patter and whistle” of the “autumnal breeze” as it finds its way “through the ancient lattice windows”, and the overall “melancholy aspect” (Scott 18). It is presented to us infused with certain sentiments to guide our reading and imagination not just as objects but as feelings that resonate within us. The effect is identified by Anthony Vidler as the “architectural uncanny”, a state of projection that elides the boundaries of the real and unreal and presents a slippage between waking and dreaming (11). Vidler suggests that the sense of foreboding gloom is not a marker of the architectural (or material) conditions necessarily, but an attribution of the narrator’s fantasies (17). We as readers are only aware of the haunting when Browne encounters the ghost in his chamber. Essentially, it is his own spatial interaction that inscribes haunting into the space. It is the projection of the narrator that imbues the edifice with Gothic effect, conflating the codified Gothic imagination into their environment. There are, of course, noticeable material markers of the

architecture and an array of furnishings that are captured by the eye, but the sentiments and emotive qualities associated with those conditions are the products of the codified literary response to architectural space by the narrative I/‘eye’. Sight becomes the gateway by which we access the spatiality of the room, but this sight is mediated by General Browne’s emotional and psychological responses.

Scott’s ghost story provides us with an initial consideration of the spatial writing style and is an example of an archetypal space of supernatural within the Gothic tradition. It is clear that Elizabeth Gaskell, in her frame narrative “The Old Nurse’s Story”, continues in this tradition, albeit evolving the narrative eye/‘I’ within her narrator Hester, lady’s maid turned old nurse. Her story is one of rich dimensionality. Hester recalls the journey towards the great house:

We had left all signs of a town, or even a village, and were then inside the gates of a large park—not like the parks here in the north, but with rocks, and the noise of running water, and gnarled thorn trees, and old oaks, all white and peeled with age. The road went up about two miles, and then we saw a great and stately house, with many trees around it.... (Gaskell 3)

Unlike Woodville Castle, Furnivall Manor is a desolate place stationed upon the isolated woodland, the trees serving as a barrier around the house, many trees “so close that in some places, their branches dragged against the wall when the wind blew” (Gaskell 3). The descriptions of the home’s exterior follow in a similar vein to that of the “The Tapestryed Chamber”, with Hester providing a survey of the house according to her sight:

The great oval drive was without a weed; and neither tree nor creeper was allowed to grow over the long, many-windowed front; at both sides of which a wing projected, which were each the ends of the other side fronts; for the

house...Behind it rose the Fells, which seemed enclosed and bare enough; and on the left hand of the house, as you stood facing it, was a little, old-fashioned flower garden, as I found out afterwards. (Gaskell 3)

The description given by Hester gives some semblance of a cohesive image and the integration of precise directional detail, a method of curating the mental image for the reader. The final sentence, a retrospective addition to the original memory, is significant. Hester consciously adds spatial details to her story when retelling it to her young mistress. Through language, Hester presents a portrait of the house from her gaze. Much like Scott, the description presents enough detail but demands the imaginative labour of reader/listener to compile the remaining minute details fully to actualise the house, like a sketched canvas that merely requires the paint.

The spatiality of the ghost story is not only delivered by means of a resonant static textual image but can also take on an ambulatory narrative style. Gaskell exceeds Scott in the ability to create an immersive story world by adding a sense of dimensionality through movement. Spatiality is a fundamental quality of Gaskell's tale. Hester consciously furnishes her story with minutiae of the home, building a precise model that we as the readers/listeners are invited into as tourists:

When we drove up to the great front entrance, and went into the hall I thought we should be lost—it was so large, and vast, and grand. There was a chandelier all of bronze, hung down from the middle of the ceiling...Then, at one end of the hall, was a great fire-place....and by it were heavy, old fashion sofas. At the opposite end of the hall, to the left as you went in – on the western side—was an organ built into the wall....Beyond it, on the same side, was a door and opposite, on each side of the fire-place, were also doors leading to the east front; but those I never went through as long as I stayed in the house, so I can't tell you what lay

beyond. (Gaskell 3)

Gaskell's writing domesticates the topographical survey to produce a map and/or partial blueprint of the house. The narrative technique permits its readers to cross the thresholds of the exterior architecture, letting them venture into the interior spaces. Gaskell surpasses the spatialising of a room through a catalogue of its objects and instead gives the reader information which enables them to actualise a blueprint of the manor. Hester gives a perambulatory description, noting objects of interest and determines the key spatialising features of the house. To draw on Michel de Certeau's dichotomy of the "map" and "tour", Hester's description oscillates between a "map" or the knowledge of the order of space, and the "tour" or "spatializing actions" or movement (119).¹⁶ Importantly, the order of space is only possible because "an action," or Hester's movement, "permits one to see something" (de Certeau 120). We, as readers, are able to actualise a map of the house because we are touring it.

If a tour can be defined as a "description of space from the point of view of a moving, embodied observer who visits locations in a temporal sequence", Hester takes on dual role of storyteller and guide in the preceding passage (Ryan et al 8). The style of movement mobilises the reading experience, as we move through the house with the narrator and experience the dimensionality of the textual space. Nicola J. Watson foregrounds how a text cannot be successfully located to a place unless the writing models or cues tourism in one way or another. But just as tourism can model texts, texts can model tourism (Watson 12). The reader accompanies Hester, as they "went out of that great drawing-room and into another sitting-room and out of that, and then up a great flight of stairs, and along a broad gallery..." (Gaskell 4). In effect, Hester takes the reader on an immersive tour. The ambulatory

nature of Gaskell's writing presents itself as "armchair" tourism.¹⁷ In a frame narrative structure, Hester, as narrator/guide, first maps out the space of haunting and then grants us details about the ghost, suturing the tale of haunting to that architectural space through storytelling.

So as to codify the spaces, the reader must be cognisant of the environments of haunting; as such, the narrative voice of the ghost story, primarily in first-person, grants the narrator dual role as both storyteller and spatial guide. The reader, from the comfort of their armchair, participates in the dual act of reader and traveller through the textual spaces of the story. Language serves as the extended, curated, sensory limb of the eye and body of the narrator to conceptualise this house, and mimics, in many ways, the dramatic story-telling of tour guides of the modern ghost tour. Effectively the literature attempts to present both the affective qualities attached to a specific house, but the architectural layout has the potential to be superimposed on many country houses alike. Just as Bachelard can imaginatively visit towers through reading, so we too enter and tour Furnivall Manor, or more broadly, enter the textual haunted houses of England and journey through the nightmare space. The ability to traverse textual places through reading is the initial stage of literary tourism. This style of writing builds on the ghost story's impetus to render tenuous the boundaries between textual and lived experience.¹⁸

Spatiality of the Haunted House Part II: Urban Haunts

In the newspaper article "The Latest Thing in Ghosts" (1862), the author remarked on the archaic nature of the ghost story formula of the old castle haunted by the chain-clanking apparition seen by the bedside, writing, "this kind of spectre doth not suit the time. Modern readers must have modern ghosts" (3). It is important to give

due weight to how in this Victorian newspaper commentary, the author focuses on the modern reader and the possibilities for imagining the supernatural in places known to them in their everyday “modern” lives. They continue to write of the modern ghost “of the newest style”:

It drives to a railway station in broad daylight, takes a ticket (first class ticket; no ghost has yet been known to travel second), gets into a carriage, arranges, if a female, its crinoline (Oh! shade of Hamlet’s father! a ghost in *crinoline!*) borrows your Bradshaw, begs you to tell it how it can get to A —, is sorry to trouble you, but it cannot understand a Bradshaw (another evidence of the inscrutable nature of that book: even the ghosts, who are generally supposed to understand things far beyond the comprehension, even ghosts cannot make out Bradshaw), converses with you fluently on various subjects, and shakes hands with you affectionately at parting. (“The Latest Thing in Ghosts” 3)

Ghosts are no longer circumscribed to their remote ancestral homes and terrifyingly occupy spaces of the reader, seamlessly blending into modern life: “Ruined castles have given way to railway stations: trackless forests to the streets of cities; and ghosts in armour are as much out of fashion as mail coaches” (“Latest Things in Ghosts” 3). Ghosts did not necessarily change, but how they are written and woven into place must be appropriate to the setting and/or circumstances. Ghosts written in the nineteenth century city took on contemporaneous practices and costume that appropriately match their imaginative urban setting. For modern readers, London, a liminal city bordering between modern development, renovation and historical antiquity, proved to be a particularly hospitable environment to accommodate these modern ghosts (Marcus 118). These new ghostly scenarios founded in the literature

were those *of* the city, its terrors deriving “from situations peculiar to, and firmly located within, the urban experience” (Mighall 30). The city as a source of fear and supernatural became inherent to Gothic Victorian literature. As Jamieson Ridenhour observes, London becomes “the site of innumerable edifices” capable of evoking the atmosphere required for haunting (10). The transmutation of the literary ghost story, to remain a pervading source of delectable horror, is hinged on its ability to adapt to modern edifices and places: to mould itself to affairs of its epoch.

Haunting was, indeed, endemic to the nineteenth-century city (Mackay 217). Fervent supernatural culture pervading Victorian consciousness may be to blame, but we can certainly ascribe the endemic status to the production of literary haunting; as was the case for the haunted country house, connotations of what I call ‘Haunted London’ are inspired by or derive from literary sources. From the 1850s to the 1870s, supernatural short stories formulating a subgenre of the urban haunted-house tale flooded the literary market (Marcus 116). In doing so, the London cityscape was saturated with supernatural association.¹⁹ It is my objective to make clear the ways in which the urban ghost story negotiated with the material conditions of London to entice its readers’ imaginations wilfully to create associations between the stories and their surroundings: the germination of London literary ghost tourism. To accomplish this, I have selected a series of urban haunted house stories for close reading. The texts will be presented thematically rather than chronologically in order to tease out points of interest for reflection and analysis.

Edward Bulwer Lytton’s “The Haunted and The Haunters; or The House and the Brain” (1859), an early urban haunted house novella, was a vehicle through which the author could interrogate his own interest in spiritualism and, especially, the powers of mesmerism. The story is undoubtedly a remarkable example of the

idiosyncrasies of London-set ghost stories: the rented house, scientificity of spiritualism, detective genre modes of investigation—a proto-psychic detection narrative, or a subgenre of detective fiction that deals directly with the supernatural. The story takes a common plot of the rational male narrator who is called upon to investigate the rumours of haunting attached to a property. Of particular interest is the way in which Bulwer Lytton situates the story in the London cityscape. Writers of urban ghost stories used the same strategies to imbue the modern cityscape with Gothic layers of signification, suturing scenarios of fear to known geographies. Often, in lieu of exhaustive descriptions of place to guide the mental image, authors use proper names and reference familiar places to further impress a correspondence between the story space and the material city (Marcus 118, 121). The conspicuous geographical names marked the location while simultaneously maintaining an air of mystery to the exact locale. Bulwer Lytton references real-life streets in London to situate and establish a set of expectations, connotations of its spatial condition, and geographical boundaries for the reader to negotiate in their reading. The house “is situated on the north side of Oxford Street, in a dull but respectful thoroughfare” (Bulwer Lytton 5). Notwithstanding the deliberate use of a major London street, precise locations in the story are veiled, for instance: the owner of the property, which we are told, lives “in G— Street, No. —”, near the haunted house (Bulwer Lytton 6).²⁰ There is deliberate intent here of using specific reference points in conjunction with ambiguous directions. The text requires the reader to participate in an imaginative exchange and sets out a vague framework by which the reader can map the story onto their geography of London.

The mixture of precise geographical and topographical details and ambiguous generalities is an integral style of the story. The narrator of “The Haunted” performs

the role of a psychic-detective and recounts his meticulous and methodical exploration of the house, with his fearless servant F— and loyal bull terrier, as they walk through the home, with an astute eye like Sherlock Holmes, in search of the supernatural source. They first visit “the subterranean apartments, the kitchen and other offices”, particularly the cellars. When finding nothing but unopened wine and determining that the ghosts “were not wine-bibbers”, they proceed to the garden: “There was a gloomy little back-yard, with very high walls. The stones of this yard were very damp, —and what with the damp, and what with the dust and smoke-grime on the pavement, our feet left a slight impression where we passed” (Bulwer Lytton 17). Moving on, the narrator continues:

we remounted the stairs, and entered the rooms on the ground floor, a dining parlour, a small back parlour, and a still smaller third room that had been probably appropriated to a footman—all still as death. We then visited the drawing-rooms, which seemed fresh and new. (Bulwer Lytton 18)

The narrator’s movement as he tours the house determines how the reader can map the layout of the house. However, in contradistinction to Hester, the narrator of Elizabeth Gaskell’s story, the tour of the house is nondescript. The reader is given a general scope of the house rather than a detailed description of its interior, thus leaving the house open to the reader’s imaginative interpretation and subjective assumptions. It is also worth noting that, with the exception of the back yard, which is described with the characteristically dismal image of the Victorian industrial city, there is nothing inside the home architecturally, at this point, that appears particularly germane to the typical haunted house.²¹

However, the narrator does deviate from his nondescript observations to describe the bedroom that the narrator occupies. The story prepares its own chamber scene

with great precision to dominate and refine the mental image constructed by the reader:

The bedroom my servant had selected for me was the best on the floor—a large one, with two windows fronting the street. The four-posted bed, which took up no inconsiderable space, was opposite to the fire, which burned clear and bright; a door in the wall to the left, between the bed and the window, communicated with the room which my servant appropriated to himself... On either side of my fireplace was a cupboard, without locks, flushed with the wall, and covered with the same dull-brown paper. (Bulwer Lytton 20-21)

Scott's tapestried chamber may have prompted a superior catalogue of its furnishings, but this chamber is given enhanced dimensionality, modelling an architectural blueprint. We are told of the spatial relations between objects and how the layout of the room is to be conceptualised. Bulwer Lytton guides our imagination to actualise its spatial organisation by a set of specific criteria. The architectural conditions are provided as concrete and empirical, but the colours, including the shade of the dull-brown, scents, lighting and overall feel, must derive from the reader's imaginative interpretation. In many ways, this protocol echoes the very essence of Gothic architectural imagination. We are given the structures as the framework by which our imagination can garnish the space with intertextual meaning. The exchange between (textual) spaces and the repository of the readers' minds to create a unified image allows us to journey through any fictional space.

The rented home, a principal residence within the London urban ghost story tradition, illustrates certain apprehensions of transient property ownership and the concealment of its potential Gothic nature. The haunted house in "The Haunted" came into the possession of one Mr. J— "shut up and uninhabited", and inflicted with

the reputation of being haunted, no one would take up residence. Dismissing what seemed “so idle a story”, he spent money in renovating the property, adding modern articles to its old-fashioned furnishings, advertising it and obtaining a lodger for a year (Bulwer Lytton 9). The physical appearance of the house functions to conceal the associations of haunting; the literature invites the reader to be dubious of all domestic spaces. More so, the appearance of disrepair cannot necessarily be the determining factor of haunting. The chronically untenanted property becomes the new cue of haunting, a sign of the modernising of the ghost story which had real-life consequences.²² Renters beware, those beautiful homes frequently on the property market or offered for a pittance, despite exquisite furnishings and modernisations, might house within some unexpected extra tenants.

Such is the case in the anonymous “The Story of Clifford House” (1878), which tells the story of an aesthetically pleasing London house that is taken up by a family who tires of their country home and rural landscape (“The Story of Clifford House” 218). The area is reputable, and surrounded by aristocratic neighbours, a most suitable home for those who wish to spend ‘the season’ in the city. The description of the house is as follows:

It was certainly a very fine house, both as to exterior and interior appearances. Large, massively built, agreeably darkened in woodwork and masonry by Time’s shading brush, in excellent repair, and the locality all that could be desired. Wide, lofty apartments, staircases, and landings; a handsome dining-room panelled in velvety dark-green “flock” and gold; a handsome drawing-room panelled in pale cream-colour and gold; airy bed-chambers and dressing-rooms—one, in particular, attached to what seemed the principal bedroom, with a vast mirror occupying the whole side of the apartment which was opposite to the door

leading into the bed-chamber. (“The Story of Clifford House” 218-19)

The description does not connote any insidious features, but this image of aspirant domesticity is stained by the events of sorricide and the suicide of the murderess, past events which haunt the house and terrorise its new tenants. The minute description does not depict the usual Gothic edifice of decayed antiquated furnishings, but rather reflects the modern tastes found in many homes in the Victorian period. It lacks idiosyncrasies. The reader is given the panorama of the house in terms of its rooms and décor, but these appear to be more a description found in a letting advertisement than a detailed map of the interior of the house, particularly when compared to the stories of the country house that we have previously reviewed. The reader must take greater labour to ‘fill in the gaps’ to furnish and fully actualise the house, which can cause a greater collapse between the fictional space and their known realities.

Differentiating from earlier Gothic spaces that had a continuous mood, the haunted house changes its architectural signification through the association of haunting (Marcus 120). The architectural uncanny, the imaginative exchange between the architecture and the imagining subject, in this case the narrator, transforms the comforting space into one of threat and danger. On viewing the house with the house-agent’s clerk, the narrator begins to feel the uncanniness of the house. Unexpectedly, “a cold blast of air swept up the wide staircase and into the dressing-room”, making her shudder. Informed that no door had been opened, the “spacious, handsome rent” becomes a place of disquietude. All of a sudden, “the shadows of the room seemed to deepen” (“The Story of Clifford House” 219). The suites of rooms and long silent corridors, “with their doors ajar, as if unseen inhabitants were stealthily crouching behind them” impressed upon her sensibilities

“a sense of dull desolation”; and it was “with a sudden sensation of childish fear and loneliness” that she rushed to her husband (“The Story of Clifford House” 218-19). The architecture is unaltered, but its transformation to a Gothic space is based on the perception and affective response of the narrator. Correlating shadowy spaces and ghostly presences hiding behind doors are all supernatural manifestations found in the ghostly tale. One can notice the correlation between the ghost story formula and associationism. The characters within the tale too are subject to the same fancies of the reader to project assumed fictions into their environments—but for them, the ghost is real.

The paucity of information about the exterior in both “The Haunted” and “The Story of Clifford House” deserves further consideration. Unlike the graphic accounts of the grand ancestral seats, the narrator of urban haunted house stories reveals little, if any, of the identifying features of the architecture’s exterior. The textual haunted house, then, could be any number of sought-after houses in London. The material conditions of London may account for this; the expansion and renovation of London brought on the deindividualisation of London’s architecture, and imposed a uniform aesthetic appearance (Marcus 95-6). When all exteriors look strikingly similar, or the image of modernity, even the most inviting homes could be contaminated by phantasmal guests. Even the Victorian semi-detached and the modern villa, despite being “antagonist to the supernatural”, as the narrator of “The Ghost of Laburnum Villa” (1870) puts it, became prime sites of haunting (“The Ghost of Laburnum Villa” 145). As a modifier of spatial relations, associations of ‘haunting’ added layers of signification and enchantment to the urban space in the ‘familiar worlds’ through the eruption of the supernatural in the lived spaces of the readers. The expanding cityscape saturated with these “prosaic” houses, as Crowe mentions,

meant *any* house now had Gothic possibility. This trait of the urban ghost story adds a degree of uncanniness to the everyday world of the reader, especially those curious about the referent house that inspired the haunting or those who inhabit a house closely matching the one depicted in the story.

Not all haunted homes in London, however, are modern; as Crowe's comments above indicate, there is a contrast between the representation of modern homes with the ancestral mansions in the city. Charlotte Riddell's "The Old House in Vauxhall Walk" (1882), a ghost tale of a haunted house in Lambeth from her collection *Weird Tales* (1882) is an example of the antiquated London home, "so large and good" and "once inhabited by well-to-do citizens" now becoming weekly-rented lodging houses and apartments (Riddell 100). The ornate and embellished architecture of great houses are now the commonplace dwellings of a variety of classes. A single room is described:

There were four windows in the room, shuttered close, they had deep, low seats, suggestive of pleasant days gone by; when well-curtained and well-cushioned, they formed snug retreats for the children, and sometimes for adults also; there was no furniture into the panelling at the opposite end of the apartment, with a black marble console table beneath it, could be so considered; but the very absence of chairs and tables enabled the magnificent proportions of the chamber to be seen to full advantage, and there was nothing to distract the attention from the ornamented ceiling and the fireplace lined with tiles, each one of which contained a picture of some scriptural or allegorical subject. (Riddell 102)

The passage parallels many of the stories we have examined in this chapter in terms of its highly visual qualities that allows a particular space to be actualised in the mind of the reader. What is due careful attention, however, is the socio-economic

condition of the house. The house architecturally is structured as an ancestral home, a reoccurring setting of ghost stories—or houses of those “well-to-do citizens” that still inhabited these majestic domiciles (Riddell). Yet, the old house does not radiate its former grandeur and opulence. It is now a common lodging space for the lower classes, those characteristically represented as vulnerable to superstitious belief. London haunted houses, in their multiple manifestations, are accessible by a number of the city’s residences to participate in an imaginative exchange.

Sheridan Le Fanu’s “The Haunted House of Westminster”, retitled “Mr. Justice Harbottle” (1872),²³ defies the usual paucity of information and therefore exposes an important difference and/or consideration between ‘modern’ haunted homes in London and antiquated dwellings. The house at Westminster, built in the reign of James I, is described as follows:

It was built of dark-red brick, and the door and windows were faced with stone that had turned yellow by time. It receded some feet from the line of the other houses in the street; and it had a florid and fanciful rail of iron about the broad steps that invited your ascent to the hall-door, in which were fixed, under a file of lamps among scrolls and twisted leaves, two immense “extinguishers,” like the conical caps of fairies, into which, in old times, the footmen used to thrust their flambeaux when their chairs or coaches had set down their great people, in the hall or at the steps, as the case might be. That hall is panelled up to the ceiling, and has a large fire-place. Two or three stately old rooms open from it at each side. The windows of these are tall, with many small panes. Passing through the arch at the back of the hall, you come upon the wide and heavy well-staircase. There is a back staircase also. The mansion is large, and has not as much light, by any means, in proportion to its extent, as modern

houses enjoy. (Le Fanu 87)

The details of this Westminster house present some indication of its exterior image. As was the case with Furnivall Hall and Woodville Castle, the story provides certain distinguishable features of its exterior façade, granting a form of partial blueprint for the imagination to complete. Why is this omitted in Riddell's story, if both are considered ancestral homes? There is a similarity between ancestral homes and more modern, or at least 'modernised' homes in London with regards to the external façade. Haunted houses that are entirely mimetic of the dwellings of a large proportion of the population are deliberately portrayed in more anonymous terms than more distinctive homes accessible to the few. This is not to say that there is a complete transparency—in many ways there are methods of concealment by vague features rather than precise addresses of the houses—but there is more detail given. This is most likely a reflection of the potential legal ramifications if found responsible for creating rumours of haunting that subsequently become attached to a "real" house.

As my case study site of haunting, 50 Berkeley Square, evidences, the anxieties surrounding the conflation of fictional and 'real' ghost stories forced authors to tread a thin line to produce affectively charged and convincing haunted *topoi* while navigating the potential implications and consequences of their creative imaginaries. As already mentioned, there were economic implications when a house was assumed to be haunted. Although the Westminster house eventually had a function as a lodging house after falling into disrepute, much like the old house in Vauxhall Walk, its unique situation may explain why the information is not omitted. In the letter depicting the image of the house, its narrator expresses that over the thirty years since he last visited the house, "I hear that improvement, with its preliminary

demolitions, has been doing wonders for the quarter of Westminster” where the house was known to be. If he had the confidence that the house had been torn down with the demolition, he would have no reservation in naming the exact street; for “as what I have to tell, however, is not likely to improve its letting value, and as I should not care to get in trouble,” and so he remains silent on this particular detail (Le Fanu 87). Perhaps the ongoing demolition and renovation of Westminster in that time, leading to the erasure of the house in question, allows the narrator to be forthcoming with identifiable features.

What I have tried to emphasise here is the adaptable spatiality of urban haunted houses that inevitably encourages the impression and associations between the haunted houses of the literary ghost stories and material, “real” houses. The repetition of this vernacular of haunted houses in the ghost story entrenched a set of cues for its readers to populate their own architectural conditions with textual fancies. Le Fanu’s “Mr. Justice Harbottle” epitomises the event when those armed with the knowledge of haunted houses hidden around London eventually encounter this house of Gothic reverie. In a letter to the fictional Doctor Hesselius, the narrator describes his childhood visit to the haunted house of Mr. Justice Harbottle:

When I saw it, it had long been untenanted, and had the gloomy reputation beside of a haunted house. Cobwebs floated from the ceilings or spanned the corners of the cornices, and dust lay thick over everything. The windows were stained with the dust and rain...I was here in the very centre and scene of those occurrences which I had heard recounted at the fireside at home, with so delightful a horror. (Le Fanu 87-88)

The boyhood experience of visiting the house of fireside tales serves as a most suitable ending to this component of the chapter. The malleable nature of the

haunted house allows stories to alter our world. The formulaic repetition of mimetic urban domiciles instigates the perception of Gothic spaces in congruous locations. Just as Catherine Morland felt in *Northanger Abbey* (1817), the young boy read cues of haunting in his surroundings. Tempting as it is to develop a bipartite model between haunted houses associated with strictly literary source material and those deriving out of first-hand accounts, as demonstrated already, one cannot easily separate the two. As the progenitor of this *topos*, the ghost story offers the criteria and script of haunted space, activating those “unnatural connexions”, to find, echoing Addison, “the most proper Scenes in the World for a Ghost to appear in” within the lived world (“No. 110” 17).

50 Berkeley Square: Possessing the Spatial Text

Julian Wolfreys speaks of the haunted house as a site of structural dislocation (7). Conversely, I would suggest that the haunted house is not a result of structural dislocation but a site of imaginative dislocation. Domestic spaces can instantaneously be re-signified from intimate banality to a site of malevolence and trepidation by the impression of the imagination left by stories; as the protagonist of Riddell’s *The Uninhabited House* (1875) reminds us: “After all, talking about a haunted house in broad daylight to one’s fellow-clerks, in a large London office, is a very different thing from taking up one’s residence in the same house, all alone, on a bleak winter’s night, with never a soul within shouting distance” (254). To stand in the place aligned with the associations of haunting can be an unnerving experience. As William Hazlitt in his review of a translation of *Lectures of Dramatic Literature* by A.W. von Schlegel noted, “Let an object be presented to the sense in a state of agitation and fear—and the imagination will magnify the object, and convert it to

whatever is more proper to encourage the fear” (72). His words accurately capture how the associations of ‘real’ haunting actually renegotiate the spatial exchanges between the imagining subject and architecture.

To marry the material and textual world of haunting is an interpretative act of reading. I am conscious of my highly literary vocabulary and paradigms used to delineate the two realms. Undeniably, the architectural imaginary is indeed a spatial text, but all space is inherently a text to be read. The reading of ghost stories is not limited to the boundaries of the text but becomes a lens through which the imagining subject may read their material environments. Ghost stories and associated literatures supply the readers with a set of criteria by which they may ‘read’ (and subsequently perform) their spatial environments. This interrelationship between reading texts and domestic space is outlined by Kathy Mezei and Chiara Briganti:

the exterior façade and style along with the interior decoration, furniture, style and layout of the house compose a semiotic system that signals status, class, and public display and creates meaning that observers, visitors, and the public may interpret and read... Similarly, readers interpret the novel’s meaning through its systems of signs: its layout and style, its use of symbols, and its exterior façade—book cover, design, and blurbs. Thus, our responses to houses and texts can be seen as comparable, perhaps even interchangeable, interpretive acts. (840)

Like all textual relations, and in essence, the very basic principles of associationism as a mental function, the texts we read serve as intertext, referent, or paratext to how we read and understand our own material world as text. It is easy to speak of the ghost story’s impact in purely abstract terms, but to substantiate my claims of the ghost story as builder of architectural imaginary, it is imperative to provide a case study: the infamous London haunted house, 50 Berkeley Square. While it is by no

means the first instance of ghost tourism in London, it nonetheless serves as an example *par excellence* of ghost tourism within the highly literary Gothic tourism paradigm.

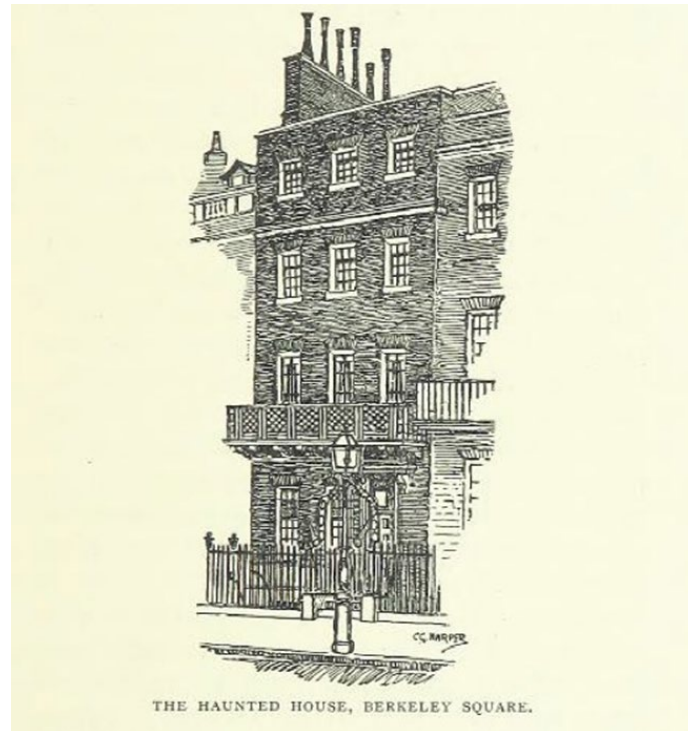


Fig. 3. Charles G. Harper, *The Haunted House, Berkeley Square*, sketch, 1907.

Tucked away in the affluent area of Mayfair is Berkeley Square wherein sits beautiful townhouses that were originally built in 1698. By the eighteenth century, the area housed some of the city's most prestigious political and literary men and women.²⁴ Yet, in the following century, the tranquil square accumulated supernatural enquiry. Frederick Brickdale Doveton, in *Sketches in Prose and Verse* (1886), poetically interrogated the mysterious house of 50 Berkeley Square, giving expression to a case of haunting that intrigued many people across Britain and Europe:

A MYSTERY in these modern days

That baffles all is rare!

Who is the mystic one that pays

For 50, Berkeley-square?
 That gloomy pile is grim and gaunt,
 It seems to say "Beware!"
Whose restless spirit loves to haunt
 The house in Berkeley-square
 The cobwebs in the windows lie,
 And dirt and dust are there;
What is the unknown history
 Of 50, Berkeley Square
 In the rich London of to-day,
 'Tis strange beyond compare
 That ghouls and ghosts should have their way
 At 50, Berkeley Square! (422)

Mysterious indeed, the haunted house captivated the Victorian imagination during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The house inspired poems, extensive debate in *Notes and Queries*, literary ghost stories and, as one can expect, ghost tourism: "the famous 'haunted house in Berkeley Square' was long one of those things that no country cousin come up from the provinces to London on a sight-seeing excursion ever willingly missed" (Harper 94). If we think back to our paradigm of ghost tourism, it is "any form of leisure or travel that involves encounters with or the pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunted" *and their stories* (Hanks 13). In having tourism present in both a textual form and in practice, immediately we can explicitly see that this was a practice in the Victorian period. And as I will now illustrate, the ghost story lies at the heart of 50 Berkeley Square's label as a haunted space.

The instigator of this supernatural affair in public competence can be traced back to a single correspondence published on 9 November 1872 in *Notes and Queries* by a correspondent with the initials H.A.B.:

HAUNTED HOUSES. —Can your readers inform me of any houses now *closed*, as being haunted? Is there a house in Berkeley Square (London) with this repute, as I have been informed? What is the story of the room in Sizergh Castle (Westmoreland), where the planking of the floor, however often laid, is always torn up at night? (373 emphasis original)

One week later, an enigmatic response by the alleged Lord Lyttelton confirmed that the house remained vacant and very much haunted, indicating that “there are strange stories about it, into which this deponent cannot enter” (373). The intended purpose of his cryptic message remains unknown, but from 1872 until 1881, *Notes and Queries* was thronged with a series of speculations, polemics and plausible rational explanations to discourage further fancies. Correspondents even recorded their own research to uncover the mysteries, making enquiries with individuals and shops in the vicinity and some even visiting the house. One correspondent, undertaking such investigations in the neighbourhood, discovered two mysterious stories about the house: supposedly strange noises being heard in adjoining properties, and the tale of a woman suffering from madness after sleeping in the house one night.²⁵

Communication in *Notes & Queries* ceased for a few years, leaving several unanswered questions to the identity of the house’s occupants and the strange events associated with the property. Then, in August 1879, a cutting from *Mayfair* magazine dated 10 May 1879 was submitted by W.E. Howlett to serve as an explanation. The unnamed author of the snippet claims that the story of haunting

attached to the house had been “acquiesced in by the silence of those who alone know the whole truth, and whole interest it is that the whole truth should be known.” What follows is a convoluted story with three central facets: a haunted room “which the atmosphere is supernaturally fatal to the body and the mind”; the walls of the house being saturated with “electric horror”, whose exterior façade has been “given up to the ghost and decay”; and thirdly, the mysterious behaviour of its occupants that involves an unknown person bi-annually visiting the house to seek solitude in the haunting room (qtd. in Howlett 87-88).

50 Berkeley Square only accrued the condition of haunting through the stories and fictional narratives that were read onto the spatial text of the house. To recall, Gothic tourism is an intermedial act, playing to those in the know, and therefore to recognise the house as a site of interest for ‘reader-tourist’ one must know what gives it the label of ‘haunted’. These narratives cause the reconfiguration of its meaning and social value within the city, and consequently, how individuals perform and interact with it. In other words, the literature and media develop the spatial story of the haunted house of 50 Berkeley Square, serving, in some sense, as the house’s ‘architect’. The triad of associated stories could all be exhilarating plots of literary ghost stories, but on closer inspection, there is a correlation between a material house possessing these three main tenets—the physical conditions of the house, alleged mysterious occupants, and instances of supernatural association—which, when combined, forge a haunted house.

The appearance of 50 Berkeley Square aided in securing its Gothic identity. The ghost story is a powerful imaginative force, but despite even the strongest of impressions, the mind must always contend with the condition of the building, which effectively imposes its own limitations on the type of association. As such, its

transformation into a Gothic space can be buttressed by its material conditions if they are perceived as congruous to the perceiver's ideas of a haunted house. In a traditional sense, association is the harmonious confluence between the settings of the mind and the settings of the eye; the secondary pleasures alter spatial experience and can be accomplished effortlessly via strong visual signifiers. As already made evident, the dilapidated condition of a house is an established signifier of supernatural possession. In this regard, it appears that No. 50's Gothic peak coincided with its exterior neglect: "for many years soap, paint and whitewash were never used," a most desolate contrast to a square of pristine uniformity (J.C.M. 435). There seems to be historical evidence indicating the intense impact of visual prompts to link the ideas of haunted houses to buildings. In a commentary submitted by Clarry in December 1880, the writer lamented how his neighbour's financial barriers inhibited the usual maintenance jointly undertaken: as he writes, "Now, I am in dread less, from the gloomy look of my abode, a ghost may be appropriated to be with as little show of evidence, authority, or justification as in the case of Berkeley Square Mystery" (452).

Understanding the house as spatial text, we can extrapolate from Gérard Genette's concept of paratextuality further to unpack the process of literary association and architectural imaginary. Genette defines paratexts as devices and conventions that mediate the book for the reader (xviii). These mediating devices are divided into two categories, each based on their relation to the text: the peritext and epitext. Peritexts are elements that have taken on material form and have a location that can be situated in relation to the text, such as the title, book covers, structural elements, and illustrations (Genette 4-5). On the other hand, epitexts are the distanced elements or messages existing outside the book, elements that Genette

attributes to media of private communication (Genette 5). We can consider the material conditions—how the space looks, feels, is furnished or designed—of the place as peritextual conditions that immediately adjust our reading and interpretation, and in many instances guide our interpretative act. Reading must always negotiate with form. Epitexts, on the other hand, equate to the literary ghost story, or general information that codes certain expectations or connotations. An example of this relates to rumours of the ominous occupant. It is said to be

uninhabited save by an elderly man and woman who act as caretakers; but even they have no access to *the* room. That is kept locked, the key being in the hands of a mysterious and seemingly nameless person who comes to the house once every six months, locks up the elderly couple in the basement, and then unlocks *the* room, and occupies himself in it for hours. (qtd. in Howlett 87-88)

One cannot be surprised by such a sensational tale attracting the curiosities of the general public. The habitual anti-social behaviour can be inserted to explain away the supernatural at the end of a story, most certainly when there is already growing rumours of supernatural or occult associations attached to the house.²⁶

The final tenet, the association of supernatural story, seems quite obvious, but is, I would argue, the most vital component to creating suitable haunted house for ghost tourism, particularly in its early form. *Glimpses in the Twilight; Being Various Notes, Records, And Examples of The Supernatural* (1885) by Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.D. mentions the extraordinary connection between Bulwer Lytton and the house in an account supposedly given to Lee by a person “who profess to be acquainted with the circumstances of the house in question (55). Apparently, the late occupant was a lady “of high family”, who had lived in solitude, dedicating her time to the pursuit of

forbidden knowledge. In the house, it is said that she practiced magic tricks and séances, one which had Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton in attendance. In a footnote, Lee claims “his impressions of the house in Berkeley Square supplied Bulwer with materials for his story, ‘The Haunters and the Haunted,’ In ‘Blackwood’s Magazine’, August 1859” (54). The supposition incidentally changes how one can read the narrative and the place; the texts now are linked in a reciprocal relationship of association. Unknowingly, the readers could have been venturing through a textual re-imagining of No.50. The subsequent account, however, presents a different story of a fatal room—much like the accounts outlined in *Notes and Queries*—with the inclusion of the death of a dog that uncannily matches the scenario in “The Haunted”.

This is not the only case where the literary ghost story appears to ‘borrow’ from events testified as fact. As a book written retrospectively to the height of Victorian interest in No.50, we can see the blending between Bulwer Lytton and another popular author at the time, Rhoda Broughton. The *Mayfair* cutting presents this horrifying tale:

The house in Berkeley Square contains at least one room of which the atmosphere is supernaturally fatal to the body and mind. A girl saw, heard, or felt such horror in that she went mad, and never recovered sanity enough to tell how or why. A gentleman, a disbeliever in ghosts, dared to sleep in it, and was found a corpse in the middle of the floor, after frantically ringing for help in vain. (qtd. in Howlett 87)

In December 1880, a fascinating correlation was reported in *Notes and Queries*, whereby the correspondent noted a clear similarity in one of the stories first anthologised in Broughton’s *Tales for Christmas Eve* (1872) and later *Twilight*

Stories (1873/79): “The Truth the Whole Truth and Nothing but the Truth”, first published in *Temple Bar* magazine, 1868. This is an epistolary ghost story that is based on the correspondences between two friends, Cecelia Montresor and Elizabeth de Wynt, between 5 May and 12 June of an undisclosed year. In the letters, the readers are privy to the trivial exchanges of gossip, humbling gratitude of friendship and the tumultuous hunt for a house to let in London’s West End. Cordial friendship led Elizabeth de Wynt to journey through London, “on a day more broiling than any”, to find the perfect middle-class dwelling to house Cecilia for the season (Broughton 2).²⁷ After a series of failures, Elizabeth stumbled upon the “compartment of Heaven”, 32—Street, Mayfair, an ideal dwelling furnished to the highest standard of taste and comfort on the market for a modest value, a tell-tale sign of approaching foreboding (Broughton 2-3).

Broughton’s story houses a malignant entity that brings death and madness to those who enter its chamber. Let us recall the summary of events in *Mayfair*, and compare it to Cecelia’s recollection of her traumatic night when the sinister force first inflicted itself upon her household, claiming a young servant girl as its first victim:

The girl was standing by the bed, leaning forward a little with her hands clenched in each, rigid, every nerve tense, her eyes, wide open, staring out of her head, and a look of unutterable stony horror in them; her cheeks and mouth not pale, but livid as those of one that died awhile ago in mortal pain. As I looked at her, her lips moved a little and an awful hoard voice, not like hers in the least, said, “Oh! my God, I have seen it!” and then she fell down suddenly, like a log, with a heavy noise. (Broughton 7-8)

Cecelia’s attempts to rouse the girl from her fit of terror were futile, and her return to consciousness was plagued by a state of violent madness. The woman was taken

away by a doctor, and to her knowledge, the young lady never regained her sanity (Broughton 8). The house claimed a second victim after a young man named Ralph Gordon sought to prove his devotion to scepticism by volunteering to spend the night in the same very room, announcing he would “exorcise every demon that shows his ugly nose” with gas lit and a poker (Broughton 10). He returned to the house on an agreed date, bringing with him a fellow officer, at ten o’clock, enthusiastic to trounce the ghost once and for all. He instructs his companions to wait for him to ring the bell twice before they enter the room. It was at eleven o’clock, the bell chimed, and the company rushed to the chamber only to find Gordon in a dreadful state. He was found “standing in the middle of the floor, rigid, petrified, with that same look...of awful, unspeakable, stony fear on his brave young face.” From his lips uttered the similar phrase, as from the previous victim, “Oh, my God! I have seen it!” (Broughton 12). It was at this moment that he dropped down dead, and who or what these two victims encounter remains untold.

There are unequivocal similarities between the two stories, and a similar plot is described in a letter supposedly written 22 January, 1871, addressed to Bishop Thirlwall and claiming to be the authenticated events, submitted to *Notes and Queries* by J.F. Meehan on Christmas Day, 1880. Broughton’s story seems to be the earliest version of the narrative. They each carry their own nuances, but the overall story is founded by the same sequence of events. In the letter, for example, it speaks specifically of No.50 and describes the house as dilapidated, dusty, and forsaken (Meehan 515). There are subtle changes to the story such as character names and circumstances of letting the house—in this case, it is to bring out their daughters during the London season. The housemaid does not survive and dies later at St. George’s Hospital, never to speak of what happened on that frightful night; the

gentleman was not an officer, but the lover of one of the young ladies, and like Ralph Gordon, suffered terribly in his pursuit to prove his scepticism, but survived the whole ordeal (Meehan 515).

A unique and convoluted tale, indeed, but the closing remarks are telling of the extent to which Meehan attempted to prove the story's verisimilitude: "I shall be happy to supply privately the names here left blank" (Meehan 514-515). It is an inference that asserts the tale has no literary origin and is an authenticated account. But the ghost story transcended literature and was reiterated through idle gossip between neighbours spanning back to 1871; thus, it became part of London legend.²⁸ Haunted houses are a compilation, a bricolage of variations of paraphrased tales that are always in conversation with the wider literary tradition.

Lastly, the situation very much stems from its traits as an urban haunted house tale. The story takes its readers through a catalogue of its interiority but lacks any indication of its exterior architecture. In a way, the omission of specificity undermines the specific reference to a house number. The story gives us a geographical radius of Mayfair, but the area of similar socio-economic and aesthetic qualities results in a number of houses potentially having identical features. The transmutation of the ghost story into supposed authenticity becomes further unsettled when the definitive referent site is untraceable. The imagination is given rein to surmise conclusions.

The merging of textual haunted houses to architecture is not fixed by the geographical coordinate per se, but by an intertextual exchange that causes the spatial story of the house entirely to appropriate the qualities of the literary story as its own. This is achieved through the collective of imagining subjects engaging with the texts, both on the page or in the city. A letter from Rhoda Broughton herself was published in *Notes and Queries*:

Dear Sir, —You are mistaken in supposing that my story has anything to do with the so-called Berkeley Square Mystery. Its incidents happened, as I was told by my informant, in the country, and I clothed it in fictitious characters and transposed it to London, which I have since regretted, as so many people have thence assumed that it must refer to the house in Berkeley Square. The slip you enclose is clearly my story mistakenly applied to a wrong house. I am sorry to be unable to assist you in your search, but I can at least divert you from the wrong track. Yours faithfully, R. BROUGHTON. (qtd. in Warren 151)

Broughton's words summarise the entire concern for the chapter. Ghost stories are a set of spatial events that are then sutured to a particular place via the narrative's textual imagining subject (the narrator or protagonist). The literary techniques used to imbue verisimilitude tactically elide the boundaries between 'experienced' haunting and the ostensibly fictitious. Ghost stories can be transplanted to various places despite authorial intention, illuminating both the imaginative capabilities of the form but, crucially, it proves that the Gothic architectural imaginary is bounded by associationism, in the subjective projection of textual experience onto the material world. The methods of writing ghost stories, to provide testimony of authentic supernatural exchanges shrouded in a vague and inauthentic location, goes to prove the instability of the haunted house *topos* as geographical marker but speaks volumes for its role as an imaginative archetype.

For Wolfreys, textual haunting is embalmed in the reading practices, arguing the "ghosts return via narratives, and come back, again and again, across centuries, every time a tale is unfolded" (xxi, 3). To read a spatial text, to turn the abstract landscape into a place to house a ghost, is Victorian ghost tourism. To see and imagine ghosts in the city is simultaneously to participate in the creation of Haunted

London. The mysterious 50 Berkeley Square has remained immortalised through the ghost tourism industry and the avid ghost hunters it attracts, in literature produced in the nineteenth century serving as their own literary guides, and even formally at *The London Dungeons* with their '5D ride' *Vengeance*. It will remain a haunted house for as long as it remains in our memory, or when passing by we pause to consider its ghosts.

¹ An earlier, modified version of this chapter has been published as “Journey Through the English Haunted House.” Some parts of this chapter also appear in my article “Do the Ghosts Roam Along the Corridors Here at Ordsall Hall?” Paranormal Media, Haunted Heritage, and Investing Historical Capital.”

² I use the term ‘material environment’ to denote physical spaces. Spatial theory discourse’s dubious use of the term ‘real’ sets up a distinction that I find inaccurate because it does not account for subjective readings and performances of spaces. To avoid any complications or a misreading of my critical stance, I will be using this term consistently throughout the thesis.

³ The trend of authenticity continued to scaffold reader expectation. In his introduction to *The Supernatural Omnibus* (1931), Montague Summers declares that of his selection of supernatural tales, though ostensibly fiction, “more than half of a dozen could be very closely paralleled by real experience” (35). These features, in the highly formulaic domestic genre entrenched certain expectations and affect to ‘undoubting’ readers (Cox and Gilbert x).

⁴ See also Finucane, *Ghosts* 141-143.

⁵ For a review of the case of the Canterbury haunting, see Handley 80-107.

⁶ For Sasha Handley, *A True Relation* marks the point where alongside aspects from the “ghost stories of cheap print” and the empirical language, something new was added to the mix, including suspense, detail and length of the stories (96).

⁷ Scholars such as Tara Moore and Derek Johnston have provided illustrative studies on the intersection of Gothic and Christmas tradition and identify how the nineteenth century was the period when the literary ghost story was formally integrated into English Christmas custom. See Moore, *Victorian Christmas in Print*; Johnston, *Haunted Seasons: Television Ghost Stories for Christmas and Horror for Halloween*.

⁸ The Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882, with Henry Sidgwick as its first President. The SPR designated itself as a “scientific society” and took on methodical research and analysis on the supernatural (Oppenheim 136). On the other hand, the Ghost Club was founded by members of Cambridge University in 1851 but fizzled out after the first wave of Spiritualism. The Ghost Club was revived in 1882 and “functioned as a monthly dining club, with each member having to provide each year one ‘original Ghost Story, or some psychological experience of interest or instruction’” (Davies 89).

⁹ Of further interest to this matter is that the publishers of Crowe’s work chose to include an advertisement for unabridged copies of Gothic fiction including Ann Radcliffe’s *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), Edgar Allen Poe’s *Tales of Mystery and*

Imagination (1839) and Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821). Their inclusion perhaps alludes to a common reader of both texts the 'factual' and the 'fictional' supernatural.

My assertion parallels M.R. James, who writes:

On the whole (though not a few instances might be quoted against me) I think that a setting so modern that the ordinary reader can judge of its naturalness for himself is preferable to anything antique. For some degree of actuality is the charm of the best ghost stories; not a very insistent actuality, but one strong enough to allow the reader to identify himself with the patient; while it is almost inevitable that the reader of an antique story should fall into the position of the mere spectator. (qtd in Cox and Gilbert xvii)

¹¹ See, for example Botting, *Gothic*; Ferguson Ellis, *The Contested Castle: Gothic Novel and the Subversion of Domestic Ideology*.

¹² Jacob Marley is the first ghost in Charles Dickens's Christmas novella *A Christmas Carol*. The chains become a signifier of his misdeeds and he is chained with his corporeal sins.

¹³ There are many reasons as to why the house became a focal setting for Gothic narratives. Critics such as Fred Botting and Robert Mighall have noted its symbolic value to explore themes of atavism, familial dysfunction and ancestral degeneration and legacies; see Botting 78-129; Mighall 116-122. Other critics point to more gendered and class-based themes, suggesting that the haunted house supplied an appropriate narrative space to examine gender roles, domesticity, inheritance, family structures and class divisions, and became a particular desirable motif for women writers; Liggins *Haunted Houses*; Millbank 158-73; Smith 120-142.

¹⁴ Bachelard suggest that if the dreamer's house is in the city, how they divide their imaginative spaces is dictated by the very place it exists. Urban dream-houses, he suggests, are not unusually dreamed as being built upon a great "underground clump" equivalent to great fortified castles (20).

¹⁵ For more on the ghost story, optics, and seeing, see Srdjan Smajic, "The Trouble with Ghost-Seeing: Vision, Ideology and Genre in the Victorian Ghost Story".

¹⁶ I have modified de Certeau's paradigm to be consistent with my critical stance on the difference between space and place. For de Certeau, he reverses the common distinction between space and place and position space as practiced place, the original quotation suggests the map is a "knowledge of the order of places" (119).

¹⁷ For further discussion on armchair tourism, see Watson 170.

¹⁸ This highly illustrative form of haunted house writing would be used in the empirical-based Spiritualist writings at the end of the century, for example, *The Alleged Haunting of B—House* (1899) edited by A. Goodrich-Freer and John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. "The Alleged Haunting of B— House" (1899) was a detailed account of Ada Goodrich-Freer's stay at the haunted property Ballechin House,

Scotland, serialised in *The Times*. The account logs aural, visual and tactile phenomena of haunting, and also includes a floorplan for the readers to identify where the manifestations occurred. It included diagrams of the house in its serialised publication in *The Times*, revealing the power of spatiality when depicting sites of haunting (Grimes 87).

¹⁹ Simon Hay argues the mid-Victorian period was the time when the parameters, tropes, figures and tricks of the ghost story were codified. For Hay, these characteristics were introduced by Sheridan Le Fanu and Dickens in his capacity of editor of *All the Year Round*, “standardised them” (57).

²⁰ This is also the case in “The Last House in C— Street” (1856) by Dinah Mulock [Mrs. Craik]. The reader is told that the street is in the London district Temple, which narrows the geographical boundaries of the story but does not reveal the exact location, only a vague hint at potential streets.

²¹ The story does present a central room that is less welcoming to the eye, described as a:

small blank dreary room without furniture - a few empty boxes and hampers in a corner - a small window - the shutters closed - not even a fireplace - no other door but that by which we had entered - no carpet on the floor, and the floor seemed very old, uneven, worm-eaten, mended here and there, as was shown by the whiter patches on the wood.... (22-23).

The room only transforms itself into the Gothicized claustrophobic space when the door closed and trapped them; see Bulwer Lytton 22-23

²² In 1863 *Court Journal* exclaimed, “the number of so called haunted houses that are closed and have gone to decay in about [London] under this mouldering and blighting reputation, is ridiculously large, we know of half of dozen at least” (qtd in Bell “Phantasmal Cities” 103).

²³ The story is essentially a drastically rewritten version of Fanu’s earlier story “An Account of Some Strange Disturbances at Aungier Street”, published in *Dublin University Magazine*, December 1853 (Tracy xvi).

²⁴ According to Augustus J. Hare, some of the other noted residents of the eighteenth century include Lady Anne Barnard, authoress of “Auld Robikn Gray” (No. 21), Lord Chancellor Brougham (No.23), and Lord Clive, founder of the British Empire in India who committed suicide at No.45 in 1774. Horace Walpole died in No.11 (Hare, 74 [vol 2]).

²⁵ A query was made by a correspondent under the name E.M.P, whose entry admits to visiting the property a few weeks prior when he “took the trouble to ring the bell”. They said they were met by a woman ascending the steps, who responded to his enquiries and announced that the house was occupied, contradicting Lyttelton’s reply (E.M.P 85).

²⁶ Through the correspondence it is suggested that the house had belonged to an eccentric gentleman Mr Myers, who, though in good financial circumstances, neglected to spend any money on his home, resulting in showing visible signs of decay (J.C.M. 435). By all accounts he was a reclusive character with only two maidservants under his employment. A correspondent (C.C.M.) conducted research in public records and periodicals and related that in *Weekly Times*, May 4, 1873, Myers and the 'haunted house' were mentioned in connection with his failure to pay taxes due to eccentricity (C.C.M 471-72). There are other reports suggesting his eccentricity has more tragic origins. It is said he took residence of No. 50 during his engagement which he furnished and prepared to be the house of wedding bliss. Sadly, just before the wedding day, his fiancée jilted him leaving Myers only with disappointment that is rumoured to have broken his heart and turned his brain. At night he was said to flit about the house, and "strange noises would be heard about the neighbourhood" (Clarry 515).

²⁷ Middle-class dwelling is alluded to by the description of seeking an "intermediate between what was suited to the means of a duke, and what was suited to the needs of a chimney sweep" (Broughton 2).

²⁸ According to Bill Ellis, a criterion of a legend centres on the belief factor: "the legend is supposed to be *believed*, by narrators, by their audiences, or ideally by both" (5).

Chapter Two: Haunted Guidebooks: Itineraries of Haunted Space

With somewhere in the region of 60,000 inns to choose from, the first hurdle was to work out which ones were haunted and, of those, which were worth including.

—Richard Jones, *Haunted Inns of Britain and Ireland* (2004)

Where are the ghosts? Well there is no point in telling you stories about a nameless house, in a nameless street so I will be as precise as possible. I will try and tell you what room, staircase, field, or graveyard, in whatever pub, museum, or churchyard you are stood in [sic].

—Ross Andrews, *The Paranormal Tourist Guide to London* (2011)

Having documented houses, churchyards and streets that have attracted large inquisitive crowds in search of a supernatural encounter in the nineteenth century, historians Karl Bell and Owen Davies have identified a long tradition of visiting haunted locations (Davies 64).¹ These instances of early Gothic tourism have primarily been generated by random association, where the Gothic imagination bleeds into reality, or is the consequence of a strategic hoax. As I have explored at length in Chapter One, the literary ghost story is a powerful and persuasive force on the imagination which, in turn, prompts the creation of sites of haunting. The mysterious case of 50 Berkeley Square has exemplified the evocative powers of a chilling tale of madness and phantasmal death to transfigure places into Gothic sites of reverie. Yet, the processes within the imagination whereby a literary text influences and transforms a material site into a haunted place is a random, unpredictable affair. Given the unstable and erratic nature of the production of ghosts and haunted places, it is difficult to rely on the literature alone to secure a precise and controlled map of haunting for standardised tourist practices. The Gothic has no quantifiable or standardised response or outcome when readers engage with its texts and imaginative spaces. As Robert Tally Jr. argues, a reader is never a passive receptacle “for the spatial messages transmitted by the map or text but actively

determines the often shifting and transient meaning to be found in the map” (79).

How then can a ghost or haunted place be readily discovered and toured?

Establishing clear itineraries and landmarks of haunted space to sustain tourist practices requires more formal interventions and tactics.

To continue our interrogation of ghost tourism as a textual phenomenon, it is necessary to examine texts beyond literature proper that deliberately attempt to suture specific supernatural narratives to a place. This chapter thus shifts its focus away from individual sites of haunting and its literary origins to a particular cultural mechanism that constructs and maps Gothic regions, namely the travel guidebook. Historically, as Elizabeth McKellar argues, along with “maps, topographical prints and other literature” guidebooks have been one of the ways in which a new spatiality of London has been represented and produced (346). Guidebooks are an important conduit of heritage dissemination and are vital tools of place-making. As such, my central concern in this chapter is how these haunted guidebooks, that is, guidebooks focused on mapping the supernatural, define, map, and curate haunted space. This often-neglected subgenre of guidebooks maps and produces what I term ‘Haunted London,’ a particular Gothic geography constructed from, and practiced through, London’s ghost stories. I argue that the process of disseminating regional supernatural narratives, the various forms of guidebooks, be they gazetteers of ghost stories, topographical surveys of ghostly places, or haunted guidebooks proper, function to codify a haunted geography and create a strong association between certain material sites and specific narratives of haunting.

This chapter examines three different examples of haunted guidebooks from the nineteenth century to the present day in order to exemplify the diverse and multivalent properties of the guidebook subgenre. The first part of the chapter

centres on the texts, the features and content. The first case study text, John Ingram's *Haunted Homes of Great Britain* (1883-4), identifies how the early haunted guidebook structures, maps and curates haunted space through its collection of ghost stories. Here, the intent is to illustrate Ingram's role as a cartographer and his process of map-making to create an association of haunting. The creation of a Gothic association is only one aspect of the haunted guidebook. Drawing on Xavier Aldana Reyes's Gothic Affect paradigm, my analysis of Charles G. Harper's *Haunted Houses: Tales of the Supernatural with Some Account of Hereditary Curses and Family Legends* (1907) shifts its focus to consider the guidebook's production of affect in its readers with the use of literary conventions and evocative sensory language. The purpose is to demonstrate how the guidebook is not a purely didactic text but also a text of inspiration that, like literature, grants a proxy experience of haunted locations.

The final section of the chapter draws crucial attention to the function of the guidebook *in situ*. Certain guidebooks when used *in situ* prompt a sensory experience of haunted space for its readers. As a polysensory condition of space, haunting and its associated tropes and traits provide both a cognitive and sensory experience. So as to account for and recognise the role of the body and the senses in the performance and embodiment of haunted space when practicing ghost tourism, this chapter draws on Paul Rodaway's "sensuous geographies" in conjunction with Xavier Aldana Reyes's affective approach to the Gothic to analyse a case-study: a self-guided walking tour using Richard Jones' *Walking Haunted London: 25 Original Walks Exploring London's Ghostly Past* (2009). As the interaction between the tourist, material environment, and the haunted guidebook is entirely subjective, this portion of the chapter is a critical reflection of my own

experience and corporeal reactions to using the guidebook for its intended purpose: to transport me to 'Haunted London'. The focus of this case study is to expose the relationship between the material environment and the guidebook in the creation of Gothic place. As Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen argue, "the travel guidebook necessitates that both text and use be taken into account," which requires the critic to move beyond the physical artifact and analyse its practice (15). Although using the guidebook while actively on a tour is a core reading practice, this aspect the guidebook's use is often neglected by scholarship (Peel and Sørensen 111). In doing so, I explore how the guidebook functions to demarcate this expansive and invisible region and prompt the performance of haunted space.

This chapter offers the first focused exploration of the haunted guidebook, a genre that has made an invaluable contribution to our comprehension and performance of haunted space. The guidebook, in various forms, has been a recognisable genre for eighteen centuries, its origins tracing back to Antiquity (Parsons xvi). Despite their ubiquity and longevity, Scott Laderman, like other critics, finds it "startling" how little scholarship there is on the important cultural artefact (ch 23). The significant gap in guidebook scholarship extends to haunted guidebooks and the genre remains neglected by scholars. Michele Hanks emphasises the importance of the haunted guidebook but only includes brief commentary on the guidebook proper in her review of travel literature, giving greater focus to other forms of paranormal media, namely the influence of television shows such as *Most Haunted* (34-58). Other scholars incorporate guidebooks in their wider discussion on ghosts in popular culture and practice. In his short piece, "Ghost Walking," Scott Brewster's examination of J.J. Hissey's *Untravelled England* (1906) speaks to the important role that guidebooks have played in preserving rural England's ghost lore

to protect certain idyllic associations during the perceived annihilation of rural space by “steam, petrol, and electricity” (qtd in Brewster 315). The important heritage and tourism function that ghosts played is encoded through the guidebooks. With a focus on guidebooks produced in the twentieth century, Susan Owens presents a brief but insightful analysis of the connection between the rise in travel, tourism, and heritage. However, like Hanks, the guidebook is just one small component of her larger analysis of the cultural history of ghosts (254-57). Emma McEvoy, meanwhile, draws on John Ingram’s *Haunted Homes of Great Britain*, my first case study haunted guidebook, in her analysis of Berry Pomeroy castle but mentions the text in passing (153-54). The field of Gothic tourism and travel must grant tourism literature such as the haunted guidebook due consideration. Haunted guidebooks complement and exist equally alongside literary texts that encourage tourism of imagined geographies. Before moving to the case study texts, it is necessary to define the critical scope of guidebooks and their negotiation of Gothic space.

Haunted Guidebooks: Negotiating Real & Imagined Spaces

When a house, or any building or location, is ‘marked’ as haunted, how the imagining subject conceptualises, perceives, and performs that place is altered. Introducing his chapter on haunted houses in his unique piece *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (1852), Charles Mackay describes the rise in haunted locations, noting that “there are hundreds of such [haunted] houses in England in the present day...which are *marked* with the mark of fear—places for the timid to avoid, and the pious to bless themselves at, and ask protection from, as they pass—the abodes of ghosts and evil spirits” (593; emphasis added). According to Mackay, what makes a site haunted derives from the changed relationship between

the imagining subject and that space. While the implications of a property being accidentally 'marked' have been addressed in the previous chapter, the mechanisms and texts that deliberately mediate how the city can be conceptualised, imagined, and performed, that 'mark sites with the mark of fear', or rather, as haunted, deserve more scholarly attention.

Mackay's use of the word 'marked' to describe the recognition of a site as haunted carries parallels in modern tourism theory. Dean MacCannell, in his landmark study *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1973 [1999]), utilises similar terminology to identify the processes by which sites become recognisable locations of importance for the tourist. According to MacCannell, a 'marker' is the information or representation that establishes visibility. He extends his term beyond information attached to, or posted alongside, the physical tourist site to include "that found in travel guidebooks, museum guides, stories told by persons who have visited it" and so forth (110). To account for the breadth of potential markers, MacCannell delineates between two types as "on-site" and "off-site" (111). However, MacCannell's separation presents an uncomplicated model that does not account for markers that exist in-between the two designations. The guidebook, as a form of portable information that is to be read in several different contexts, can serve as both an on-site and an off-site marker (Dobraszcyk 123). It can be read before a trip to plan a tourist's travels, and crucially, it is a text to be used on-site to "navigate unfamiliar environments" and learn about the specific sites (Dobraszcyk 123). Its use in each context changes the relationship between the text and the reader. As ghostly sight-seeing is an immaterial and imaginative practice, codified and standardised itineraries of ghost tourism are dependent on markers like haunted guidebooks to 'mark' the destinations. As an off-site marker, the guidebook informs

the tourist of *where* the ghosts are. When used as an on-sight marker, the guidebooks additionally reveal *how* we are to 'see', sense, and experience haunting.² In essence, guidebooks mark not just "*what ought to be seen*" but how the place in question *ought to be haunted*.³

Despite its rich imaginative potential, scholarship on the travel guidebook has traditionally buttressed a condescending view of guidebooks. Guidebooks were viewed as no more than a debased form of more sophisticated travel literature, criticised as being superficial and formulaic (Koshar 324). The most famous denunciation of the genre derives from Roland Barthes' critique of the *Guide Bleu* to Spain in his *Mythologies* (1972) (Peel and Sørensen 2). In his harsh critiques of the tourism guidebook, Barthes presents the travel genre as a purely superficial form driven by a bourgeois interest in monument tourism and vehemently differentiates the figure of the tourist from the archetypal, and I argue overly romanticised, figure of the traveller who savours the landscape that is "*real and which exists in time*" (76). He criticises the avoidance of landscapes and peoples, that which is "constantly in the process of vanishing," and suggests that guidebooks reduce rich cultural landscapes to the artificiality of monuments. His statement declaring guidebooks as "the very opposite of what it advertises, an agent of blindness" perpetuated a semiological methodology of tourism (76).⁴ This critical stance is typified by the traditional idea of mass tourism as a performative visitation of a 'checklist' of signified sites dictated as suitable and instructive to cultural value and taste. Yet, a purely semiotic reading overdetermines the response by the tourist and positions tourists as passive receptacles for cultural instruction.

Haunted guidebooks, as a guidebook subgenre based on strong literary conventions and evocative storytelling, must be viewed not as strictly didactic texts

but as “agents of inspiration” (Parsons xv). To resume the critical stance that positions the guidebook as “an arbiter of a destructive mass tourism” neglects the rich imaginative potential of guidebooks that intersect with popular culture and literary imaginaries (Peel and Sørensen 3). I hold serious reservations about this generalised and dismissive standpoint as it reduces and/or eliminates the nuances of the genre that develop interesting and niche tourist practices. All guidebooks are viewed in the same light as a Baedeker or Murray guidebooks, despite being only a fraction of the guides produced since the nineteenth century. David Gilbert too shares my reservations towards this scholarly approach because, he argues, it overdetermines its role in developing a “tourist gaze” and “underplays the diversity and nuances in the genre that make it a fascinating genre of travel writing” (283). The notion of the tourism guidebook as ‘an agent of blindness’ is an unbecoming criterion for those texts responsible for mapping the immaterial and unseen. Instead, Avery Gordon’s definition of haunting as the moment when “what is in one’s blind spot comes into view” aptly represents the role of haunted guidebooks and is a fitting rebuttal to Barthes (xvi). The ubiquitous nature of haunting renders haunted spaces chaotic, their boundaries, borders, and spaces as fluid reconfigurations. Instilling the geography of haunted space is necessary in order to produce visible landscapes to visit and explore. Haunted guidebooks are not ‘agents of blindness’ but rather agents of the Gothic imagination that map and encode certain landmarks as sites of haunting in a structured format. One is ‘blind’ to ghosts if one is unaware of how to perceive their material environments to register the space as a Gothic place. Ruth Heholt grapples with the same issue, and poses to her readers the question, “Can a landscape be haunted without a witness or someone there to recognise the fact that it is haunted?” Haunting requires an imagining subject, or the Gothic tourist, an

“outside, interpretive presence” to render a place haunted (Heholt, “Introduction” 5). Haunted guidebooks enable the Gothic tourist to recognise the fact that a place is haunted, a necessary step in touring everyday spaces as haunted places.

While a large component of spatial discourse attempts to delineate between binary models of ‘real’ and ‘imagined’, it is more accurate to understand the ruptures of the Gothic in the material environment as a negotiation and mediation of intertextual perception. The world we live in is conceived through association, knowledge, and perception that inescapably is tutored by literary and cultural production. Gothic tourism, as a fictive mode practiced through material space, assists in deconstructing the bifurcated model of space. The performance of tourist spaces is a combination of the material and the metaphorical wherein the material is “felt” but apprehended imaginatively, “in a series and combinations of signs” (Crouch 208). Haunted guidebooks deploy literary Gothic conventions and narratives to create porous worlds where “the supernatural constantly bleeds into the natural” (Yang and Healey 3). This porous Gothic world, irrupting through spatial practice, is where Haunted London exists.

In the practice of Gothic tourism, the Gothic tourist, through their imaginative negotiation and intertextual perceptions, usurps the landscape and modifies their experience of their material environment as Gothic and haunted. When using a haunted guidebook, the text helps prompt this imaginative process through a series of haunted suggestions, thus encoding material space in a particular way. Owen Davies argues that the tourism industry packages its haunted experiences by “creating a synergy between visitor, place and ghost” (64). While Davies attributes this practice to the twentieth-century tourism industry, there were nineteenth-century texts already at work connecting potential tourists with haunted destinations.⁵ The

ghost, as E.J. Clery has argued, has long since been “caught up in the machine of production” and made available to be “processed, reproduced, packaged, marketed and distributed by the engines of cultural production” (17). The packaging of ghost stories in guidebooks brought popular hauntings of social circles, communities, districts and/or regions to a broader readership. Michele Hanks cites Harriet Martineau’s *A Complete Guide to the English Lakes* (1858)—a guide which incorporates stories of several haunted locations and businesses in the region—as an early text illustrating the integration of supernatural narratives into nineteenth-century guidebooks (36). In the nineteenth century, ghosts began to be included in travel itineraries, and it is important to acknowledge that London too became a focus for the introductory mapping of the supernatural. For example, Augustus J.C. Hare, in his two-volume collection of excursions around the city entitled *Walks in London* (1878), interposes ghost stories into the everyday spaces of the city.⁶ In his textual perambulations across London, amidst historical discussion and directories of former inhabitants Hare includes the stories of The Cock Lane Ghost Affair, the ghost of Parson Ford at the *Old Hummums* Tavern, the “Tower Ghost Story,” the apparition of Madame de Beauclair, the haunting at Bisham Abbey, the haunting of Westminster Abbey, and the sensational 50 Berkeley Square. These texts serve as precursors to the production of fully dedicated haunted guidebooks.

Ghost guidebooks became established earlier than is often recognised. Susan Owens, in her brief discussion on the rise of the haunted guidebook in the mid-twentieth century, remarks that “as people began to make more frequent excursions by car, a demand grew for practical information about particular places and houses that were reputedly haunted: the ghost gazetteer was born” (256). While the rise of the ghost gazetteer, a geographical directory of ghosts, certainly became prolific in

the mid-twentieth century, this stance ignores the role of nineteenth-century guidebooks as a precedent to the modern ghost survey or gazetteer. The reported traits that defined these modern ghost guides include a geographically organised text, the inclusion of personal accounts to deliver proxy experiences to haunted places that cannot be visited by the readers, and the use of illustration to enhance the readers' sense that they too are "standing in front of the forbidden façade of a building" are all founded in earlier haunted guidebooks (Owens 256-57).⁷ The first two examples that follow, a nineteenth and earlier twentieth century haunted guidebook, revise the chronology that situates the ghost guidebook as a product of the mid-twentieth century.

"A Guide to Ghostland": John Ingram's Early Haunted Guidebook

English biographer John Ingram's much forgotten but once exceedingly popular supernatural survey *The Haunted Homes and Family Traditions of Great Britain* (1883-4) marks itself as Britain's first haunted guidebook.⁸ The book is a collection of harrowing haunted tales of ghastly halls, possessed taverns, and an abundance of castles across Britain brimming with wandering apparitions. The stories are collated from a series of textual sources such as Catherine Crowe's *The Night-Side of Nature, Accredited Ghost Stories* (1823) compiled by T.M. Jarvis Esq., and "those noblemen and gentleman who have aided the work by their friendly information" (vii [1897]). The book is a compendium of stories and an informal archive of haunted sites and their fiction origins. It is a book of stories about stories. The rich referential material within the work emphasises the literariness of its status as a haunted guidebook.

Ingram's work sets a precedent for the advent of contemporary haunted guidebooks. In his *A Gazetteer of British Ghosts* (1971), Peter Underwood declared that his "reference book and guide to ghost-hunting", providing an alphabetical list of haunted places, is "something that has never been attempted on this scale" (10). Underwood's robust work on the supernatural is commendable, but his statement ignores Ingram's effort nearly a century earlier. Ingram is straightforward with his intent: present the true sites of ghost stories in order to remove confusion and rectify the common misappropriation of ghosts (v [1897]). In the preface to the first series (and included in subsequent complete collections) Ingram proclaims himself to be the pioneering cartographer of Britain's haunted houses:

This collection of strange stories and weird traditions has not been compiled with a view of creating *un frisson nouveau*, but to serve as a guide to the geography of Ghostland—a handbook to the Haunted Homes of Great Britain. Many historic tales of apparitions and supernaturally disturbed dwellings are imbedded in British literature; are frequently alluded to in journalistic and other publications, and are known to everybody by name, but by name only. Most people have heard of 'The Demon of Tedworth', 'The Lord Lyttleton Ghost Story', and other celebrated narratives of the *uncanny* kind, but it is rare to find anyone able to furnish particulars of them: to enable them to do this is the *raison d'être* of this work. (v [1897])

Ingram's preface narrows in on the central issue of ghost stories by highlighting how ghosts are seemingly ubiquitous in literature and culture but difficult actually to locate, even those "celebrated narratives of the *uncanny*" (Ingram v [1897]). There is a reoccurring argument concerning the inherent situatedness of ghosts and ghost stories, but as Ingram has identified, even the most popular stories remain placeless.

As we uncovered in Chapter One, the location of ghost stories can be displaced and reconfigured depending on the associations and suppositions made by the readers. Moreover, authors of ghost stories deploy strategic conventions and techniques intentionally to veil the ‘true’ locations of haunting. Conversely, haunted guidebooks seek to lift the veil that shrouds the identity of such places by compiling a variety of haunted narratives clearly to disclose a precise destination of ghostly happenings. *The Saturday Review* (1883) labels the two-volume work as a “Spiritual Directory” (qtd in Killeen 53). The diction used is telling: “directory” describes “something that serves to direct; a guide” especially “a book of rules or directions” (“Directory,” def. N1). *Haunted Homes* fits this description as a text that directs readers’ attention and guides them to the specific homes of famous haunts. Ingram formulates a literary collage of textual haunting that even bridges unseen gaps between our material world and the textual haunted space.

Ingram’s success in suturing popular hauntings to their site of origin did not come without certain obstacles or difficulties. Ghosts in the nineteenth century may have been entangled in popular culture, entertainment, and spectacle, but the public harboured great reservations about disclosing the haunted status of their own homes. Ingram, faced with the daunting task of amassing ghost stories for this collection, laments this great difficulty:

Particulars of the manner of haunting are generally difficult to obtain: nearly every ancient castle, or time-worn hall, bears the reputation of being thus troubled, but in a very large majority of such cases no evidence is forthcoming—not even the ghost of a tradition! Guide-books, topographical works, even the loquacious custodian—where there is one—of the building,

fail to furnish any details; were it otherwise, instead of one modest volume a many-tomed cyclopedia would be necessary [*sic*]. (Ingram vi-vii [1897])

Ingram's work fills in the geographical knowledge "Guide-books, topographical works, and the loquacious custodian" failed to detail. Certainly, texts did exist at the time of publication, such as Martineau's and Hare's, that did furnish some of these ghostly details, but these are niche examples. For Ingram, it seems, the absence of the vast array of hauntings that could make up a "many-tomed cyclopedia" in core tourism literature speaks to a wider issue of knowing haunted places across Great Britain. Undisclosed knowledge of haunted sites presents a significant obstacle for the ghost tourist, and Ingram rectifies this gap. Visibility is an essential precept of tourism. Haunted places often have little visual prominence and require literature and popular culture more broadly, in its many forms, to grant access to the hidden experiences within the landscape (Tuan, *Space and Place* 162).⁹ Ingram's work is therefore a critical historical artefact that sustains and encourages interest and place-recognition to haunted sites that would otherwise remain indistinguishable. To understand how Ingram's work grants access to haunted space, it is useful to draw on Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guatarri's paradigm of "smooth" and "striated" space.¹⁰

In their widely cited work *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987), Deleuze and Guatarri use a number of different models, such as a music, "maritime" and mathematical models, to interrogate and explore the fluidity between notions of space and place. Their textile analogy, as part of their technological model, that compares embroidery and the patchwork quilt succinctly clarifies the distinction between both spatial forms and is illustrative of the process that sees the transformation of everyday spaces into Gothic *topoi*. "Smooth space" resembles the traditional patchwork quilt, "an amorphous collection of juxtaposed pieces that can

be joined together in an infinite number of ways” (Deleuze and Guattari 554). A patchwork quilt is a compilation of the same basic elements, and each constituent part provides different textures (Deleuze and Guattari 554). Without a focused reading strategy, the eye does not pause on any specific constituent, nor can the space be particularised by a significant quality. This is the condition of haunted spaces, the mundane and everyday passed thousands of times without recognition until the association is set in place.

“Striated space”, by contrast, is alternatively analogised as embroidery “with its central theme or motif: that patterns space in a particular way” (Deleuze and Guattari 554). In pioneering a guidebook to Ghostland, Ingram offers a necessary theme to permit haunted geography to be legible as striated space, which effectively creates place. If smooth space is that which is undifferentiated, a collection of infinite textures and that without a defined coherence then striated space offers the necessary ‘pause’ of the eye that is necessary, as Yi-Fu Tuan remarks, to create place (*Space and Place* 6). It is the instance of a recognisable structure of signs, the moment when the imagining subject’s interpretation and perception find coherence. It is necessary to remember that while each form may be distinct, they are fluid and “only ever exist in mixture:” smooth is constantly traversed and translated into striated and striated is reversed and returned to its smooth condition (Deleuze and Guattari 552). Ingram’s guidebook embroiders the landscape of Great Britain with a Gothic pattern that grants a particular spatial knowledge, moments of ‘pause’ whenever readers open his book and travel its geography, whether imaginatively or *in situ*.

The guidebook is a complex apparatus that informs systematically the geography and topographical knowledge of a specific place. By cataloguing a

selection of ghost stories organised by location John Ingram constructs a map for his readers. The map, in this instance, is, as Franco Moretti suggests, “a connection made visible” (3). Ingram’s maps make visible the connection between certain landmarks and places and their ghostly reputation. Although no conventional pictorial map is included in Ingram’s early haunted guidebook, the geography is mapped through its various stories in conjunction with their typographic organisation. According to Robert Tally Jr., writing, and in this case editing a collection of spatialised stories, share similarities with mapping and cartographic activities as the writer or editor “must survey, determining which features of a given landscape to include, to emphasise, or to diminish.” In so doing, they are responsible for the geographic scale and shape, and its relationship to the material and the extraliterary world (45). Building textual places is a practice of refashioning that borrows, remodels, or reinvents terrain, regions, and landmarks. As a cartographer of haunted space, Ingram simultaneously creates and represents the territories as he maps them (Tally Jr. 559). *Haunted Homes* consists of a stylistically diverse range of stories that, at the very least, attach a fragment of haunted knowledge to a landmark and arranges space with a specific perception, knowledge, and scope.

Playing the role of a cartographer, Ingram’s work, like that of many mapmakers, bears traces of his personal biases and proclivities. He designates himself as an editor, a distance figure compared to the author or contributor of the specific stories, but he is equally if not more involved in the shaping and framing of the haunted geography mapped by the text.¹¹ Take for example his discussion on the editorial process included in his second series in which he describes his considerations when creating his guidebook:

Unfortunately, only a small proportion of the stories communicated to me can be given: many are too fragmentary; some too uninteresting; others refer too directly to living persons; whilst in several instances, owners of “Haunted Homes” object strongly to the publication of circumstances which so distinguish their dwellings, or their families, from those of their more commonplace neighbours. (Ingram vii [1884])

He is the ultimate authority in deciding what is included and excluded. Some of the selected stories are curated by taste, so those “too uninteresting” are excluded, or some are removed to appease his desire for a complete, unfragmented narrative. Ingram’s cartography must also adapt to certain limitations out of his control, those stories where the owners object to publication. In essence, the map is not an endless inventory of sites, but a collection of carefully curated and selected stories of haunting to particularise a haunted map that can be read and distributed to the public. The text, created through a combination of narrative and paratexts, maps the borders, regions, and frontiers of Ingram’s haunted space of Great Britain and brings select haunted homes into view. The power to make these choices also positions Ingram as a sort of gatekeeper of ghost tales, deciding what stories are allowed to be preserved in print.

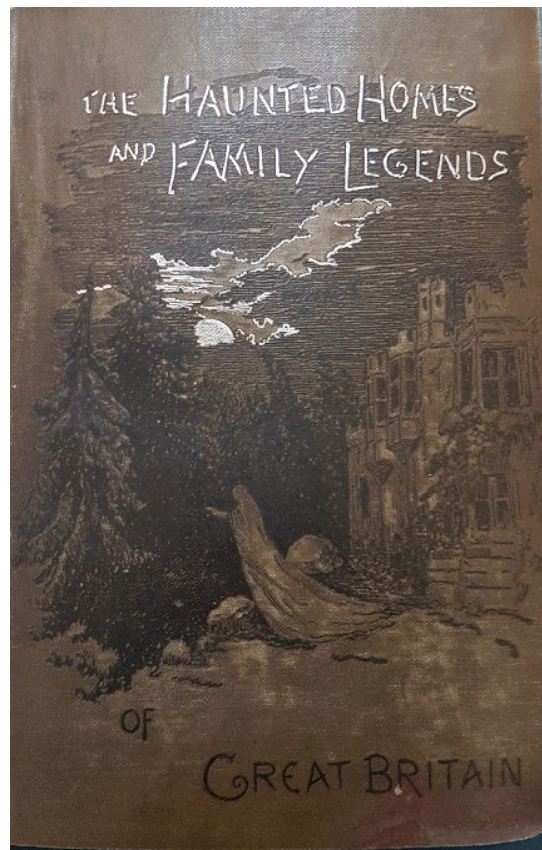


Fig. 4. Anonymous, Front Cover of *Haunted Homes and Family Legends of Great Britain*, 1884.

Imposing the regional scope of the text is not achieved solely through the book's content but also its paratexts and the ways in which the book as object is aesthetically presented. The imagery adorning the front cover draws on familiar and recursive imagery and motifs of haunting in the English ghost story tradition: the crumbling manor, the shrouded ghostly figure wandering under the glow of the moonlight, and the ominous expanding dark forests. The use of the image invites an intertextual reading and reinforces the iconographical representation of haunted space. By being a product and producer of this Gothic imagery, *Haunted Homes* visually demarcates the precise geography for the reader as belonging to the British tradition. This visualisation rhetoric of haunting is culturally determined. Even if the title were absent from the front cover, the culturally competent reader could

remains for many ghost gazetteers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Ingram attempts to reverse how his readers engage with ghosts by geographically contextualising the stories. Rather than understanding ghosts by their name, Ingram resignifies the knowledge of the selected ghosts to their location. The book's layout also allows for its readers to return to the book and to read the text like a guide or reference text potentially before or during a visit to a chosen landmark mentioned in the text. An examination of the pagination supports the deliberate referencing strategy. Titles are listed not in chronological order but alphabetised or clustered by major cities. This structure allows for intermittent and non-linear reading, a common feature in guidebooks more broadly. Titling each story with a place name, Ingram forges the synergy between place, ghost, and reader, and begins to stitch the pattern for striated space.

The arrangement of short stories by major cities, rather than subject or affect, is particularly crucial. Any conclusions on the reason are speculative, but it evidences an intention to create an itinerary for two cities of booming tourism interest: Edinburgh and London. This typographic choice pre-empts the now almost standard approach in modern haunted guidebooks to present city-based itineraries for ghost tourism. Unlike the haunted guidebooks of today, London's locations of private dwellings in the text remain relatively inconspicuous. Paradoxically, as in the literary ghost story, residential properties are explicitly obscured. One might question why Ingram appears to undermine his overall agenda to restore place-ness to the ghost story. No answer can be concrete, but I contend that, as mentioned in Chapter One, this was a strategy to avoid any legal ramifications for advertising certain residential properties as haunted. Moreover, given that his work draws on other sources, their techniques of concealment may have been difficult to undo.

Knowing the location of ghosts serves little purpose if the circumstances of the haunting are unknown. While the structure and organisation of the book creates an emphasis on place, it is each narrative entry that is responsible for disseminating the knowledge of the ghosts in order to imbue each place with an association of haunting. *Haunted Homes* is a mixture of apparition narratives and vivid, sensational ghost stories. Many of the stories contain very few spatial features and focus on the details of the phantom. For example, the entry for the once fashionable Argyle Rooms recounts an apparition narrative recorded in Thomas Raikes' diary on 26 December 1832. What is described is the curious incident and authenticated case of second sight of Miss M—: who, on arrival at the concert rooms was "terrified by a horrible vision." She witnessed "a naked corpse [that] was lying on the floor at her feet; features of the face were partly covered by a cloth mantle;" the corpse, identified as Sir J— Y— appeared the same night he tragically drowned in Southampton River (Ingram 138-39 [1897]). The story is a direct and lengthy quotation from the original source text and maintains the omitted names, focusing much more on dialogue and description of the apparition than on the location in which it occurs. Raikes's evasive writing style gives his readers veiled information on the ghostly return. Few architectural or spatial details are given in the story and the narrative concentrates on the disruptive moment of second sight. Titling the story "London: Argyle Rooms" imparts a spatial supplement to amend the absence of place description. While it does not change the narrative sequence, it allows those aware of the site to converge their architectural knowledge with the contents of Raikes's narrative to engage in a sort of imaginative re-enactment.

Some stories offered in the text do foreground the interior setting of the narrative. The Tower of London section, for example, details a supernatural

encounter in 1817 that was mentioned in *Notes and Queries* in 1860, originally published by Edmund Lenthal Swifte, Keeper of the Crown Jewels. Included is the highly evocative spatial language that forms a distinct image of the haunted space. The opening description of the room of supernatural phenomena reads as follows:

The room was—as it still is—irregularly shaped, having three doors and two windows, which last are cut nearly nine feet deep into the outer wall; between these is a chimney-piece, projecting far into the room, and (then) surmounted with a large oil-painting. On the night in question the doors were all closed, heavy and dark cloth curtains were let down over the windows, and the only light in the room was that of two candles on the table... (Ingram 153 [1897])

Swifte's narrative style echoes the same practice of methodical descriptions used by writers such as Edward Bulwer Lytton. Readers are given a thoroughgoing description of the room where a haunting has taken place. If the story furnishes the interior of the edifice, the title constructs the exterior. Effectively, in the case of this story, the early haunted guidebook offers the reader an opportunity to perform the text as an armchair tourist. Narrative content serves as a powerful inspiration for the imagination and offers the possibility for the imagining subject and/or ghost tourist to conjure a mental map of haunted landmarks around Great Britain. Navigating the text from place to place, readers embark on textual journeys to tour the geography of Ghostland.

The inclusion of seventeen illustrations in the complete edition of various castles and ancestral homes informs the architectural imaginary for the reading body.¹² The addition of a visual image in conjunction with the narrative parallels the techniques used by Thomas Hood in his illustrated poem included at the beginning

of Chapter One. Aligning an image with a story directs the gaze of the reader to that place. If much of early Gothic associationism is contrived through textual



Fig. 6. John Ingram, *Lowther Hall (South Front)*, 1897

architecture, as discussed in the previous chapter, the use of images in haunted guidebooks is to enforce an unvaried interpretation. For certain places, the text provides the architectural features which the reader can imaginatively furnish through the information found in the ghost tales.¹³ As such, layers of spatial awareness can be fostered within the imagining subject. As is noticeable in the image above (fig. 6), these sites are reminiscent of the Gothic imagery of castles to be found in the eighteenth century and then re-imagined in nineteenth-century Gothic novels and short stories. Maps as geographical knowledge are susceptible to dislocation and resignification, being modified by the attachment of a haunted story; therefore, Ingram is nurturing the cognition of one's region as a haunted place.

The collection attempts to harness the evocative power of the ghost story and promote imaginative journeys through the textual spaces. By narrowing his scope to

haunted buildings, Ingram builds on the established aesthetics of associationism and engages in rich intertextual discourse with Gothic *topoi*. Referencing a physical referent secures an unambiguous edifice to house the Gothic tale. However, the book's intent to provoke and inspire the imagination is not to liberate the mind to an endless and spontaneous association but rather to rein its scope in and to tether it to a specific site.

“To Interest and Amuse:” Charles G. Harper’s Haunted Topography

Following in the wake of Ingram’s successful work, English topographical surveyor and guidebook writer Charles G. Harper wrote a self-illustrated guide to the supernatural entitled *Haunted Houses: With Some Account of Hereditary Curses and Family Legends* (1907). In a similar vein to Ingram, the work is a collection of ghost stories and topographical illustrations to present a survey of ‘Haunted Britain’. Rather than being a dedicated geographical project, Harper’s work invests a greater sense of play and evocative storytelling methods because it intends to be “merely an attempt to interest and amuse” (vii). Nonetheless, there are still strong spatial elements that, in turn, present the work as an early example of a sustained topographical survey themed on the supernatural and family curses and a guide to haunted space.

The collection and mapping of ‘Haunted Britain,’ as already highlighted by Ingram, is an unfinished and ongoing task. Harper too signposts the incompleteness of his work:

A book that should give an account of all alleged Haunted Houses and Family Curses would of necessity be a work in many volumes. In these pages will be

found a representative selection: *the houses that are no longer in existence, such as Hinton Ampner manor-house, being generally omitted*. The stories range through every emotion, from tragedy, through comedy, to farce; and from the well authenticated to the absolutely denied. (6; emphasis added)

The omissions of houses long absent are representative of the guidebook's relationship to their respective depicted landscapes. This small but significant detail reveals the intended use of the text as a form of travel guide to assist the readers to navigate haunted space in their imaginations and material environments as it exists at that moment in time. Guidebooks as a topographical map for tourist purposes must resemble the physical landscape to a high degree to be effective beyond imaginative armchair travel. This is certainly the case for haunted guidebooks, wherein mapping the immaterial can be less onerous if consolidated to a series of physical sites. Guidebooks and their writers have the power to morph the geography and topography of haunted space through the process of what I term 'active amnesia', whereby the deliberate omission of certain places can remove the association from cultural knowledge—a term taken up again in Chapter Three. It is clear that as a topographical survey of haunted places, the haunted sites listed, from the authenticated to the readily denied, are a reflection of his personal travels to sites that remain imprinted on the material landscape.

The varied typographical features of the text present it more as an intermediary between a travel-writing book and a conventional mass-produced guidebook with a place-based directory. The paratexts of Harper's work echo Ingram's guidebook, listing stories based on their place names and the inclusion of topographical images, often the creation of Harper himself. Whereas the table of contents in *Haunted Homes* presents an alphabetised list, a quality found in

guidebooks produced by Murray and Baedeker, *Haunted Houses* is divided into chapters listed by clustered sites which may or may not have a geographical

CONTENTS		PAGE
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Fig. 7. Charles G. Harper, Table of Contents in, 1907

connection but can be thematically similar (fig. 7). However, as the stories remain identifiable through their specific place names, the book can still be read in a non-linear sequence based on sites of interest, thus suggesting the text can be used as a travel guide rather than just an anthology of stories. Readers can select what sights and/or sections capture their interest to read first. The epigraphs of each chapter list the sequence of stories to be recounted, echoing the paratextual practices of other nineteenth-century travel-writing literature. By clustering a collection of stories, Harper sets a textual itinerary for his reader's literary journey.



THE HAUNTED GALLERY, HAMPTON COURT.

Fig. 8. Charles G. Harper, *The Haunted Gallery, Hampton Court*, sketch, 1907

To excite his readers on their textual journey across a topography of haunted Britain, Harper makes a deliberate effort to modify the reader's perception of mundane smooth space to a haunted, striated place through a focus on sensory perception and affect. Using a combination of sourced stories and first-hand accounts of his visit to places, he wields evocative writing to engross his readers in his stories. This is a stylistic choice that can have a significant impact on constructing readers' associations and connections with a place's Gothic imagination. A prominent example of this place-writing strategy is his sketch of Katherine Howard's ghost at Hampton Court Palace, a site whose ghostly heritage I will examine in depth in Chapter Three. What is pivotal to point out now is how Harper presents a calculated and sensory-charged narrative style in his guide. In his entry on Hampton Court, he highlights the moment of terror as he recounts his "midnight assignation" to the Haunted Gallery with Hampton Court historian and guide-writer Ernst Law, "in quest of experiences" (19):

Our footsteps clanked loudly on the stones, and awoke a thousand hollow echoes in the midnight stillness. Dark rain-clouds had veiled the moon, and began to pour down a steady drizzle, which patterned drearily on the ground. A slight fitful breeze moaned weirdly down the long corridors. Our surroundings were certainly such as to inspire one with gruesome feelings. Tall and gaunt, the massive towers and gables stood out against the chequered sky and threw gloomy uncertain shadows about us. Not another soul did we meet. The exaggerated noise of a scrap of paper caught by a sudden gust and hurtling along the stone flags startled us both....the drip, drip, of the rain and the sighing of the wind only intensified the oppressive silence (19).

Harper's evocative and multisensory description invites the reader into an immersive textual space that is the ideal Gothic scene of haunting. Harper takes descriptive inspiration, it would seem, directly from Gothic novels and/or the literary ghost story. From the unnerving dripping sounds of the rain to the weird moan of the "fitful breeze" through the corridor, Harper chooses to map a topography of sensory stimuli linked directly with Gothic literary scenes and literary haunted places that transmogrify Hampton Court into a potentially haunted place. Upon close inspection of Harper's scene in Hampton Court, the description does little to record the historical and architectural features of the building except to emphasise its Gothic spectacle. Instead, the description's value resides in its sensory account of the space. Harper maps the polysensory condition of haunting onto the gallery. To borrow from John Urry and Jonas Larsen, it is a writerly act that develops an expectation—or, rather, a vital 'anticipation'—of its spatial conditions (4); therefore, *Haunted Houses* not only offers its readers the ability to visit the haunted place as

armchair Gothic tourists but also entrenches a sensory anticipation and constructs a spectral spatial imaginary. If haunted guidebooks present a proxy experience to tourist sites, as Susan Owens suggests, Harper's vivid sensory cues and accompanying sketch of the foreboding corridor of the Haunted Gallery (fig. 8) afford the reader a dynamic and affective imaginary journey to the heritage site. Reading the guidebook as an "off-site" marker before visiting Hampton Court Palace can strengthen the tourists' engagement with the Haunted Gallery *in situ*.

Harper continues to document his sensory experience as he and Law move further through the historic pile on the way to the Haunted Gallery, a place within the castle where, Law tells Harper, the ghost of one of Henry VIII's wives "Katherine Howard is supposed to prowl about, shrieking, on nights such as this" (20). Walking through heavy doors that groaned on its hinges and shut "with a mighty bang that went echoing and re-echoing down the interminable dusky galleries," sending "a shiver through one's marrow," they ventured through the "inky dark" palace until they reached the Haunted Gallery (20). It was in this gallery, with the eyes of "strange Dutch faces" fixed on them, and the tenacious sounds of the "drip, drip" of the rain and the "sw-ough, s-s-sweigh," of the moaning wind where Law begins to tell his ghost stories (21). Harper recounts for his readers his slippage between the imaginary tales and his sensory experience of his physical environment:

Mr. Law's voice, drowned in its own echoes, continued the narration of the spectre legends. Suddenly, above the sound of the rain and wind, there came to our ears a long low moan, which rose and fell. Law stopped abruptly. We started to our feet. The moan was succeeded by another—louder, more prolonged, more agonising. It grew in intensity, rose to a hideous shriek, then gradually died away again to a low wailing groan. Shriek followed shriek, shrill

and loud—human, horribly human, as if of a woman in torture, yet unearthly and gruesome. My blood ran cold. The sounds grew nearer and more awful. Then distinctly we heard footsteps, slow, uncertain, and shuffling. They approached. The shrieks sounded close at hand. A clanking jingling sound, like rattling chains, jarred our ears at each footfall. We heard the door at the far end of the gallery grate back upon its hinges, and a strange glow of a light in the doorway revealed a bowed figure, as a shriek more piercing than the rest made us both start. (21-22)

The description harkens back to Vidler's "architectural uncanny" wherein the reader's textual experience of Hampton Court is depicted through Harper's Gothic imagination.

Harper's climatic scene ends with the supernatural explained. The shrieking noise comes from "them infarnal cats" and the bowed figure is merely the old night watchman (Harper 22). But the resolution that determines the natural causation for the presumed supernatural does not detract from its persuasiveness over Harper's imagination. Moments of sensory experience become distorted and frightening: the shriek of a cat, for instance, becomes "human, horribly human" (Harper 21-22). In this instance of Gothic spectacle, Harper mirrors Jane Austen's Catherine Morland from *Northanger Abbey* (1817) and is imaginatively trapped in a real-and-imagined haunted place. It is clear that by drawing on expressive literary Gothic architectural imaginary writing conventions, the storytelling practices within the text attempt to inspire the same "gruesome feelings" that Harper felt while he apprehensively toured through Hampton Court's halls.

Harper's somatic response illustrates the power of telling ghost stories *in situ* on haunted tours and captures the potential corporeal experience of taking a ghost

tour in a location primed as Gothic. *Haunted Houses* is an exemplary text that marks the shift from mapping place to encourage association to promoting affect. In the broadest sense, affect in this case refers to “the physical process whereby the body is affected by external prompting” (Aldana Reyes, *Horror Film* 5). Harper’s blood running cold and his acknowledged “start” at the shrieking noise of the presumed ghost signals an important appreciation of the role of the body and the corporeal response to ghost stories. However, affect described in its broadest sense does not suitably capture a corporeal understanding of the supernatural and haunting because of the element of the imaginary that is involved. Instead, it is more appropriate to draw on what Xavier Aldana Reyes theorises as “Gothic Affect” to account for a corporeal approach to ghost tourism that is used to create the synergy between Gothic tourist, ghost, and place. For Aldana Reyes, Gothic affect is “a force of encounter” that “modulates the body of the consumer” (“Gothic Affect” 17). The term can be applied to “the gothic effects used to achieve fear (the text’s gothic machinery) and the process whereby the body is affected by the fiction (the act of being moved by the gothic text)” (Aldana Reyes, “Gothic Affect” 17). In essence, the affective approach considers how Gothic texts create and instil a sense of dread, fear, or consternation that are crucial to the Gothic, and how images or words “may be transmuted into specific corporeal and emotive reactions by those who engage with them” (Aldana Reyes, “Gothic Affect” 16-17). Ultimately, the approach acknowledges the aim of the mode to evoke certain responses through specific narrative or paratextual devices, or as Aldana Reyes puts it, “the affective approach is not predominantly preoccupied with whether something *is* actually scary but rather with the conventions followed by a genre or mode *in the hopes that it will be*” (“Gothic Affect” 16).

In the preface to his work, Harper clearly acknowledges the possibility of a corporeal response to supernatural tales that undermines rational responses to the 'idea' of the supernatural. Most people whose "mental digestion of the marvellous" is robust deny a belief in ghosts yet still succumb to bodily responses to the perceived supernatural. There are, he writes, "few whose hair has not been stirred and whose hearts have not beat an unusual tattoo at the sound of Something inexplicable in the watches of the night" (v). Haunting is inherently linked to the sensory experience of the external environment and is therefore inescapably connected to the body. For Ruth Heholt, haunting "has no existence without affect". "Being haunted is to feel the hairs on the back of your neck rising," to capture a glimpse of something in the corner of your eye, "a slight misgiving in the pit of your stomach, a delicate rash of goosebumps rising on cooling skin" (5). The prerequisite of haunting is a material experience of the immaterial ghost; if it is unseen, "it must be *felt*" (5).

Describing an encounter with a ghost through corporeal language is not a new practice. In the nineteenth century, somatic experiences of haunting, as in Mary Elizabeth Braddon's "The Cold Embrace," point to the experience of ghosts not as a visual apparition, but as a somatic experience. At the same time, other stories of the supernatural mention encounters with the ghosts in terms of a physical response that could fundamentally differ from a cognitive recognition of a ghost. For example, in his satirical and humourist tales of ghost encounters, *Ghosts I have Met and Some Others* (1898), John Kendrick Bangs still expresses ghostly encounters as an embodied experience:

It grated on every nerve. ... my hair not only stood on end but tugged madly in an effort to get away. ... A cold chill came over me as my eye rested upon the horrid visitor...and my flesh began to creep like an inch worm. At one time I

was conscious of eight separate corrugations on my back, and my arms goose-fleshed until they looked like one of those miniature plaster casts of the Alps which are so popular in Swiss summer resorts; but mentally I was not disturbed at all. (4-6)

Ghosts and haunting can be a cognitive recognition of symmetrical conditions to the textual stories, but at its very core is a sensory and corporeal experience. Bangs' body reacts to the supernatural entity in ways that his mental capacity easily dismisses. "A cold chill" and flesh that "began to creep" and form "goose flesh" indicate a level of unconscious fear response. The narrator might not have been mentally disturbed but that does not make the narrator immune to somatic reflexes. The narrator's somatic response to the supernatural illustrates the equal if not greater role that the body plays in experiencing ghosts.

While it is important to understand a guidebook's features as a cartographic tool and a proxy experience to the listed sites, how haunted guidebooks work *in situ* to 'inspire' a Gothic experience and mould the sensory perceptions of the Gothic tourist is equally worthy of discussion. By drawing on Aldana Reyes' corporeal model and paradigm of 'dread' along with a focus on the sensory perceptions of the ghost tourist, it is possible to explore how self-guided ghost tours attempt to elicit the same experience had by Charles G. Harper on his tour of Hampton Court Palace: a sensory journey enacted through the Gothic. Haunting is a spatial condition that is created through association rather than any natural or organic occurrence. As such, in addition to literary association, the guidebook marks places as haunted, which changes how the tourist can potentially interact with that place. To explore the ramifications of using the guide *in situ* and to fill in a lacuna in guidebook

scholarship—mainly the scrutiny of how the guidebook functions in practice—I offer an investigative critical reflection of my experience taking the self-guided tour.

Walking with Ghost Guides: Sensation and Apprehension on Richard Jones' The Royal London Tour

Haunted guidebooks entice a corporeal model of performance and affect rather than purely a cognitive, knowledge-based understanding. As the guidebook genre continues to develop and change into the twenty-first century, haunted guidebooks do not just supply ghost stories and a historical value to place. These contemporary guides often map Gothic spaces of haunting through Gothic affects which determine a particular sensory expectation or experience. Tourism, Urry and Larsen postulate, is a practice of difference that breaks with the established routines and practices of every day which allows for “one’s senses to engage with a set of stimuli that contrast with the everyday and mundane” (3). The guidebook enables its readers to transform their material surroundings to a Gothic place through their sensory perception that is usurped by the imagination. Importantly, the consideration of affect goes beyond a methodology of tourist as a decoder and instead determines not merely how ‘Haunted London’ is coded as a Gothic space but how it is embodied and experienced by the guidebook user. I argue the contemporary haunted guidebook, Richard Jones’ *Walking Haunted London*, constructs a sense of dread and other “gothic affects” to create striated Gothic space. In doing so, the guidebook takes the Gothic tourist on a sensory tour that can bring about a corporeal reaction to the everyday material environment.

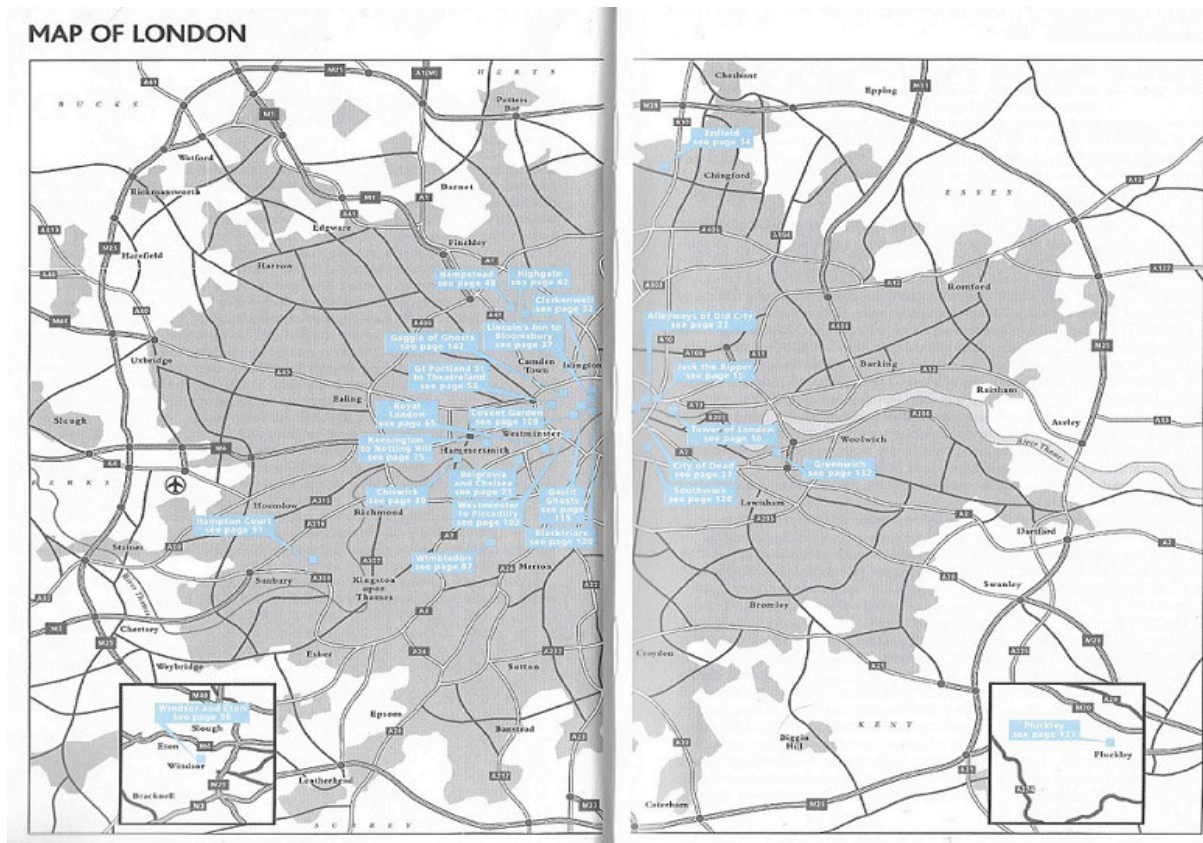


Fig. 9. Richard Jones, *Map of London*, 2009.

When a reader opens the book, they are confronted with a structure that resembles the modern tourist guidebook proper. The text offers a non-linear reading style following the traits of the guidebook genre, its table of contents organised for selective reading and easy navigation. The table of contents is composed of a list of ghost walks and haunted areas as well as a section titled “A Gaggle of Ghosts,” “a selection of interesting haunted places” that could not fit into any walk or group of haunted sites (R. Jones 142). The book includes a general map marking all the contained tours in London and its surrounding boroughs in addition to individual maps for each walking route (see fig. 9). The map is not a complete list of all potentially haunted locations across London but rather a visual representation that outlines Jones’ haunted cartography. To enable the reader to decipher and comprehend the practical information represented on the tour-specific maps within

the book, a legend is included right after the table of contents for the reader to consult when needed. The map legend clarifies symbols pertaining to pathways (footpath or route of the walk), London Underground and railway systems, and major buildings and churches, sites of haunting, and sites of murder. It provides a key to its abbreviations to ensure all maps can be legible with clear directions when walking in the city, particularly in areas unfamiliar to the tourist.

In a similar vein to other guidebooks, the text structures its essential tour information in a clear and uncomplicated manner. This layout allows the Gothic tourist both to make an informed decision on the tour they wish to take and to make necessary travel decisions before they proceed on their ghostly walk. The first page of each tour and/or haunted area lists the starting and endpoint, total distance (in kilometres and miles), the ideal time to go on the particular walk, and a list of suitable places for refreshment—or at minimum reassures the tourist of the abundant pubs and restaurants in the vicinity.¹⁴ When specific pubs or restaurants mentioned in this information panel have ghostly and/or historical significance, its location is also included on the pictorial map for the tourist to easily find on their walking route. Ultimately, like a guidebook proper, the tourist is given all pragmatic information to organise their travel routes and transport links for the start and end of their tour, plan refreshment stops and ensure the route is suitable to their ability and time frame.

Unlike many other haunted guidebooks, it is not a gazetteer of haunted locations but a series of structured walks, thoughtfully curated and prepared. The titles of each tour signal the nuanced methodology involved in crafting each walking experience. Some tours, such as “Covent Garden,” “Hampstead” and “Southwark,” are centred around a geographical area; others are grounded at specific landmarks like the Tower of London; and tours like the “City of the Dead,” “Alleyways of the Old City”

and “Gaslit Ghosts, the Temple and Fleet Street” cater to a historical condition or atmospheric quality, theme or famous location—Fleet Street, for example, is the home of the infamous fictional murderous barber, Sweeney Todd. Each tour or clustered area is individually created to present a specific experience, drawing on the material conditions, history, and urban rhythm in conjunction with associated stories specific to each location. To refer back to Robert Tally Jr., Jones takes on the role of the cartographer of Haunted London and determines the topographies, pathways, focal points, and theme of each place.

The nature of self-guided walks gives increased agency to the reader/user. There are seven areas that are mapped as a series of locations because they do not make suitable complete walks. In these cases, Jones tells his readers, “Rather than direct every step, I have described details of the ghostly activity and leave you to plan your own route using the accompanying maps” (7). The individual tour map for these areas includes a hooded ghostly figure in the vicinity of the haunted site. The flexibility that Jones gives his tourists for these haunted sites that do not have a neatly packaged walk challenges the assumed rigid structure of guidebooks. This confirms Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen’s argument that although the guidebook may suggest particular tours and itineraries that give the appearance of a scripted experience, “the guidebook transcends the linearity of a script since it can be used capriciously” (27). Not all guidebooks treat the tourist as a passive decoder of prescribed and preformed places but grant the tourist a level of agency at the level of the itinerary. The haunted guidebook must be viewed as a dynamic cultural artefact that gives the tourist a level of individual agency.

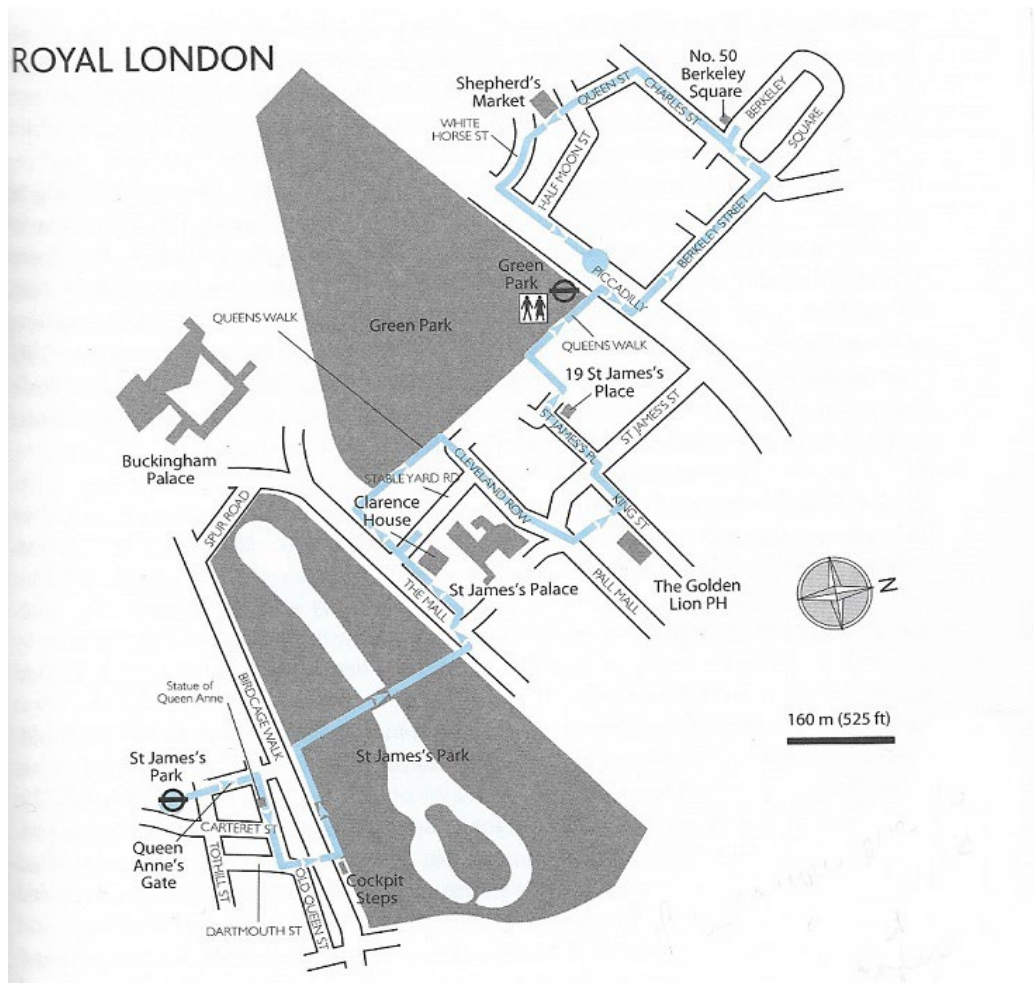


Fig. 10. Richard Jones, Royal London Ghost Walk Map 2009.

On each individual tour, the guidebook offers three forms of mapping: a geographical map that clearly presents the walking route and destinations, textual instructions directing the tour-takers' movements through space, and the ghost stories and historical explanations for each site. Used collectively, the three forms of maps offer an intelligible tool to navigate the unseen phantoms and historic landmarks and encourage the tourist to perform and imaginatively construct a partial region of London's haunted geography. The inclusion of all forms of maps is necessary. As Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu comment, "when narrative uses the dual modalities of language and maps, each of these modalities expresses what the other cannot do by itself—or can do only inefficiently"

(45). The geographical, pictorial map outlines the walking route that can be taken by the tourist from a vertical, disembodied perspective. The map marks a number of specific landmarks through icons and labels to situate points of interest. This is most useful for routes utilising semi-concealed footpaths or large green space, like the “Royal London” walk that takes tourists through the centre of St. James’s Park. When feeling disorientated in an unfamiliar location, this map can be used to gather one’s bearings and figure out the direction to walk when the textual instructions feel unclear. The blue line traces the journey described in the body of the accompanying text, its small arrows indicating the direction the tourist ideally moves through the itinerary—if the tourist follows the direction, since it can, in theory, be completed in reverse. Phrased differently, the tour’s map is the visual and abstract representation of the spatial relations between objects and streets described in the text. The route also demarcates the boundaries and scope of the tour. It has a clear start and endpoint, so tourists can be aware of precisely where their journey begins and ends in relation to objects or landmarks at a simple glance, in this case, St James’s Park and Green Park tube station respectively (see fig. 10). When interpreted as a navigational tour, the map helps the tourist to situate themselves in geographical, material space.

The guidebook maps included, such as the one above, are accompanied by textual instructions to guide the ghost tourist on where to go geographically. For example, once arrived at St. James’s Park Underground Station, the guide tells the tourist to leave the station “from the Petty France exit and go over the pedestrian crossing into Queen Anne’s Gate” (R. Jones 65). These instructions are matter-of-fact directives, instructing the movements of the tour-taker through their material space to complete the itinerary. The textual directions fill in the crucial gap of the

pictorial map and guide the eye to certain landmarks that are visible at the street-level view. For instance, one of the textual instructions asks the tourist to “Cross the bridge, where you have a superb view of Buckingham Palace on the left” (R. Jones 66). Interspersed throughout each section and in-between stories, these instructions inform the tour-taker when to pause, when to proceed, where to look at views on their route and what direction in which to walk. The paratextual content, the geographical and navigational pairing that goes along with the Gothic narrative of each tour, demonstrates a clear intent for the text to be used *in situ* to explore and journey through the elusive geography of ‘Haunted London’. It marks *where* the body is suggested to move, not *how* it is to embody the haunted itinerary or evoke Gothic place.

What is absent from both the pictorial map and the textual instructions is any indication that this tour is Gothic or pertains to the supernatural. These elements have more to do with surveying the streets and landmarks of interest than with haunting. While the map gives the route to the haunted locations, without the relevant context to encode the maps, the visual map would be open to a vast array of interpretations, including those that have no relationship to ghosts, haunting, or the Gothic. These sorts of mapping devices are incompatible with the type required to prompt an immersive and embodied Gothic experience. To lure the mind and body into a fully realised Gothic space demands Gothic narratives. The guidebook itself is not a Gothic text but a text that contains ghost stories for the tourist to imagine and enact in their material environment and their corporeal and sensory interactions. It is a device to practice the Gothic in the material environment. In other words, it is a manual that enables the tour-taker to transform smooth everyday space into a striated Gothic place. By situating each ghost story in a precise place where the

tourist is, the text maps the space as Gothic by using the ghost story to frame each itinerary checkpoint on the perambulation as ghostly and haunted. In essence, this framing technique maps the Gothic onto the various locations on the itinerary, a process which, in turn, gives a sense of how to identify and interpret the select site as Gothic. The stories give the *how* to embody by providing the details on symptoms of haunting.

Self-guided tours set out the parameters for the tourist to embark on their own subjective journey through the route. My chosen walk, the Royal London tour, is a ghost walk “through an area with a decidedly royal feel” (R. Jones 65). Beginning at St. James’s Park Underground Station and concluding at Green Park Station, the tour takes the ghost tourist on a three-mile walk through some of the major landmarks and everyday spaces in London. The ghost tourist walks by royal palaces, tranquil yet paradoxically uncanny urban parks, towards 50 Berkeley Square and through narrow alleyways and courtyards. All of this is to take place at night, for according to the guide, it is the best time to take the tour, “when much of the route is deserted and the gas lamps lend a delightfully eerie quality to Green Park [*sic*]” (R. Jones 65). The night is an appropriate setting for a ghost walk, as the culturally conceived realm where spectral and monstrous congregate (Edensor “Introduction” 560). The tour takes approximately two hours to complete, around the same time as tours guided by a tour guide. In the guidebook, the tour is separated into six main sections under the following headings: Down Cockpit Steps to Meet a Headless Woman, The Spook of Clarence House, Remorse Suicide at Buckingham Palace, Green Park’s “Tree of Death,” St. James’s Palace and a Cutthroat, No. 19 St. James’s Place—Where Death’s Herald Came, and No. 50 Berkeley Square—The Most Haunted House in London. Some headings address a single ghost associated

with a location and others draw one's attention to multiple ghosts or suspicions of haunting in the vicinity. Nonetheless, stories are the central component of the tour. After giving directions to reach the next stop on the itinerary, each section provides the tourist with potted history or a single sentence to situate the site historically before proceeding to narrate the ghostly circumstances attached to each checkpoint. The tour was selected for its central location, map, and comprehensive itinerary, its inclusion of popular tourist sites, and, pivotally, its emphasis on atmosphere. Further, the tour provides an interesting contrast with the inclusion of haunted architectural sites where the tourist is an external observer as well as open public spaces that the tourist can embody directly.

On an evening in February 2019, I embarked on the Royal London haunted tour. I stepped out of St. James' Underground station at approximately 6PM, as the sun was setting. London settled into darkness rather quickly as my journey progressed, which provided the ideal "delightfully eerie" atmosphere promised by Jones. A journey is the best word to describe the ghost walk.¹⁵ The tour is not just the checkpoints on the itinerary, part of the experience is in navigating the path set out by Jones. I made a concerted effort to follow the guidebook as directed. I let Jones' narratives and directions guide my steps, pausing when suggested and progressing to the next stage only when I had reached that point of instruction. But my adherence to the guide was a conscious decision. In order to verify how Gothic effects and textual mechanisms function within the guidebook, I committed to following the route and itinerary as closely as possible. Although the use of guidebooks is highly individual and based on subjective reader-text contracts, to experience the guided tour through a frisson of fear and Gothic imagination, the guidebook encourages a conceptual and emotional openness (McEvoy, *Gothic*

Tourism 109, 125). A commitment to this openness led to a number of fascinating findings and moments of Gothic affect that rendered the tour uncanny, at times unsettling, and in general, a tour that instilled a level of illogical and unexplained anxiety.

There is an array of Gothic effects that Jones uses to inspire fear and/or consternation in his tour-takers to create a tour that is, in fact, a Gothic experience. While the practical information included in the guide is not Gothic, the Gothic ruptures occur at the level of the constructed spatial experience, which leads to a narrowing of possibilities to fill in interpretative gaps between text, landscape, and tourist. For his structured walks, the overarching objective remains the same, to provide, as Jones outrightly states, “a series of atmospheric walks through London’s haunted quarters.” He thoughtfully attempts to map various districts of Haunted London. Every one of his tours has been designed and paced to “afford as much atmosphere as possible” (7): for example, he avoids “crowded streets where there is a dark and sinister alternative nearby” (7). The sense that a street is “sinister” draws on a level of cultural competence that takes its inspiration from the Gothic and horror modes. The tour relies on cues from stable signifiers of the Gothic, haunting, and horror to encourage a particular response and experience from the tourist. Describing a street as “sinister” also speaks to the intent to create a tour entrenched with a sense of chills and thrills that can become part of the contract between the tourist and the text.

As in the case of Charles G. Harper’s experience in Hampton Court, the spatial conditions of the ghost storytelling can be equally as influential over the psyche and body as the content of the stories. On the tour, Jones’ walk takes the tourist through almost silent courts and deserted streets. Stepping out of the underground station,

past the busy bars where people gather for happy hour, the streets grow uncomfortably quiet with hardly a person to be seen, and even then, they were hardly heard. The first checkpoint on the itinerary, Queen Anne's Gate, was one of these areas. As I move towards the supposedly haunted statue of Queen Anne, the bustling sounds of the prior streets are but an almost inaudible murmur. Something was unnerving about the lack of sound given the noisy place I had just passed. In a discussion of ghost-hunting events, Annette Hill argues, an absence of sound, or light for that matter, "induces intense feelings and thoughts" (100). The same principle applies to ghost walks completed alone at night. On many parts of the tour, one becomes hyperaware of the quiet solitude despite being in a busy urban centre, although this wanes in the areas of busy, high-traffic roads or vibrant areas like Mayfair. For the tour-maker, this decision is important in the production of affect. The quietness draws on cultural knowledge of those spaces in which fictional supernatural threat is often harboured, as in the case of horror movies. Additionally, as a solitary practice, taking a self-guided tour with a guidebook completed in silence heightens the sense of atmosphere. This, in turn, can elicit a sense of dread when taking the tour, particularly at the prescribed night-time perambulation where urban quietness can signal lurking dangers even beyond the supernatural.

As a crucial component in the generation of Gothic affect, dread must be fully explained. Xavier Aldana Reyes suggests that dread is an "anticipatory emotion that leads to the realisation that one is in danger" (*Horror Film* 111). Dread as a "gothic effect" and its impact on the imagining subject is best illustrated in William Frederick Yeames' painting *A Visit to the Haunted Chamber* (1869). The painting depicts two women caught up in terror as they peer around the corner, anticipating an encounter with a ghost. Based on the title of the portrait, we, as external observers, can



Fig. 11. A digital reproduction of William Frederick Yeames' *A Visit to the Haunted Chamber*, 1869.

assume that the women are knowingly in search of the ghost that is purported to haunt the chamber. The room is empty, and no ghost is present. What is assumed to be the ghost is the sound of the unseen scurrying rats at the right of the bed, in the doorway. The chamber is haunted with the expectation supplied by the narrative of haunting that takes inspiration from the literary ghost story. The scene depicted in the painting represents how the modern guidebook influences and sets up a haunted space through sensory expectations. The guidebook draws on a codified vernacular of haunted space to create a “frisson of dread” (Owens 178). The sensation of embodying a haunted place is about *perceiving* an imaginary threat of the supernatural rather than the presence of any actual, tangible danger.¹⁶

Those in the grip of dread are subject to the corporeal gothic effects of self-preservation brought on by the imagination that perceives danger. According to Aldana Reyes, the Horror genre, and, I would argue, its intersections with the Gothic

mode “is designed and marketed to engender a series of specific feelings that are aroused by creating a sense of fictional threat which, despite its fictional quality” can feel partially real to consumers of the texts (*Horror Film* 99).¹⁷ The ability of a threat to make an impact cognitively and corporeally on the imagining subject lies in the individual’s human threat detection skills (Aldana Reyes, *Horror Film* 100). The expectations and/or knowledge of the threat “influence the way we react to it and to others which may be derived from it” (Aldana Reyes, *Horror Film* 100-101). This set of reactions can be cognitive, at the level of emotions, often fear, as well as corporeal reactions, like a startle response (Aldana Reyes, *Horror Film* 101). How this supernatural threat is perceived derives from certain culturally coded expectations of symptoms of haunting that are identified through the senses. Why the supernatural has endured as a source of threat despite changes to structures of belief remains outside the remit of this chapter. Nevertheless, they remain culturally coded subjects that entice fear and discomfort that is unique to the human species (Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear* 5).

The manipulation of the tour-taker’s sensory awareness at the level of the environment is just one of Jones’ considerations to create a sense of dread. Jones crafts his tours with an understanding of ghosts and haunting as an often corporeal, non-visual experience. He elaborates:

Ghosts are tantalising and elusive. They are glimpsed for a fleeting moment and leave behind puzzled mortals. The majority of hauntings combine a feeling or instinct with an inexplicable coldness. You might smell or hear something, but you will rarely see anything. However, there are places that certainly do have a supernatural feeling and, if you are in the right place at the right time, you might

just glimpse a ghostly presence and become one of the who have walked with the dead. (7)

The notion of a “supernatural feeling” emphasises the centrality of being “in the right place at the right time” (R. Jones 7). Jones’ consideration clarifies the objective of haunted guidebooks in general: to encourage a specific sensory and emotional response and spatial experience to the sites designated as haunted. The use of sensory perception is to recognise a ghost and to feel it through the material body and sensory organs, whether it be “an inexplicable coldness” or smell (R. Jones 7). Ruth Heholt suggests that, to recognise a ghost, “the shock of the realisation that a place is haunted is subsequent to the first body-knowledge of the presence of the supernatural” (“Introduction” 4). In the absence of sight, the sound, smell, and haptic sensations can signal the presence of something unseen and otherworldly. As Jones points out, ghost *seeing* is not guaranteed, and I certainly did not see any myself. However, that does not mean that haunting was not felt in some capacity at the level of my other sensory experiences.

Ghost tourism is a sensory journey (Hill 100). The ghost tourist may at times succumb to sensory deprivation, looking at shadows and listening intently in the dark, which heightens their senses, but they nevertheless draw on all their senses to experience the scope of place (Hill 89). The world is grasped and mediated through the body, and this includes the otherworldly or supernatural which is too detected and mediated by the body (Crouch 217; Heholt, “Introduction” 4). For David Crouch, tourism is mediated by bodies “in an animation of space that combines feeling, imagination, and sensuous and expressive qualities” (207). People are more than passive recipients, Annette Hill argues, and use “their senses to touch and mingle with emotional and psychological matters” (101). Tourists are not just written upon

and empty receptacles of imposed meaning but dynamic subjects who enact and inscribe meaning through their performance of space (Urry and Larsen 1993). The sensory narrative developed is a haunting recognised by the imagination and 'read' and made meaningful through the material body. This is because the senses are biologically grounded in the physical structure of the body and its relationship to the environment, but are always subject to conditioning by technologies, architecture, and cultural practices (Rodaway 145). In other words, the body becomes a receptor for all of the sensory data that is culturally coded as the haunted and the ghostly.¹⁸ The Gothic place then is a space of indeterminacy between the psychic and the somatic. It is a set of interpretative possibilities that intervenes and disrupts the credibility of our sensory interpretation of everyday to haunted places of anxiety, dread, and uncertainty.

Jones' haunted guidebook establishes the Gothic version of what Paul Rodaway terms a "sensuous geography," "the geographical understanding which arises out of the stimulation of, or apprehension by, the senses" that is coupled with emotional sensibilities forged by Gothic and haunting tropes (5). While Rodaway excludes the discussion of emotion from his paradigm, as my argument is grounded in a sensory response *informed by* emotional association, the formation of haunted geographies is underpinned to some degree by emotions (5).¹⁹ Rodaway stresses perception as a process, an activity involving the perceiving individual and its environs, which supports the idea of the Gothic tourist's engagement with the supernatural not as a passive recipient of generic cues or senses, but hones in on the reciprocity needed to construct the geography (11). He refers to two dimensions of perception:

1. *perception as sensation*, and therefore a relationship between person and world, both kinetic and biochemical (here perception is grounded in the environmental stimuli collected—and mediated—by the senses); and
2. *perceptions as cognition*, and therefore as a mental process (here perception involves remembering, recognition, association, and other thinking processes—which are culturally mediated). (11)

A person's perception is influenced by the efficiency of the sense organs and by one's mental preconception. It is a process of myriad sensory stimuli experienced simultaneously across different sensory organs, but, crucially, it is a learned behaviour (Rodaway 11). 'Haunted London' is therefore formed and mapped through an amalgamation of sensory perceptions that are both mediated and guided by the tour guidebook. The ability to perceive the ghostly derives from the association between a particular place, its history, and the tourist's reciprocal construction of a Gothic experience.

As analysed in Chapter One, ghost story narratives are inextricable from the overall recognition and experience of haunting. We can further develop the argument from Chapter One by acknowledging the educative quality of the ghost story in formulating cultural conceptions of haunting, which, in turn, equip the imagination with the correct apparatuses to negotiate and filter the raw sensory data of the environment. The suggestive power of the haunted guidebook transforms the potential sensory and interpretative overload of the urban centre to be filtered and embodied through a Gothic sensibility of the supernatural. This is an act of not just receiving but also processing the sensory information in a manner that enables the tour-taker to perceive haunting.

The sensory perceptions necessary to a fully Gothic experience are activated by the suggestive power of the imagination, and the imagination takes its cues from the guidebook-as-storyteller. Much like in Charles Dickens' meditation on ghost stories, "The Christmas Tree," discussed in the previous chapter, the ghost stories in the guidebook wield unmeasurable power to coax the imagination to engage with and/or react to one's spatial surroundings through the supernatural narrative. In other words, Dickens' formulation allows for an imagining subject who can be so absorbed in the text or oral storytelling that the imagination begins to distort their spatial surroundings at the level of sight and other senses.

Certainly, this is even more relevant when the setting of the ghost story is not the armchair of the reader but rather a historical space that is being encountered by the ghost tourist. A literary scene that depicts this process is in Charles Dickens' *Bleak House* (1852). One evening at dusk, Mrs. Rouncewell, housekeeper to Chesney Wold, tells the ghost tale of the terrace aptly named Ghost Walk to her two young hearers while in the house. In the midst of telling them the story of the lady who haunts the walk, Rouncewell asks her audience, "Do you hear a sound like a footstep passing along the terrace, Watt?" Little Watt responds, "I hear the rain-drip on the stones...and I hear a curious echo—I suppose an echo—which is very like a halting step" (Dickens 112). The moment that Mrs. Rouncewell suggests the origin of the noise, it is difficult for Watt not to decidedly correlate what he hears with the sound of a ghostly step. The central point of interest here is how the guidebook mirrors these suggestions to the imagination *in situ*. Much like the effect that a ghost story told around the fireside has on its listeners, a well-constructed tour guidebook explains haunting through sensory language in a space where there is a possibility for the narrated sensory stimuli. It is different from consuming the text from a "safe"

other place where one is disembodied from the sensory stimuli of the story space. For heightened affect, one must be imaginatively receptive and in close proximity to the stimuli one is receiving. As such, the site of a derelict building accompanied by the wind could potentially be a ghostly whisper. The stench of the city streets might just be an indication of the presence of the undead. At these moments of Gothic possibility, a scream in the background makes the heart skip a beat, even if it is only the sound of a child at play around the corner. The guidebook makes these exact suggestions by explaining haunting in sensory terms, which enables the tourist to collapse the distinction between natural sounds in their environs and the fictional story space they are simultaneously embodying.

Taking the guidebook and walking on a self-guided tour attests to the power of textual Gothic storytelling *in situ*. Whereas in reading *Bleak House* the reader can sympathise in their encounters with haunting and imaginatively join in with the characters at an emotional level, in the case of the tour, the fictional barrier of safety is removed. In group walking tours, as I will discuss in the next chapter, the stories are delivered and mediated by the performance of the tour guide. The pacing, tone and comic interjections alter how the stories are presented and received. In the absence of a person, the reader is guided strictly by their reading practices and interpretations, which are entirely subjective. This means the tour can be performed as a solitary act with the text as the sole mediator between the tourist and the material environment. The tour-taker becomes a character in their own Gothic spatial story. At once, an imaginative and disembodied reading practice is transformed into a personal experience where any encounter with the supernatural and haunted places unfolds in 'real space' and 'real-time,' rather than in a textual story space. The guidebook provides ghosts for the tour-taker to react to in their environments, and it

was a striking experience. The tourist enters a similar imaginative realm where the literary ghost story usually resides, where, as Julia Briggs details, “the imagination can produce physical effects, a world that is potentially within our power to change by the energy of our thoughts” (124). Haunting occurs where the divisions between the supernatural and the body collapse (“Introduction” Heholt 4). The change conjured by the power of our thoughts is potent and creates porous Gothic worlds.

In the specific case of the Royal London tour, my investigation determined that despite the contemporary setting the tour plays masterfully with aural manifestations of haunting. At one of the earlier checkpoints on the itinerary, I was instructed to walk through St. James’s Park and pause on the bridge crossing a lake that dates back to 1827 (R. Jones 66). While I have visited the park before on multiple occasions, to experience the space as a haunted place was never in my imaginative or interpretative possibility until I engaged with Jones’ text. Ghost tourism has the capacity to open new possibilities of the city (Holloway 623). When on the end of the bridge, as there were a plethora of people occupying the bridge itself, I read a story about the ghost of the wife of a sergeant of the guard who was murdered by her husband in the 1780s. After decapitating her body, he buried the head in a secret place and flung her body into the lake (R. Jones 66). The story describes her symptoms of haunting as follows:

A headless woman is sometimes seen in this vicinity. She rises slowly from the dark rippling waters and drifts slowly across the surface of the lake.

Reaching dry land, she breaks into a frenzied run, her arms flailing wildly about her. Petrified onlookers stand rooted to the spot as the headless figure rushes towards the bushes and vanishes. (R. Jones 66)

The guidebook works with the landscape to capture the aural qualities of the environment and encapsulate them in the stories. The place where the guidebook recommends one pause is nearby where myriad waterfowl such as geese and ducks swim and play. The symptoms of the haunting of this ghost resemble the movement of waterfowl emerging from the water, flapping its wings, and running into bushes—a natural behaviour for the birds. This attention to detail enables the guidebook to encourage uncanny effects, for example, when the narrative jarringly matches the sounds sensed by the tour-taker, particularly when sight is otherwise occupied by reading the words on the page. This is another cartographic practice by Jones at the level of the walking route. The resemblances between the material environment and the text are the correct formulation to create the necessary synergy between visitor, place, and ghost, which Owen Davies views as necessary for ghost tourism.

The guidebook drastically changed how the place is interpreted, and that is the point. A ghost walk's business is to modify perceptions (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 109). Despite being thoroughly desensitised to most fear tactics in ghost stories and horror films because of my popular culture tastes and consumption, I was not immune to the somatic responses to the perceived ghostly threat at that moment. The ghost stories in the guidebook become more frightening when, all of a sudden, the tourist is situated in the actual site of alleged haunting and experiences the sensory narrative described in the story. While situated in that environment and reading the text, I began to identify certain sounds related to the story and it caused a corporeal reaction of a startle reflex as I heard the sound of something emerge from the water with a ripple, and then that something running and flapping in what felt like my general direction. This mechanism operates in a similar manner to horror films and their use of "jump scare" tactics, the trigger of reflexive somatic responses

in viewers. In the moment of Gothic irruption, there is an unconscious recognition of an imaginary threat because of the anticipation constructed within the fiction, in this case, the guidebook. To return to Aldana Reyes' model of Gothic Affect, Gothic affect is achieved at two levels. First, at the level of textual machinery, the guidebook strategically invents a ghost that suits the environment to create a sense of fear, consciously or not. Then, through narrative rupture, the material surroundings of the lake are transformed and perceived as a Gothic place at the level of visceral reaction. Once these mechanisms are put into motion, the guidebook activates a perpetual state of dread for the next checkpoint that may trigger a similar response, with little ability to escape the feeling. Whereas if the reader becomes too engaged with the somatic and emotional with a text, they can turn on a light or shut the book, thereby clarifying the fictional barrier, this is not always possible on a Gothic tour. To escape a tour goes beyond imaginative disengagement, one must physically leave the tour.



Fig. 12. Alicia Edwards. Tree of Death and Ghostly Shadows in Green Park, photography, 2019

Aural manifestations are not the only deceptive sense experience on the tour. Other moments change the reliability of my eyes as a sensory organ of supposed objective reality. When walking between checkpoints I was well aware of the other people also occupying the park with me, on the pathways and on the grass, but they did not capture my attention in any particular way; they were a necessary component of the urban imaginary. Captured in the image above is the park from the path where I stood looking out at the general site of where “Tree of Death” in Green Park is said to stand. It is said that the park keepers whisper of the tree, which is avoided when tending to their duties, a tree where “no birds sing from its branches” and all dogs avoid. The guidebook details the dreadful history surrounding the tree:

A general feeling of melancholy is said to emanate from it, which may account for the high number of suicides that have been found hanging from its branches. A few witnesses have been scared witless by a throaty, gurgling chuckle that suddenly sounds from inside the tree. Others have caught glimpses of a tall, shadowy figure that stands beside the tree pointing at them, but which vanishes the moment any brave to curious person moves towards it. (R. Jones 68)

Reading about a shadowy figure stood by a tree prompts a moment of what Sigmund Freud calls the Uncanny, the familiar made unfamiliar (219). A tree that a part of any given urban green space is transformed into its haunted double. The guidebook creates ruptures that subvert the boundaries between the real and the phantasmic (Castle 5). As I looked up from the text I noticed, at a quick glance, a series of dark shadowed figures stand among the trees. The absence of proper light distorts vision and makes the ghost story mentioned in the guidebook a compelling possibility. With the “absence of sharp visual details,” Yi-Fu Tuan writes, “the mind is free to conjure

up images” based “upon the slenderest of perceptual cues” (*Landscapes of Fear* 15). These cues are provided by the guidebook. I was immersed in an environment where I could not determine whether it is a shadowy figure or a regular person until I moved closer to investigate and let my eyes adjust to the scene before me. Moreover, my relationship to the environment was irrevocably changed as all trees became a source of curiosity and anxiety—which tree is the purported death tree? That is part of its uncanny power, that which “ought to have remained secret or hidden” has come to light and is difficult to “unsee” (Freud 225). It dives into those archaic fears that have been long exiled but now returned (Castle 7). Primed with the associations of shadows as something ghoulish and sinister, the people who occupy the park transform into potential sources of the supernatural. The senses are distorted and manipulated by the imaginative sway of the text. All that is required is an imaginative leap and one might not be able to trust one’s eyes. In a single glance, I was transported from Green Park, a space of largely positive idyllic urban reverie, to a place of illusion and uncanny nightmare.

The affective relationship to architecture relies on the tourist already being primed by earlier mechanisms of dread and anxiety to evoke an affect-based response. Unlike the moments where the tour-taker can embody the specific haunted place and therefore be directly influenced by the senses associated with the narrative, the affects related to architecture, based on my experience, derives from the continuing Gothic effects caused by those moments in outdoor spaces in conjunction with the flourishing imagination. One is placed in the particular mood to see and experience the senses and sights beyond the everyday, rendering many sites a place of the uncanny, as I will explain further in Chapter Three. For architecture in particular, the guidebook relays the stories of its interior, spaces that are inaccessible to the tourist

which prompts the imagination to begin to make certain associations and focus on liminal thresholds such as doors and windows. The stories animate buildings to produce haunting possibility (Holloway 624). In the case of 50 Berkeley Square, Jones continues to use sensory language to describe haunted buildings and animate its interior. The ghosts of 50 Berkeley Square, according to the text, manifest as “strange lights that flashed in windows, disembodied screams that sounded from the depths of the buildings” and the “bumping sound of a heavy body being dragged down a staircase” (R. Jones 69). For this checkpoint on the itinerary, Jones emphasises that the supernatural association is not part of the distant past but the close present (R. Jones 70). Richard Jones inserts himself in the stories associated with the home, which gives an indication that the experiences of haunting and uncanny atmosphere have been felt as recent as 2001. In filming a documentary on ‘Haunted London’ for the BBC, he writes, he spent 5 minutes in the dark with a soundman and found it “a truly frightening experience” even if nothing happened (R. Jones 70). It is at this checkpoint where the corporeal responses by immediate haptic sensations are encouraged. I became the daring soul in the Gothic story willing to touch the forbidden building, to put my scepticism to the test to see if the rumours of the home are true after all. The guidebook subtly encourages one to reach out and touch the building to see if the atmosphere remains, and the “psychic energy” can still be felt within the brickwork, if one dare (R. Jones 70). I summoned up the courage to touch the building, albeit with great apprehension. In an unsavoury coincidence, I was startled when a car sounded its horn the minute I touched the building. The sensation I felt of “a mild shock” when I touched the building was most likely a product of my imagination mixed with alarm rather than supernatural source, but the experience of corporeal response remained all the same.

Haunted guidebooks serve to produce landscapes of fear. By projecting the textual narrative outwards onto our material world, the guidebooks mark each landmark with the same evocations of fear. Fear, for this study, should be understood as the complex system of both somatic and cognitive reactions of the imagining subject. Traditionally, in humans, the feeling of fear “refers to the conscious unpleasant feeling that one has when in the presence of a threat to well-being” (Anderson et al 1497). The fear produced in the walking tour, however, is not just an unpleasant feeling but one entangled with pleasure. Haunted geography as a landscape of fear is better reframed as a landscape of what Anderson and others term as “recreational fear,” “a mixed emotional experience of fear and enjoyment” (1497). In addition to the feeling of dread, it is a landscape that causes alarm, the immediate and obtrusive threat in the environment (Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear* 5). However, this is part of the sense of play and excitement that makes the tour a Gothic spectacle. One continues the tour itinerary in part because of the reactions elicited by the text—there is something tantalising about everyday spaces being transformed into truly Gothic places. The tourist is an active participant in the thrills and chills, any subsequent fear is a result of their openness to interpret the multisensory cues as monstrous, ghostly, and terrifying.

The significant change in perception is not enacted in a uniform manner across genders. In the same way that the reader must adjust their biological and gender presumptions and assumptions to any given narrative, as a woman walking the city alone, I carry my own subjectivities that make me more susceptible to certain prompts. This confirms that the act of following an itinerary is subject to the same cultural variations as reading. The matter of gender difference when walking through the city can alter the success of the guidebook’s evocation of dread and gothic

effects. The body is engendered and inscribed with meanings that reflect socio-cultural conditions (qtd. in Ateljevic and Hall 138). Yet, the guidebook designs its itinerary for a genderless ghost tourist, a participatory stance much like an 'ideal reader' that has no specific barriers to ability or urban threat. As a female character within her own spatial story, the city becomes a site of potential danger where the itineraries must be adapted and altered for personal safety. This left me in a position of already heightened sense of elevated anxiety when walking through quiet dark streets and narrow passageways. The guidebook as a source prompting Gothic affect has concomitant cultural sources of dread and fear-inducing factors that change how the gendered imagining subject will occupy and inhabit urban space. I was in a state of perpetual dread and prone to react to alterations in the atmosphere, particularly sound. There were two instances where I avoided checkpoints on the itinerary or adapted the viewing point. On the way to the Golden Lion, the guide instructed me to turn left into the Angel Court Alleyway, a "dark and forbidden passageway" (R. Jones 68). The passageway was a Gothic space *par excellence* with its claustrophobic feel and poor lighting, but the shapes of figures on the other side left it an undesirable place to walk through. Then, to stand in front of No. 19 St. James's Place, a quaint yellow building, required the tour-taker to "go into an almost concealed courtyard", which at night appeared to be the ideal spot for a dangerous stranger to be lurking. This is not necessarily the case of a woman being more susceptible to Gothic effects, as once was purported in terms of literary readership, but cultural limits and realities of women occupying public urban spaces at night. The nineteenth-century narratives of sexual danger and harassment that code urban space, which Judith Walkowitz outlines in her work,²⁰ endure in cultural competence to this day. With an already heightened sense of danger detection skills in play, and

in the imaginative space of the city as a Gothic place, the mediation between the fictional and the real become difficult to discern and separate.

Haunted guidebooks, then are like a compass that allows the imagining subject to orient themselves to their haunted surroundings by means of identifying signs and signifiers of Gothic potential. In a 1986 interview with Paul Adams on *Leading Britain's Conversation*, a London-based radio station, the then president of The Ghost Club and ghost gazetteer creator, Peter Underwood, spoke on his hypothesis on ghost-seeing that grants helpful insight into the mechanisms behind haunted guidebooks. Underwood claimed that ghost-seeing is simply a product of the imagination. Underwood finds parallels between ghost-seeing and/or experiences of haunting and a Rorschach test, claiming "when you see two or three dark spots on a light background, it is your mental mind" that "automatically makes a face out of it," and in the similar vein, he argues the same can be said for ghosts. If one is in the right sort of mood to make the imaginative leap, their mind enables them to see ghosts and experience haunting (Underwood "Radio Interview"). Although Underwood speaks in strictly psychological terms in his reference to the imagination, the connection between the imagination and the ways of seeing and understanding the world demonstrates the credence owed to the haunted guidebook in showing us where and how to find haunted place. The guidebook provides the navigational bearings by which the tour-taker can not only project Gothic meanings but enjoy the thrill of travelling and experiencing the supernatural. The guidebook overall illustrates how the Gothic practiced in everyday spaces is both an adventure and an interpretive game.

¹ See Bell, "Phantasmal Cities".

² MacCannell suggests this to be true of all tourism sites whereby "the first contact a sightseer has with a sight is not the sight itself but with some representation thereof" (110).

³ A Murray guidebook contains the following statement: "The writer of [this] Handbook has endeavoured to confine himself to matter-of-fact descriptions of what *ought to be seen* at each place, and is calculated to interest an intelligent English traveller, without bewildering his readers with an account of all that *may be seen*" (qtd in Koshar 323).

⁴ For further commentary on Barthes and the chief assumption of guidebooks see Peel and Sørensen 2.

⁵ Owen Davies does acknowledge the inclusion of haunted locations in nineteenth-century travel guides, see 62.

⁶ Hare does not classify his work as a guidebook. Instead, he positions his work as an elevated text designed "to make 'Walks in London' something more interesting than a Guide-book" (vii [vol 1]). Notwithstanding Hare's desire to produce a superior and entertaining text, its design and content are reminiscent of proto-guidebooks and other topographical writings of the city.

⁷ See also Hanks *Haunted Heritage* 46-48.

⁸ Emma McEvoy makes the statement that the guidebook was once exceedingly popular but is now mostly forgotten (*Gothic Tourism* 153-54)

⁹ I am expanding on Tuan's claim here to extend the role to all popular culture. The role of literature is crucial, but as Gothic is a mode of many mediums, it is important to acknowledge the role of all cultural production in developing the supplementary relationship with space.

¹⁰ This notion of space is not meant to totalise but provides language to the complex interplay of the various elements that come together to produce haunted space.

¹¹ Ingram tries to tactically distance himself from the contributors, declaring to his readers, "that the author and correspondents having, as far as possible, been allowed to tell their tales after their own fashion, the editor does not hold himself responsible for their opinions" ([1897] vii).

¹² Interestingly none of the urban sites of haunting are illustrated in the text which may speak both to the ephemeral state of London's buildings and infrastructure, but also the general anxieties around the housing market and ghost stories as seen in Chapter One.

¹³ For the complementary role illustration has had on Gothic description in the nineteenth century, see McCarthy esp 341-346.

¹⁴ The text will even inform the reader when no refreshment is available at the given ideal walking time, as in the case of the “Alleyways of the Old City” tour where the route is devoid of refreshment and respite options on evening and weekends (R. Jones 22).

¹⁵ Emma McEvoy describes her ghost walk as a journey because of the fact that they are not circular, like a narrative (*Gothic Tourism* 109).

¹⁶ For further analysis on the painting, see Owens 178.

¹⁷ Whereas in his sustained study on horror film in affect Aldana Reyes relates threat to physical pain, in his more recent work which expands affect to the Gothic more broadly, his idea of threat is not so much the case.

¹⁸ Annette Hill rightly concludes that “interpretations of extrasensory experiences are culturally specific” so in Anglo-American culture, certain sensory feelings connote feelings of dread, fear and panic because of cultural association and popular culture (Hill 102).

¹⁹ Rodaway does argue that emotion and senses are connected, but he seeks solely to examine the aspects of the sensory experience (5).

²⁰ See Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*.

Chapter Three: Touring the Necropolis: London and its Haunted Heritage¹



Fig 1. W. Mills, “You realize, I suppose, that this makes us Civil Servants.” *Punch Magazine* vol. 212, no. 5549, 14 May 1947, p. 407, *Punch Historical Archive, 1841-1992*.

In his *The English Ghost: Spectres Through Time* (2011), Peter Ackroyd announces that “England is a haunted nation” (1) Indeed, in recent decades there has been an exponential rise of ghost tourism as part of England’s mainstream tourism and heritage industry. State and publicly funded tourism organisations across the United Kingdom place ghosts and motifs of haunting as integral and sustained components to attract tourists and to display historical narratives, people, and events (McEvoy, “Gothic Tourism” 178-79). English Heritage recently commissioned a collection of ghost stories, *Eight Ghosts: The English Heritage Book of New Ghost Stories* (2017), inspired by after-hours visits to certain properties by

respective authors, an endeavour which speaks to the growing trend of heritage's use of the Gothic mode in their marketing strategies. English Heritage's collection is not the only example of heritage bodies openly marketing a haunted association with their properties. In 2006, National Trust published *Ghosts: mysterious tales from National Trust*, by Siân Evans, which documents a number of ghost tales associated with their properties. On their official websites, both English Heritage and National Trust have dedicated pages listing their haunted properties.²

The primary aim of this chapter is to revise Emma McEvoy's conjecture that, although often sharing a concern with what could be broadly labelled as history, "Gothic tourism is a very different kind of tourism" that is frequently at odds with heritage tourism (477-78). Her position is worth quoting at length:

Whilst other modes of tourism, particularly heritage tourism, arise from, and in relation to, a particular site, Gothic tourism often, though not always, involves a superimposition, an overlay; a wandering Freddie Kreuger, a fake dungeon, for example, or an ability to 'see' ghosts. Gothic tourism takes its brief not from history so much as from fiction, or more properly, from fictionalisation; from the set of discourses and the tropes that the Gothic scholar recognises as Gothic. Although, from the perspective of Gothic studies, this might sound like something of a tautology, it is a point worth making, and one which many in Tourist Studies have fallen foul of, failing to identify the congruence of a set of often heavily stylized features, and the cultural expectations, in terms of audience/consumer response, that might accompany them...It stems from fictionalisation and has a sense of its own origin within a specific cultural discourse. It has very different attitudes to the concept of place, to the idea of performance and to its audience, the tourists themselves. And of course, its

sense of affect is radically different from other kinds of tourism. (McEvoy, "Gothic Tourism" 478)

Fictionalisation and affect as constituent elements, as McEvoy rightly points out, are certitudes of Gothic tourism that must be incorporated in any critical discussion. To demarcate Gothic tourism as a distinct cultural practice, however, overlooks the ever-present fictionalisation involved in *all* heritage tourism, and establishes a narrow viewpoint on the entanglement of Gothic and heritage. Yet, in her monograph devoted to the issue, McEvoy contradicts her divisions of difference, arguing that Gothic tourism "is bound up in the way in which we think about our past and our surroundings, and the ways in which we construct our identities" (*Gothic Tourism* 7). If the construction of the past and identity formation are principles of Gothic tourism, how does this differ from the aims underpinning heritage? An examination of various case studies of contemporary ghost tourism will shed light on how heritage tourism and certain Gothic tourism practices are not at odds with one another, but rather entangled and closely related. If, as Michele Hanks notes, authenticity and the search for Englishness rests at the heart of modern ghost tourism, then, I argue, the distinction rests in its methodology rather than overall objective; the Gothic is a technique of heritage tourism (129).

Despite a thriving presence in contemporary heritage production, scholarship has only just started to tap into the critical potential of haunted heritage. This chapter does not seek to present a comprehensive typology of ghost tourism in London; rather, it systematically seeks to explore how ghosts and haunting function as a vehicle for heritage, in both 'official' and 'unofficial' forms, while remaining conscious of the historical and material conditions of London that prompt their production. Following Rodney Harrison, this chapter takes a dialogical approach to haunted

heritage practices, viewing heritage as an active relationship between humans and non-humans, “none of which are necessarily privileged as the origin of meaning-making, and all of whom are collectively involved in this ‘dialogue’ in different ways” (Harrison, *Heritage* 215). Heritage emerges from a collaborative process between people, “things”, and the environment (Harrison, *Heritage* 216). Keeping this in mind, my analysis of each case study will consider both material and immaterial cultural artefacts and their symbiotic relationship.

Britain has become a ‘memoryland’, obsessed with the disappearance of collective memory. Its landscapes and cityscapes are overflowing with heritage sites, museums, memorials, plaques, and art installations designed to be constant reminders of histories under the threat of being forgotten (MacDonald 1). Collective memory and regional history are underpinning influences on patterns of tourism and demands on the heritage industry and therefore must always be a principal consideration (Benton 1). The contemporary historical imaginary is fed by a breadth of consumption practices, commonly diverging and converging simultaneously (de Groot 312). It is impossible to consider memory outside of the methods of cultural production and performance.³ Consequently, along with discourses in heritage studies, tourism, and the Gothic, I draw on work from ‘memory studies’ to reflect on how a culture retrospectively constructs and recollects its past by using the ghost as an apparatus of display and remembrance. To focus on heritage production at the regional and national level, the supernatural manifestations explored within this chapter are what Michele Hanks terms as ‘public ghosts’ rather than ghosts of personal families (13). Put simply, I seek to explore how the past is codified, narrated, and staged through the figure of the ghost. Andreas Huyssen reminds his readers that the study of memory must always be in conjunction with an interrogation

of cultural amnesia (27). Following his caution, this chapter is guided by the inevitable process of what I term ‘active amnesia’, whereby certain narratives become intentionally repressed to accommodate the need to condense meaning at heritage sites.

Haunted Heritage: Hunting for the Ghosts of the Past



Fig. 14. Anonymous, “Demolition of Hungerford Market: Looking Towards the Strand”, 1862.

The city of London has remained a paradox: it is a symbol of modernity that is always drawn to the shadow of its past (Nead 1). As illustrated in the sketch “Demolition of Hungerford: View Looking Towards the Strand” (1862) (fig. 14), London in the nineteenth century became a visual ruin, a crumbling labyrinth of man-made destruction and the eroding effects of time. Effacement of the material traces of its history spawned growing anxiety, one that Walter Thornbury in 1865 describes most concisely:

If an alderman of the last century could arise from his sleep, he would shudder to see the scars and wounds from which London is now suffering. [...] On every hand legendary houses, great men's birthplaces, the haunts of poets, the scenes of martyrdoms, and the battle-fields of old factions, heave and totter around us. The tombs of great men, in the chinks of which the nettles have grown ever since the Great Fire, are now being uprooted. [...] Almost every moment some building worthy of record is shattered by the pickaxes of ruthless labourers. The noise of falling houses and uprooted streets even now in my ears tells me how busily Time, the Destroyer and the Improver, is working; erasing tombstones, blotting out names on street-doors, battering down narrow streets, effacing one by one the memories of the good, the bad, the illustrious, and the infamous. (v-vi)

Thornbury laments the destruction of the material environment in the name of 'progress' or Time. His commiserations speak to the threat to collective memory, identity, and connection to the past which demanded and encouraged a need for dedicated heritage efforts.⁴ Rampant urban development in the Georgian and Victorian period caused a disconnection between its agricultural past and its industrial futures; the British environmental and cultural imaginary was fractured and irreversibly altered.⁵ Particularly in the nineteenth century, processes of modernisation transformed the antiquated city into a metropolis, a place of death and decay that was somewhat at odds with its visual markers of progress. Planners and reformers sought to recreate a modern city, dispel obstructions and congestion, remove obsolete conditions of urban life, and pave the way forward for improved movement of people, money, goods, water, and air (Nead 13). As Lynda Nead comments, the change "was happening so quickly that it seemed by enchantment

rather than man-made. London was in the possession of the surveyors and masons, and was undergoing a continuous process of demolition and reconstruction.”

Landmarks and streets disappeared, “but the new London never seemed to finally emerge” (Nead 29).

A concern with the continued survival of a culture’s inheritance from the past is nothing new within European culture; indeed, it is as old as humanity itself (Cowell 21; Lowenthal, *Heritage Crusade* 1). However, in terms of the rise of urban tourism in London, the nineteenth century marks the moment in time when modern heritage bodies established their roots. The era witnessed the proliferation of mass tourism, the birth of the modern museum, a need for mechanisms to secure and shape a burgeoning sense of national identity, and lastly, the advent of government and legislative intervention to preserve and commemorate cultural heritage (Cowell 55).⁶ The rise and expansion of urban centres like London, modelled to be an emblem of modernity and the English nation, changed how a society preserved and memorialised its past. Patrick Wright has remarked that “like all cities, London is both dying and being reborn everyday” (*Journey Through Ruins* ix). The cycle of renewal and destruction in a culture with a desire to preserve a connection with the past invites innovative and adaptive methods to secure a sense of heritage. Richard Tames points out that the immense history of London “is not so much hidden as forgotten” (xviii). The erasure of a sense of identity, locality, and legacy has ignited a drive to safeguard the attachments to the past, present, and future (Harrison, *Heritage* 4, 7)

Before proceeding with the discussion at hand, there is a pressing question to address: what exactly is heritage? The evolution of the term has meant that heritage is a broad, slippery, and ambiguous term (Harrison *Heritage* 5, 14). Raphael Samuel

suggests that heritage is a nomadic term that, lexically, is “capacious enough to accommodate wildly discrepant meanings” (205). It is an old word, drawn from traditional societies in which value is derived from ancestral relationships. Its etymology refers back to heirs, or heirlooms passed down through generations (Davison 30-31).⁷ The role of inheritance, as not something just from the past but something to present to the future, remains an underpinning principle (Kaminski et al, “Introduction” 5). The idea of heritage and material inheritance, as exemplified by Thornbury’s work cited above, is a defining feature of the heritage movement, especially in the nineteenth century. That being said, the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries caused a shift in meaning to prompt some individuals to move beyond material artefacts and extended the term to include folkways and political ideals, upon which regimes founded their identity and linked to their invented traditions (Davison 31).

Herein lies the issue of defining the scope of heritage. It encompasses the material, the ideological, and the immaterial elements of a culture that are deemed valuable. It includes buildings, monuments, and memorials, but also such ethereal elements as songs, ideas, and languages (Harrison, *Heritage* 5). Age or historical significance no longer necessarily applies, as the word can freely apply to almost any commodity that purports to produce past *styles* of architecture, everyday objects, or food. This is positive: Raphael Samuel insightfully remarks that ‘heritage’, although an inflated term, now extends to environments and artefacts “which in the past would have been regarded as falling beneath the dignity of history,” because it was too recent or deemed too trivial or common for scholarly or legislative attention (208). Despite governing bodies’ attempt to curtail and contain the definition of heritage, it can be “anything you want”; its value derives from social action and

practice rather than a set of organic conditions. Thus, in agreement with Rodney Harrison, it must be stated that heritage cannot be defined as a single “thing”, historical or political movement, but rather “a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past” (Harrison, *Heritage* 14). The idea of heritage is not founded on “analytical precision, but its psychological resonance” (Davison 33).

The inflation of heritage does not mean that all features of a culture are subject to heritage value. Anything *can* be heritage, but, traditionally, not all aspects of a culture gain that status. Grant Allen’s ghost story “Pallinghurst Barrow” (1893), in writing the horrors of protagonist Rudolph Reeve’s encounter with savage primordial ghosts, delivers insightful commentary on the role of ghosts that can be read as a metaphor for heritage production in the modern age, and its relationship to history. During a conversation amid a small group in the drawing-room of Pallinghurst Manor-house, one Dr Porter speculates on the appearance of ghosts. “It’s a very odd fact,” he remarks, “that the only ghosts people ever see are the ghosts of a generation very very close to them [*sic*].” One hears lots about ghosts in eighteenth-century costume, “because everybody has a clear idea of wigs and small-clothes from pictures and fancy dresses.” There are far fewer Elizabethan ghosts, for those most susceptible to beholding ghosts are not acquainted with the ideas of their dress; and no ghosts of Anglo-Saxon or Ancient British or Roman costumed ghosts appear, he argues, because they are only known to a comparatively limited class of learned people: “Millions of ghosts of remote antiquity must swarm about the world, though, after a hundred years of thereabouts they retire into obscurity and cease to annoy the people with their nasty cold shivers.” A Mrs Bruce chimes in and astutely comments, “each eye sees in all things just what each eye brings with it the power of seeing.” Each of us sees ghosts only that we are “adapted to seeing” (Allen 139-40).

In the same way, heritage relies on a present for a way of knowing and ‘seeing’ to interpret and mediate the past, a way that is the product of its historical imaginaries, cultural and political needs (Harrison, *Heritage* 14).



Fig. 15. Anonymous. Illustration to Grant Allen’s “Pallinghurst Barrow”. 1892, *London Illustrated News*, Christmas number. *The Ghost: A Cultural History*, by Susan Owens, Tate Publishing, 2017, p. 231.

London is a giant grave and has been the location of multiple generations of life and death within a small span of time and space (Arnold 1).⁸ The city’s foundation is comprised of sedimented bodies, events, and objects—an aggregate compiled of multiple cultural and temporal identities, albeit a large proportion “cease to annoy the people with their nasty cold shivers” (Allen 119). Whereas Dr Porter declares the eighteenth-century ghost as the primary period haunting of his era, the illustration of a frantic Reeve, primordial ghosts, and the ‘early modern’ ghost (the

sacrificial victim who failed to flee, unlike Reeve) depicts the epochs central to the modern heritage imaginary. As my analysis later will flesh out in depth, heritage seeks to prevent certain 'ghosts' of our past from retiring into obscurity, while establishing the knowledge needed to enable their persistent haunting.⁹

My interest in the representation of the past through the Gothic in the modern heritage practices directly responds to the scholarly debates arising in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly to rectify their debasement of heritage. In the mid-1980s, three main scholarly texts arose in response to the late-modern heritage boom that would inspire the emergence of critical heritage studies in the decades that followed: David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985), and Robert Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987). Though with various approaches, these three critics ignited the critical viewpoint of heritage as entropic and established a binary opposition between Heritage and History (Hewison 141). Heritage, according to Robert Hewison, is "bogus history" that "draws a screen between ourselves and our true past" (10, 144). Arising from an era of the academe concerned with the impact of mass culture, postmodernism, and the politics of representation, heritage was regarded as another form of entertainment to distract mass consumers and to commercialise a revitalised interest in the past (Harrison, *Heritage* 69). Heritage, as characterised by Patrick Wright, was a shallow signifier with little substance, history purged of political tension to become purely spectacle (*On Living* 69).

There are several issues at stake surrounding this demonisation of heritage: it makes a number of assumptions concerning the objectivity of History, rejects symbolic meaning within communities, and places heritage as a solely political apparatus that informs uncritical masses. Jerome de Groot has endeavoured to

deconstruct and challenge the continued rejection of the historical in popular culture and performance. He emphasises that History is not fixed, arguing that it is not entirely comprehensive and understandable, and that it is constructed through cultural places such as museums, history texts, guidebooks, and other associated cultural products (2). In his follow-up work, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998), Lowenthal articulates the issues in viewing heritage as inferior. According to him, critics often neglect how heritage has been manipulating the past for present gain, using the fraudulent relics industry as an example of how this is nothing new. They create a mirage: “a past that does not pander to elite and other interests, an unadulterated history that once was and should be ours, a ‘true’ past of archives and artifacts that heritage perverts” (*Heritage Crusade* 101-2). He initially advances a seemingly more neutral argument, distinguishing the two methodologies not as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ but with regards to differing goals. His neutrality, however, becomes quickly discredited when he positions the central difference between the two by characterising History as still *trying* to tell the truth about the past; Heritage, by contrast, “uses historical traces and tells historical tales, but those tales and traces are stitched into fables that are open neither to critical analysis nor to comparative scrutiny” (*Heritage Crusade* 121). The oversimplification of, and complete disregard for, the critical ability of popular culture leaves the real distinction unclear. As an alternative, History and Heritage should be viewed as different approaches to the social work of making sense of our past and its connection to our present (Harrison, *Heritage* 113).

Making sense of the past makes the Gothic appealing for heritage bodies. In the words of Robert Mighall, “Gothic by definition is about history and geography” (xvi). Incidentally, McEvoy identifies these two themes as crucial intersecting

features of ghosts (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 3). This, however, can be reconsidered. Ghosts, as the embodied relationship of the past emerging in the present, are intimately tied to the ideas of heritage (Hanks, *Haunted Heritage* 23). For this reason, it is unsurprising to note that they have a tradition located in heritage production. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century focus on fostering nationalism, heritage, and English identity correlates to a resurgence of folkloric ghost stories in print and the rise of the amateur ghost-hunter. Ghostly literary tales contributed too: M. R. James's *Ghost Stories of an Antiquary* (1904) is a clear nod to the antiquarianism movement dedicated to preserving the traces of the past in print.¹⁰ Apprehending the disintegration and/or eradication of relics to support a national identity, a drive was sparked to archive, preserve, or memorialise traces and artefacts of English cultural past and knowledge. For Susan Owens, folkloric ghosts established a connection between the supernatural and the representation of the national past, stating that their "new role was to personify a deeper, more primitive idea of history that was intimately connected with particular locations" (Owens 222). From the mid-1860s onwards, a few books on legends, superstitions, and traditions of specific regions or counties were published (Owens 222). Ghosts were and continued to be used systematically to document and to preserve the nuance and peculiarity they represented of each locality (Owens 221-22).¹¹

Fiction writers and ghost hunters have suggested that places and objects can become repositories of emotions, memories, and consciousness (Holloway and Kneale 299). By their very nature, ghosts are bound to a locality and to specific historical incidents (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 178-79).¹² Presenting the city as a haunted space foregrounds its place as a repository of national and local history and figures the locale as a metaphorical mausoleum. Architecture embodies the

materiality of distant times, and the ghost serves as a marker of the intangible history that has taken place; together, these two features coalesce to present a more complete narrative picture of the past. The portrayal of ghosts as residual energies of moments and people of the past embedded in place embodies the concept of *genius loci* or “spirit of place”. As Ruth Heholt writes, “The spirit of place *is* the place and we have a bodily response to it.” It is indelibly linked to the past: “Places are always marked by what has gone before, by the people who populated and shaped the environment in different ways.” Spirit of place is the layers of action and memory embedded in the landscape alongside the layering of material history (“Introduction” 2). But the idea of space as a repository is a purely projected imaginary, a way that we make sense of space and place. In actuality, spirit of place is layers of enacted memory, prompted by material traces of past actions and people, and an important consideration when thinking about haunted space. As in the case of heritage, it is a production of memory and haunting in the present that gives us a sense of, and relationship to, the past.

A general definition describes a ghost as “the soul of a deceased person, spoken of as appearing in visible form, or otherwise manifesting its presence, to the living” (“Ghost,” def. N.7). Therefore, by definition, a ghost is a marker of the past (a person *that-has-been*) that interjects itself on the present (the living); as a returning deceased person, the ghost is the embodiment of a specific historical moment. Ghosts are a most appealing figure for the heritage industry, the primary aim of which is to combat the anxieties of loss because they “operate as a particular, and peculiar kind of social memory, an alternate form of history-making,” and can be used to foreground things under threat of cultural amnesia or repression (Richardson 3). Ghosts often appear when change threatens social stability and historicity

(Richardson 2). They supplement what is absent, those elements considered vitally important to a national heritage that have been erased by time or that exist beyond materiality. The presence of a ghost or haunting phenomenon proves to be a bridge between the past and the present or the living and the dead, offering a sense of continuity (Ackroyd 1). They can be used to legitimise territorial claims, and evidence the cores and peripheries of national landscapes (Richardson 7). Lastly, their ability to harness and preserve something of our past makes them suitable as a mechanism for historical memory (Richardson xiv). The remainder of the chapter will provide select examples of the ghost employed to produce haunted heritage in London.

Museumising the Ghost: Adopting the Gothic at Her Majesty's Historic Royal Palaces

“Traditionally, heritage sites have eschewed the Gothic,” Emma McEvoy argues, but in the modern era of entertainment and experience-based tourism, it has become an increasingly popular choice for heritage managers (*Gothic Tourism* 160-61, 178). She contends that recourse to the Gothic is a dangerous strategy for heritage management because of the Gothic's associations with imprisonment, feudal tyranny, suffering bodies, blood, and torture— all of which constitute a highly macabre interpretation of the past. In addition to reservations on Gothic motifs, she pinpoints Gothic's Whiggish attitude to history and lack of historical specificity as obstacles: “at its crudest, it cares little about history or local detail and functions as a vehicle for bigotry” (*Gothic Tourism* 161). For these reasons, McEvoy argues, many heritage sites court the Gothic and employ its narratives, imagery, and motifs to attract and appeal to visitors, but also seek to contain it (*Gothic Tourism* 178). While McEvoy's concerns are legitimate, the blurring of histories, the superimposing of

certain narratives whilst ignoring others, and the balancing of the presentation of tyrannical regimes for present-day sensibilities—all central issues of Gothic tourism— are overarching concerns for heritage management, more broadly, Gothic or otherwise. English heritage sites seek to contain what lies beyond the purview of its often Eurocentric narrative to formulate a specific collective memory, whether that be unpalatable histories, the Gothic, or certain popular culture associations.

Here, I seek to offer a close analysis of two sites governed under ‘official heritage’ practices, surveying those processes of heritage identification, management, and conservation that are authorised by the state, and motivated by legislation or government body (Harrison, “Heritage as Social Action” 240).¹³ In contrast to McEvoy, who has case-study sites belonging to the prolific heritage body English Heritage or the entertainment-based Merlin group,¹⁴ I have selected properties managed by Historic Royal Palaces to demonstrate how the Gothic has been negotiated from the nineteenth century to the present day.¹⁵ On their official website, Historic Royal Palaces outline five objectives of their overall heritage project: “to protect both the palaces and the life in them”:

- “To unravel, debate and continue the story.”
- “To help people see, touch and understand it.”
- “To reflect the story to the people of Britain and project it to the people of the world.”
- “To help everyone find their own meanings.”
- “To help them make history where history was made.” (Historic Royal Palaces “Who we are and what do”)¹⁶

Historic Royal Palaces acknowledge their roles as storytellers and as conservators (Historic Royal Palaces “Collections and Conservation Policies”). In their capacity as storytellers, at both Hampton Court and the Tower of London, they entwine the Gothic in their heritage stories. How do ghosts and the Gothic imaginary help “to reflect the story to the people of Britain” and the rest of the world? The analysis that follows seeks to convey a historical review of the properties’ ghosts that extend beyond the description of management tactics. Instead, the aim is to offer a theoretical examination of Historic Royal Palaces’ use of ghosts and the Gothic mode to support their heritage project.

Gothic Heritage at Hampton Court Palace



Fig. 16. Alicia Edwards, Hampton Court Palace: Front Entrance View, photograph, 2019

At the bend of the River Thames below the Surrey Hills stands the imposing Tudor red-bricked Hampton Court Palace in all its grandeur and opulence. With humble beginnings as a Norman agricultural estate, the palace has been the setting of a lengthy, and, at times, tempestuous, history before transitioning to a public tourist site. It would be the characters who inherited the place after the death of Henry VII who would transform the site extensively and become some of the featured players of Hampton Court: Sir Cardinal Wolsey and King Henry VIII. These two figureheads

would not only construct the major features of the palace found today, but the latter also serves as the pivotal link between Hampton Court and its ghosts.

As the case of Hampton Court Palace attests, the adaptable formula of the ghost story facilitates its adoption by historic sites to narrate and represent its past. On the palace's official website, listed among portraits of interest, biographies of historical figures, and information on socio-cultural practices such as "Tudor food and eating", is a dedicated webpage entitled "Historic hauntings at Hampton Court Palace". Like many historical sites across the nation, Hampton Court too has embraced and commodified the ghost and openly markets its tales of haunting as part of its tourist itinerary (Historic Royal Palaces "Historic Hauntings"). For almost two centuries Hampton Court has been among the top tourist attractions of the nation—and a case of nineteenth-century ghost tourism proper (Souden and Worsley 6). Although the antiquated building is an ideal setting for centuries of ghost-seeing, the phantoms walking the halls of Hampton Court Palace seem to have only emerged in the nineteenth century; as mentioned on the official website, "nobody knew better than the Victorians that terror sells tickets" (Historic Royal Palaces "Historic Hauntings").

Hampton Court Palace captured in the photograph above (fig. 3) was the architectural project of Cardinal Wolsey, acquired privately for use as his own luxurious country house for entertaining (Souden and Worsley 28). From 1514–1522 and 1522–1528 (completed in two phases), Wolsey made a myriad of alterations and additions to the site. Yet, because of the political scandal with Henry VIII's divorce, by September 1528, Henry ejected Wolsey from Hampton Court and declared the Palace his own (Souden and Worsley 36). The Palace was put under construction and renovation under Henry as the location of pleasure and retirement with Anne

Boleyn, his second wife, and then Jane Seymour, who replaced Anne. But like so many architectural gestures of love, Henry's wives' short lives meant that neither lived long enough to enjoy it (Souden and Worsley 38).¹⁷ Nonetheless, the Palace would remain a key locale in British monarchical history and would later be occupied at various stages by members of the Stuart and Hanoverian dynasties. The shape and structure of the building changed with each occupant, and within its walls, the intricate private celebrations, commiserations, and family feuds duly unfolded.

From the 1760s onward, the palace slowly became a public space instead of solely the residence of the monarchy. The succession of King George III and his move into Kew Palace meant that Hampton Court would be abandoned as a royal dwelling. Nonetheless, the Palace underwent more architectural and landscaping alterations even with royal absence to accommodate and adapt to new residents (Souden and Worsley 118). Poorer groups of courtiers, minor British royalty, royals from nations abroad, and residence by "grace and favour" of the sovereign were all cause for the palace to be divided into numerous apartments (Souden and Worsley 122).¹⁸ In the nineteenth century, attention shifted away from purely residential concerns to Hampton Court's historical value. In its early days as being a tourist attraction—in keeping with the practice of visiting country houses in Britain—those of social standing were admitted by paying a modest fee to the resident housekeeper, who conducted them around the house on a guided tour. Tourists' admission to Hampton Court would become democratized upon the death of the Lady Housekeeper and the abolition of that office (Souden and Worsley 132; Law *Short History* 350). In April 1838, in one of her first acts as reigning monarch, Queen Victorian ordered that the "Palace should be thrown open to all her subjects, without restriction, and without fee of gratuity of any kind" (Law, *Short History* 350).¹⁹

Following its opening, hundreds of thousands of visitors flocked to the Tudor building to gaze at its extravagant interiors and their vast collections of fine art, making it a favoured holiday destination (Law, *Short History* 361-2).²⁰

The Palace became a site of architectural discovery, renewal, and restoration. Initially prompted by antiquarian intrigue, Hampton Court underwent a shedding of its modernised renovations completed to make its modern apartments suitable for its residents. Under the watchful command of architect John Lessels and Mr Edward Jesse, Surveyor of the Royal Parks and Palaces, the Palace was given a reinforced Tudor appearance, restoring that which had been lost or hidden, and at times, adding further embellishments (Souden and Worsley 127, 137; Law, *Short History* 369). Ernest Law summarises the number of restorations made to the building for his readers. On the exterior, he writes, the

hideous sash windows, for instance, that had so long disfigured many parts of the old Tudor west front, were replaced by Gothic mullioned, casemented, and latticed windows; the ornamental stone carvings were restored; and the chimney-shafts, of finely moulded brick, substituted for the shapeless and graceless masses of yellow brick of the Georgian era. (Law, *Short History* 368)

In the interior, “the walls, so long bare” were “rehung with old tapestry”, the windows filled with appropriate stained glass, and the roof was redecorated (Law, *Short History* 368-9). The reordering of its spaces made it “more of a museum than a palace” (Souden and Worsley 136). For David Souden and Lucy Worsley, the impetus behind all the work had direct links to the growing tourist interest; the rising number of tourists were interested in romantic Tudor aspects of the palace: “Visitor

demand and antiquarian romance coincided” (129). The correlation between representing the edifice as a Tudor cultural artefact and its staging as a tourist site articulates the principles underpinning its indelible narratives of haunting and their entanglement with Hampton’s historicity.²¹

As great efforts were made to restore and display the tangible relics of Tudor architecture, the intangible collective memory and historical narrative were given a concentrated effort and re-imagining. In 1897, William Holden Hutton provided the following description:

Hampton Court belongs to-day not only to the present but to the mighty past. Still a royal palace, with its guard of honour, its chapel royal, its chaplain and choir, its staff of royal officials and servants, it has its close links with the past in the continuous occupation of many of its rooms by those who have borne their part, themselves or their kindred, in making England great. So we may walk through its courts with thronged memories of great names – and from them we may pass to “thick-coming fancies” of a world invisible or half known. Imagination and tradition vie in bringing forth tales of strange noises and mysterious presences. (232-33)

Navigating through the courts and halls with “thronged memories”, Hutton reads the spatial environment as a *repository* of memory. Depicted as a Bachelardian space of *reverie*, this description of the Palace through its *genius loci*—its memories of past inhabitants—strongly emphasises the role of intangible relics in the staging of Hampton Court Palace’s past. The “world invisible or half known”, then, is a metaphor for the intimate histories of the people, the movements and actions that we cannot access through tangible remains. Nonetheless, it is necessary to be sceptical

about the invocation of 'memories' in any straightforward sense. Maurice Halbwachs makes a clear distinction between types of memory, specifically what he defines as "autobiographical memory", memories and events personally experienced, and "historical memory" (23). These 'memories' cherished by Hutton are not his autobiographical memories, but rather historical memories—those reached through records and second-hand accounts but which can be kept alive through active mnemonic labour—and national narratives, constructed and tutored to present a certain vision of the past (Halbwachs 23). In order successfully to instill these specific methods of 'seeing' or associations, the museum deploys a number of tactics through print media and the staging of its interior to assist in producing or curating a certain experience.

Firstly, museums and historic sites are always engaged in the process of absence management (Goulding et al 26-27). Of greatest importance here is the absence of human life, the stories of the site that imbue the edifice with cultural value and meaning. Tourists cannot access the direct experience of its former inhabitants, nor is there any direct link to a wholly accessible past. Thus, to remedy this overt absence requires the production of collective memory to fill the gaps and cue the imagination, a function that is fulfilled by ghosts. What Hutton calls 'memories' are instead learned historical narratives, socio-cultural knowledge of place that is condensed and attached to a specific locality. Hence, imagination and tradition do not "vie into bringing forth" these "strange noises" and "mysterious presences" but work symbiotically (Hutton 233). The nature of ghosts—as figures of the deceased, those bodies and figures of the past—is to serve as a suitable conduit of heritage representation as they function as someone or something *that-has-been*.²² As I will explore in more detail below, their emergence at historical sites grants a property the

ability to translate and transmogrify episodes of historical events into a consumable and engaging tourist experience.

From the onset, Hampton Court did not just serve as a museum space to stage static objects but an interactive experience of architectural imagination, at times with a Gothic twist. In his *Haunted Houses* (1907), Charles G. Harper attends his interview with Mr Ernest Law—author and authority of the “special study of Hampton Court”, the multi-volume tome *The History of Hampton Court Palace* (1885) and condensed tourist guidebooks versions for the property—with great disillusionment. Harper reports that his yearning for rich insight into the ghosts of the Palace was met by a “disappointingly matter-of-fact” response by Law: “I am often accused of having originated the ghosts. Certainly, when I first began, scarcely any one knew of their existence, and they were not recognized with the unanimity they deserve—as they are now [sic]” (Harper 18-19).²³ By his admission, Law not only recognises the role of his ‘markers’— his writings and tourism material—in inventing its ghosts and the palace as a site of haunting but affirms how the systematic production, marketing, and staging of ghosts at a historic site assists to ascribe and disseminate specific narratives and associations with the location to a wider collective.

Dedicated to providing a detailed account of the Palace’s history, key figures, and intimate tales for the public, Law’s work promulgated its Gothic characters and scripted how Hampton Court would market, stage, and formulate its tourism itinerary, encoding the edifice as a paramount site in English History for the next two centuries. *The History of Hampton Court Palace* was compiled through rigorous research intended “to render this history complete and accurate”. Its contents are drawn from a number of scholarly and archival sources from the Records Office,

British Museum, the Bodleian, and the libraries of All Souls College and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; as Law wrote, his study was based on the principle of “consulting, in almost every case, the ultimate historical authorities and original documents” (*Tudor Times* vii). Law’s work takes great effort to produce a thorough chronology of events, starting from the inception of Hampton as a settlement to its use as a historic tourist site in the Victorian period. Yet, he retains his own creative license to embellish the historical document, as he admits, to pique interest:

At the same time, the opportunities the author has enjoyed of investigating every nook and corner of the palace have, it is hoped, enabled him to invest many of the historical events that occurred within its walls, with a local “colouring,” which may add something to their vividness and interest. (*Tudor Times* vii)

This local ‘colouring’ would be pivotal in tutoring his readers on how to perform and engage with Hampton Court Palace.

In his introduction to *The History of Hampton Court Palace in Tudor Times*, what becomes evident is the original source of Hutton’s fanciful imaginings. Law suggests that movement through the “red-bricked courts, solemn cloisters, picturesque gables, towers, turrets, embattlement parapets, and mullioned and latticed windows” evokes a certain spatial imaginary: “that indescribable charm which invests all ancient and historic places.” This “charm” derives from projecting an architectural imaginary when one ponders “on the many thrilling events enacted within the palace in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts.” Law suggests to his readers that when engaged with the material environment, “we may mentally people them again with kings and queens and statesmen and courtiers who thronged them in the

last century.” Law’s suggested performance of Hampton Court directs his readers to appreciate and consume the Palace using its material artefacts not as static objects but props, prompting them ‘to recall the past with a vividness that no books can ever excite’ (*Tudor Times* 2).

Law not only prompts his readers to people Hampton Court with the re-imaginings of its past inhabitants in their living forms but also to imagine the halls stocked with wandering phantoms. Certainly, ghosts must be part of its “local colour”; as Diana Norman, author of *The Stately Ghosts of England* (1963), declares, the longer the history of a place, “the greater its chance of possessing a ghost.” In the case of stately homes (or palaces for that matter) “ghosts are a tradition, almost an inheritance, bequeathed from generation to generation” (Norman 17). Charles G. Harper presents a strong argument for the Palace’s haunted status, but also identifies a discordance of its ghostly residents:

there is every reason why Hampton Court should be haunted. Wolsey, the proud Cardinal who originally built it, and was impelled by the instinct of self-preservation to make a present of his great palace to Henry the Eighth, in the hope of regaining the estranged affections of his master, should certainly haunt this, among the last scenes of his broken ambition; and the spirits of certain unhappy Queens, wives in succession of the “professional widower,” should with equal certainty trouble the midnight galleries. If we may give credence to oft-repeated tales, they do. No one has ever claimed to have seen the form of the Cardinal, and not even that most unhappy Anne Boleyn has been observed. (16)

Why do only certain figures from its turbulent past return as its phantoms when others remain just names recorded in its histories? McEvoy observes that there is not necessarily a direct correlation between the histories occurring in a place and its resident ghosts (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism*, 144-47). Rather, the synergy required between ghost, place, and visitor to package haunting—to recall Davies' argument from the previous chapter—is created through cultural production inspired by and/or which uses location in its tales. The ghosts of Hampton Court are sourced by the dedicated tourist and historical texts; thus, the original ghosts—the ghosts first discussed in print by Law—are designed to package, embellish and complement the Tudor-driven tourist gaze and performance, affirming its historicity.²⁴

Three spectral figures were included in the early historical texts and persist in guidebooks to the present day. Each has a direct connection with Henry VIII, and each haunts the same general area of the Palace. First mentioned is the spectre of Queen Jane Seymour, third wife to Henry VIII who supplanted Anne Boleyn. Witnesses claim that she is seen to emerge from the doorway of the old Queen's apartments, with a lighted taper in hand, and wander the stairs and around the Silver-Stick Gallery (Law, *Short History* 97).

The next ghost, who ranks "among the best authenticated of historical ghosts", is that of Mistress Sibell Penn [*sic*], dry-nurse and foster-mother of Edward VI (Law, *Short History* 97, 99).²⁵ Disturbances by her ghost were not reported until the nineteenth century, when, in 1829, the church was pulled down, her tomb was irreverently disturbed and her remains scattered.²⁶ Immediately after the tomb's disturbance, "strange noises, as of a woman working at a spinning-wheel, and muttering the while, were heard through the wall of one of the rooms in the large

apartment in the south-west wing.” Allegedly, when the Board of Works searched for the source of the noise, they discovered an unknown chamber that contained a



Fig. 17. Anonymous, *The Ghost of Mrs. Penn, Edward VI.'s Nurse*, sketch, 1885.

spinning-wheel, among other articles, “and the old oak planks were seen to be worn away where the treadle struck the floor” (Law, *Short History* 98). Based on the artefacts found in the room, it was thought that the desecration of Sibell Penn’s tomb caused her ghost to return to haunt the rooms that she occupied in life. Further manifestations ceased until the early 1880s, when the phenomenon was renewed and reported with greater frequency.²⁷ According to accounts, the prevalence of the auditory manifestations remained—the whirring of the spinning-wheel, mutterings of a “sepulchral voice” and “the stealthy tread of invisible feet”. But her resurgence brought with it an apparition, and it was affirmed that the Mrs Penn’s “tall, gaunt form, dressed in long gray robe, with a hood over her head, and her lanky hands outstretched before her”—depicted in the illustration above (fig. 17) – had been

spotted in what would be renamed as “The Haunted Gallery” (Law, *Short History* 98).²⁸

Catherine Howard, the fifth wife to Henry VIII, is said to be the ghostly White Lady of Hampton Court Palace, a spirit sentenced to re-enact the legendary vehement scene of her final acts of desperation to Henry VIII before being sent to the Tower of London. Legend holds that she escaped imprisonment in her chambers, and ran along the hall, seeking to speak to Henry VIII, who was attending mass in the chapel (Law, *Tudor Times* 233-34). Captured by guards before reaching the door, her piercing screams failed to arouse a response from Henry. A female figure, dressed in white, is said to be seen coming towards the door of the Royal Pew, and when close, is seen to hurry back with dishevelled garments and a face plastered with the look of utmost despair, uttering “the most unearthly shrieks”, as she passes through the door to the Gallery (Law, *Tudor Times* 224).

The ghosts described here can be categorised as what Dennis Waskul terms “historical hauntings”, that is, hauntings that “occur in places of historical significance”, and ghosts that, when reported, are seen “wearing period-appropriate clothing or uniforms” (65). These ghosts are most common to heritage sites and facilitate the dissemination of the location’s cultural value. Similarly to costumed mannequins or actors, historical ghosts stage the past by embodying the name or idea of a person, but through their appearance, actions and indexical value, they contribute to what Pierre Sorlin refers to as “historical capital”: a collection of events, dates, and characters of a cultural heritage known to all its members (20). Acquiring this knowledge through ghost stories, tourists and readers more generally are able culturally to situate the ghosts and position the Palace and its past in their understanding of history.

“Old buildings have strong personalities”, argues Siân Evans, and “there is a palpable sense of place wherever people have lived and loved and fought and triumphed and despaired.” In some of these old places, the people and events of the past are projected onto the present; as Evans concludes, “we call these places haunted, and describe their *dramatis personae* as ghosts” (7). Describing ghosts as *dramatis personae* aptly identifies the role of ghosts as players in the script of heritage to cultivate historical capital. For B. Goodacre and G. Baldwin, “peopling historical space” is necessary to establish a relationship with the material past:

The establishment of a relationship with the past is most realised when there is a representation of people in the past to be related to...the fabric of a building or a collection of artefacts cannot be fully understood unless the people who inhabited the space in the past and created, used and disposed of the artefacts are considered. (qtd. in de Groot 123)²⁹

Ghosts serve as suitable conduits to discuss and represent a place’s histories because of their ability to animate architecture through their stories and provide crucial elements to support conservation value. Furthermore, it is for this reason that many sites gain heritage value when associated with historical or Gothic romance. It is, therefore, possible to argue that certain heritage sites transform into an immersive and performative Gothic romance, weaving ghosts within their complex plots.

Historical museums tend to use storytelling as a means of organisation and display, and in some cases, the material objects become secondary to the poetics of storytelling (Ryan et al 183). To present a cogent yet seemingly comprehensive narrative of a place, heritage sites are challenged to fit their narratives in the given space. As a result, temporal sequences and diachronic progressions may be subject

to being condensed, transposed, omitted, or refigured, their stories simplified and abridged in order to be absorbed by tourists and maintain their interest (Ryan et al 161). To achieve this, Hampton Court compartmentalises segments of its history throughout the Palace, whereby various sections of the building represent a separate and discrete narrative and/or staging of its people, events, and architectural development.³⁰ “Historically theming” areas of the Palace, to use the words of Sharon MacDonald, helps the tourist to read the environment as a set of individuated spaces (4). This in turn enhances the overall aesthetic experience of each area (Rodaway 166). This process of containment does not just relate to the Gothic elements but rather is a method utilised in heritage management to condense symbolic features into a designated and limited material space.

The historical hauntings have traditionally been a central feature of King Henry VIII's Apartments. The stories of its Tudor ghosts serve as vignettes to relay a distinct component of Hampton Court's overarching history. In other words, the ghosts serve as a tourist marker to demarcate significant places and points of history relating to Hampton Court (Ryan et al 170). A single ghost story, like that of Catherine Howard, the ghostly White Lady, can stand as a complex sign or shorthand to condense complicated stories and messages, such as the aspects of King Henry VIII's marital dissension and its socio-cultural conditions.

In a way, this heritage ghost story is a form of re-enactment that establishes the credulity not of the spectre but of the historical moment in question. In the same vein as re-enactors, historical ghost narratives seek to retrieve and reanimate the vanished past. A convincing historical ghost tale takes what is known and fills in the gaps with “the probable, the possible, the plausible, or the risible” so as to display a Gothic scene (Lowenthal, *Foreign Country* 477). Reconstruction of the past may

attract negative feedback from early heritage scholars, but it should not be readily dismissed. As a vignette, the Gothic scene becomes a single 'image', much like the scene of a costume drama, put on replay every time the story is read, retold, or reimagined. And while it is important to remain diligent towards, and critical of, the narratives told by the heritage industry, the ghost, as demonstrated above, can be a worthwhile mechanism to explore the troubling connections and histories. Moreover, ghosts persuade the tourist unconsciously to participate in creating meaning and engage in vital memory-work of the place and its cultural conditions.

Still, a successful investment in historical capital requires the ghost and its environment to be congruous and effectively staged. The tourist experience of heritage sites such as palaces and great houses, in particular, is organised by what Dean MacCannell calls "staged authenticity".³¹ Architecture, or, rather, material traces of the past, is assumed to have an inherent authenticity as a historical object. Historical objects converted into musealized spaces "freeze historical time in a historical place", and as Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote and Maoz Azaryahu observe, "The rhetoric of authenticity reigns supreme" (182). These spaces transform into time-capsules where tourists may step into preserved (or conserved) space with a tangible connection to the past, although it is not just the material building itself that offers this connection. A combination of historical objects and/or replicas to stage specific rooms, strategically placed plaques, descriptions, and textual potted histories, in conjunction with audio materials and re-enactment actors, effectively stages an immersive historical environment to spark the imagination and 'people' its rooms and corridors.³² A combination of strategic staging and storytelling leads to the successful integration of heritage ghosts, which perform a didactic role.

Historically, Hampton Court has used certain techniques for the staging of its ghosts. To supplement storytelling, maps are used to suture haunting to place.

Maps, as a graphic form of spatial storytelling, immediately draw the reader to the

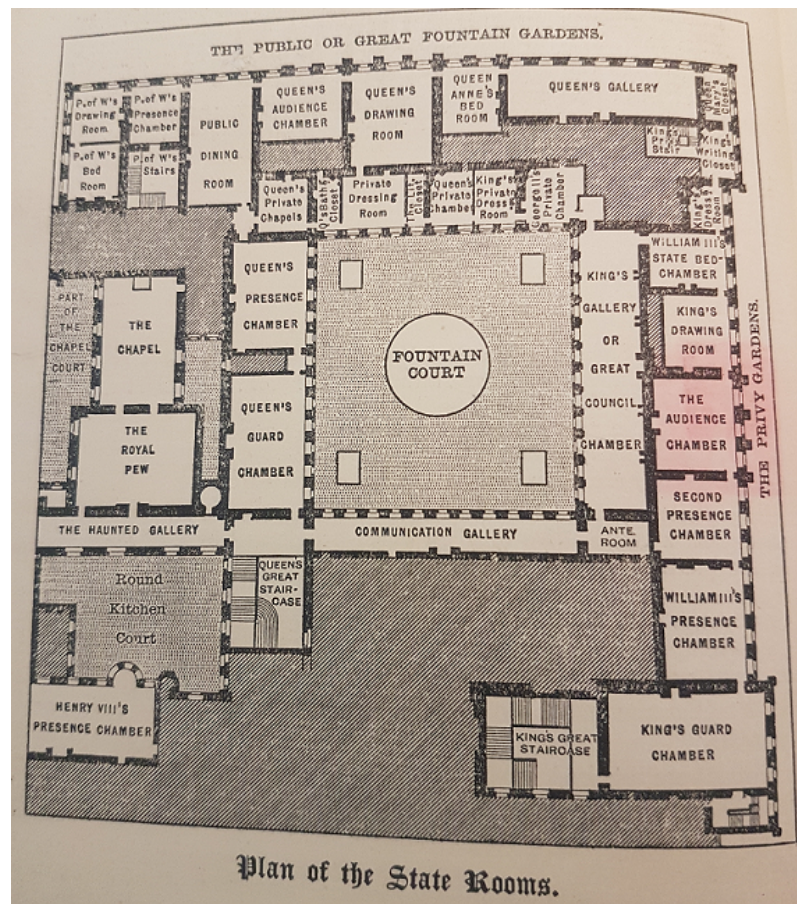


Fig. 18. Ernest Law, Plan of the State Rooms, 1882

layout of the palace. The map above is found in the opening pages of a nineteenth-century guidebook entitled *The New Guide to the Royal Palace of Hampton Court with New Catalogue of the Pictures* (1882) (fig. 18). What is important to notice here is the space labelled “The Haunted Gallery”, on the left-hand side of the image, situated between the Royal Pew and the Round Kitchen Court. The map as a narrative device offers the reader guidelines mentally to construct the space and suffuse it with an imagined atmosphere of haunting. Yoked together with the graphic marker is the textual map to annotate the image. In the description for “The Haunted

Gallery”, the tourist is told the ghost tale of Catherine Howard in spatial terms. It tracks her movement through the room, pointing out that her shrieking ghost “passes through the door at the end of the gallery” (Law, *New Guide* 56). The ghost story provides the script to the imaginative re-enactment completed by the tourist when envisioning the scene. Designating the space as the “Haunted Gallery” entrenches the ghost stories, especially the ghost of Catherine Howard, into the fabric of the building as a sort of permanent museum exhibit. By naming the space as haunted, the ghost becomes a cultural artefact on display.



Fig. 19. Anonymous, “The Hampton Court Palace Ghost”, postcard, circa early 1900s.

It is equally important to consider how souvenirs work to entrench associations of haunting. In the early twentieth century, ghostly postcards illustrating Hampton Court ghosts gained popularity as gothicky souvenirs. Although easily dismissed as kitsch tourist ephemera, these postcards play an appreciable role in manufacturing a Gothic spatial imaginary. Primarily depicting topographical, geographical, and/or architectural images, postcards are carefully curated deliberately to frame a specific sense of place, thus designed to be textual and visual messengers to assist in constructing imagined and physical spaces, geography, nation-building, and ideologies (Hornstein 62,75). Drawing on Dean MacCannell's terminology, postcards are "portable markers" that are used to stage and narrate a tourist site away from the actual place. Staging and narrating a property to evoke Gothic affect *in situ* requires that tourists visit the physical site. However, if, as Shelley Hornstein suggests, postcards grant architecture and place a certain level of mobility, albeit symbolically, they become a powerful method of extending the scope of collective knowledge about certain spatial narratives and associations (62). Traditionally, postcards were acquired from the physical site and kept as a memento or sent to a recipient to document travels to a certain property. As such, these souvenirs were a form of early mass-media branding of a place that was consciously designed to market, disseminate, and display a certain visual image to re-contextualise associations and cultural competence of a place (Hornstein 65, 70).

The postcard "The Hampton Court Palace Ghost" is a complex visual and textual object coded to relay information about the Palace. Put another way, a postcard is a mini-monument or, rather, a memory trigger that fits within the larger definition of a monument—objects that symbolically mark learned signification or meaning (Hornstein 17, 74).³³ Although the caption slightly diverts from the original

tales, redirecting the movement of the ghost of Catherine Howard to include the Great Hall, this does not detract from the overall strategic intent to impart knowledge of the heritage site and English history. A photograph of the Great Hall is the staged room superimposed with the ghost narrative and supplies a clear, dimensional, and 'realistic' view of the architecture and interior of the physical building.³⁴ With the addition of paratexts,³⁵ the viewer of the postcard can decipher the physical site depicted. Of greater interest is how the ghost narrative demands the viewer be invested in historical capital to decipher the textual-iconographical message. Based on the caption, certainly, the wailing ghost in the foreground represents Catherine Howard. The pithy caption relies on the viewer having a certain amount of cultural competence—some reserves of historical capital—to make the connection between Catherine Howard and the King but does not provide details with regards to the second ghost. On careful examination, the second ghost is an executioner standing next to a chopping block, holding an axe. The image contains key facts about Hampton Court's relationship to England's chronicles that can be distributed to the wider community both inside and outside the country.

The power of Gothic storytelling is still a prominent feature at modern-day Hampton Court Palace. As can be seen in the image below (fig. 20), the general map omits any information related to its haunted heritage. In place of a clearly labelled map to identify the Haunted Gallery, the Palace now uses display and audio guide materials 'in place' to narrate and demarcate its haunted spaces. In King Henry VIII's Apartments, for example, one has the option between the historical or 'theatrical' narrator, the latter being the audio guide to include the ghost stories. Guided by the voice of "Thomas the Courtier", the tourist is transported to the sixteenth century, and is followed by Thomas around the apartments. When

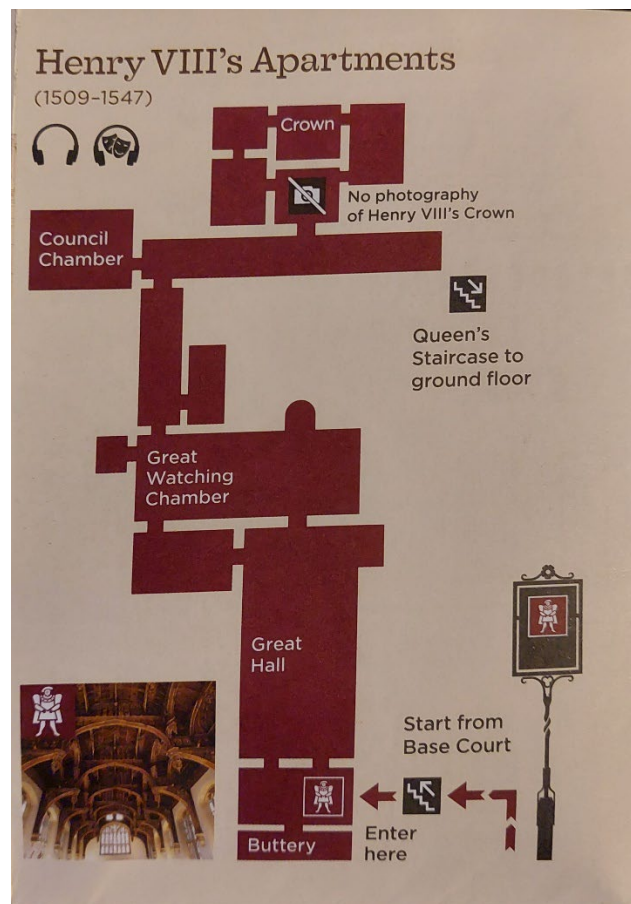


Fig. 20. Historic Royal Palaces, Henry VIII Apartments, map, 2018.

reaching the New Haunted Gallery, after leaving the Page's Chamber, Thomas gives the following instruction: "Now turn back. Go to the top of the stairs on your left, just up by the window ahead of you, and I will tell you why this gallery is said to be haunted" (Hampton Court Palace). The next track in the audio guide relates the chilling tale of Catherine Howard:

I promise to explain why this place is said to be haunted. People swear they have seen the tormented spirit of Catherine Howard as she runs screaming to the King in an attempt to plead for her life. It makes my blood run cold; I hurry down this corridor when I am alone when there is no one else here because I must confess, ghosts chill my blood. (Historic Royal Palaces "Processional Gallery")

While the theatrical narration entertains, there is important heritage work at play here. Narrated through the perspective of a sixteenth-century character, the ghost's antiquity is made to match the space, its origins in the nineteenth century carefully concealed in the process. In doing so, the ghost is further integrated into history and presented as an antiquated intangible artefact.

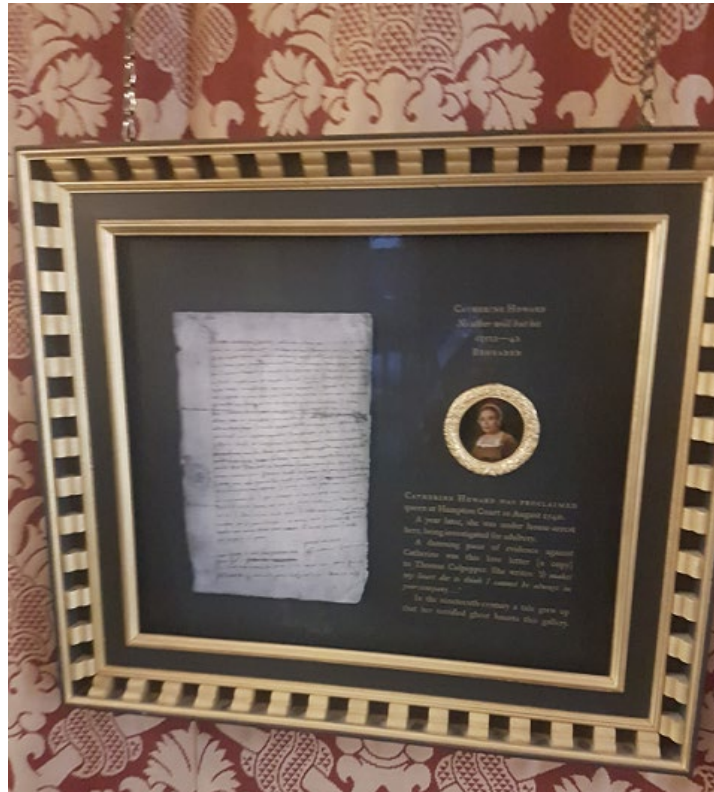


Fig. 21. Alicia Edwards, Framed plaque on Catherine Howard, her death, and rumours of haunting, photograph, 2019.

Most intriguing is how these markers demonstrate the instability of hauntedness at heritage sites. Whereas some markers perpetuate the associations first forged by Law, others alter the scope of the Palace's Gothic spatiality. The contemporary staging of King Henry Apartments re-assigns the Haunted Gallery to the gallery that is connected to the Great Watching Chamber. Placed inconspicuously on the wall is framed text accompanied by a photograph representing Catherine Howard (fig. 21). It reads as follows:

Catherine Howard

No other will but his

c1522-42

BEHEADED

Catherine Howard was proclaimed queen at Hampton Court in August 1540.

A year later, she was under house arrest here, being investigated for adultery.

A damning piece of evidence against Catherine was this love letter [a copy] to

Thomas Culpepper. She writes: *'It makes my heart die to think I cannot be*

always in your company...'. In the nineteenth-century a tale grew up that her

terrified ghost haunts this gallery[sic]. (Hampton Court "Catherine Howard")

In the absence of an actual apparition, to mark spaces as 'haunted' requires signs such as these to suture the narrative to place. The placement of the plaque stresses this point. The passageway in which it is displayed is *not* the original location of the Haunted Gallery as labelled in the first map. The original Haunted Gallery was the corridor connected to the Queen stairs, the same gallery used to access and display King Henry VIII's crown and the Chapel. The markers can be contradictory, and the production of haunted space is entirely dependent on what mechanisms tourists read and/or detect.³⁶ Like a material object, the ghost can be easily displaced and moved to suit the staging vision and the needs of the museum. Ghosts are malleable figures to move around and create meaning.



Fig. 22. Historic Royal Palaces, *Is the place haunted? Palace phantoms*, guidebook.

Hampton Court fully embraces its ghosts, and now offers a dedicated haunted walking tour from October to February, as well as offering an optional, free, self-guided haunted walk guide (fig. 22). Ghosts are not necessarily contained at this site but have successfully proliferated through the additional narratives contained in the guidebook—the most recent sighting was caught on CCTV in 2003. The Palace proves a rich example of how active heritage management endeavours to entangle Gothic with heritage to produce a fruitful haunted heritage site for the world.

The Ghosts of the Tower of London

Whereas at Hampton Court ghosts are a permanent feature, the ghosts at the Tower of London circulate in and out of its historical imaginary as temporary exhibits. From

the apparition witnessed by Keeper of the Crown Jewels and his wife in the nineteenth century to the ghost of a “long-haired lady” spotted by the Bloody Tower in 1970, stories of ghosts at the Tower, as Peter Underwood asserts, are legion (Underwood, *Haunted London* 117). Yet, visitors to the Tower today will find very little connection to its association of haunting, despite being the ideal setting. Instead of reading the sparse supply of ghosts as a consequence of the containment of the Gothic, we will instead consider how and why the Tower curates its Gothic identity to manage its heritage.



Fig. 23. Alicia Edwards, *The Tower of London*, photograph 2019.

Founded by William the Conqueror after his victory at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, the Tower of London would become a dominating feature in the London cityscape for the next thousand years and more (Borman 6).³⁷ In *The Tower of London*, a 1908 illustrated guidebook, author Arthur Poyser declared the Tower to be “the most precious jewel in the nation’s Crown”. “It is the epitome of English history”,

he writes, “from the Norman Conquest to the day that has just dawned we have something here to remind us of our storied past.” (14-15). The history of England and the Tower are so tightly interwoven, he continues, that “a full history of the Tower may be read like an attenuated history of England” (Poyser vii). The mythologised vision of the Tower is likely related to its legacy as a fortress, prison, and a palace for the British monarchy, a mythos that continues to today. It was the home to the monarchy until the reign of Charles II and was the setting for many political conflicts and rebellions in England’s past. The Tower was a vessel for crime and punishment and held many great political and religious prisoners, some sentenced to life within its walls, others living out their days until their final walk to the scaffold.³⁸ The fortress also was the site of less morbid civic deeds and held the repository for national documents, the mint, royal armouries, and, until the establishment of the London Zoo, the royal menagerie—the latter marked in the present Tower with wired replica animals. It has also housed the Crown Jewels since the reign of Edward I (Borman 118).

The Tower has been a popular tourist spot for centuries, particularly the Royal Menagerie (Borman 34). As early as the 1590s, people paid for the privilege of a guided tour, or to catch a glimpse of the Crown Jewels (Borman et al 16). However, as with the case of Hampton Court, the nineteenth century brought a considerable spike in tourist interest (Historic Royal Palaces “The Story of the Tower”). It was in this period that the idea of the Tower of London as a tourist attraction was created. In 1838, a ticket office was created at the western entrance out of three old animal cages, where refreshments and guidebooks were available to purchase by visitors (Borman 140).³⁹

The official modern-day souvenir guidebook includes a precis on the changing role of the Tower's historical imaginary in this period:

The way the Tower looks today is largely thanks to a 19th-century fascination with England's turbulent and sometimes gruesome history. In the 1850s, the architect Anthony Salvin, a leading figure in the Gothic Revival, was commissioned to restore the fortress to a more appropriately 'medieval' style, making it more pleasing to the Victorian eye – and imagination. (Borman et al 17)

As with Hampton Court, the Tower was caught up in the neo-Gothic impulses that sought to restore the Tower to its "Olden Time" imaginary.⁴⁰ The desire to inspire the imagination is telling. Architectural or archaeological features of the Tower were not the sole tourist attraction point. A restoration project to 'medievalise' the heritage site corresponds to a growing interest in imaginaries founded in historical romance, and so it is unsurprising that the Tower's own romance attracted many to its gates (Cowell 55). William Ainsworth's Gothic romance *The Tower of London* (1840) takes readers on a detailed literary journey through the grounds, towers, dungeons, and rooms of the Tower, with all the trappings of a romanticised history of the Tudor dynasty, and the thrill of emaciated corpses hidden in dungeons and ghosts akin to those found in early Gothic texts like Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796). The ghosts mentioned in the novel are of the historical variety. Lady Herbert, when speaking to Lady Jane Grey about Jane's suspected supernatural encounter, speculates that "Perhaps it was the ghost of Anne Boleyn, who is known to walk;—or the guilty Catherine Howard,—or the old Countess of Salisbury. Do tell me which one it was—and whether the spectre carried its head under its arm?" (Ainsworth 34). However, despite resurrecting the ghost of certain key historical figures into the haunted

imaginary, these ghosts, unlike those to be found in Law's work of ghost storytelling, do not secure the same sort of cultural presence.

That is not to say the ghosts of the Tower are wholly absent. There is a wealth of ghost stories associated with the Tower. While the ghosts described in Ainsworth's work are still part of the narrative fabric of the Tower, they are not necessarily the only ones that captured the Victorian imagination. One of the most famous cases was recorded in John H. Ingram's haunted guidebook and involves the apparition, or rather "a cylindrical figure, like a glass tube" about the thickness of an arm. The strange supernatural entity was witnessed in 1817 by the Keeper of the Crown Jewels. In his story, he alludes to a connection between the strange spectacle and the space, the then modernised Jewel House, "said to have been the 'doleful prison' of Anne Boleyn, and of the ten bishops whom Oliver Cromwell piously accommodated therein" (Ingram 152). On 15 September 1900, in the *Sunderland Daily Echo*, the article "Haunted London: Famous Ghosts in the Capital" told the story of a phantom bear seen in 1816 by a sentry. The sentry later died from fright ("Haunted London").

In the twentieth and twenty-first century, the Tower remains a canonical haunted site in many gazetteers and guidebooks, including a dedicated text, *Ghosts of the Tower of London* (1980), written by a retired Member of Her Majesty's Bodyguard of the Yeoman of the Guard Extraordinary at the Tower, G. Abbott. In his text, the Tower is saturated with ghosts, but these stories are either quite insular and relate to sightings by sentries on night watch or more modern sightings by tourists. Moreover, at this stage, the historical imaginary of the Tower as a prison was established in popular culture, particularly depictions of Richard III and his nephews, the two Princes who mysteriously disappeared.

Although ghosts were once plentiful at the tower, the contemporary tourist will struggle to find any direct link between the Tower and its ghost stories. Unlike Hampton Court, the ghosts are not staged in any capacity with physical markers or audio guide materials. However, a short YouTube video compiled for the Halloween period back in 2009 brings to light some important considerations. In the video, an unnamed Yeoman Warder relays some of the ghostly sightings on the Tower Green, namely those who were persecuted and executed within the tower. His conclusion to his storytelling gives clues to perhaps why ghost stories became entwined in the Tower's histories:

Ghost stories or Victorian melodrama, who knows. In my opinion, it was one of the best Victorian advertising campaigns to get the punters into the Tower. Victorians, the first to have real disposable income. The Tower authority knew exactly where they wanted them to dispose of that income. 'Course, a strong belief in the afterlife, we could feed those thoughts with the ghosts of the Tower. (Historic Royal Palaces "The Ghosts of the Tower of London")

The blurb on the website "Legends and ghosts" alludes to the idea of a connection between the rise in tourism in the 1800s period and its ghost stories (Historic Royal Palaces "The Story of the Tower"). Perhaps ghosts are no longer needed to draw in the punters and so other elements of its gruesome now take centre stage.

The Tower does not necessarily strive to hide its Gothic identity; rather, it must contend with popular imaginaries already present and negotiate its dense, immense narrative with what will evoke the most impact and affect. Christopher Skaife, Yeoman Warder and current Ravenmaster, describes the rituals of

storytelling in the Tower. The Yeoman Warders, being part of the storytelling force at the Tower, must all familiarise themselves with “The Story”:

a script about the history of the Tower and all its buildings, all of the historical events and characters connected to the Tower, all the dates and anniversaries, the ghost stories, the stories about torture and execution and murder and mystery. It covers absolutely everything Tower-related that you can possibly think of, and you have to learn all thirteen thousand words of it.
(Skaife 132-33)

Many of the details of the story have not changed since the Tower opened its doors to visitors in the early nineteenth century (Skaife 133). The story of the Tower, the heritage that it embodies, and its symbolic attributes constitute a vast collection of knowledge. While ghosts are part of the story, there is an abundance of other stories that are equally as important. We must not always consider the absence of certain Gothic features as a method of containment, but rather as a concession to accommodate the immense diversity of narratives, stories, and symbolic connections.

Walking Tours and the Art of Urban Memory

The discussion of haunted heritage in London must also include the scrutiny of the unofficial heritage practices that Harrison defines as places, objects, and practices of heritage that are considered culturally significant and/or meaningful, but which are not recognised by the state as heritage through legislation (Harrison, “Social Action” 240; Harrison, *Heritage* 15-16).⁴¹ Ghost walks are an abiding feature of the mainstream tourist landscape in many parts of the world (Brewster 312).⁴² However, the tours’ subject, locations, and objects of interest divert from the usual stock of

London heritage sites, and instead often historicise the mundane, populist, and everyday spaces of the city's built environment. Critics' disparagement of Heritage in Britain, as addressed at the beginning of this chapter, stems from overarching concerns of "cultural amnesia"—"fears that we are losing our foothold in the past", that inter-generational memory is waning, and that its replacement is practices grounded in nostalgic distortions of reality (MacDonald 1). But this critical discourse in the academy of the time commented on the impact of State-led commodified heritage projects and gave lesser attention to the unofficial heritage practices that too were responding to the threat against the past. The underpinning fears of forgetting and representation have often shadowed the use of heritage as a method of social action to construct, preserve and encourage collective memory at the local level. Ghost-walking tours transform the city into an interactive and immersive museum. They supplement the illusive marketable heritage by reverting to the tradition of placing the supernatural in dialogue with the built environment to produce social knowledge of a place. A void of a material trace is "filled in" with narrative (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 96).

There are two types of ghost walks: tours focused on history and narrative that bring patrons to a number of locations with historical or supernatural significance to communicate orally relevant supernatural tales. Overnight ghost walks are usually less concerned with the narrative of place but are structured instead around parapsychological investigations where patrons are given specialist equipment in the attempt to capture evidence of the paranormal.⁴³ To sustain focus on how heritage intersects with the supernatural, my concerns in this chapter rest only with the former.

Across England, myriad tourists gather in cities and towns to embark on these purchased evening pilgrimages to hear guides recount the nation's and/or city's past through ghost stories.⁴⁴ These kinds of ghost walks are what Samuel describes as “history from below”, history striving to reveal and explore aspects of the past that are traditionally on the peripheries of official heritage (Samuel 38). Moving beyond the debate centred on the authenticity or legitimacy of the local and national history disseminated on ghost tours, my discussion here interrogates how ghost stories are used to reconcile London's fragmented local memory in response to a threatening climate of decline and gentrification. The ghost serves as the nexus, weaving what Lowenthal argues are the three sources of “knowing the past”—history, memory, relics—to produce and conserve local memory (Lowenthal, *Foreign Country* 292). A focus on ghost walks as a social response to the “crisis of memory” arising in the late twentieth century detracts from the pessimistic view within heritage discourse and exposes the value of adopting the Gothic mode in populist conservationist efforts. If, as Lowenthal muses, history, memory, and relics offer “routes to the past best traversed in tandem”, this part of my analysis will examine how ghost walks address heritage through their entanglement (*Foreign Country* 398).

In July 2019 I embarked on my own supernatural peregrinations when I ventured on the two ghost walks currently offered by Richard Jones, the “longest established ghost walk guide in London” (London Ghost Walks). The “Hidden Horrors” ghost walk explored some of the older districts of the city, pointing to a number of medieval and early modern *loci*. The “Alleyways and Shadows” tour took tourists through the interwoven network of alleyways and pinpointed many overlooked relics of the past and the ghastly tales associated with them. The tours maintained a similar structure to other ghost walks.⁴⁵ Starting in the evenings,

usually between 7:00 PM and 7:30 PM, tourists assembled at a pre-determined location typically close to major transport links, in this case, the Lord Raglan Pub and Exit 3 of Bank underground station respectively. As evidenced by the map below (fig.24), the tours are created as compact itineraries set within a limited geographical area of the city; although the endless walking “off the beaten track”, particularly during the “Alleyways and Shadows” tour, gives the deceitful impression of covering much more ground. For approximately an hour and a half to two hours, tourists are guided through several major roads, minor streets, alleyways, archways, and courtyards; each stopping point is carefully curated to highlight a certain heritage landmark as a suitable space to tell the stories of the lives of people now absent, events long past and buildings no longer standing. Essentially, it is a journey prompted and devoted to storytelling, place, and memory (Brewster 313).⁴⁶

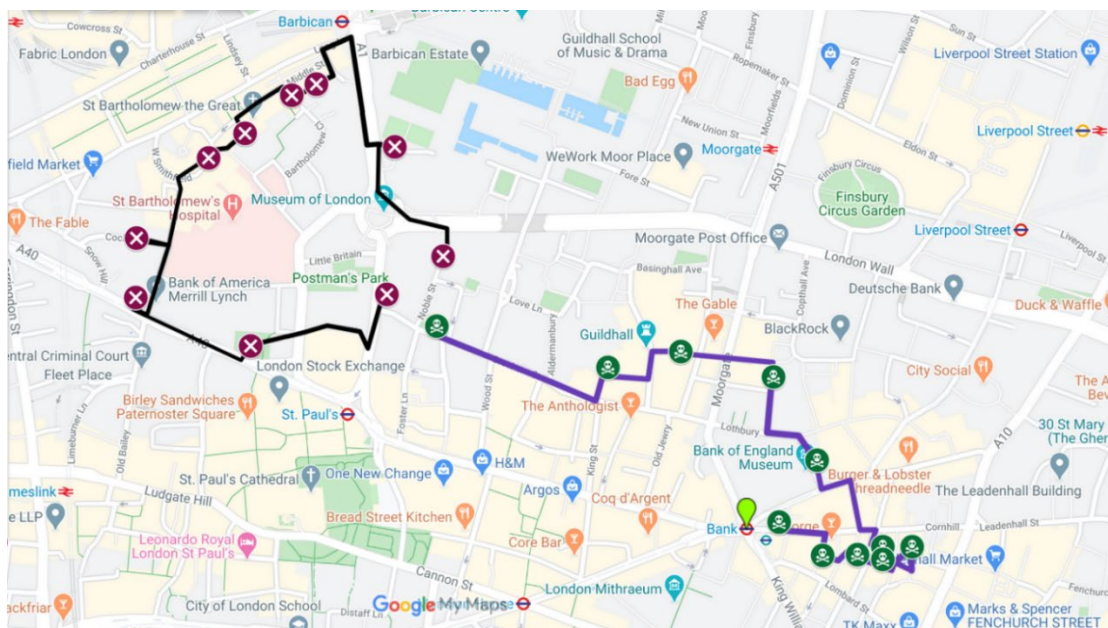


Fig. 24. Alicia Edwards, Map of ghost walks: Hidden Horrors mapped in black, Alleyways and Shadows mapped in purple, 2020.

Walking tours are by no means a recent phenomenon. “The idea of the historical walk is as old as antiquarianism itself”, remarks Raphael Samuel, but in

recent decades interest has shifted from antiquities and ancient monuments to more contemporary themes in modern townscapes (182-84). Still, a desire to engage with the material relics of the past has remained at the heart of heritage pedestrianism. In the late 1980s, Robert Hewison made derisive commentary on the prospect of England becoming “one big open air museum”, but this was already a reality taking place decades earlier (88). Historical walks—using ‘history’ as the vantage point from which to read the landscape—have surged since the 1950s (Samuel 182-86). Many history walks were founded with conservationist sentiments in mind, focusing on overlooked townscapes or at-risk monuments and buildings. The enthusiastic efforts of part-time or ‘amateur’ historians were enlisted to map out these palpably present landscapes and vernacular architecture (Samuel 186).⁴⁷ Pedestrian historical exploration, regional history, and a revival of oral history, coinciding with the rise of conservationist sentiment, converged at the end of the 1960s and moved these practices “from the peripheries of society, or its eccentric fringes, to the centre of the national stage” (Samuel 190).⁴⁸

The escalation in the performance and consumption of history correlates with rapid changes and disruption to British society and landscape in the post-war period. Naturally, the relentless bombings of the Blitz had a substantial impact on the built environment; with a third of London destroyed and requiring reconstruction, the city became a canvas for new visions of modernisation (Hewison 35; Cowell 109). The need for revised urban planning concomitant with the introduction of the Welfare State, the demand for housing, a rise of private development, and infrastructural renewal to accommodate technological progress changed the British skyline in the decades following the war (Hewison 35-36) In many parts of the country, the theme of *tabula rasa* was viewed as the leading method of urban planning to map the vision

of England's modern cities, rather than conservation based-planning to integrate the old with the new (Cowell 110, 116). Demolition was the impetus of post-war Britain and countless buildings, listed or otherwise, were razed to the ground and replaced by monotonous high-rise tower blocks despite State legislation protections put in place (Wright, *Journey Through Ruins* 57). As Ben Cowell notes, by the late 1960s listed properties were obliterated at a rate of four hundred a year (120). This rapid change of the material landscape was, for Patrick Wright, London's second blitz: "the cult of the new blitz comes wrapped in a different silence, more like the one that follows an arrested bulldozer than an exploded bomb, that is to be found to the end of planning, the end of reform, the end of State responsibility" (Wright, *Journey Through Ruins* 41). Unlike the heritage images of unspoiled rural landscapes and country estates that could be maintained and segregated from change, urban heritage projects had to contend with the demands of maintaining the services, housing, and general operations of society for everyday life. Often, the needs of State obligations such as housing, employment, economy, and general infrastructure superseded the desire to retain abandoned and disused buildings.

The 1970s and 1980s brought a greater threat of destruction; in the 1970s the rate of demolition and reconstruction increased, surpassing the scope of demolition completed in the nineteenth century (qtd. in Hewison 37). By the 1980s, rationalisation, deindustrialisation, and redundancies were the themes of the nation; the new urban landscape stood as a metaphor for Britain: a nation in a state of decay, dereliction, disintegration, and decline (Hewison 42-43). London continued its legacy as Britain's iconic urban Gothic space but replaced the imagery of Victorian urban dilapidation as depicted in the works of Gustave Doré with a cityscape replete

with the ruins of modernisation, the many identical damp and decaying high-rise tower blocks, a stark reminder of the failed Welfare State.⁴⁹

Progress is often achieved with destruction following closely in its wake, and, as such, a cultural penchant for the Gothic mode is reenergised. Mirroring the Gothic impulses of the *fin de siècle*, the new urban Gothic London proved a fruitful environment for the resurgence of a Gothic imaginary and performativity. In correspondence to the advent of Gothic subculture, which revived the consumption and aesthetic tastes for the dark, gloomy and macabre, the 1980s were an age where anyone from “Cowboy” operators, historians, unemployed archaeologists to retired taxi drivers moved in and began to craft thrilling, entertainment-based history walks steeped in the Gothic aesthetic, including ghost walks (Samuel 190).⁵⁰ Walking tours swelled in reaction to the Conservative heritage emphasis on entrepreneurial activity and a disregard for keeping the power with the professional or ‘expert’ (Walsh 46). The decade of deindustrialisation, globalisation, and economic recession demanded new industries to form, namely in the heritage, tourism and experience sector (Hewison 83-84; Walsh 117). Coupled with the Conservative heritage agenda, the deregularisation of heritage permitted independent parties to establish their own bespoke expressions of conservation in the city. These almost grass-roots practices took charge to extend the museum beyond the remit of the physical institution to the built environment of the city. The world was being musealized, to use the words of Andreas Huyssen, especially in places where cultural objects of significance were becoming scarce or obscured (35). The already historical landscape is now transformed into a museum display with the careful curation of cultural practice.⁵¹ Gothic-themed walks proved profitable in the new leisure economy focused on spectacle and “experience” capital,

and its peripatetic format complemented the sporadic layout of the city's cultural artefacts. Tours of this nature had greater liberty to present alternative imaginaries of the city, creating new dialogues with the built environment and offering more subversive representations that strayed beyond the sanctioned narratives of the heritage industry.

London's built environment is an archive of material culture, relics and vestiges mingled with materials of present production; like many archives, the abundance of things causes many items to go unseen, unnoticed, or obscured by the labyrinth of objects. Mirroring the traditional museum, ghost walks bring certain material relics of importance into view by isolating specific objects and displaying their features to focus the tourist's gaze. Unlike museum exhibits, which are comprised of artifacts that are displaced or torn from cultural matrices, ghost walks must compete with the bombardment of distractions, signs, and objects that make up the cityscape, a consequence of navigating materials *in situ* (Tuan, *Space and Place* 192). This can prove difficult in the modern city of pastiche, renewal, and regeneration. The tours are designed to generate suspicion of the registered surface affordances of their material surroundings and prompt participants to read historical depth through material vestiges (Holloway and Kneale 303). Richard Jones performs the role akin to a literary Gothic detective, possessing acute urban knowledge that he then passes on to tourists thus enhancing their urban competence.

By tutoring tourists on how to identify obscured vestiges and symbols in urban space, Jones awakens a Gothic cognition of London by evoking what Viktor Shklovsky terms as *ostranenie* or defamiliarisation, the act of making the habitual and the familiar strange to renew our ability to see and experience objects, rather than just recognise them. Although Shklovsky's paradigm was conceived as a

critique on the ability of art, more precisely literature, to re-awaken our lost sensation of the world, we may readily extrapolate and apply the same principle to urban Gothic tourism (Berlina 24).⁵² In *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903), Georg Simmel postulates how urban dwellers have adopted a blasé outlook to their urban environment in order to adapt to the bombardment of internal and external stimuli



Fig. 25. Alicia Edwards, Tombstones in urban green space in former cemetery for the Greyfriars monastery, photograph, 2019.



Fig. 26. Alicia Edwards, Park benches recodifying former site of the Greyfriars monastery, photograph, 2019.

caused by the city (103-4). This blasé outlook causes a tendency to perform our known environments habitually, remaining generally unaware or ignorant of implicit features or former functions. In other words, habitualisation casts a desensitizing pall over our perception of the material world, depriving us of truly experiencing it, as the routine actions and objects “retreat into the unconscious-automatic domain” (Shklovsky, “Art as Device” 79; Gunn 28). To regain consciousness or feeling for these objects we must modify our habitual perception of the world by making the familiar unfamiliar and strange.⁵³ To sever the habitual perceptions of certain objects and defamiliarise them, Richard Jones selects jarring sites whose modern masks conceal their macabre history. An innocuous urban greenspace is revealed to be the former cemetery of the Greyfriars monastery, with its moss-covered tombstones still visible (fig. 25). Similarly, when taken to the Guild Hall and its Art Gallery, we were

informed that the grey paving stone circle marked the perimeter of a Roman amphitheatre hidden underneath our feet (fig. 26). Disrupting the tourist's habitual perception of their immediate surroundings can lead to a sense of uneasiness, which helpfully amplifies the Gothic ambience of a location.⁵⁴ Perhaps more importantly, this knowledge and renewed experience grant tourists the ability to perceive the city with different eyes and gain a heightened awareness of the symbolic places normally invisible to those outside local knowledge.⁵⁵



Fig. 27. Alicia Edwards, The outline of the Roman Amphitheatre concealed underneath the Guild Hall and its adjoining gallery, photograph, 2019.

To recall from Chapter 2, the act of making the familiar unfamiliar and strange echoes what Sigmund Freud termed as the *unheimlich* or uncanny. Although focused on the psychoanalytic implications, in his essay ‘The ‘Uncanny’ (1919), Freud, like Viktor Shklovsky, reflects on the phenomenon whereby the ostensibly familiar is rendered strange (Hughes, *Key Concepts* 151). For Freud, the familiar is that which is established in the mind but has become alienated through the process of repression (241). This stance mirrors Shklovsky’s commentary on the routine and known retreating to the unconscious, as I have mentioned above (“Art as Device” 79). The uncanny arises at the moment when that which has been hidden or repressed comes to light (Freud 241). It is the return of the repressed, a renewed cognition or perception of the familiar, that elicits the feelings of discomfort or fear—a process akin to the disquietude triggered by defamiliarising urban space to reveal its veiled Gothic vestiges. Objects and features existing outside our habitualised reading and/or performance of space have been repressed, and to defamiliarise the environment is to evoke a moment of uncanniness.

The entanglement of these two concepts is not coincidental, but evidence of the integral role that defamiliarisation plays in Gothic tourism. Defamiliarisation, I argue, is a principal practice of Gothic tourism that functions to evoke the uncanny in extraliterary texts. In Gothic texts, there are a number of conventions, imagery, and techniques that authors may draw upon to arouse a sensation of uncanny. To Gothicise a spatial text requires an invasive approach to prompt an alternative reading of the environment, for as Freud notes, the better oriented one is to his or her environment, the less readily they will experience an uncanny sensation. Further, an individual must be willing and open to the perception of an uncanny impression

(Freud 220-221). In a later work, Viktor Shklovsky returns to his paradigm of *ostranenie*, adding that a renewed comprehension of objects sometimes requires the destruction of old links, a task which can be accomplished through the use of narrative and affect (Shklovsky, "Tales about Prose" 274). In unveiling a location as a Gothic space, the affective response is induced by the moment of the uncanny that delivers the necessary disturbance to the habitualised links. This is crucial for Gothic tourism's role in heritage production. Fred Botting has claimed that it is affect and emotion, rather than knowledge and understanding, that constitute the aim of Gothic texts (Botting, *Gothic* 6). This position should be modified when considering ghost tourism or even Gothic tourism more broadly. Ghost tourism's use of defamiliarisation in the display and production of heritage suggests that Gothic tourism draws heavily on affect and emotion to entrench and disseminate knowledge and understanding. To regain feelings for the objects is to see them once more; thus, for Gothic tourism, knowledge, and understanding are the aim, while affect and emotions constitute the method.



Fig. 28. Alicia Edwards, The Old Dr Butler's Head pub, photograph, 2019.

The development of heightened awareness and competence of the built city helps to locate and identify heritage objects that have been blended amid fabricated historical environments. The material fabric of the city is comprised of a collection of simulated and manufactured heritage buildings intermingled with genuine preserved architecture or altered architecture that Jerome de Groot calls “authentic shells” –

buildings with the patina of age whose interiors have been adapted for modern use (146). The Old Dr Butler's Head pub—a seventeenth-century pub once owned by the quack doctor Dr Butler, physician to King James I—on the 'Alleyways and Shadow's tour illustrates this point clearly.⁵⁶ The exterior of the pub features many staple characteristics readily replicated in an age where heritage style is mass-produced and marketed. Built into the modern street of Mock-Tudor facades and contemporary office buildings, it is difficult to discern whether its architectural and aesthetic features belong to the past or the imaginative bricolage of the English pub imaginary (fig. 28). More than ever, the historical interpretation evoked by the patina of age can be deceiving and reveals little about the historical value or relevance of the object. In the modern age, the past has become an interpretation of a collection of material assumptions and aesthetic features that can be easily faked, its archaeological messages blank, corrupted, and/or distorted (Walsh 168). Declaring a site as 'haunted' implies authenticity because it imposes a connection with the past (Keller 3). While the tours' content may be considered alternative or peripheral, the practice still participates in traditional expressions of heritage, namely the tendency to link heritage with patrimony in the form of tangible cultural capital—historical buildings and objects viewed as valuable to the nation. A focus on the physical fabric unavoidably perpetuates the ongoing fetishism with the cult of 'aura' attached to 'authentic' or 'original' objects.⁵⁷ This, however, is not a point of criticism. Genuine historical environments can enhance the persuasiveness of the ghost story, and attention to historical objects is an intrinsic element in establishing and maintaining the local history and its respective collective memory.



Fig. 29. Alicia Edward, Buildings surrounding The Old Butler's Head pub, photograph, 2019.

It is necessary to remain mindful not to restrict heritage consideration to tangible artefacts. Heritage practices have traditionally been material-oriented, perhaps because, as Lowenthal puts it, “to be sure of the past, we need its actual traces” (Lowenthal, *Foreign Country* 392). One major drawback of object-centred approaches is that they can fail fully to appreciate how heritage value is the result of a social connection. Denis Byrne warns against the “substantialisation” of culture, a problematic tendency to view culture solely in terms of materiality, remarking that, “it is easy for us to forget [material artefacts] are products of culture rather than constituting culture itself” (Byrne 151). Heritage value stems from an object’s psychological resonances (Davison 33). As such, culture history and memory are active social forces always at work (Schofield 23-26). Generally, the tours seek out

historical artefacts in the city, but the selected artefact's symbolic value is procured from being a site of haunting. Scholars have a tendency to either reduce ghosts as a mechanism to display architecture or a specific location, or to place the ghost as the central feature and dismiss the landscape/historical place as a mere backdrop for storytelling. A holistic approach, by contrast, is what is lacking: to view either the ghost or the architecture as the focal point is to undermine the complex entanglement that exists between narrative and material objects; the ghost and the built environment are interwoven in an inventive dialogue and produce meaning in their partnership. Space is not a passive backdrop but an active constituent of historical consciousness (Nead 8). Likewise, the ghost, an embodiment of history and memory, too is a constituent of historical consciousness; combined, they produce a complex sign of 'heritage object'. To view them as distinct from one another is to ignore the symbolic exchange that occurs, an exchange or interplay that can produce heritage value in even the vernacular features of the landscape.

Architecture is not the only historical artefact displayed on the contemporary London ghost tour; literary artefacts are incorporated through narrative, too. Emma McEvoy has identified a correlation between ghost walking tours and the literary ghost story, and we can ascribe this correlation to some of the source material used to create and structure the walks.⁵⁸ In his introductions, Jones informs his audiences that his tours are a compilation of stories found in archival material, including periodicals, correspondences and books, in conjunction with anecdotes from local residents. When extracted from textual sources and transformed into an oral narrative, the stories are often paraphrased, revised, or condensed to fit with the itinerary and/or route of the specific ghost walk. This is the case with the haunting of the Bank of England. In Jones's rendition, the bank is haunted by Sarah Whitehead,

“the old lady of Needle Street”, sister of a former bank employee hanged for treason after he was convicted for the crime of forging banknotes in the nineteenth century; she is reportedly seen still asking for her brother at the bank.⁵⁹ The story is an abridged version of the anonymously published “The Ghost in the Bank of England”, which first appeared in *London Society’s* “Grant Christmas Number” in 1879.⁶⁰ In the literary version, the White Lady is named Miss Nancy Hawes, though her afflictions of madness caused by the circumstances of her brother’s death remain similar (“Ghost in the Bank” 223-27). However, she is a secondary ghost in the source narrative, a legend in the narrative universe; the supernatural climax is actually centred around the protagonist’s encounter with the ghostly figure of the clerk responsible for the turmoil of the Hawes siblings.⁶¹ Jones does not specify the narrative’s origin and instead mimics the common style of portraying ghost stories as authentic and true rather than as literary invention. Drawing on fiction, however, should not be read as an instance of the fakery that the heritage industry is often criticised for but rather viewed as a democratising process, a more inclusive model of heritage. Nor should the use of literary material be considered as unhistorical content. Paraphrased or retold with great accuracy, literary stories connected to specific places around London are still part of the city’s past. As Lowenthal crucially comments, “all pasts are equally deserving of attention”, including literary ones (Lowenthal, *Foreign Country* 14).

If ‘official heritage’ in Britain is known repetitively to circulate a usual stock of nostalgic interpretations of country houses, pastoral landscapes, and quaint Georgian villages, the urban ghost can be viewed as a subversive practice within the heritage industry that redresses the imbalances of representation at the local level. There remains, however, the question of its role in the production of historical

knowledge. Some argue that ghost walks are a provocative method of mediating history, where others hold greater reservations and criticise the leisure act as another form of commodifying history.⁶² Heritage is often accused of playing with history, of focusing on unworthy objects, and attacked for lacking historical rigour and critical analysis (Samuel 265-66). But history is protean: to use Lowenthal's words, "what it is, what people think it should be, and how it is told and heard all depend on perspectives peculiar to particular times and places" (*Heritage Crusade* 105). Ghost walks resist the biased polarity between history and heritage because they call to attention alternative forms of cultural knowledge, presenting architectural heritage and intangible, quasi-folkloric heritage as equally valuable cultural capital. For Byrne, "landscapes, with all the heritage places and traces they contain, and also our minds, with all their memories, are an archive of our culture's past." We *mobilise* material and imaginative elements from this archive to express our cultural identity (Byrne 169). This is a decidedly populist approach: the organisation of public history is challenged and deconstructed, and the qualifications of 'expert' knowledge are destabilised and directly subverted (Hanks, *Haunted Heritage* 118, 170). The history propagated by the tours is a fluid representation of both official and unofficial histories that combine to construct the collective memory of the community. Tours deploy a Gothic mode of historiography. At times, this Gothic historiography reflects on the past as a period afflicted with incomprehensible horrors, like the ghostly screams and smells of burning flesh around Spitalfields market, or the spectral sensations marking the Zeppelin Blitz of the First World War. It draws on fraudulent histories, such as the story about the 'Coffin Lift', an old wooden lift in St Bartholomew's Hospital that is said to be haunted by a murdered nurse, and consequently follows patrons using the adjacent spiral staircase; no recorded murder

is listed in any archive.⁶³ Moreover, some narratives reflect the mundane twentieth-century ghost story, ghosts serving as dull echoes of everyday lives, such as the waiter of Simpson Tavern that continues to take orders even in death.⁶⁴

History in the ghost walk is approached as an intertextual story. Ghost walks are not an assemblage of ghost stories set in London but individually crafted Gothicised spatial stories comprised of fictional and historical texts (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 123). Each walk is formed of incomplete, non-sequential fragments pieced together to create an entertaining yet informative meditation of London's past, exposing the symbolic places within the local landscape through defamiliarisation, granting visibility to those outside local knowledge (Byrne 152). That being said, presenting landscape narratives *in situ* for places with expansive geography or complex history poses many obstacles (Ryan et al 161). For a city like London, with its exhaustive archaeological and historical strata, the walks are comprised of isolated sequences of its lengthy chronology so as to emphasise the breadth of its history and to celebrate the city as palimpsestic (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 123). The modern walking tour requires multifaceted ghosts to reconcile its multiplicities. Ghost stories told on the ground at various vantage points provide an effective approach to condense information into a single entertaining and thought-provoking narrative and to mark places as significant.⁶⁵ When constructing a tour, the guide selects a number of vantage points to extract specific hauntings and/or ghosts from various strata. Identifying, historically dating, or situating the ghost within a specific locale arranges the events and locations on the temporal axis of the palimpsest, and in doing so, presents a spatial story of multiple temporalities on a single walk. Put simply, by extracting single episodes from the palimpsest to the surface, one strengthens the historical depth of the historical traces on the landscape, and more broadly, changes

a place's relationship to the past (Pile 31). This process creates a mental map of sites symbolic of the city's Gothic history.

Karl Bell, in his study of the magical imagination from the late eighteenth century to the beginning of the First World War, documents how the supernatural has been used in urban settings to adjust to the rapidly changing landscape, and in the invention of "grand civic myths, narratives, and architectural symbols to help overcome this difficulty in evoking a shared historical consciousness within the city" (*Magical Imagination* 239).⁶⁶ Before urban expansion, the natural landscape and its landmarks were used as reference points by the community to secure a sense of their locality (Bell, *Magical Imagination* 227, 232-33). The constant change and alteration to urban landscapes required new forms of mnemonic references. The urban environment was not anathema to mental memory maps based on localised geographical features, although, as Bell argues, mnemonic devices shifted from physical points in the landscape to being contained in narrative references. Physical reference points could prompt memory, but, as Bell suggests, "the detail of association lay enfolded in the stories woven around them" (*Magical Imagination* 234). Committing information to memory requires internal coding, and ghost stories are a highly successful mnemonic strategy used to organise disparate places in the mind, establish a stronger psychological resonance for the community, and offer knowledge of their localities in ways maps or official data could not.⁶⁷

The use of the supernatural to encode community memory in the nineteenth century is but one manifestation in what Frances Yates terms "the art of memory" (20). Mnemonic techniques—elaborate systems of memorisation and recollection—have been used since antiquity. The ghost story has remained a historically successful mnemonic device because of its inherent spatiality and visuality, two

central components of the classic art of memory. Originally designed to be used by students of rhetoric and/or classical orators, the general principles of the mnemonic were simple. First, one was to imprint a series of places or *loci* in their memory, usually by imaginatively constructing elaborate buildings. Then, the images by which the speech was to be remembered were placed in various locations within the imaginative space. Once these have been committed to memory, the information is retrieved by visiting the imaginative repository, strolling through its rooms, and revisiting each image (Yates 18; Cohen 885).

The anonymous *Ad Herennium libri IV* (c. 80 BC) one of the three central Latin writings on memory, provides instruction on the kinds of images that should be used to strengthen *memoria rerum* or memory for “things” (Yates 24). Crucially, it is here that the author presents psychological reasons for the mnemonic image. The author acknowledges the difficulty remembering the information in everyday life that is petty, banal, and ordinary “because the mind is not being stirred by anything novel or marvellous”. But if we see or hear something exceptionally base, unusual, or ridiculous, for example, we are likely to remember for a long time (qtd. in Yates 25). They insist that we ought to choose images that adhere longest in memory; we should assign our images exceptional beauty or ugliness, “somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood or soiled with mud or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images” (qtd. in Yates 26).⁶⁸ Though the ancient text predates the rise of the Gothic by several centuries, this tract describes exemplary images that are particularly suited to the Gothic, particularly images of deliberately distorted or grotesque caricatures calculated to affect the passions (Cohen 886). The classical memory image is that which contains human figures, active, dramatic, and striking with

accessories to remind you of the whole “thing” you seek to remember: conveniently, qualities held by the ghost story (Yates 26).

Ghost walking tours, then, function similarly to a classical memory palace, the stories serving as the images to encode a memory of the city’s geography, legends, landmarks, people, and past events. Memory is a highly contentious matter as it is persistently transitory, notoriously unreliable, and always haunted by the anxiety of forgetting;⁶⁹ the threat of oblivion has been subliminally energised by a consistent desire to anchor a tangible history and legacy in a world that has become increasingly destabilised and fractured (Huysen 26, 38). Many scholars agree that memory requires a social context to survive. “Unless constantly refreshed by communication to others (or even to oneself), memories fade away” (Benton 3).⁷⁰ Using the Gothic mode, ghost walks disseminate the memories under threat. Communicating memories increase the number of active members participating in the mnemonic labour to maintain the existence of the memory. Akin to classical memory palaces, they are constructed to recollect specific narratives; a single story is marked by the image, but as a wax tablet, the space of the city can be re-furnished and repurposed for new journeys of remembrance. To echo Bell, tour guides entrench and map alternative histories of London, those outside the scope of official knowledge and data, recording details normally too dull to imprint on the memory.

Certainly, ghost stories not only serve to communicate knowledge about a specific event, building or individual but also creatively to encode geographical changes in the city at large. Even in the nineteenth century, as Bell notes, an association of ghost lore was often more enduring in mapping the history of an evolving neighbourhood than official mapping and data practices (“Phantasmal Cities 105). This is certainly true for marking the invisible boundaries and divisions in the

city that have been altered, erased, or obscured over time; for example, Jones tells a revised story of the Cripplegate ghost and establishes causality between haunting and parish boundaries, now near forgotten.⁷¹

Other stories encode the transformed narrative geography of a place, namely its street names and their connection to larger historical events. Street names, according to Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu, represent a title “of a story that stands for and encapsulates a life story of a person or an account of an event”, aligning with and conforming to “official narratives of national and local history” (140, 143). Toponyms do not autonomously tell a story, though their narrativity is a product of their association with certain people and events. In cases where street names are changed, and if the old markers are deleted, the memory surrounding its resignification, its significance, and the story associated with the old name depend on the local community for its survival (Ryan et al 150).⁷² On both ghost walks, street names were often of little significance as the group wandered through the various streets, squares, and passageways. However, certain stopping points were centred on the street names and the local rumours established around them. On the “Alleyways” tour, for example, one of these locations of interest was King’s Head, formerly known as Pope’s Head: the alleyway was renamed during the reign of Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. In response to and retaliation against, changes, a priest established a rumour that the alleyway was a spot frequented by Satan himself, and marked the site as the location of a heroic battle between a priest and the Devil.⁷³ Of course, none of this information is displayed directly on the street sign but derives from telling the stories behind the name and illuminating the erased cartography of the city. The name is presented as a commemorative street name that recognises the Protestant authority shift of the

nation. By narrating the associated stories, Richard Jones condenses the English Reformation, a grand national narrative of political and religious conflict, and, more broadly, locates that small geographical area as a site of subversion and resistance in history with the single evocative image of a satanic battle.

The use of ghosts is an effective mnemonic technique, but as a staged tour, it is a method of enforcing “artificial memory”, training the mind to recollect specific information even if it is evoked by the passions. Ghosts, therefore, become what Pierre Nora theorises as *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory, “where memory crystallizes and secretes itself” (7). The absence of what he calls *milieux de mémoire*, or “real environments of memory”, has caused a need for the cultural production of artificial and forced mnemonic devices to distil and capture memory in an age of “the acceleration of history” (Nora 7-13).⁷⁴ For Nora, *lieux de mémoire*, a product of history, appear in a society focused on progress and futurity, and are, in his words, the consequence of the deritualisation of our world—“producing, manifesting, establishing, constructing, decreeing, and maintaining by artifice and by will a society deeply absorbed in its own transformation and renewal” (Nora 12). Essentially it is a response to a perceived absence of spontaneous memory and threatened bastions of identity, a fortification of collective memory in a period of rapid forgetfulness and erasure. However, despite Nora’s lament of history as an effect of a destroyed ‘lived tradition’, we should not read the production of *lieux de mémoire* in a negative light, but understand its necessity in a diverse, globalised world of constant change. Producing these alternative sites of memory permits diversity and alternative viewpoints and can help preserve distinctive emotional geographies and communal knowledge in cities of heterogeneous histories (Pile 143,163). The ghosts

of the haunted historical walks are London's Gothicized *lieux de mémoire*, remains that we must consciously resurrect to haunt us so that we do not forget.

The past is inaccessible, and although beyond physical reach, it remains integral to our imagination (Lowenthal, *Foreign Country* 23). So as to make sense of our past and to create meaning within our own present, a culture turns to stories. In some cases, drawing on the Gothic mode helps us translate and resonate the affective qualities, the special features that create heritage value, and in other cases, the Gothic story *is* the heritage artefact. The Gothic should thus not be considered a risky form of heritage spectacle that is antithetical to 'official' or serious knowledge. As Tim Edensor points out, there is no simple and monolithic reproduction of a dominant ideology; even 'official knowledge' is nuanced and formed of competing antagonisms. Representations might seem shallow, but it is because they must accommodate multiple versions (Edensor, "National identity" 182). Ghosts are a suitable compromise as they are polysemic and can embody multiple meanings at once, hence why unofficial heritage practices have readily adopted them. Ghosts, then, become monuments: something that brings notice of, to remind, to stimulate remembrance (MacDonald 165). They are presented as entrapped fragments of time, distilled to repeat a certain moment and deny us the forgetfulness of London's past despite the rapidly changing condition—they remain untouched by material transformations (Bell, *Magical Imagination* 244).

¹ Parts of this chapter appear in my article “Do the Ghosts Roam Along the Corridors Here at Ordsall Hall?” Paranormal Media, Haunted Heritage, and Investing Historical Capital.”

² National Trust seems to have embraced their Gothic association more readily than English Heritage. Whereas the latter appears to reserve the promotion of their haunted properties to their Halloween programme, the National Trust website has comprehensive listings of haunted properties organised by regions or bespoke Gothic programmes at specific sites. For examples, see English Heritage “Spooky Stories and Gruesome Tales; National Trust “Our most haunted places”.

³ Andreas Huyssen emphasises that positioning memory generated by popular culture as lesser than is an unhelpful practice that perpetuates the modernist high/low culture dichotomy. Instead, he insists we must remain open to all forms of representation of both real and imagined memories, despite their form (29).

⁴ Thornbury’s work, *Haunted London*, is part of the heritage project to record and preserve the symbolic areas of the city, their historical significance, and the intimate connections with the past. His book attempts to preserve the memory of locality that was being effectively erased. The lack of mnemonics was seen as a threat to the potential to remember.

⁵ For further discussion on the ‘country’ and ‘city’ imaginaries see Williams, *The Country and the City*.

⁶ See also Urry and Larsen *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 31-42; Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the post-modern world*, especially 7-38; for an insightful study of the rise of the museum see Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics*.

⁷ See also Harrison *Heritage* 43.

⁸ Catherine Arnold opens up her work with the following quote that succinctly confirms the argument that London is, in fact, a sedimented grave:

Upon digging the foundation of the present fabric of St.Paul’s, he found under the graves of the latter ages, in a row below them, the Burial-place of the Saxon times- the Saxons, as it appeared, were accustomed to lime in their graves with chalkstones, though some more eminent were entombed in coffins of whole stones. Below these were British graves, where were found ivory and wooden of hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of six inches long; it seems the bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in wooden shrouds, which being consumed the pins remained entire. In the same row and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the colony, where Romans and Britons lived and died together. (1)

⁹ For another analysis of the ghost as a representation of national past in Grant Allen’s short story, see Owens 222-23.

¹⁰ M.R. James makes clear his intentions to draw on folkloric traditions. In a preface to his 1931 collected edition he writes: “I have tried to make my ghosts act in ways not incongruous with the rules of folklore” (qtd. in Owens 224). However, the academic and/or antiquarian as surveyor and excavator of knowledge is consistently left as victim to the buried knowledge in the landscape; their distance and amnesia of the local legends renders their superior intellect a redundant weapon to the histories in the landscape (Owens 241).

¹¹ Peter Ackroyd points out that while ghosts are seemingly ubiquitous in England, how they are conceptualised, named or manifest is dependent on its regionality and reflect the isolated place they derive from (5).

¹² Emma McEvoy footnotes that she only became aware of Michele Hanks’ work while her monograph was already in press. That being said, they approach the subject of a ghost’s role in heritage using similar language and description which suggests there is a common critical perception of ghosts within the framework of heritage, place and identity.

¹³ See also Harrison, *Heritage*, 14-15.

¹⁴ In her chapter on heritage management, McEvoy examines Warwick Castle, Alnwick Castle, and expands on her analysis of Berry Pomeroy—her previous chapter being a dedicated historical survey and critical examination of the Berry Pomeroy as a site of literary tourism. Alnwick Castle remains the family home to the Percy family.

¹⁵ Historic Royal Palaces was established in 1989 as an Executive Agency of Government within the Department of the Environment, then in 1995 it was transferred to the Department of National Heritage. In April 1998, it became chartered as an independent charity with a contract with the Secretary of State to manage the palaces owned by the Queen “in Right of Crown” – properties held in Trust by the current monarch for her successor that cannot be sold, leased, or otherwise disposed. Six palaces are now under their care: Tower of London, Kensington Palace, Hampton Court Palace, the Banqueting House, Kew Palace and Hillsborough Castle and Gardens (Historic Royal Palaces “History”; Historic Royal Palaces “Who We Are”)

¹⁶ The website has since changed its formatting and the quoted content has been removed.

¹⁷ The Palace was the setting for many key personal moments for Henry VIII during his reign, from turmoil in his marriages, the birth of his son, Edward VI, and subsequent death of Lady Jane Seymour, and the house arrest of his fifth wife, Catherine Howard. In addition to serving as the birthplace of King Edward VI, subsequent Tudor heirs would maintain a connection with Hampton Court. It would be the place of Queen Mary I’s false pregnancy and the almost site of Queen Elizabeth’s deathbed when she was inflicted with the pox (Souden and Worsley 38).

¹⁸ Hampton Court was a highly sought residence. The residents of the palace were mostly those of high social calibre, but regulations around ‘grace and favour’ shifted

as time progressed. By the 1840s, the palace apartments were granted almost exclusively to widows whose husbands served with distinction in the military or imperial service but had often fallen on hard times (Souden and Worsley 122).

¹⁹ The State Apartments were made fully accessible to the public by November 1838 (Law, *Short History* 350).

²⁰ Ernest Law reports that for the first eight years of opening, the number of visitors fluctuated between 150,000 and 180,000 a year (*Short History* 361-62).

²¹ The restoration project at Hampton Court Palace is most likely a consequence of the fascination with 'The Olden Times', as Ben Cowell notes, that indeterminate historical imaginary between the fifteenth and seventeenth century revered and romanticised by the Victorians, especially in literature (55-57).

²² I borrow this turn of phrase from Roland Barthes and his work on the photograph.

²³ Law goes on to mention that he has only met one person who had actually seen any of the Palace ghosts. A sentry reported to be "frightened out of his wits by a woman in a flowing robe of white," who vanished when he challenged her. He attributes the revival of the tales in the Press "to a new resident of journalistic tastes, who, learning of them for the first time, thought them new." There seems to have been consequences to the revival of the stories, with many of the residents unable to retain their servants because of the fear stirred by the ghost stories; see Harper 18-19.

²⁴ I make this distinction quite clear to account for the oral storytelling that might have occurred. Based on Law's use of oral stories to evidence his claims, there may very well have been existing discussions, interest and overall knowledge of the ghosts, but its wider dissemination in print can be credited to Law's texts.

²⁵ Winning the esteem and favour of both Henry VIII and Edward VI for her loyal affections and dutiful care, she remained a resident of Hampton Court with continued kindness from Mary I and Elizabeth I and was even granted her own apartments. Taking ill with small-pox in the autumn of 1562, she died in the Palace on the 6th November of the same year; her body was laid to rest in a fine monument in the Hampton Church (Law, *Short History* 97).

²⁶ Interestingly, Law includes an account that infers her remains had already been moved before the church was pulled down, saying only "a hair-pin and a little hair" was the only items found under the monument (*Short History* 98).

²⁷ I have determined this date based on comments made by Law, who says the accounts described resurfaced "about five or six years ago", and the publication date of Law's work (*Short History* 98).

²⁸ Law remarks that the description of the spectre corresponds exactly to the appearance of the effigy (which at the time, was allegedly unknown), and thus proves the veracity of the accounts (*Short History* 98).

²⁹ Jerome De Groot markedly summarises this point by saying that material artifacts are given meaning when considered in relation to people rather than for its abstract, amorphous historicalness (123).

³⁰ Hampton Court is separated into five main narrative segments: Henry VIII Apartments, Henry VIII Kitchens, Young Henry's Story, William III Apartments, and its Georgian Story. Each section is presented as its own complete narrative, but collectively gives the feel of a 'complete' look of key features and events at Hampton Court. There are different staging practices in each room with material objects. While there is an effort made to stage the rooms as 'lived spaces', some are filled with clear replicas and mannequins to serve certain functions or supply additional narrative prompting for the tourist's imagination. However, a section like "Young King Henry VIII" is focused solely on the narrative rather than the house as a lived space, and attempts to present a cogent and linear progression of the rise of Henry VIII's rule and the dominant figures involved in his history.

³¹ Dean MacCannell argues that the motive behind tourism is the quest for authenticity. I do not wish to make any assumptions on the validity of his statement, as this is not a sociological explanation, but it seems to be a factor in how heritage sites market their locations and stage rooms to give a 'feel' as if the palaces and great country houses have remained untouched and 'lived in'.

³² Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote and Maoz Azaryahu argue that museums use tools like reconstructions, artifacts, texts, audiovisual material, and human guides to carefully control the setting and configure the spatial story (182).

³³ The postcard would fall under what Alois Reigl defines as an "intentional monument", those "created expressively for the purpose of commemoration" (qtd. in Hornstein 34-35).

³⁴ Photography has traditionally been assumed to carry an objective truth in what they depict and has been connotated with presumptions of accurately portraying the authentic and "real" object *as-it-was*. But, of course, the objective view of photography has now been debunked. As Hornstein notes, photography is not an innocent medium and is subject to manipulations via framing, colour, and gaze, and can also deliberately veil that which is not desired to be seen (70). Yet what the photographic image can do is transport the architecture away from the site in question. It is also crucial to keep in mind that photographs too work like maps, granting a certain spatial consciousness to place, albeit one that is a focused perspective (like a geographic map as discussed in the previous chapter). For discussion the similarities between a photograph and a map see Philips 204.

³⁵ To recall from Genette's 'paratext' outlined in the first chapter, peritexts are those elements that have taken on material form and have a location that can be situated in relation to the text, such as titles.

³⁶ On the official website, the image shown to represent the Haunted Gallery is this reassigned space (Historic Palaces "Haunted Gallery and Processional Route").

³⁷ The site where the tower is built has Roman origins, and the earlier known building on the site dates from the latter half of the second century. Archaeological evidence proves the Roman association, as there still exists Roman foundations near the White Tower (Borman 6).

³⁸ There were a handful of individuals, usually of significant political and noble status, who were executed within the walls of the Tower rather than the public hangings on Tower Hill. Anne Boleyn and Lady Jane Grey were two of the most famous prisoners to be executed on a scaffold on the Tower Green. Some, like Sir Walter Raleigh, lived long sentences within the walls before their deaths.

³⁹ By 1839, a year after the tourist infrastructure was formally installed, there was approximately 80 000 visitors per year, which increased in 1875 to nearly half a million when selective free admission days were instituted (Borman 140).

⁴⁰ Before the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings intervened to prevent further catastrophic 'improvements' to 'remedievalise' the Tower, architect Anthony Salvin was appointed to carry out a number of restorations and improvements and prepare places like the Beauchamp Tower to display its sixteenth and seventeenth inscriptions made by prisoners. The project was to frame and curate the space of the Tower to give it a medieval appearance, this included re-creating battlements and replacing all windows and doors. Salvin's care and scholarly attention to detail to respect the complex history was entirely undermined by his successor, John Taylor, whose remedievalising project resulted in the destruction of actual medieval structures (Borman 138-142).

⁴¹ The divisions between official and unofficial are subject to change or reversal. For further discussion see Harrison, *Heritage* 16-17.

⁴² Brewster and others acknowledge the variation in ghost walks. Some tours gravitate towards a setting which invites ghostly associations, others—like the example in this chapter of Hampton Court—centre on buildings with specific heritage value or use neglected locations to evoke a Gothic sensibility. See Brewster 312; Hanks, *Haunted Heritage* 61, 126; McEvoy 107.

⁴³ Both Rachael Ironside and Hanks differentiate types of ghost walks. While in some cases, overnight ghost walks do participate in some historical work, this alternate ghost tourism activity approaches ghosts through a parapsychological methodology and seeks to capture ghosts on a number of pseudo-scientific apparatuses. It would appear the objective of these ghost activities is the search for evidence of paranormal activity rather than narrative of place. For further discussion see Hanks, *Haunted Heritage* 125; Rachael Ironside 103-104.

⁴⁴ The word "pilgrimage" is a deliberate diction choice based on Scott Brewster's argument that ghost walking is a peregrination; see Scott Brewster 313. For further, related commentary, see McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 107; Hanks, *Haunted Heritage* 61, 125.

⁴⁵ Here I am not suggesting that all ghost walks are mechanical and follow a rigid template. To a certain degree, I agree with McEvoy who suggests ghost walks are

not “a one-size-fits-all phenomenon, but a flourish form, characterised by ingenuity, inventiveness and wit”, but one cannot disregard the similarities in form. Content is subject to invention, uniqueness, and wit, but the stories, routes and overall performance of narrative-based ghost walks share common principles (McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* 122).

⁴⁶ Brewster comments that it was prompted by a residual devotion to storytelling, place, *or* memory but the entanglement of all three elements means it is extremely difficult to simply select a single aim (313).

⁴⁷ It was during this decade that The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings began promoting walks (1958), and the Victorian Society, founded in the same year, incorporated walking trails from its inception. Raphael Samuel also points out that that a post-war renaissance of local history brought the effects of resurrectionism into play, namely written records, material artifacts and oral history. The “History on the Ground” did have its limitations based on perceptions of ‘heritage’. Before the rise of “industrial archaeology”, first coined in 1955, earlier interest in historical remnants were limited to medieval and early modern history. The temporal scope of what is considered ‘history’ has been a contested issue throughout the lifespan of the heritage movement in Britain (Samuel 186-88).

⁴⁸ The 1960s and 1970s was a time of significant change in the performance of historical consciousness. Municipal bodies began to adopt walks into their programmes as a contribution to the European Architectural Heritage Year, in 1975. Additionally, the 1977 Silver Jubilee saw the opening of a number of historical walks in commemoration, for example the Jubilee Walk on the South Bank which followed the pathway of London poetry carved into the paving stones (Samuel 190).

⁴⁹ Gustave Doré (1823-1883) most notably provided the wood-engravings for *London: A Pilgrimage* by Blanchard Jerrold, published 1872. His work is commonly referred to in the depictions of Gothic London.

⁵⁰ At the time of publication, Samuel lists a number of Gothic-inspired walking tours offered in *Time Out* May 1993 magazine, including ‘Gallows Gardens and Goblins’, ‘Jack the Ripper Haunts’, and ‘Death’s Dark Angels: Plagues, Pestilence and Panaceas’ (Samuel 190,196).

⁵¹ Yi-Fu Tuan already mentions that the European landscape is historical, a museum of architectural relics (Tuan, *Space and Place* 191).

⁵² See Shklovsky, “Art as Device 79-88 and “Bowstring” 286.

⁵³ For Shklovsky, this is a central purpose of art. See Steiner 55.

⁵⁴ It is important to point out that only things that exist in reality and have been experienced can be the subject of defamiliarisation. That being said, this implies that tourists have been culturally tutored to register certain complex signs in their spatial environment (i.e. park, buildings, courtyard). Defamiliarisation disrupts how we naturally read these coded spaces.

⁵⁵ For Shklovsky, “Ostranenie is seeing the world with different eyes” (“The Lungs” 334).

⁵⁶ The Old Butler’s Head pub was first established in 1610, with the current building dating back to just after the Great Fire of London 1666. The pub takes his name from Dr Butler, a seventeenth century self-proclaimed specialist and inventor of a number of ‘miracle cures’ for nervous disorders, and additionally developed an ale for gastric ailments—made available only at taverns that displayed the doctor’s head on their signs. The pub openly markets their eccentric founder’s history on their website, claiming to be the last of Butler’s pub existing in the city; on their website includes some of his “miracle cures” such as “holding consultation on London Bridge, during which the unfortunate client would be dropped through a trapdoor into the torrent below”, and his cure for epilepsy would involve him firing “a brace of pistols near his unsuspecting patient, to scare the condition out of them” (“Old Doctor Butler’s Head”).

⁵⁷ In his piece *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1935), the Jewish-German literary and cultural critic Walter Benjamin discussed the ways mimetic machines altered how art functioned in the modern era, with a particular interest in the impact of reproduction. The term ‘aura’ is extrapolated from his use to describe the qualities of authenticity attributed to works of art.

⁵⁸ McEvoy lists a number of parallels between ghost walks and the literary story including the use of third-hand evidence, sightings from sceptics, and the conjuring of frisson at the climatic supernatural encounter; this is because, as she argues, ghost walks owe much to the written word. This is inevitable as modern-day guides would be reliant on surviving documents and materials, which of course, comes from print culture (111, 123).

⁵⁹ The death of her brother was allegedly concealed from her for over two years, despite her daily visits to the bank to enquire after him. Eventually, and rather abruptly, she discovered the whereabouts of her brother, and, in extreme grief, madness befell her. Dishevelled and unwashed, she continued to frequent the bank and ask for him. Being viewed as an inconvenience, the bank offered her a sum of fifty pounds to never return to the bank as her undesirable smell and appearance was deemed disruptive to its patrons. But, to paraphrase Jones, contracts cease to be valid in death, and she is said to be still seen today wandering up to the bank and asking if they have seen her brother.

⁶⁰ Andrew Smith suggests the short story is influenced by Wilkie Collins, see 63-66.

⁶¹ In the story, Wilson is informed of the ghost story linked to the Bank of England and the tragedy of Nancy and Fred Hawes. The story is to contextualise the haunting experienced by Wilson and the mysterious antiquated bank teller. Certainly, the origin of the legend is extracted directly from the textual world, but reflects the verisimilitude of ghost stories. The story within the story works to mythologise a certain haunted status of unusual, haunted spaces. Surely the opening of the story deconstructs the assumption that the Bank of England is antithetical to associations of haunting:

And why not the Bank of England? If I had said in some ruined Rhenish castle, or in some ancient graveyard, or on some lonely wind-swept moor, where murderers have swung and rattled their bones in chains, the question would not be worth asking...It is true that the Bank of England would not be chosen at once by a ghost-hunter as a hunting ground. It is only just over two hundred years old, so that there has scarcely been time enough for an old-world ghost to grow...It has never, so far as I am aware, been the scene of a murder...it is built on the rock of fact, empiricism...There is scarcely a chink in its substance large enough for the tiniest fancy to be hatched in. ("Ghost in the Bank" 210)

The strong emphasis on the mechanical, unimaginative imaginary of the bank requires rigorous literary effort to imbue the building with a mystery. So, it appears the myth of the White Lady is to furnish the bank with an air of mystery to legitimate the existence of its current ghost.

⁶² See, for example, Holmes and Inglis "Selling the Spectre: Ghost Stories and Tourism in Modern Scotland"; Hanks, *Haunted Heritage* esp. chapter 4 and 5.

⁶³ The period saw the rise of alternative views of heritage actively retaliating against the discrepancies of historical representation. A direct response to the ongoing Blue Plaque project, Felix Barker and Denise Silvester-Carr published their own guide, *The Black Plaque Guide to London* in 1987 to mark the sites in the city associated with an array of villainous individuals from adulterers, necrophiles and murders, rioters, Satanists, and traitors. Similar to the structure of other guidebooks, readers can search for locations and individuals by crime and/or immoral act or search through various distracts. As outlined in their introduction, they have taken due diligence to map the plaques according to contemporary city and reassure their readers that they have consulted maps and adjusted their locations in accordance with the changing urban structures, name changes and street renumbering (11).

⁶⁴ The unglamorous and mundane life of ghosts was satirised in the literary ghost tale as well. One notable example is G. W. Stonier's "The Memoirs of a Ghost" (1952). The story is the first-hand account of a person recently deceased who laments the mundanity of haunting, and comments on the absent of exciting literary ghostly figures. The tale portrays the afterlife as an anticlimactic repetition of the deceased habitual actions performed when alive.

⁶⁵ Ryan, Foote and Aazaryahu, in their explorations of physical markers in the landscape (i.e. plaques, signs, etc.) discuss at length the various obstacles of representing convoluted spatial narratives into a single object. Though their focus is based on materialised narratives, there remains similar issues. One strategy put forward is the rewriting of the story to transform a long narrative into a number of scenes, episodes or vignettes, in the same vein of producing a screenplay from a book (161).

⁶⁶ Karl Bell notes the differences between urban and rural supernatural imaginings, claiming that the rural saw the supernatural as a method to express unease with archaic, remote or dark places on the fringes of human settlement, whereas the urban imagination was a response to the concern over secrets concealed in Victorian cities ("Phantasmal Cities" 97).

⁶⁷ See Bell, *Magical Imagination* 239 and “Phantasmal Cities” 105.

⁶⁸ See also Cohen 886.

⁶⁹ According to Huyssen, although memory studies accelerated in the 1980s in Europe and United States, energised by debates of the Holocaust and its representation, its further development has been prompted by the development of heritage industries and the fetishisation of the past. He goes on to list the extensive range of cultural practices to evidence the boom:

the development of whole museum villages and landscapes; various national heritage and patrimony enterprises; a new wave of museum architecture that shows no signs of receding; a boom in retro fashions and repro furniture; mass marketing of nostalgia; a popular obsession with ‘self-musealization’ by video recorder, memoir writing, and confessional literature; the rise of autobiography and of the postmodern historical novel with its uneasy negotiation between fact and fiction; the spread of memory practices in visual arts, often centred on photography; and the increase of historical documentaries on television, (including the United States) a whole channel dedicated entirely to history, The History Channel. (25)

These methods were used to also process and address the trauma inherently connected with memory culture: psychoanalytic literature on trauma; issues around recovered memory syndrome, apologetic public performance to redress and acknowledge institutional trauma; “the ever more numerous public controversies about politically painful anniversaries, commemorations, and memorial”; and the crucial historical and current work to excavate and document traumas of AIDS, sexual abuse, slavery and genocide (Huyssen 25)

⁷⁰ The fear of forgetting and the call for conscious and active participation in mnemonic labour has been a consideration since antiquity. In the eighteenth century, thinkers such as Locke contemplated the instability of memory:

There seems to be a constant decay of all our ideas, even those which are struck deepest, and in minds the most retentive; so that if they be not sometimes renewed by repeated exercise of the senses, or reflection on those kinds of objects which at first occasion them, the print wears out, and at last there remains nothing to be seen. (qtd. in Cohen 884)

Based on Locke’s commentary, it is clear that material objects can serve to secure and revitalise memory.

⁷¹ Story was published in Elliott O’Donnell’s *Ghosts of London* (1932).

⁷² Ryan, Foote and Azaryahu suggest these street names that exist only in local memory become part of its folk geography (150).

⁷³ To amplify affect, the rumour also suggests that the breeze felt when standing in the location is really the devil’s breath.

⁷⁴ History, Pierre Nora exclaims, is “how hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organize the past”, and reduce collective memory into a series of “sifted and sorted historical traces”. For Nora, history is incomplete reconstruction

of what is no longer, produced in the present. He continues to outline the central differences between “true memory” and history:

true memory, which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body’s inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories, and memory transformed by its passage through history, which is nearly the opposite: voluntary, and deliberate, experienced as duty, no longer spontaneous; psychological, individual, and subjective; but never social, collective or all encompassing.
(13)

What becomes obvious is that Pierre Nora bluntly fetishizes an idealised form of collective memory as an organic generational inheritance. His perception of memory, however, is problematic as it focuses on a Franco-centric, white, agricultural fantasy of French national collective memory.

Chapter Four: Virtual Haunts: Armchair Ghost Tourism for the Twenty-First Century

Without so much as moving from your sofa, you'll visit key London locations to learn of some seriously sinister tales and paranormal events.

— See Your City Tour

Games are the narrative medium of the digital age – they deserve to be taken seriously when they depict our world and heritage.

—Holly Nielsen, "Reductive, superficial, beautiful- a historian's view of *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*"

The ubiquity of digital media and communications in contemporary culture has influenced all aspects of travel, and this is primarily due to the fact that digital media acts as an extension of our physical bodies (Arthur and Van Nuenen 504). Kathryn N. McDaniel announces the need to expand existing definitions and theories of tourism proper in the twenty-first century in her introduction to the edited volume, *Virtual Dark Tourism: Ghost Roads* (2018). Filmmakers and designers of internet sites and video games, McDaniel argues, create "experiences for arm-chair travellers by devising imaginary voyages to lands and times where terrible acts have occurred" ("Introduction" 1). New media, such as computer technologies, have increased the availability of travel simulation, and virtual tourism is becoming the tourism of the next millennium (McDaniel, "Introduction" 3, 5). Clearly, in an era of hypermediacy and ever-evolving technologies, we need to rethink and reconceptualise our understanding of tourism (Lamerichs 162). As Tom Van Nuenen and Caroline Scarles astutely observe, "the ubiquity of internet enabled devices and associated mobile mediality have deeply influenced the tourism industry on an infrastructural and communicative level" (119).

It is, however, important to remember that dedicated texts for armchair tourism are nothing new. As Alison Byerly outlines, despite advancement in

transportation and the increased ease of travel and mobility in the nineteenth century, fantasising about travel remained an established pastime. In fact,

a booming market developed for realistic representations of popular locations, and new ways of representing place – 360-degree panoramas, foldout river maps, exhaustive railway guides – seemed to offer themselves as substitutes for actual travel. While many of the best known travel accounts of this period recount epic journeys of exploration across the globe, an enormous number of self-styled “travel” narratives describe experiences that do not involve physical movement at all. (2)

Clearly, multiple efforts across multiple media were made in an effort to replicate the “experience of going somewhere”, through what Byerly describes as a rhetoric of “virtual travel”. “A growing appetite for the travel experience” saw a surge of travel literature and representations of travel produced for at-home experience (8).¹ This market persists in contemporary cyberculture, yielding multimedia texts that are enhanced by technology like Oculus Rift or Playstation VR headsets, which allow modern-day armchair/gamechair tourists to delight in the sensation of travel through digitally created worlds. The sheer volume of digital tourism possibilities indicates that physical travel remains only one option within an ever-enlarging choice of touristic experiences (Van Nuenen and Scarles 121).

Travel begins in the imagination as a virtual experience because the texts we consume precede the practice of physical space (McDaniel, “Introduction” 3; Bachelard 12). For Kathryn N. McDaniel, literature continues to be a vital expression of virtual travel, but visual and interactive media certainly enhance “its complexity and provide new strategies for identifying with the past and foreign peoples”

("Afterword" 310). The availability and production of new media and its technologies invite not only an examination of technology and games within the context of existing scholarship on the Gothic imaginary but, also, an expansion of the discipline to accommodate imaginative travel through twenty-first-century media and digital texts. In response to this burgeoning area of academic research, this chapter will present case studies of a range of media to explore the parameters and implications of digital and cyber-ghost tourism. How does the performance of the imaginative geography of Haunted London change when the tourist must be displaced? This question guides my analyses throughout. The role of new media as product and producer, tour and tour guide of 'Haunted London' is only the initial concern of this chapter. Haunted London, I emphasise in this chapter, is a transmedia narrative and Gothic tourism is a transmedia practice. Further, it is my contention that a focus on virtual and/or digital tourism and its intersections with Gothic bears the capacity to expand our understanding of how and why Gothic tourism is being enriched and expanded through its entanglement with multi-platform ghost storytelling.

The first part of this chapter returns to the central concern of Chapter One, namely, the imaginative processes by which haunted spaces are forged through literary texts. In this chapter, the literary techniques that enable us to become a mental traveller who tours textual Gothic *topoi* will be extended and enlarged to include the structures of spatiality and tourism embedded in video games that offer a digitally enhanced imaginative tour of haunted spaces. An analysis of Ubisoft's *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*, released in 2015, examines the possibility of a highly interactive practice of imaginative digital ghost tourism. Critical debates on video games are divided into two distinct, and highly contested, polarities: the narratological approach, which reads video games as a form of storytelling and

narrative, and the ludologists who outright reject this assumption, maintaining that a literary study method is a form of theoretical colonialism (Frasca 222; D. Jones 20). It is not my intention to resolve these debates but, rather, to position my work squarely in the middle. My analysis is guided by two central concerns: first, to consider game mechanisms and design that impact upon its spatial immersion and sense of place and, second, to understand *Assassin's Creed: Syndicates'* highly narrative-driven features that are key to its Gothic elements. My intent is to demonstrate why video game technologies should be regarded as media that grants its user a unique and immersive virtual tourism that builds on and enlarges previous traditions.

The second part offers an analysis of ghost tourist Marek Larwood's recorded experiences of following Richard Jones' *Walking Haunted London: 25 Original Walks Exploring London's Ghostly Past* (2009). The aim is to illustrate how virtual technologies become a participatory medium that enables the ghost tourist to become tour guide. In the role of the guide, the tourist gains a level of control over how their audiences understand and consume haunted places. Drawing on Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik's notion of comic Gothic, this case study explores the implications of participatory media in developing and expanding ghost tourism practice and disseminating the topography of Haunted London. Moreover, an analysis framed by comic Gothic serves as a counterpoint to fear-based Gothic readings to underscore the scope of Gothic possibilities of haunted guidebooks.

Last, an examination of a fully online Highgate Vampire Ghost tour developed by performer and walking tour guide Flecky Bennett problematizes a prevalent trend in tourism studies criticism and discourse that persistently represents cultural tourism as a mode of leisure that *must* include travel to physical sites and/or places.

Kaminski and Arnold, for example, advance a theory on digital futures of tourism that

insists that the core element of cultural tourism involves travel, “rather than merely being a form of leisure where ‘visitors’ could, in theory, never leave home” (262). This chapter rectifies this critical approach by demonstrating how the virtual, particularly in the case of ghost tourism as a practice of both intangible and tangible heritage dissemination, provides an equivalent heritage value. A focus on narrative and visual rhetoric used in the virtual tour emphasises how the stories serve as the main apparatus of heritage and therefore can be easily trans-platformed into new media with great success.

An exploration of digital ghost tour offerings becomes an even more pressing issue given the range of virtual ghost tours that have emerged in response to challenges and obstacles faced by the tourism industry in the wake of the global COVID-19 pandemic. The limitation on the physical and the “in-placeness”—social distancing, highly restrictive travel, and ongoing national lockdowns—implemented for public health and safety have occasioned a proliferation of creative and technology-inflected tourism activity and events by heritage sites and tour guide organisers to continue their programming and work.

Contemporary theories of cyberspace insist upon Jean Baudrillard’s paradigm of simulation “as a copy, always striving towards but never quite achieving mimetic replication of the real” (Crang et al 6). However, to overvalue technologies or the virtual for its ability to replicate, is, in essence, to undervalue the possibilities of cyber-reality. A more fruitful understanding can be identified if we understand the virtual in its original sense: not as a copy but an alternative (Crang et al 7). From this perspective, we can avoid the errors that result when one positions virtual and digital ghost tourism as a cheap and/or inferior method of performance and exploring place

and, instead, appreciate and theorise it as an evolved, “remediated” cultural practice that already has precedents within the Gothic tradition.

Transmedia Tourism: Old Forms Repurposed by New Media

The heightened sense of illusion and imaginative travel achieved in modern-day new media is an affect that Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin term “remediation” or the representation and refashioning of one medium in another, a way in which new media reforms or improves on earlier media to achieve greater “immediacy and transparency” (45, 52, 59-60). Although media forms may differ in their presentation and consumption, the common objective, according to Bolter and Grusin, is to achieve an illusion of immediacy, “to put the viewer in the same space as the objects viewed,” be it to access a specific cultural artefact or an entire fictional world (11). If applied to different artefacts, the concept of remediation can provide valuable correctives and signal changing tastes, consumption, and performances of Gothic experience.

New media tends to define itself in relation to previous technologies of representation and is best understood through the ways in which it rivals, honours, and revises previous forms; new media does not work in cultural isolation (Bolter and Grusin 15, 28). Joseph Crawford astutely observes that writers and creators of Gothic fictions have historically taken advantage of new media technologies (“Gothic Digital” 73). For example, emerging technologies were used to complement the affective qualities of narrative and thrust audiences into embodied experiences of Gothic iconographies in the phantasmagoria or magic-lantern shows of the



Fig. 30. Anonymous, depiction of Robertson's show at the Couvent des Capucines, engraving.

nineteenth century. Étienne-Gaspard Robertson, the premiere phantasmagorist of his time, used his Fantoscope, as seen in the image above (fig. 30), to rear-project images onto a gauze screen or wall (Castle 146). Gothic iconography popularised in early Gothic novels like “The Bleeding Nun” and famous reports of ghostly visitation, “The Death of Lord Lyttelton”, were further spectacularised with smoke and mirrors (Castle 149). This technology continued to be deployed, and in the 1860s, the renowned “Pepper’s Ghost” foregrounded the phantasmagorical production of Charles Dickens’ “The Haunted Man” on Christmas Eve, 1862 (Castle 151). Phantasmagorie is a method of technology that predates modern screen-based Gothic spectacle. However, the use of rear-projected images on a screen—as seen on the left-hand side of the image (fig 30)—paired with music and ventriloquism skills, creates a multi-sensory experience that anticipates multimedia games. New modes of media technology have not caused Gothic virtual armchair travel, rather

established and historical forms of imaginative and 'virtual travel' are extended by new and evolving technologies. Gothic fictions have undergone several iterations of remediation, each new media form granting a greater level of immediacy, immersion and transportation to Gothic places and imaginaries.

Given the rich and multimedia scope, the Gothic, as Xavier Aldana Reyes observes, is a transmedia artistic mode (*Spanish Gothic* 232). Transmedia, or rather "transmedia storytelling", as described by Henry Jenkins in his earlier work, is a "situation in which multiple media systems coexist," content flowing across their platforms (*Convergence Culture* 282). And while the story may unfold across multiple platforms, each new text makes "a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole" (*Convergence Culture* 95-96). But Jenkins later elaborated upon his initial definition of transmedia storytelling in response to uncomplicated, linear theories of digital retellings of literary narratives. A more open definition taken up by Jenkins in his later meditations on transmedia storytelling determined that "there is no transmedia formula". He warns against its reduction to a basic meaning of storytelling "across media" and, instead, encourages us to view transmedia as a set of cultural practices. Transmedia, in his revised definition, "refers to a set of choices made about the best approach to tell a particular story to a particular audience in a particular context depending on the particular resources available to particular producers" (Jenkins, "Transmedia 202"). Foundationally, Jenkins is concerned with systems of narratives and how they are "poached" from various sources and ordered into navigable immersive worlds.

Transmedia storytelling derives from what Jenkins calls 'convergence culture', a cooperation between multiple media and cultural industries and audiences who are willing to go to lengths to achieve their desired media experience (Jenkins,

Convergence Culture 2). What Jenkins' convergence offers on a theoretical level is that it is an extended intertextual media experience. It marks the growing ambiguity between production and consumption as consumers become involved in the making of these narratives (Mansson 1636). Maria Mansson argues that media convergence "signifies the blurred boundaries between media texts and other cultural performances, like tourism" (1638). Convergence culture extends beyond the consideration of media because it does not occur through technology but through the mental participation of each consumer. For Jenkins, "each of us constructs our own personal mythology from bits and fragments of information extracted from the media flow and transformed into resources with which we make sense of our everyday lives" (*Convergence Culture* 3-4). The intermedial principle of a Gothic tourism experience, like convergence, begins in the mind of the reader, viewer and/or tourist and is composed of bits and fragments.

Haunted London is an imagined world, mapped and furnished by transmedia storytelling. As I have argued throughout the thesis, Haunted London is expressed and narrated across multiple mediums, each element contributing a unique narrative experience that equally contributes to the overarching story of the Gothic imaginary. Ghost tourism and Gothic tourism more broadly—textual, physical, or virtual—is the cultural outlet that provides readers, consumers, viewers, and tourists with access to Haunted London's distinctive, yet complementary, parts to navigate its complex, imaginative world. The rise of virtual and/or digital ghost tourism emphasises the transmediality of Gothic tourism. In the same way that Haunted London persists across various forms of media and cultural performance, so too does ghost and Gothic tourism.

Joseph Crawford rightly points out that the twenty-first century has brought with it a distinctive new form of “digital Gothic” that uses “the technological possibilities of online to find new ways of constructing and distributing Gothic narratives” (“Gothic Digital” 73). However, these technological possibilities go beyond matters of dissemination and into the realms of possible modes of armchair travel to and performance of Gothic *topoi*. In an era of hypermediacy and evolving technologies, it is necessary to reconceptualise our understanding and approach to tourism (Lamerichs 162).

However, the critical scrutiny once focused on mass tourism, the package tour, and guidebook shifts its attention to the saturation and proliferation of images and media within the domestic space, viewing it as a barrier to ‘real’ tourism experience. As Tim Edensor argues, tourism as a special and separate activity from the quotidian is the “critical straitjacket” that has bound tourism studies scholars for a long time (“Performing Tourism” 59). For instance, in response to the proliferation of media communications in the 1980s and 1990s, namely television and video, scholars expressed concern over the perceived de-differentiation between tourism and everyday life, as if these distinctions were not already culturally constructed and imposed. Postmodernism and the proliferation of media and visual signifiers were perceived to blur the boundaries that positioned tourism as a distinct and entirely separate activity. Scott Lash and John Urry proclaimed this as the “end of tourism” because “people are tourists most of the time,” whether they be mobile or mobilised through a saturation of multiple signs and electronic images (ch. 10). However, from magic lantern shows to television, film and other electronic images, armchair tourism to imaginative spaces has always been available and practiced by tourism in various capacities. Despite this dismissive critical stance, the advent of new technologies

and consumption has not caused tourism to end, rather there has always been alternative, remediated forms of tourism practice that scholars need to accept.

One scholar in particular, Maxine Feifer, in 1985, coined the term “post-tourism” to designate a playful mode of travel whereby tourists consume and practice tourist spaces through media imaginaries rather than the pursuit of a romanticised, authentic place (Jansson 101). They are not required to leave the threshold of their homes or travel to physical sites to see the places and objects typical of the “tourist gaze” (Urry and Larsen 113). For the post-tourist, “tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience.” “The world is a stage” where the post-tourist “can delight in the multitude of games to be played”. The tourist knows they are a tourist and they embark upon and embrace the performance willingly (Larsen and Urry 114).² While, as mentioned, armchair tourism is nothing new, the critical stance that tourism is a series of “games” is crucial to Gothic tourism. Gothic tourism is both intermedial practice and play. Gothic tourists rely upon Gothic signifiers and texts to lay out the rules of “the game” to make up a subjective tour experience, which can include virtual texts. As such, virtual and cybertourist offerings are just another game to be played and performed by the Gothic tourist.

***Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*, or Remediated Journeys Through Haunted London**

In contemporary culture, moving images are the most immersive media and can enhance the spatiality of its mediations to create imagined three-dimensional worlds (Ryan 120; Ryan et al 102). In his commentary on the relationship between horror video games and the Gothic tradition, Fred Botting comments on how virtual

immersion in the moving images that appear on the screen provides a more “literal and immediate visual environment than that conjured on the page”. To realise fully the worlds within textual fictions, “superstitious credulity and imaginative identification” are a requirement to “make the leap of realising”. Unlike literary texts proper, Botting argues, “computer games perform the work of visualisation themselves” (*Limits of Horror* 84). A journey through textual Gothic space requires greater imaginative labour from the reader to transform language into space and place. As previously discussed in Chapter One, texts must be actualised; readers are required to “fill in the gaps” and engage with, so as to complete, moments of indeterminacy. When reading the literary ghost story, the imagination spatialises a text and textures it with characters and subjective interpretations of its Gothic associations and/or spatial conditions based on their internalised knowledge and interpretation of language. When playing video games, a representation of fictional worlds, there is still imaginative interpretive work to be done. “Through the active work of the player, through comprehension and interactions, the masses of polygons can transform into places” (Nitsche 191). Differences in visual interpretation are at the level of perception rather than design.

In the case of armchair tourism, technological advances have enabled interpretative reading to take on a greater visual role because of the multidimensional and immersive construction of video games. Armchair tourism practiced through video games is not wholly different from that achieved through literary mental travel but is rather an old practice repurposed by new media.³ It is not a direct retelling or an attempt to translate the act of reading, but, rather, a “remediation” of literary, televisual and cinematic Gothic.⁴ Essentially, the mechanics of video games are best regarded as a technological means more fully to realise the

spatiality and performance of Gothic armchair tourism because they immerse the player in a diegetic time-space within the fictional world (Jenkins "Game Design").

While the ability to perform tours through the act of gameplay has been recognised by some scholars, more critical attention is needed (Sigoillot para 23). Henry Jenkins and Mary Fuller's work on Nintendo indicates how video games fit within the older tradition of spatial stories that have taken the form of quests and New World travel narratives. Kiri Miller examines the *Grand Theft Auto* (1997-present) video games series and, in doing so, provides some insights into the often-blurred boundaries between tourism and ethnography. Taking a traditional stance on tourist practice and/or performance as being a "gaze trained for consumerism" and an "instrument of mastery", Miller observes that video game worlds are staged like a historical theme park's living diorama. Similarly, Nicolle Lamerichs points to the similarities between games and tourist sites and insightfully suggests that tourism practice is embedded in the structure of games, like virtual sightseeing (163). Although games can mirror the format of more conventional forms of tourism practices, they serve a stronger social function.

Other scholars explore the implications of niche forms of tourism through video games. Caleb Andrew Milligan investigates the social and cultural implications in the performance of dark tourism through alternate history games and players' engagement and recollection of forgotten historical traumas. This important connection highlights how games are an important tool in heritage dissemination and collective memory at the level of content. Others focus on the *experience* of travel through virtual game world landscapes. For example, Alice Davenport suggests that, in addition to the thrill of Gothic experience achieved through gameplay, some open-world games draw on eighteenth-century conventions and aesthetics of the sublime,

beautiful and picturesque, and provide pleasantly stimulating and leisurely e-landscapes for players to explore (86-88). An open-world, emergent play structure grants a level of what Davenport describes as “self-agency” to “drop the main storyline for a time, and to wander about in an e-landscape, rather like an eighteenth-century gentleman engaged in picturesque tourism” (90). In a meditation on the gamer as a *cyberflâneur*, Bart Simon views “spatially intensive virtual world games” as like “travelling to another country”. “The more immersive the game”, he writes, “the greater this sense of transportation becomes”. And so, even in 2006, he declared “the age of virtual world tourism” had arrived (62). The *Assassin’s Creed* series is an especially useful example to expand interdisciplinary scholarship on multi- and trans-media, given its mimetic and historical “spatially intensive” setting.

The *Assassin’s Creed* action-adventure franchise, by game developer Ubisoft, has become one of the most influential historical game series for over a decade, and perhaps in history. With twelve games released since 2007 and a film adaptation,—*Assassin’s Creed* (2016)—the *Assassin’s Creed* franchise has made its mark on gamer and popular culture alike. Each game offers ‘edutainment’ through a large exploratory world framed by a remediated re-creation of architectural and spatial imaginaries across a number of historical periods, geographies, and culture areas (De Groot 155; Lamerichs 164). The games within the franchise offer gamers the opportunity to travel to *topoi* informed by popular narratives of history and literature through action-packed, ‘open-world’ gameplay. Each game maintains the overarching story of a battle between secret societies, the Assassin Brotherhood, and the Templar Order (Van Nuenen 23). In 2015, Ubisoft released *Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*, a game centred on the experiential genetic memories of twin sibling assassins, Evie and Jacob Frye, accessed by the technology called the

“Helix”, to explore and defeat the capitalist criminal underworld invading the London metropolis. The aim of the game is to liberate the victims of corrupt capitalism and criminal underworld and to “bring justice to London’s lawless streets” (Ubisoft). From the corrupt underworld of Urban Gothic, such as urban monstrosities like Jack the Ripper, to ghostly and demonic urban folklore encounters, *Syndicate* crystallises the essence of London Gothic and grants players the immediacy to tour and interact with its game world.

The immersive setting of *Syndicate* invites analyses of both the tour and the tourist, even to the extent that Holly Neilsen, in conversation with social and cultural historian Alana Harris, describes the game as a form of “historical tourism” (Neilsen). It is important to note that Neilsen is not the first to make this connection. As a matter of fact, tourism enacted through *Assassin Creed* games, virtually and *in situ*, has been identified and explored by numerous scholars. Both Nicolle Lamerichs and Tom Van Nuenen, for example, document how *Assassin Creed* games have inspired unofficial fan tours to the key landmarks and/or sites in the referent towns and cities. In the same way that Victorians created dioramas and large-scale maps, so contemporary fans use Wiki pages and YouTube to create a comparative itinerary of landmarks and special locations in the game and the physical environment (Van Nuenen 24). Online Forums such as Reddit serve as a platform for enthusiastic users to create itineraries, give helpful tips, and share experiences of their personal travels and game-inspired explorations (Lamerichs 164). The fact that *Assassin’s Creed* has passed beyond the province of gamers into contemporary culture in general is evidenced by the fact that Tripadvisor, a travel-dedicated online forum, even has recorded and reviewed *Assassin Creed* tours and pilgrimages (Van Nuenen 24). Games that draw information from historical imaginaries and places

with a material referent clearly strengthen the entanglement between the “real” and “imagined” in the popular imagination. For example, there is an entire Wikivoyage page on an *Assassin’s Creed* tour that, functioning like a guidebook, lists all major landmarks and their precise locations on a map (“Assassin’s Creed Tour”).⁵

Tom Van Nuenen also picks up the thread of gaming as tourism. Players are “shown around” the specific city by a knowledgeable local—often a famous historical person—visiting iconic landmarks and places likely to be known, or at least familiar, to the player through popular media to particularise their general cultural competence. In effect, players are given a tour of constructed immersive tourist spaces (Van Nuenen 28). Van Nuenen reframes Mikhail Bakhtin’s notion of the chronotope to address the socio-spatial practices within various *Assassin’s Creed* games. Moreover, with a focus on diegetic maps, tourist checklists and movement through game spaces, Van Nuenen offers an alternative perspective upon the touristic qualities, that which he describes as “anti-touristic sentiment,” embedded in specific game structures (28-30).⁶ However, critical work on the franchise has yet to focus on the intersections between its Gothic narrative events and its touristic qualities.

Tourism is embedded in the immersive structures of *Syndicate* at all levels, including game world development, design, and play. Complementing their rigorous historical research, the development team travelled from Quebec, Canada, to London as part of their creative world-building process. In an interview with Post Arcade’s Chad Sapieha, Jonathon Dumont, *Syndicate*’s World Director, relayed their strategies to conceptualise a complete game world:

After looking at all the reference materials [sic] we decided we had enough reference and we went to London. A couple of times, actually. We got a sense of life in the city. We saw what popped out, things you can't get from reference. We got a sense of life in the city, took about 4,000 photographs. We got the essence of London, like standing in St. James' Park near Buckingham Palace [sic]. (Dumont and Roy "How Historians").

Dumont even took the opportunity to walk the city with tour guides, commenting that "they drew my attention to details, traces of the Victorian period that you can still see today in contemporary London" (Dumont and Roy "How Historians"). In addition to touring the city, they visited myriad museums, those institutions of heritage, narration, and staging.⁷ Clearly, the spatiality and creative reimagining of the city at the level of game construction are directly influenced by a tourist perspective and how they encounter the experiences and institutions that constitute the heritage industry. The game's virtual London and its many textures are informed by, and are an embodiment of, the experiential "essence" and historical impressions of Dumont and his team. In conjunction with historical research on nineteenth-century culture and maps,⁸ this 'sense of place' moulded by visiting landmarks, heritage artifacts, and walking through the city is reflected in the immersive representation of the game world and the mechanisms that structure its spatial performances. In other words, the game world is a compilation of historical and contemporaneous urban narratives, maps, and heritage experiences that are, then, condensed into London signifiers within a single landscape.



Fig. 31. Screenshot from Ubisoft, *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*.



Fig. 32. Screenshot from *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*.

It is, therefore, more accurate to regard the game world not as a digital copy or a simulation but as an immersive ‘image’ of the Victorian imaginary or, to use the words of Creative Director, Marc-Alexis Côté, a “highly credible *impression*” of the city (Dumont and Roy “Assassin’s Creed”). The London game world is comprised of seven historic boroughs: the City of London, the Thames, Whitechapel, the Strand, Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark. Each borough is designed to have their “own fingerprint” or theme; each contains its own unique topography and aesthetic layout (Dumont and Roy “How Historians”; Dumont and Roy “Assassin’s Creed”). Controlling either assassins, Jacob or Evie Frye—the images above depict Jacob as the avatar—the screenshots above (fig. 31, 32) illustrate the image visible on the player’s screen as they traverse through Westminster and Lambeth at street-level, respectively. Some parts of the city are remapped, stretched, and compressed to accommodate gameplay, but alterations to geography are supplemented by a collection of recognisable heritage sites and landmarks. Certain landmarks, such as the virtual Buckingham Palace and Westminster, seen below (figs. 33,34) are even granted the focus of fidelity and are 1:1 recreation; precision wavers only at the minutiae, for instance, when the limits of player action require a slight change to the tiling or surface texture in certain areas (Dumont and Roy “Assassin’s Creed”).



Fig. 33. Anonymous, Buckingham Palace in *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*, screenshot.



Fig. Anonymous, Palace of Westminster in *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*, screenshot.

Given that *Syndicate's* London is constructed from a diverse range of audio-visual and character signifiers of the historical, it becomes clear why Van Nuenen advocates for an enlargement of Bakhtin's chronotope. As a form akin to animated historical fiction of the 'Victorian age', the game's visual and audio diegetic world

depicts a plausible reconstruction through an amalgam of complex signifiers. These signifiers of Victorian London include extant visual and verbal representations of social *mentalities*, collective memory, and geographical and topographical referents in toponyms (Robinson 47). These signifiers of the Victorian age are entangled with invented fictions to create a rich world that is a compilation of condensed historical and modern-day narratives, maps, and urban experience. For Hedlund and Westin, this approach to game world design is a “polychronia”, “a representation of an event, place or landscape at a certain historic moment which enrolls aspects and artefacts from later or earlier times in an organized manner to appeal to a common understanding” (16). It follows a similar principle to heritage world-building, whereby an arrangement or assembly of artefacts, stories, and objects are presented to appeal to the widest possible audience (Harrison, *Heritage* 6).⁹ Only for the trained eye and ear do anachronisms persist, but for most players, the world on and within their screen is a coherent and unified historical microcosm to travel through and explore.¹⁰

The game space in *Syndicate* shares certain design properties with heritage sites. Heritage sites and the history-based video game world are what John Urry and Jonas Larsen designate as “themed spaces”, the “process of signification where certain geographical representations and meanings are selectively invented, reworked or borrowed in self-enclosed leisure and tourism spaces” (125). The spaces are constructed as a visual spectacle of signs that are imbued with cultural knowledge (Urry and Larsen 125; Jenkins “Game Design”). Game developers integrate themed spaces to stimulate the sense of an imaginative journey elsewhere (Urry and Larsen 125). Like the staging of physical spaces, game design is a reordering of artefacts and information to build a coherent and compelling virtual

cityscape. The specific geography of the game is always to support and contextualise the diegetic events and narratives (Hayot and Wesp). The game space is an interactive and performative diorama that can be reactivated at the literal touch of a button and reperformed at one's leisure.

Once we acknowledge that the act of travel in the themed digital game spaces is built into its mechanics it becomes clear that, in addition to being a work of visual art, games are, in their very essence, virtual spaces of activity (Shaw and Warf 1332). Players can explore fictional worlds in a way that is not possible in other forms of literature, art, or media because games "are performative media that rely on actions of the player as well as a sense of place" (Lamerichs 163).¹¹ Player activity is at the heart of the game experience (Wolf and Perron 15). Whereas literature gives the illusion of entering the fictional space through the gaze and minds of its characters, video games take this one step further by granting the player the ability to become an interactor who can physically move within the depicted environment through their avatar (Byerly 14; Ryan et al 102-3). Players must not only process and 'read' the audio-visual information presented on the screen but interact with those agents and artefacts to make meaning and progress gameplay. The immediacy and, thus, the immersion are enhanced through these interactive possibilities (Byerly 19). In sum, video games are navigable virtual spaces, and players are active agents who interact and determine the outcome and scope of the storyworld (Ryan et al 103).

Games, particularly modern games with sophisticated graphics, remediate the narrative eye/'I' qualities of cinematic visuality and dimensionality. The 3D display used in video games creates a sense of depth and, in so doing, grants a perception of "entering" the "there" that is the game space and operating from within what is

now the “here” of the narrative.¹² Put simply, in cinema, the camera selects, frames and interprets, and serves as the narrative apparatus. In games, the camera serves the same function because, as Michael Nitsche argues, every video game needs a camera, “there can be no 3D video game without such narrating” (77). However, games are a hybrid of cinematically represented and architecturally navigable space, meaning that the camera does not tell a predefined story. Unlike a predefined framing in film, the camera, mostly controllable by the player, delivers “a cinematic mediation of events as they are instantiated by the interactor of the virtual world” (Nitsche 93). In sum, not only is the player confronted with cinematic spaces, but they also become an actor within it through their agency of the camera. This control over the ‘gaze’ permits a greater sense of immersion and alternative forms of performance in the virtual ‘historical playground’.

Gamers and game theorists regularly refer to the ‘playground’ or ‘sandbox’ that is the game. These metaphors reference an “open-world structure” that is non-linear, exploratory, which “allows for relatively free play,” and which recognises the various possible methods of interaction, exploration, and performance (Nitsche 171; Proctor). A player’s avatar is “set loose” in the virtual playground and can roam around with relative freedom, unfettered by fixed or tightly scripted spaces and actions (Van Nuenen 27). Devin Proctor, for example, recollects his gameplay experience wandering a city in the *Assassin’s Creed: Rogue* (2014), that movement that is neither goal-driven nor “stuck in place by introspective ruminations” (Proctor). Still, any pre-determined narrative, or tightly scripted space, does not remove varied experiences or the unique pathways to achieve the specific progression. The parallel between the avatar in *Syndicate* and the “arm-chair *flâneur*,” identified by Jack Gann, acknowledges the immersive and ambulatory nature of modern games that places

players at street-level to explore a three-dimensional urban environment (“Walking in the Virtual City”). This is an often-practiced performance of the *Assassin Creed* digital cities as evidenced by the proliferation of YouTube videos posted by gamers choosing to use their avatars to stroll through the streets of London and other historical environments.

While there are a number of tensions that can result from positioning the player’s avatar as a *flâneur*, wanderer, or psychogeographer, there is a clear correlation between the player—by extension of the avatar—and a Gothic tourist. As in the case of literary tourism and the defamiliarised, uncanny spaces that are unveiled on physical walking tours, the Gothic components of the digital city are made visible only when directly sought out by the player and accessed through a knowledgeable local tour guide, one who is well acquainted with the geography, the lore, and the narrative of the city. Narrative defamiliarises the digital cityscape, exposing the Gothic ruptures through the fabric of the everyday game space. Defamiliarisation is only possible when the pre-scripted Gothic narrative ruptures and reconfigures the avatar’s, and therefore the player’s, relationship and performance of the virtual urban space. There can be no sense of Gothic tourism without stories. For this reason, a return to Michel de Certeau’s notion of ‘spatial practice’ is a useful interpretative strategy. As Sybille Lammes reminds us, de Certeau’s approach allows us to deal with video games as stories and to acknowledge their interactivity (86). In sum, when the player participates in certain storylines, the avatar performs the game space into a particular, storied Gothic place.¹³

Access to these storied Gothic places requires an informed and knowledgeable guide. In the game, we encounter Charles Dickens, a grandmaster cartographer and tour guide of literary London,¹⁴ and accompany him to uncover the

truth behind supernatural tales in the city in the side mission aptly named “London Stories”. This sequence is more properly regarded as an interactive London Gothic anthology. Each story is a complete narrative unit within the larger framework of archetypal London urban Gothic. The supernatural London that Dickens evokes reiterates the same paradox that characterised nineteenth-century cultural thought: “Here we are in the world’s most advanced city, yet its citizens are so in thrall to the supernatural” (*Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*). As unofficial members of The Ghost Club—a society which systematically examines and investigates the supernatural—the player facilitates, with the help of Dickens, the agenda of The Ghost Club, variously debunking or legitimising the supernatural claims. *Syndicate*’s use of Charles Dickens is a symbolic gesture to his role as a producer and guide of a literary haunted imaginary and a nod to his contributions to a thriving supernatural culture in the nineteenth century. The ‘real’ Charles Dickens was known to debate and research the validity of the supernatural and even to visit haunted houses to investigate the source of its haunting, all of which is reflected in his writing (Henson 44-55). Within a sequence of six “memories,” some overlapping, the player’s task is to discover the truth and explain the supernatural: from the folk-legend of the demon Spring-Heeled Jack to the supernatural powers behind a set of robberies; from the case of a haunted carriage to the infamous 50 Berkeley Square. In other words, Dickens encourages the gamer to be the “beacon of reason in a world beguiled by superstition” (*Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*).

One of the performative historical Gothic narrative events in the game is a guided tour led by Dickens to a virtual 50 Berkeley Square. As is the case for many haunted house narratives, the interactive event begins with travel to a site of haunting. Meeting Dickens inside a pub, the avatar asks “if the Ghost club holds

some new horror” for them, to which Dickens keenly responds, “As a matter of fact, yes! Follow me!” (*Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*). During this brief initial dialogue, the exclamatory “Follow me!” marks the symbolic moment in this game sequence where the Dickens character positions himself as a tour guide to the haunted destination. To follow Dickens also marks the moment of agency for the avatar, who must decide to embark on a tour and move through space to a specific destination. To draw on Michel de Certeau’s notion of a “tour,” Dickens’ invitation initiates a series of organised movements (119). The task of following Dickens on a formulated route creates navigable boundaries within a particularised experience of the digital environment. In the same way that established routes and itineraries create a repetitive structure for a walking tour, the predetermined plot of Berkeley Square results in paraphrased ‘spatial story’ with every attempt made by a player. Phrased differently, the narrative events and locations are preconceived, and each performance by the digital Gothic tourist follows a similar format.



Fig. 35. Screenshot from Ubisoft, *Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*

Subsequently, to locate and arrive at the house, the avatar must follow Dickens out of the pub and to a carriage. Dickens begins a preamble that is equal parts potted history and character sketch on the supernatural and haunting associations of 50 Berkeley Square. The Dickens character, in an accent and personality which seeks to resemble the 'idea' of the 'real' Dickens, explains:

Number fifty Berkeley Square: four storeys high, and branded: "BEWARE ALL THOSE WHO ENTER". There have been many strange tales of this dreadful domicile. The earliest report of a haunting was said to be the specter of a small girl who was murdered by a servant. She could be seen at the attic windows, weeping and wringing her little hands in an agony of despair.

(Assassin's Creed: Syndicate)

After his preamble, Dickens exclaims, "I'm eager to begin!" and you both board a carriage and travel through the streets of London to Number fifty. The similarities to the modern-day London Ghost bus tour—a black double-decker bus that drives tourists on a specific route to haunted places, telling stories in transit—are evident. On the predetermined and mapped route, indicated by the white line, through the darkening, gaslit London streets (see fig. 35, above), Dickens continues telling his ghostly tales as the player drives the carriage and follows the indicated route:

Another legend claims the attic is haunted by the spirit of a young woman, who purportedly threw herself from the top floor windows to escape her abusive uncle. Her screaming ghost has reportedly been sighted hanging from the window ledge. This residence was briefly owned by a Mr. James Jasper. A choirmaster and an opium addict. His nephew, Edward, was betrothed to one of Mr. Jasper's pupils, the fair and delicate Rose. However,

Edward disappeared under mysterious circumstances, followed by Jasper himself. Perhaps grief sent him back to the soothing arms of his narcotic mistress. (*Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*)

Although Dickens relays stories attached to the historical haunted house, the stories told thus far, in this Neo-Victorian setting, are anachronistic: they do not derive from the nineteenth century, with the exception of the explicit allusion to Dickens' unfinished novel, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870), a clever way to tie Dickens' character to the house. Nevertheless, the bricolage of ghost stories that entices the traveller to the house is a crucial element: it constructs the dwelling as a Gothic place and builds anticipation for the types of potential horrors, and possible gameplay interaction, that haunt the house on Berkeley Square. Dickens' storytelling paired with the player's interaction—the willing participation and attention to the stories—turns a virtual space into a haunted place.

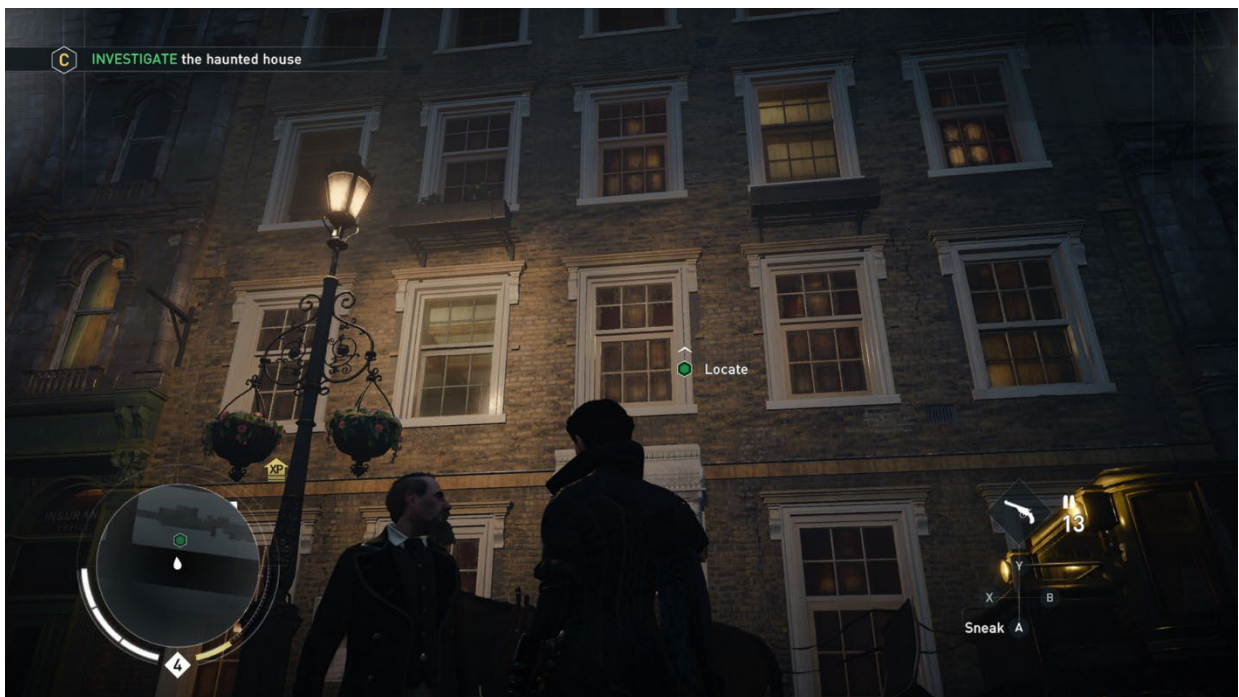


Fig. 36. *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*. Xbox One version, Ubisoft, 2015.

Entering the mysterious dwelling, Dickens refers his story to the specific haunting spatial conditions of the house and maps out the room of Gothic mystery, the mention of “screams of terror” and “ringing bells” a clear reference to Rhoda Broughton’s tale:

Though this house is vacant some say it comes alive at night with screams of terror, ringing bells, and slamming shutters...There are claims that a young man was caged in the attic, his only connection to the rest of the world a tiny hole in the door – a young man who was reduced to madness by this extreme isolation. The legends all seem to focus on one room in particular. (*Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*)

The spatial conditions imposed through narrative, the “screams of terror,” “ringing bells,” “slamming shutters”, and the theme of secreting the mad into an isolated part of the house, render the house Gothic. Taking a look at the image below (fig. 37), as in the case of the house in “The Clifford Story,” the brightly lit and tastefully decorated house reveals no immediate identifiers of supernatural presence. Inside, the game has a resemblance to a remediated form of the textual tour taken in Bulwer Lytton’s “The Haunted and the Haunters” and investigates the source of the supernatural. The player must explore the multiple floors of the house and approach a series of ominous staged objects framed by audio signifiers often associated with ghostly presences—a piano playing with no pianist, a cradle rocking with no one around, or the eerie laugh of mischievous children playing in the house. Naturally, virtual Dickens takes great care to rationalise the potential source of the sounds, except for the latter where he, briefly, feels the effect of the generated disquiet and offers to “wait here” while the player allows you to go in pursuit of the potential threat (*Assassin’s Creed: Syndicate*). As the explorations commence, Dickens takes a

subordinate role: the avatar is now the central protagonist who investigates the haunting of digital Berkeley Square. In essence, the gamer-cum-detective is now tasked with examining objects to locate the source of haunting. Dickens may intervene to provide tidbits of information but ultimately it is up to the gamer to solve the mystery based on the embedded clues. At the end of your narrative arc, there is no ghost, only a victim of tempestuous passion, madness, and opium addiction.



Fig. 37. Anonymous, Inside 50 Berkeley Square with Charles Dickens, screenshot.

Whereas the act of reading gradually uncovers the conditions of haunting through the narrator's exploration of haunted space, the conditions of haunting are only revealed through the player's interaction by way of moving the avatar and engaging with the audio-visual features. In short, the virtual house's "architectural uncanny," the slippage between waking and dreaming, is unlocked by the player in those brief moments before the supernatural entity is explained (Vidler 11). Gothic experience emerges from what is termed the "embedded narrative" which "combines an authorially defined story—the events being investigated—with the variable story

created in real time by the actions of the player” (Ryan et al 109). The series of associations staged within the game space require the player’s interaction and is always mediated and processed by the player’s imagination. This speaks volumes in terms of immediacy. The immediacy and affect of literary offerings are accomplished by means of immersive play. The primacy of literature based on the infinite possibilities of narrative stance are preserved and made visceral because the gamer can watch themselves move through, and participate in, the Gothic tale.

Gothic Travel Vlogs: The Case of Cool Dudes Walking Club

Media productions of Gothic spaces are complemented by fans and enthusiasts who creatively poach and repurpose forms of travel for their own means. The Internet provides a participatory space for new media travel literatures and multimedia content, specifically the written travel blog. These blogs, which offer “a serialised and ‘illustrated account’ of a trip incorporating a diversity of media,” were one of the earliest genres on the Internet (Arthur and Van Nuenen 506). YouTube, for example, is full of virtual tourism guides that combine textual descriptions with panoramic images, videos of tourist sites and landscapes, and recordings of tourists exploring and sightseeing (Byerly 21). In the twenty-first century, video sharing platforms such as MySpace and Vimeo enabled everyday users to upload videos of tours and video travelogues, often known under its abbreviated form of the ‘vlog’ or a video travel blog, documenting their travels and tourism experiences around the globe. At present, YouTube has emerged as the preferred platform, and features a number of channels dedicated to specialised virtual travel with a branded and/or recognisable guide, such as Marek Larwood. The proliferation of online and accessible tourism

materials is demonstrative of the participatory culture of our networked era.

“Participatory culture,” as defined by Henry Jenkins, refers to the “relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one’s creations, and some type of information mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices” (qtd in Delwiche and Henderson 3). The creation of new media travel literatures by ‘novices’ is an important contribution to the overarching world-making and digital performance of Haunted London.

To fully appreciate and assess Haunted London as an act of transmedia storytelling, media producers and consumers can no longer be relegated to separate roles. Instead, “we might now see them as participants who interact with each other” under a new set of rules (Jenkins, *Convergence Culture* 3). People can tap into multimedia content and ‘real-time’ data and access tours that are personally interesting to them, be it for the specific guide, location, or its Gothic mode.¹⁵ This is possible because new tools and technologies enable us, as users and consumers, to annotate, appropriate, archive and recirculate content (qtd. in Jenkins, “Rethinking Convergence” 269). No longer bound by the constraints of print or audio, digital publishing has become “transmedia publishing” (Delwiche and Henderson 7). YouTube, a digital platform for “vernacular creativity,” is a site of transmedia publishing that users can bend to their will, manipulating and creating new content (Burgess and Green 6-7). It houses countless videos of tourism and travel by individuals across the world and is now a preferred site to upload and archive travel writing for the digital age: the video travelogue. Media and texts that transport readers and/or viewers on virtual journeys are no longer reserved for official channels. While in-person walking tours bring local knowledge to tourists of a single

place, YouTube takes this one step further and enables users to access, disseminate, and repetitively tour different places in a single day. YouTube's subscription services allow users to be alerted when new content of their favourite channels is uploaded, giving them access to their preferred tours and guides at a click of a button. That being said, given the monetisation of YouTube, successful or popular tour guides, like their real-world counterparts, are paid for their services.

“Did you know that most ghosts are actually people who have died trying to put on their duvet covers? And you can expect more of that on these ghost walks,” jokes comedian, actor, and walking hobbyist Marek Larwood to welcome his virtual companions to his Hampstead Ghost Walk travel vlog, a recording of his own journey guided by Richard Jones' guidebook, *Walking London: 25 Original Walks Exploring London's Ghostly Past*, the same haunted guidebook I used on my own walk described and analysed in Chapter Two (Larwood “Hampstead”). In 2019, Larwood began his mini-series of ghost walks based on Jones' text on his Cool Dude Walking Club YouTube channel, which archives and organises his self-guided walks around the United Kingdom, and, as he amusingly states, gives him an excuse to talk to himself in public (Cool Dudes Walking Club). To date, there are eight London ghost walks recorded on Larwood's channel: Highgate, Hampstead, Lincoln's Field Inn to Bloomsbury, Temple and Fleet Street, Royal London, Clerkenwell, Blackfriars, and Chiswick.¹⁶ Each condensed walking video documents and maps the major moments of his experience following the guidebook around London in search of haunted sites, as well as giving travel advice and a rating for each walk. An expression of Gothic parody and burlesque, these ghost walks expose the other end of the Gothic spectrum, that which Sue Zlosnik and Avril Horner term as the ‘comic turn’. Here, I examine certain sequences of Cool Dude Walking Club's ghost walks.

In doing so, I offer a counterpoint to Gothic spatial performance grounded in Xavier Aldana Reyes's notion of Gothic affect and dread, one of lightness and laughter which emphasises multivalences of Gothic practice.

Since the publication of David Punter's landmark work *The Literature of Terror* in 1980, Gothic has been critically read and analysed through the scope of negative emotions, "collective neuroses," and political and cultural oppression (Horner and Zlosnik, *Gothic and the Comic Turn* 1). The field of Gothic studies established in the 1980s and 1990s focused critical attention on the Gothic as genre and/or mode centred on readings that feature horror, trauma, fear and other mechanisms of social and cultural anxieties (Spooner, *Post-millennial Gothic* 11).¹⁷ Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik rightly attribute this persistent traditional methodology within Gothic studies to a grounding in psychoanalytics and its concerns with depth. A focus on that which is hidden and repressed leads to a neglect of important and meaningful surface effects (*Gothic and the Comic Turn* 2-3). As a counterpoint, Horner and Zlosnik offer a juxtaposition to remedy these shortcomings. In *The Gothic and the Comic Turn*, they demonstrate how the comic turn is intrinsic to the mode of Gothic writing since the publication of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* and remains a major feature of Gothic cultural production (*Gothic and the Comic Turn* 3-4). For example, Oscar Wilde's parodic ghost story, "The Canterville Ghost" (1887), and other nineteenth-century Gothic parodies anticipated the success of comedic techniques that became mainstream by the mid-twentieth century (Spooner, *Post-millennial Gothic* 23-24). As Horner and Zlosnik rightly note, the Gothic comic turn, then, "is the Gothic's own *doppelgänger*. Comic Gothic self-consciously uses Gothic's established devices to allay readers' learnt responses to certain plots and tropes (*Gothic and the Comic Turn* 4). This shift is determined by the way stories are told, a

matter of focalisation (Horner and Zlosnik, *Gothic and the Comic Turn* 9). It changes the contract between the text and the reader and offers a “measure of detachment from scenes of pain and suffering that would be disturbing in a different Gothic context” (Horner and Zlosnik, *Gothic and the Comic Turn* 13). While Zlosnik and Horner focus on textual manifestations of the Gothic, it is my contention that the altered contract applies to the imagining subject’s reading of, and relationship to, touring and knowing Haunted London. Put simply, it changes the contract between viewer and space. What impact does this have on armchair tourism of haunted space? This question guides my analysis.

Chapters One, Two and Three of this thesis have been firmly grounded in these fear-based readings of the Gothic, particularly in relation to its affective qualities informed and inspired by the principal horror and terror techniques of the mode. At the same time, it is impossible to deny the ludic play the imagining reader and/or tourist engages in when embarking on Gothic tours through literature or physical places. The purpose of this section is to emphasise that comic Gothic in relation to tourism is necessary to appreciate fully and understand the Gothic’s hybrid spectrum that covers practices grounded in dread and horror, where comedic moments are hysteria or relief, and other times “in which there are clear signals that nothing is to be taken seriously” (Horner and Zlosnik, *Gothic and the Comic Turn* 15). It is to advocate for a holistic approach that includes the multitude of ‘games’ to be played as Gothic tourists. Parody is instrumental in the formation of comic turns in the Gothic. I adopt Horner and Zlosnik’s inclusive definition of parody to structure my analyses of Cool Dudes Walking videos as a “mode that, while engaging with a target text or genre, exhibits a keen sense of the comic” and “an accurate awareness of intertextuality” (*Gothic and the Comic Turn* 12). To captivate his audience and

subvert the predictable Gothic tone of ghost walks, Larwood sets out to generate laughter through the ludic use of Gothic conventions. Instead of terror and fear, Larwood uses laughter to evoke the necessary affective connection to map and secure his own comic haunted topography of London.

Vlogs are neither unique nor new to YouTube, but the digital format forges a revised relationship between the reader, the author persona, and the space traversed (Burgess and Green 53). Larwood's personal digital pedestrian travel vlog is a remediation of travel writing in the modern digital age. It follows a similar general premise, namely "to bring news of the wider world, and to disseminate information about unfamiliar people and places" (C. Thompson 62). Travelogues more specifically record a traveller's impressions and reactions to the "stimuli of the tour" (Buzard 49). In other words, travel vlogs, like conventional print travel writing, enable the traveller and/or tourist to bring sites into the sight of viewers—sights and places that can be otherwise inaccessible—through their direct and personal experience.

Nonetheless, I do not wish to suggest that travel vlogs are unmediated material. As Carl Thompson rightly points out, the translation of the "experience of travel" into a "travel text" means viewers see the final filtered form which had been mediated by and through the perceptions of the traveller's consciousness, and then, again, through the editing and creation of the final text (62). Ultimately, travel literature as written text requires the reader imaginatively to recreate the landscape that has been navigated through the mental exercise of actualisation. In travel vlogs, the final product grants viewers access to the space and narrative simultaneously. In the case of the comic Gothic, the textual narrative turned travel vlog is transformed into a multimedia comic spectacle. Through the lens of the moving camera, we are 'taken there' and shown around places, comically.

Whereas travel writers must deploy specific writing techniques to relay an ambulatory experience through language, the travel vlog, as a visual medium, inherently affirms that we are, in fact, moving through the streets by foot. Any sense of movement we do have is not a sensation of the camera moving, but a reaction to Larwood's movement as the camera mostly faces him. In essence, the travel vlog resituates the corporeality of travel in online ghost walking vlogs. As Charles Forsdick argues:

First, the relative presence (or absence) of the travelling body in the journey narrative is a feature not only of the practice of the journey, but also of its textualization—in the shift from experience in the field to often retrospective narration of travel, the author may foreground or reduce the role of the body for a variety of reasons, from the performative to the ideological. (ch. 7)

The narrator is no longer a persona of the author or a figure, omniscient or otherwise, to textually advance the tour for the reader. The camera corporealizes the narrator and we, as cybertourists, join them on their physical walk through the city. Viewers do not passively view the movement of the camera, as is the case in film. Instead, digital travel vlogs allow the viewers to embody a sense of presence in the spaces travelled by Larwood.

To suture a Gothic spatial imaginary to a place it is necessary to know what specific site is deemed haunted. Video recordings' heightened sense of immediacy enable the cybertourist to see the objects imbued with Gothic histories and associations without physically going there. Through the power of camera lens and the internet, "all sorts of places can be gazed upon, compared, contextualised and gazed upon again" (Lash and Urry ch.10). In addition to being turned to face

Larwood for his storytelling and conversations, the camera provides focused shots on the haunted sites in question. Before or during the moment Larwood tells his paraphrased Gothic tale, the camera frames the viewer's gaze on the haunted building and/or space, which in turn, prompts a stronger understanding or sense of the objects of interest within the narrated Gothic landscape. As in the case of multi-perspective visuality in video games, the interpretation of these images is activated at the level of the imagination, but the scope of the object is determined. This is because the film sites or "photographic referent" to borrow from Roland Barthes, "are not the *optionally* real thing to which an image or sign refers to but the *necessarily* real thing which has been placed before the lens" (Barthes *Camera Lucida* 76). In other words, there is no ambiguity as to what specific material site is the haunted space because it is isolated by the camera for the eye to see. In a similar vein to a physical walking tour, cybertourists can construct a visual map of haunted landmarks that make up the geography of Haunted London by watching his videos, or rather, being participants on the video tour. While the sites only become Gothic and/or haunted places when the story is told, the gaze of the lens aids in storytelling by focusing viewer's attention and transforms the screen into an immersive pedestrian experience.



Fig. 38. Still from Larwood, “St James’s Palace and 50 Berkeley Square Ghost Walk” (2:40).

While, as in travel writing, the viewer is taken on a journey, it is important to note that it is not a simple matter of translation or direct remediation. Instead, remediation from traditional ambulatory styles of writing in print form to the travel vlog is transformative at the level of the narrator. Its emphasis on liveness, conversation and audio-visual immediacy differentiates it from earlier formats of travel writing and media (Burgess and Green 54). There is a shift in narrative style that openly embraces the audio-visual form and structure, as well as the ludic involvement of the watcher. At the level of narrative form, the vlog reminds us of the residual characteristic of interpersonal face-to-face communications, an important distinction of online videos compared to, for example, television. His ‘excuse’ to speak to himself in public is really Larwood speaking to those who end up on the other side of the camera lens. There are a few occasions in his videos where he addresses the unknown viewer(s) directly through questions and implied responses. In connection with *Assassin’s Creed*, the virtual Dickens will engage the game in a

similar manner as part of the script of a specific task. Clearly, given all the commonalities, this line of reasoning can also be extended to the face-to-face tour; the guide will anticipate questions the participants might have and signal for when we are ready to move on. At times, the dialogue appears to be unscripted, with corrections to content (i.e. the yellow font in fig. 38, above). Misremembered quotes or poor storytelling are easily corrected through the editing process with superimposed text and/or corrective retelling of stories and these often generate yet another layer of comedy. Larwood becomes a comic persona through his wayward ramblings, often condensed and paraphrased versions of Jones' prose told with intense or strange facial gestures, comic intonations and the use of slang. To generate comedy, the video material is revised and mediated through superimposed visual and audio effects. Larwood's method of performative storytelling transforms Jones' self-guided tour from serious, dread-based ghost storytelling act to laughter-inducing hauntings.



Fig. 39. Still from Larwood, "St James's Palace and 50 Berkeley Square Ghost Walk" (0:36)

The informality and ‘lightness’ in much travel writing has been recognised, particularly its expression through the parodic or satiric modes rather than a strictly anthropological or erudite form. It has always been prone to a sense of play, myth-making, and witty falsifications, and badinage (Arthur and Van Nuenen 508). The start of Larwood’s Royal London walk, for example, affirms and evokes the intertextual playfulness of haunted walks through his impressionistic and droll narrative style. Throughout the walk, Larwood parodies conventions of the ghost walk and paranormal media more generally. Walking down the street to the statue of Queen Anne, in Queen Anne’s Gate, he points to a billowing of smoke, as depicted in the screenshot above, and emphatically announces, “Holy shit! I’ve only just started the walk and already there’s a bloody strange apparition in the middle of the street” (Larwood “St James”). On the way to sites on his itinerary, mundane objects are transformed into the supernatural not as a moment of the uncanny but for the sake of a punchline.

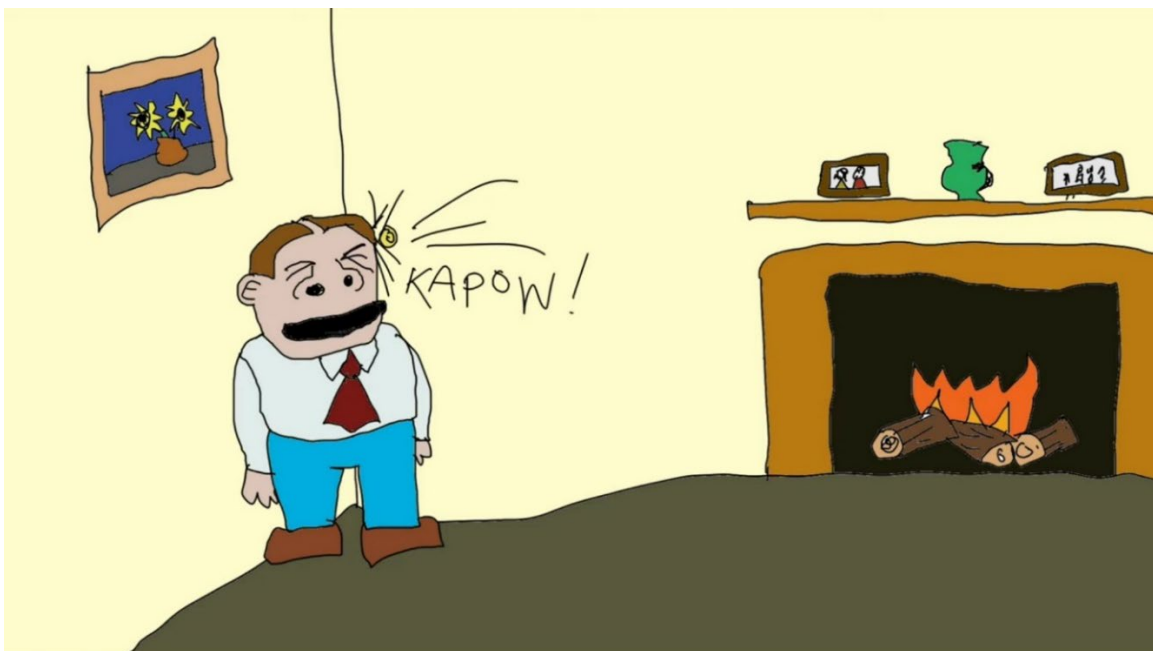


Fig. 40. Still from Larwood, “Chiswick Ghost Walk” (0:55).

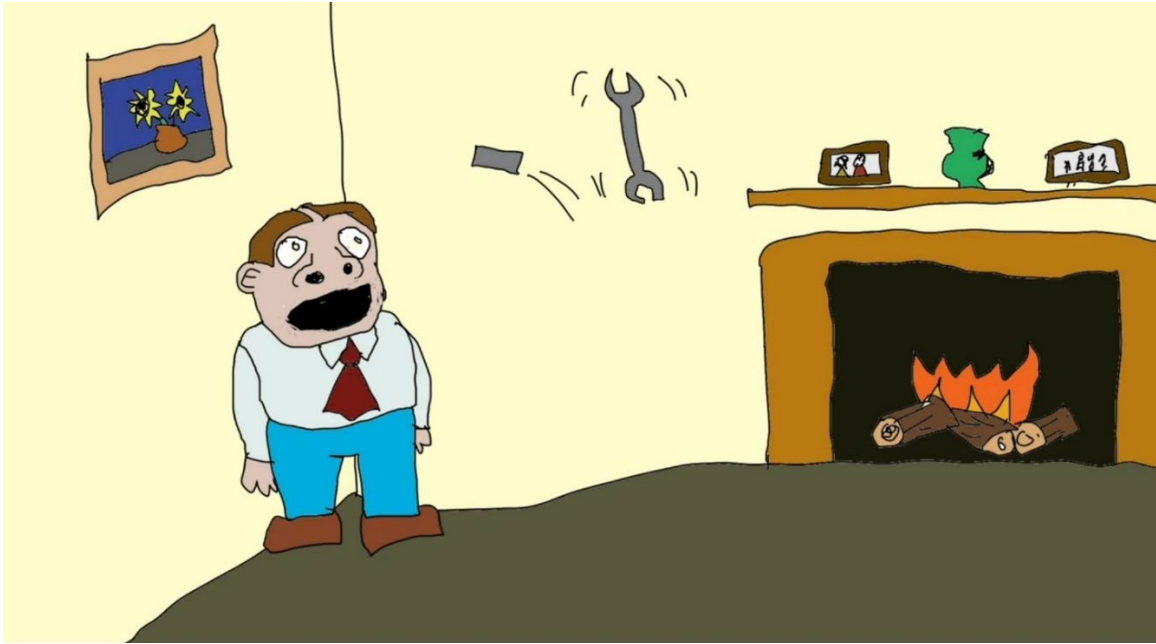


Fig. 41. Still from Larwood, “Chiswick Ghost Walk” (1:03).



Fig. 42. Still from Larwood, “Chiswick Ghost Walk” (1:10).

Transformation from ‘experience of travel’ to text or, in this case, online video can undergo deliberate manipulation or formulated representation to elicit a particular effect and/or affect, in this case, laughter. Larwood’s parodic misreading of

the supernatural into the landscape is just one method used to evoke a particular response to his walk. For certain stories, visual paratexts are used to alter ghost stories depicting frightful scenes of trauma to a comedic circumstance, making it difficult for viewers to find anything shocking or frightening. Larwood deploys this visual comedic strategy of detachment for the story of the Esmond Road Poltergeist on his Chiswick ghost walk. The introduction to the haunted location follows the usual pattern as other checkpoints on Larwood's itinerary and records him walking to the once haunted location. Upon arrival, he points the camera towards a set of post-war council houses on Esmond Road, framing the specific haunted landmark. There, he tells the story of "one of the most famous poltergeist hauntings" as follows:

Back in 1956, a thirteen-year-old called David started complaining that someone was throwing pennies at him—hm, maybe he was just unpopular. No, it was only a bloomin' poltergeist. Then, razor blades started flying around and spanners going through windows. Anyway, the police came and one of them was hit with a bit of money as well. Eventually they investigated and sent David away and then the poltergeist haunting stopped. So, it's easy to work out that David did it (Larwood "Chiswick").

The three images interject his storytelling at the relevant points in the narrative and alter the affective possibilities of his story. Comic effect is generated through the juxtaposition between the straightforward ghost story of the Esmond Road poltergeist and the comical visual paratexts that illustrate the story. There is a strong detachment from negative emotions, making it near impossible to see David as a tormented victim of a poltergeist haunting when illustrated with the exaggerated facial expression and written sound effects like "Kapow" when struck with the penny (fig. 40), or his misaligned eyes and wide-gaping mouth as the spanner and razor

approach him in the air (fig. 41). The story is further rendered silly with the caricature of the police officer also being hit by a penny with a “Thwack” (fig. 42). Paired with the images, this is an example of the ludic impressions recorded for the viewer as Larwood completes his walk, and a clear indicator of the lack of seriousness that is being taken that changes the overall atmosphere and contract between the cyber-traveller and the text. The paratext gives rise to a misreading of the story that redirects the attention of the viewer to the surface and laughter. However, it must be stressed that while the comic elements take centre stage, the essence of the ghost story is still communicated to the audience, and the haunted location is mapped and specified. Comic ghost tourism, then, is a matter of a change in style rather than substance.

Sounds, too, are used as comic paratexts. Throughout the video, eerie music is played to add the traditional motif of horror and code the walk as one that is Gothic. This is, at times, jarring, and it is precisely when the story is anything but scary that it is juxtaposed with an audio marker of the “Gothic”. The result is a vlog that pokes fun at paranormal media. At times, when paused to tell a story, non-diegetic sounds are used instead of images for comic juxtaposition or to burlesque. A prime example of this strategy occurs when Larwood recounts the stories of ghosts that haunted Buckingham Palace in his Royal London walk. The second haunting is from the ghost of Major John Gwynne, who had an affair that was so scandalous that it ruined his reputation. His fall from social grace prompted him to shoot himself in a first-floor office (R. Jones 66-67). Larwood tells this tragic story in a serious manner, but what rapidly emerges is a discrepancy between the sombre content of the story about the harsh realities of the perils of social status and the inserted sound effects. According to Jones’ story, the haunting manifests as the sound of a gunshot, a

ghostly echo of the revolver used to kill himself, emanating from the room where Gwynne tragically died. And so, Larwood requests for his audience to “have a listen” for the ghost (Larwood “St James Park”). This moment of pause mimics how physical tours invite the tourist to have a heightened sensory awareness of their environment, and perhaps be startled by the sound of a motorcycle exhaust that eerily resembles a gun shot, as I was on my self-guided tour. Instead, it is at this moment where the non-diegetic sound of almost cartoon-like automatic gunfire can be heard as Larwood mimics the act of close listening, to which he ends with “I think that was it” (Larwood “St James Park”). There is never a point at which the audience is left to reflect on the severity or melancholy of the stories, nor have an abrupt visceral reaction to the environment. Instead, Larwood’s efforts continue to keep the lightness injected into his storytelling so that the tour never moves into the territory of dark tourism and, instead, plays with the comic Gothic tour as both practice and attitude.

On Larwood’s walks, the role of the supernatural changes. In a similar vein to other comic Gothic works, as Horner and Zlosnik argue, the supernatural and the uncanny are used “not to frighten and appal, but to amuse, to stimulate and to intrigue” (“Comic Gothic” 243). Larwood paraphrases the depictions of the story at the level of the supernatural entity, adding in his own creative flair to give the supernatural this revised function. For example, Jones’ Clerkenwell walk includes a story about Carthusian monks who faced the wraith of Henry VIII when they refused to acknowledge him as the head of the Church. After the execution of their Prior, the surviving monks continued to refuse the demands of the King. Subsequently, they were visited by “long-dead brethren who urged them to stay true to their faith” (R. Jones 33). Instead of repeating Jones’ tale verbatim after the important historical

background is established, Larwood theatrically presents the fictional dialogue between the ghostly long-dead brethren and the surviving monks. He builds up a climatic moment, telling his viewers, “they were visited by an old, ghost monks, long-dead monks, saying....[sic]” (Larwood “Clerkenwell”). At this moment, Gothic conventions would insist upon some harrowing and prophetic message from ghostly monks. Instead, Larwood puts on voice akin to a mock Gregorian chant to represent the monks, living and dead, saying “don’t give into Henry VIII. Are you sure? Hm, quite possibly” (Larwood “Clerkenwell”). The message is not funny in itself; the comic effect derives from how it is told. While the supernatural is not grounded in fear, it does not make it any less potent in terms of heritage knowledge. Much like the delight of “recreational fear,” comedy can amuse and stimulate interest in haunted sites, making their histories accessible and a source of entertainment. The format of YouTube also means people can repeatedly watch the videos to enjoy their favourite jokes and stories, further entrenching the knowledge of a particular place.

Although the content and itinerary of Larwood’s tour for the most part adheres to Jones’ text, and is therefore imbued with Gothic possibilities of the uncanny and dread, the tone and affective potential of Larwood’s tour is greatly skewed. However, that is exactly the point, for as Edensor reminds us, tourism is a process of an ongoing “(re)construction of praxis and space in a shared context.” Spaces, even Gothic ones, can be destabilised and remade by these performances despite perceived codes and norms (60). Larwood’s walk highlights and affirms the spectrum of performance and engagement with ghost and/or Gothic tourism and, more importantly, the ability of haunted guidebooks to accommodate and support different approaches to Gothic play and spatial performance. The idea that guidebooks are an authoritative source of power that create rigid barriers to the understanding and

development of place does not take the tourist as active participant into consideration. In the case of the ghost tourist, they have an active role in the production of haunted space. To recall from Chapter Two, travel guidebooks “in spite of (or perhaps because) of [their] tightly woven itineraries, create a space for significant individual practice” (qtd. in Peel and Sørensen 3). Guidebooks, then, are best understood as a set of general guidelines and/or prompts for improvised, paraphrased or inspired pedestrian practices. It would not be incorrect to analogise them as playscripts that, as Jenkins would say, “poach” liberally from well-known conventions and sources. Cyber-travellers and watchers of Larwood’s narrative watch these spatial suggestions being rewritten and contested. The guidebook is a liberating device that is not passively accepted “but met with varying levels of resistance and diverse interpretation” (Peel and Sørensen 6). In the act of being a ghost tourist, Larwood rebels and redefines the affective scope of the tour to suit his desired comic expression. On the Royal London walk, Jones suggests taking the tour at night when the area is deserted and affectively charged to set a specific haunted atmosphere. Larwood, instead, embarks on his journey during the day, practicing the Gothic through literal lightness. The aim is less to embark on an ‘atmospheric walk’ than to journey through a comic reading of haunted space. What we as viewers are seeing is a tour within a tour. The nuanced alterations and paraphrases mean what viewers watch is Larwood’s guided tour based on an itinerary poached from Jones; the stories and their meanings are reshaped to serve Larwood’s intended transmedia effects and affects.

YouTube user Solo Hiker’s comment on Larwood’s Clerkenwell walk, “A great bit of edutainment, I learned a lot and laughed a lot, Thanks,” illustrates the knowledge-value embedded in the video (Larwood “Clerkenwell”). The storytelling is

silly but, like most history-based ghost-walking tours, the stories centre on London's haunted heritage and London's histories more broadly. The comic expression creates an affective connection that can perhaps impress on the mind the basic topography of haunted space. The stories are still told, even if poached and reshaped, and the general contours of haunted space are still being disseminated by Larwood. By watching his videos, viewers can know some of the boroughs of Haunted London before ever visiting. To date, the Royal London walk, for instance, has been viewed 6,200 times, not an insignificant number. Peer-to-peer dissemination and retrieval of information that was once key to travel and guidebooks now has a global perspective for, as Peel and Sørensen explain, "the creation of the internet has widened word-of-mouth opinion flows beyond immediate contacts to unknown persons globally" (188). It is for this reason that Haunted London must be seen as a participatory space where the tourist, regardless of location, culture, or expertise in the literary Gothic, is directly involved in the haunted world-building process.

Flecky Bennett: Bringing the Streets Indoors

The Covid-19 pandemic has shifted attention to digital opportunities and theories on tourism must adjust accordingly. Although the dominant narrative identifies the Covid pandemic as the catalyst for the reimagination and restructuring of how tourism can present, stage, and produce tourism destinations across the globe, digital panoramas and YouTube recordings of in-person tours have been, for some time, available online. Nonetheless, there has been causal increase in the amount of the 'unofficial' heritage bodies that have sought to utilise technology in intriguing ways to

offer their patrons a unique but equally thrilling ghost tour spectacle. Ian Waring of Flecky Bennett Productions, for example, is one tour guide who has sought to circumvent social distancing restrictions by offering a variety of online ‘virtual performances’, through YouTube or Facebook Live streaming, of various cities and Gothic places across the United Kingdom and Europe.¹⁸ As a performer who draws upon his acting techniques in face-to-face tours, he is exceptionally well equipped to poach his own work so as to transplatform his walks into virtual performances. Of particular relevance to my study is a virtual edition of his long-running and popular “London’s Highgate Ghost & Vampire Walk”.¹⁹ Waring’s performance-centred online videos foreground the central features of walking ghost tours that must be preserved in a digital environment and, in so doing, underscore the centrality of storytelling to haunted heritage. It is Gothic theatre filmed for the historical enjoyment of those who seek gothicky entertainment in troubling times.



Fig. 43. Flecky Bennett Productions, London’s Highgate Ghost & Vampire Virtual Walk Eventbrite Poster, 2020.

The “London Highgate Ghost and Vampire Walk” is an intertextual journey that articulates certain popular myths and heritage narratives of Highgate through rich visual performance and narration. The poster advertising the walk on the dedicated Eventbrite page encapsulates the very essence of the tour: a curated ghost walk composed of the historical, popular culture and local heritage, each of which is connected through the dramatic storytelling by Flecky Bennett, “ghost walker extraordinaire”—the persona created and performed by Ian Waring (Waring). The image of Bennett in the upper left-hand corner is symbolic of how he too is situated as a character within the narrative of the tour. Far from a passive storyteller, Waring-as-Bennett is an integral part of the spectacle. It is important to note that Bennett never identifies as a tour guide but rather as an actor/performer. His walks, virtual or *in situ*, position performance and spectacle at its core, imbuing the narratives and histories with theatrical gestures, speech, and costume. In no way does this detract from the content of the stories themselves. Rather, it marks key elements that must be maintained in order for an in-person, group performance to be successfully transitioned to an online platform for consumption by an individual or a considerably smaller group of armchair tourists. Whereas some online tours simply record the *in situ* event from the perspective of a tour-taker, or use static images on group Zoom-based platforms, Bennett exploits the audio and visual possibilities of multimedia to generate a fully online performance of Highgate’s Gothic and haunted histories.

An online platform does not detract from the tour’s ability to enact many of the same crucial conventions of defamiliarisation that are accomplished, in-person, on the physical tours. Much like on in-person tours, as Scott Brewster argues, the armchair cyber-ghost tourist is invited “to step into unfamiliar terrain” and explore

“the ways in which the physical and social fabric” has been altered over time (313).

The preamble on the Eventbrite page primes the virtual tour-taker for his or her virtual ‘walk’ through Highgate as a locus of supernatural activity:

Highgate is a quaint village just outside the city centre of London [*sic*]
 However don’t let this idyllic area fool you, because it hides some amazing,
 well-documented ghost stories and of course the gothic masterpiece of
 Highgate Cemetery, which was/is the home to one to the worlds [*sic*]
 authenticated accounts of vampiric activity. (Flecky Bennett Productions)

The aim of any haunted tour is to disturb habitualised links at the outset of the performance. The declarative command, “Don’t let this idyllic area fool you,” initiates the tour-taker into a personified landscape that, trickster-like, attempts to disarm the walker. It is warning that any preconception and presumptions of the space as idyllic is a superficial reading of the area. When Bennett proclaims that the pleasing façade of the village is part of a larger and more sinister Gothic practice of concealment, he activates an entirely different set of interpretive choices. This new set of interpretive choices make visible that which is usually unseen. Much like Richard Jones’ tour that was analysed in Chapter Three, the ghost stories woven by Bennett defamiliarise a quaint place, in this case Highgate, by evoking the uncanny through cleverly organised digital paratexts. A recognisable pattern emerges in storytelling methods: both disseminate historical knowledge that give heritage value to buildings and/or places and attach a specific Gothic imaginary to particular areas of the village.

The absence of an in-person experience does not remove the responsibility for Bennett as tour guide to create a Gothic atmosphere and a sense of place through storytelling. Bennett accomplishes this task through mental imagery,

narrative pace, and intonation that must be accepted by the armchair tourist as signifiers of the Gothic mode. Flecky Bennett, similarly to Marek Larwood and the virtual Dickens avatar, must rely on strategies that are not contingent upon an in-person experience; whether it be in *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate*, or Bennett's Highgate tour, a reliable tour guide must use available tools and strategies to construct a coherent Gothic atmosphere through evocative storytelling and multimedia tools such as images, sound effects, and lighting to defamiliarise the *topos*. Neither an in-person, physical tour guide nor a haunted material location is needed to transform the Gothic cyber-tourist into a willing participant who has all the necessary reading strategies to 'play the game' of Gothic tourism. What is needed is the correct framework to immerse the tourist in the imaginative realms of Gothic space.

Clearly, the cyber-ghost tourist is equally, if not more, responsible for responding to their guide's invocation of defamiliarisation than their in-person counterpart. The ease with which virtual tour-takers have been able to participate in an act of multimedia, intertextual performance negates critics like Yehuda E. Kalay, who asserts that a palpable connection to the past at physical heritage sites cannot be obtained through the mediation of a monitor. The assertion that the screen "acts as a barrier" that engenders "a sense of detachment" cannot be supported when one considers the success of the *Assassin's Creed* franchise and the number of positive reviews for tour guides like Flecky Bennett (Kalay 6). Interactions with urban spaces through virtual methods must be viewed less as a barrier than an alternative method of engagement with urban imaginaries. What cannot be denied is that multimedia tours that offer tour-takers the ability to explore urban spaces from the comfort of their own home are not only successful but offer an understudied opportunity for

viewers to contribute to their own affective experience of the tour. As Xavier Aldana Reyes has suggested, “viewers can consciously psych themselves” and amplify their own affective response to the stimuli on the screen. Tourists may dim the lights, for example, “to create the right atmosphere” and concentrate their attention to the screen (*Horror Film* 103-4). They can take the tour as an isolated, individual experience. The cyber-ghost tourist can even fully participate in the spectacle and turn it into a dinner and drinks events with family and friends and/or elect to wear Gothic costumes they would not wear in a public space. The ability to set design one’s environment cannot be underestimated. Additionally, the cyber-ghost tourist also can enact a number of viewing choices so long as they are coherent with the larger performance. For example, an individual can watch the recording without interruptions or insert their own personal intermissions; they can watch it on a big screen like a television or a portable screen like a mobile phone. They can also relocate their screen into a suitable spooky location. Ultimately, the cyber-tourists participate in the construction of the virtual tour bound only by the narrative of their tour guide and the visual and audio effects that accompany the multimedia tour. For instance, since there is already music on the tour it would be counter-intuitive to play their own soundtrack. Clearly this proves that the level of participation required from cyber-tourists extends beyond critical theories that relegate their role to a subject that simply ‘reads’ and correctly decodes multimedia, visual rhetoric, diegetic music, and/or architecture. Foundationally, the Gothic virtual tour provides the framework. The Gothic tour-taker in-person or virtual participates in the construction of an uncanny Gothic space by following the tour’s imaginative framework and itinerary. As indicated, the majority of the digital tour occurs not on the screen but beyond the screen through emotional engagement and the imagination.



Fig. 44. Still from Waring, *London's Highgate Ghost & Vampire Virtual Walk* (1:50).

The itinerary of Flecky Bennett's Highgate ghost tour can further illuminate the information that is necessary for the cyber-tourist to construct a tour performance that is consistent with the cues on their screen. The virtual edition of Bennett's walk allows cyber-tourists to tour and discover populist and everyday spaces of the Highgate suburb, and experience armchair "history from below" (Samuel 38). Similar to face-to-face tours, the Highgate virtual walk articulates and follows a clear and logical itinerary. In our case study, the walk is divided into three clear sections: the ghosts of the village, a celebrity house tour, and a focused portion on the Highgate Vampire. The village ghost stories' itinerary showcases specific buildings and/or major historical landmarks such as Pond Square, the Highgate Literary and Scientific Institute, and the Gatehouse Pub and Theatre, all of which have attached spectral tales. The virtual tour simulates the movement and flow of an in-person tour at street level by combining static storytelling—in this case, Bennett telling stories while seated in a chair in a separate, indoor space with atmospheric red and green

lighting—and a sense of movement through camera techniques. The knowledge of place produced by the pedestrian experience offered by the camera lens, which gives a sense of movement over and through space to each place on the itinerary, is an integral part of the experience. It really does give the sense of “history from below” as the camera takes the tourists to street level to move along the route. Whereas in Larwood’s videos, the camera primarily records *his* movements through the city, Bennett’s tour selects the “from below” option out of a digital repertoire of filmic techniques to focus on the landscape (fig. 44). In essence, the screen plays what the camera sees, and the camera records the gaze of the in-person walker as they journey from one point on the itinerary to the next, at walking pace. To a stronger degree than in Larwood’s recordings, the camera becomes an extension of our bodies, and transports the cyber-tourist to the places seen (Arthur and Van Nuenen 508). The digital gaze is complemented by language that indicates presence within the digital space. For instance, before heading to the meeting point at Pond Square, Bennett says to his viewers, “let’s have a walk towards it,” before the ambulatory recording begins. When at the checkpoint, Bennett uses phrases such as “we would be up to our knees in water where we are standing just now” as if to situate the tour-taker as being physically stood in Pond Square (Waring). Further, the camera frames and constructs the ‘tourist gaze’ and codes it as Gothic through using camera lens filters, drawing on motifs of darkness, and accompanying non-diegetic ‘creepy’ music and sound effects. A great effort is taken to give a sense of place even when the tourists are displaced from the material environment.



Fig. 45. Still from Waring, *London's Highgate Ghost & Vampire Walk (Virtual Edition)* (7:14).

Images and their presentation isolate specific objects and frame the tourist gaze. It would not be inappropriate to perceive an itinerary with checkpoints like acts in a dramatic production. Once the tour reaches a checkpoint, the viewers are shown a collage that features the landmark alongside other images that represent the phantom, details relating to the ghost story or important aspects of the location's history. The image of the Highgate Literary and Scientific Institute (fig. 45), as an example, is a visual summary showing a photograph of the building and the image of an eerie man in a hat, representative of the ghostly figure that stood nightly over the bed of a former resident. The collage is used spatially to orient the viewers to the specific supernatural circumstances. Bennett tells us that "just behind the man, the top right-hand window," was the bedroom where the haunting took place (Waring). The creation of a visual collage has the power to isolate and remove an image from its original context, thus decontextualising and resignifying its meaning. Images are silent and still, but it is through language that their meaning can be changed to support the imaginary of the story. As John Berger argues, the moment images

became transmittable, they could be manipulated and transformed with sounds and words (tw19751). Words alter images wherein a collection of separate, unrelated images are transformed into a complex sign of haunted heritage. It is a visual rhetoric that is not invented by the digital but used by the medium to engage in the act of framing landscape, architecture, and history. It is an interpretive act to create the necessary connectivity to construct heritage meaning. The main argument here is not that the meaning of visual rhetoric and images are seen through the lens of cultural assumptions but rather to underscore that the itinerary and presentation of the tour itself influences meaning.

At the same time that cultural competence inflects the tour-taker's participation in the Gothic experience, there is a 'way of seeing' that includes movement through spaces, movement that itself is engaged with the cultural practices of touring places that arrange meaningful visual images. Whether it is a museum—the layout of which guides the museum tourist—or the Gothic tour-taker who must follow an itinerary, in both cases walking is a fully spatialised and temporalised practice that is a pivotal component of how the multimedia images are constructed. Itinerary, movement, sight, and interpretation together generate heritage. Different time-spaces can be toured and activated at each checkpoint. Here is how heritage is created: walking is not from point A to point B but walking into the narrative. The itinerary is part of a larger interpretative act to create the necessary connections between the time presence of the tour and the moment in the past that culminates in heritage meaning.

As a multimedia digital offering, Flecky Bennett's tour is more than an illustrated Gothic story of Highgate. It is not a translation of literary storytelling but rather a distinctive style of ambulatory storytelling that is at the core of Bennett's

digital walking tour. However, ambulatory storytelling requires more than a simulation of a tourist's walk in a real space in a real time. It represents the movement to a number of significant haunted incidents in time past that makes a location into a heritage site. This is not to insist that cultural knowledge or history are preeminent components of the ghost tour but rather to suggest that the very complex ways that the tour guide can curate the experience is equally as important. Take, for example, the case of the phantom chicken. Given that the Gothic has no sustained engagement with the theme of haunted poultry, the tourist would approach this act of the haunted tour with no cultural competence to inform their understanding of this episode. The fact that Bennett is able to narrate performatively the historical tale into an imaginative engagement with a supernatural chicken signals how the attention of the tourist exists in a reciprocal relationship with the tour guide as they together set up the story of the ghost chicken.



Fig. 46. Still from Waring, *London's Highgate Ghost & Vampire Walk (Virtual Edition)* (2:39).

According to Bennett, in 1626, the famed Sir Francis Bacon, Renaissance man and scientist, with his lesser-known friend Dr Winterbourne, submerged a chicken in the pond of Pond Square in the winter as an experiment—the same action that would cause him to catch a chill and lead to Bacon’s death days later. After Bacon’s death, Dr Winterbourne went to check on the chicken to discover that it was perfectly preserved, the world’s first frozen chicken. Centuries later, that act would lead to the pond being haunted by phantom poultry. Just before the war, a one Mr Long was out and about. From nowhere he saw a chicken approach him. The chicken proceeded to run around his legs in a “frenzied circle” before disappearing into a wall, as illustrated below (fig. 47) (Waring). The chicken was in fact, a ghost of Sir Francis Bacon’s chicken. It does not matter whether in-person or through multimedia tours, they are entirely reliant on their tour guide to supply the requisite details to affirm the historical connection between Sir Francis Bacon and the ghost chicken. The function of the story remains the same, and the ghost is the bridge to connect the past with the present (Keller).



Fig. 47. Still from Waring, *London's Highgate Ghost & Vampire Walk (Virtual Edition)* (5:44)

In addition to transforming the itinerary's checkpoints into a collage to foreground and spatialise each landmark, Bennett's multimedia tour draws on other visual storytelling techniques to create a more immersive story. When telling ghost stories, Bennett draws on a number of visual paratexts to strengthen the tourist's connection to the narrative episode expressed orally. For example, the illustration above is represented as a faithful depiction of the story of Mr Long's chicken encounter (fig. 47). The inclusion of the image offers visual context that elevates the storytelling experience. Bennett's decision to include stand-alone images corresponding to the scenes described grants a greater imaginative engagement with the itinerary and particular narrative. Further, the image supplies necessary information for the tourist to develop a specific mental image of the scene. For instance, the image of Mr Long provides certain details such as how the ghost chicken manifests—a chicken with a ghostly aura that surrounds it—and the clothing

Mr Long is purported to have worn during his encounter. Whereas the focal point for the tour-taker's eye on an in-person tour is often the material building or the tour guide, the virtual tour offers a selection of tactically placed images to transport imaginatively the cyber-tourist to the scenes of the past. The interest and imagination are kept engaged through visual spectacle. Again, this should underscore the fact that this is not an inferior form of ghost tourism. All of these cues are designed to capture the attention of the tour-taker and cause them to make certain associations with the past.

With these immersive considerations in mind, it is important to note the spectrum of affect that can be evoked by means of images manipulated by ambulatory storytelling. Unlike the ghost chicken that is an admittedly light narrative, the ghost of Old Mother Marnes takes a darker and unfettering turn. Old Mother Marnes, another ghost of the village, is said to haunt Gatehouse Pub and Theatre. Before the building became a pub and a theatre,

the upstairs used to be a boarding house, and the lady who used to live there was called Old Mother Marnes, and she lived there with her black and white cat—like a spooky version of Postman Pat. And one day, some cutthroats broke in, slit her throat, for a very small amount of money and also slit the cat's throat. How cruel can you get? And ever since that day her ghost has been haunting the upstairs of the gatehouse, and especially the theatre. Now when they do different productions, they say they sometimes they see an old lady for a split second, sat in one of their seats, always seems to be the same seat she sits in. She's been seen downstairs in the bar, they see, like, the back of her skirt floating through the room [*sic*]. (Waring)



Fig. 48. Still from Waring, *London's Highgate Ghost & Vampire Walk (Virtual Edition)* (12:00)

This story is told while the camera cuts to a carefully cultivated scene with Bennett sat in his large armchair in atmospheric lighting. The image intensifies his telling of “a truly terrifying, terrifying story” (Waring). He then turns his attention to a specific sighting of Old Mother Marnes by a former landlord, Mr George Sample, in the 1970s. On the first night Mr Sample took over, he had to go upstairs to the theatre, right up to the minstrel’s gallery, to turn the lights off. This meant he had to walk through the darkened theatre to get back out again, and “then this thing floated from the ceiling” (fig. 48) (Waring). The grotesque image shown by Bennett on the screen is jarring and is an example of the digital manipulation that inserts Gothic imagery into the spaces the tour guide narrates. On first glance when watching the tour, the image is seamless, appearing as if the ghost has been captured in the moment of the story. Only when one carefully examines the image as a screenshot does it become apparent that the ghostly image is the product of persuasive photo editing. What has been accomplished by means of multimedia storytelling is a suturing of a

particular apparition to a space. It is a visual representation of where their perambulations would take them to if they went back in time to that moment. Now the conditions of the pub's haunting are specific to the image and alter how we read the space as Gothic *topos*. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the grotesque image can 'stir' the mind, a process that can, in turn, give the impression of memory. To recall Francis Yates and *The Art of Memory* (1966), images that we imaginatively invest with exceptional beauty or ugliness are likely to be remembered for a long time (26). Clearly, perambulatory encounters that enable the tour-taker to enter into harrowing events from times past transform these spaces into sites that memorialise images that cannot be unseen.

When we consider the spectrum of Gothic tours represented by fully online offerings like *Assassin's Creed: Syndicate* to the variations of digital walking tours, it becomes clear that it is more accurate to understand the urban imaginary that is "Haunted London" as a participatory and transmedia negotiation. This negotiation is enabled by an intermedial perception, an intertextual discourse involving perception, cultural competence, history, and subjective reiterations of the various imaginings of a remembered 'Haunted London'. Thus, the assumption that transmedia only flows across devices, platforms, and varied screen media "does not match up with embodied and spatialised realities of transmedia branding/storytelling" (Hills 123). While Gothic has been theorised as a lens between the imagined and material world, the intermedial reveals that it is less a lens and more of an imaginative and constructive stance. The examination of the previous case studies indicates the insufficiencies of theories; that lens between the real and the supernatural has merely modernised or translated by a computer screen. The Gothic is less an act of reading Gothic signifiers and more about establishing a remediated stance whereby

the tour-taker participates in the construction of the Gothic tour experience. Gothic as a game is not just an invitation to include computer games as a case study, but a powerful metaphor for the mode's ludic qualities. Every time an individual gives themselves over to a Gothic tour, they, in essence, agree to be a player in a Gothic game: bound only by the basic rules of the itinerary they are free to play imaginatively within the boundaries. The game is won when the player leaves with a memory that cannot be separated from a particular place.

It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that online and digital forms of tourism are not a new phenomenon, they have existed since the dawn of hypermodernity.²⁰ What is new is the urgency for developing a more inclusive critical framework for Gothic tourism. Given its growing mainstream status, the compelling and popular imaginative activity shows no indication of decreasing when COVID conditions around the globe improve and physical tours are once again possible.

¹ These include travel narratives, pictures, lectures, photographs of journeys (Byerly 8).

² For further discussion on post-tourism in the age of social media see Jansson "Rethinking post-tourism in the age of social media".

³ See Grusin and Bolter 17.

⁴ Mark J.P. Wolf argues that games with representational geographies rely on conventions from other audio-visual media, thus "allowing the depiction and navigation of their diegetic worlds to seem more intuitive and familiar to players" (47, 52); see also McMahan 70. On the other hand, Michael Nitsche holds reservations, suggesting that game spaces are not descendants of cinema, rather they borrow from traditions established in cinema and television. Game spaces, he argues are descendants of "virtual navigable 'otherworlds'" (76-77).

⁵ The Wikivoyage page includes a map and lists destination to match the chronology of the game. The list is made up of cities and specific landmarks. To give viewers a point of reference, images of some of the major landmarks are also included on the page.

⁶ According to Van Nuenen, "anti-tourism" is the desire to be different from the crowds of mass tourism. In other words, "anti-tourists have an aversion to the superficial experiences that are associated with traditional tourism, instead preferring to off-the-beaten-path destinations." Van Nuenen provides an example mission to illustrate his argument from *Assassin's Creed II* (2009) wherein a player "overcomes their tourist status and becomes something of a 'local'" when, as part of the mission, they must invest and refurbish a rural Italian town (30).

⁷ The team visited the Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Railway Museum, the National Gallery, the Museum of London, the London Fire Brigade Museum, and the London Transport Museum.

⁸ The game is set in 1868 but developers drew data from maps from 1863, 1868, 1894, and 1898 (Roy and Dumont "How Historians").

⁹ For further discussion on how historical games afford heritage experience see Mochocki. For commentary on historical games see Elliott and Kapell "Introduction".

¹⁰ Some scholars, focused on the accuracy, fail to recognise the game's play on spatial imaginaries and hold reservations on cultural products presented as the historical that lack accuracy. Douglas N. Dow, drawing on Baudrillard's 'simulacra' paradigm, condemns the architectural anachronisms which permeate the Florentine landscape in *Assassin's Creed II* (220). Somehow, in Dow's analysis, players will have an inaccurate and anachronistic understanding of specific cities which will reflect in their consumption practices. For a comparable pessimistic view of anachronisms in heritage, see Walsh 99.

¹¹ See also Sigoillot para 1. For discussion video game play as a special form of performance, see Eskelinen and Ironstad 200.

¹² For Alison Byerly, Victorian literary realism did more than just depict “a real-seeming world,” it “took you there.” Byerly finds continuity between the realist worlds depicted in Victorian art and literature and the “virtual” world created in modern-day digital media (2-3).

¹³ In contradistinction to de Certeau, I use the specific language of ‘place’ to denote practiced space.

¹⁴ People were practicing Dickens’ London as early as the 1830s. See Nicholas Freeman, *Conceiving* 20; Watson 169-75.

¹⁵ Jean Burgess and Joshua Green preface their work by reminding their readers that each participant and/or YouTube user approaches the media platform “with their own purposes and aims.” Participants, they argue, engage with YouTube “as if it is a space specifically designed for them” and serve their own interests (vii).

¹⁶ I have labelled the walks based on their listings in Jones’ guidebook.

¹⁷ For further discussion on the “cultural anxiety model” see Baldick and Mighall “Gothic Criticism.” For a counterpoint to the prevalent critical model see Warwick “Feeling Gothicky?”.

¹⁸ It is important to note that he sees the value of his digital walk extending beyond COVID regulations. In the introduction to his video, he mentions that a virtual edition enables his Manchester fan based to experience his London ghost walk. He tells his viewers, “a lot of my people who are in Manchester, you Fleckies and Fleckettes...have always wanted to do it so now’s [*sic*] the time to create a virtual one” (Waring).

¹⁹ The physical tour has been running since 2012.

²⁰ See Topping.

Conclusion: London's Ghostly Tourism Legacy

London is steeped in history, and therefore home to countless ghost stories and gruesome, grisly tales: myths and urban legends as well as true and terrible facts. If you're drawn to the morbid and macabre, to overgrown cemeteries and haunted alleyways, witches and ghosthunters, spectres and strange unexplained goings on, look no further.

— "Spooky London", *Time Out London* (2018)

To this day, London continues to be branded and advertised as a Gothic space of hauntings, monstrosity, and hidden macabre histories embedded in its landscape and architecture, waiting to be read by a particular kind of Gothic tourist. This tourist, whether an in-person or an armchair tourist, is presumed to have the requisite knowledge to 'decode' literary Gothic signs, signifiers, allusions, and themes, much like the 'ideal reader' of Gothic fiction. While London's Gothic identity has been grounded in literature and other related media, one cannot deny that ghost tourism has numerous important extraliterary effects and affects, too. As such, it is important to give due weight to both how and when ghost tourism differentiated itself from the literary Gothic as a crucial but interconnected Gothic form. This study has argued that ghost tourism has played a seminal role in the production of a Gothic geography in London since the nineteenth century. Furthermore, 'Haunted London' has a rich tradition as a haunted space, an almost synaesthetic history that can be felt, sensed, walked, and recuperated. Specifically, by recognising how the cultural associations of ghost tourism have played a vital role in the production and practice of the 'Haunted London' urban imaginary, this study has identified a largely under-theorised aspect of scholarship: the roles of the tour guide and tour-taker as participants that construct and are constructed by the Gothic imaginary.

Across its four chapters, this thesis has demonstrated that ghost tourism and, more broadly, Gothic tourism are transmedia practices. My research on the case of 50 Berkeley Square, first introduced in Chapter One and elaborated in Chapters Two and Four, has demonstrated how the production of haunted space has transitioned from a strictly textual imaginary to one that has been trans-platformed, re-constructed, and practiced through both media and cultural performances. What, I hope, is clear is how this study invites further historical scholarship and theoretical consideration. The work on 50 Berkeley Square and the other case studies that are examined throughout this work is the first sustained analysis of London ghost tourism. Additionally, it endeavours to demonstrate both the importance and the fruitful possibilities of geographic and culturally inflected scholarship. As indicated by the case studies considered closely in this work, Roger Luckhurst's assertion that the ghosts of London are different from those from other places is both entirely correct and deceptively simple (542). Certainly, each region and/or city is "haunted" by its own pasts; nuanced histories with which both the tour guide and tour-taker grapple. Phrased differently, the practices of tourism themselves demand further attention. It is important that more work be done to uncover the legacies of ghost and/or Gothic tourism in specific places in the United Kingdom, as well as around the globe. My thesis is an attempt to address this issue by giving due weight to the ways in which the gothic tour-taker both creates and is created by the haunted places s/he tours. In addition to bringing a fresh attention to the Gothic tourist within critical paradigms of Gothic tourism, this study also invites a greater and more particular focus on the sensation of the supernatural. To do so would require that a greater emphasis be placed on what Anderson and others call landscapes of "recreational fear". My thesis deals with this issue by shifting focus to both the specific geographical region and to

the body of the Gothic tour-taker at the level of affect. What is Gothic tourism without some apprehension about ghost hunting and the thrill of fear?

In addition to analysing historical and bodily affect, the case of 50 Berkeley Square has served as a crucial first counterpoint to Owen Davies' claim that ghost tourism did not come to fruition until the twentieth century. Chapter One evidenced how, because of the verisimilitude and imaginative coaxing of the literary ghost story, armchair and in-person ghost tourism became a popular practice in the nineteenth century. Additionally, Chapter Three and its original research on Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London has illustrated how ghosts became formally staged at heritage sites in the period. While a large portion of ghost tourism scholarship focuses on modern-day case studies to examine and theorise its object, a greater focus needs to be placed on the history of sites to reveal and recuperate neglected or often ignored histories of tourism practice. Only when more archival research of newspapers, accounts of hauntings, pamphlets, tourism ephemera, and so forth are studied, can new insights into the field of tourism studies, Gothic Studies and/or cultural studies be updated, enlarged, and corrected. It is important to uncover when, how, and why ghost tourism practices have emerged, and to determine the extent to which they influence current patterns of tourism. While further study on ghost tourism histories within the United Kingdom and the United States would serve these purposes, sustained studies on spaces and places outside these culture areas would lead to interesting, more inclusive findings and lay the groundwork for robust comparative analyses.

In addition to investigating how ghost tourism practices have not substantially changed since the nineteenth century, the case studies that form the core of this thesis represent only a small sample of artefacts to illustrate how ghost tourism has

been revised, reframed, and reproduced since the nineteenth century. While a significant amount of scholarship insists otherwise, how we engage, navigate, and perceive space has not changed significantly. My research indicates that a full-length study of 50 Berkeley Square throughout its history could be written. Additionally, the archives used to locate the original research for this thesis held many other comparable primary documents, popular writings, and pamphlets, documents that could generate in-depth studies of not only 50 Berkeley Square but also comparative and stand-alone studies of other haunted locations. Ultimately, my research indicates that there have been innumerable haunted spaces that have been documented and toured at many different points in history. As I have argued in the body of this work, the reactions to and interest in 50 Berkeley Square is just one selected example of how the public, ghost-hunters, and tour guides imagine ghosts and the supernatural in relation to their lived historical contexts. The question that I have raised in the course of my study but would like to underscore here is, “why theorise how Gothic tourists may have engaged with various sites when many historical figures have left artefacts that document their own reactions as well as the opinions of others?” Based upon research that lies beyond the scope of this study, appropriate Gothic tour maps and records of cultural data exist. The next step would be for scholars to examine these artefacts and to disseminate them. There is a rare opportunity to re-think, from many interdisciplinary perspectives, the ways in which ghost tourism has shaped regional, city-based, and national heritage.

With respect to haunted heritage, as my study has shown, the ghost tourism of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is not a cheap and/or debased form of “authentic”, literature-based tourism. In fact, the only things that have been altered over time are the new forms of cultural performance and media that allow people to

engage with hauntings and haunted heritage narratives. As indicated throughout this thesis, interdisciplinarity is not a choice but a necessity. As my case studies have shown, a number of theoretical and/or conceptual paradigms are required to demonstrate and to account for the diversity of factors that fall within the scope of Gothic tourism discourse.

As I have pointed out in this study, many contemporary literary models of analysis are limited by the presumption that there are 'original', literature-based ghost tours and later, 'modernised' versions where multimedia removes much of the imaginative and interpretive burden from the tour-taker. As evidenced by the archival material, there are numerous extra-literary artefacts that document how and why 50 Berkeley Square is widely regarded as the most haunted house in London.

Though it has been buried in footnotes, literary representations, newspaper offerings, and in obscure entries in *Notes and Queries*, there is sufficient evidence to confirm one of the central arguments of this thesis: that haunted houses like 50 Berkeley Square are real-and-imagined places that, furthermore, have always been so. In the same way that the reader enters into a literary time-space that is unique, ghost tourists engage with each tour and each of the sites within the tour in its own nuanced time-space: the general conventions of the ghost tour as well as the specific heritage concerns and material conditions of the supernatural heritage site. While inarguably unique in terms of location, ghosts, and traumatic history, all Gothic spaces are toured or navigated according to fairly standard principles, and have been and remain interconnected with the literary imagination. As this study contends, concerns of "authenticity" and historical "accuracy" in ghost tourism should be replaced with the idea that there has been, and always will be, possibilities for imagining both the past and the present through the supernatural. Ghosts and

supernatural entities in general can inhabit green spaces, streets, architecture, fine art, and, naturally, literary representation. As such, Gothic tourism is no more than a formal itinerary for the Gothic tourist and/or reader to engage imaginatively with haunted stimuli. The examples of haunted tour ephemera that appear in this thesis provide correctives to, and insights into, traditional literary Gothic scholarship as both genre and mode. Certainly, with especial respect to the Gothic as mode, it would neither be responsible nor would it acknowledge the fullness of its affective repertoire to ignore the panorama of cultural, physiological, and psychological effects the ghost tour elicits, effects and affects that many people at many different historical time periods have documented.

Correspondingly, the cluster of guidebooks selected for Chapter Two were chosen because they offered possibilities for multidisciplinary critical approaches and theories. It is important to note that a large amount of archival research was undertaken simply because guidebooks are neither readily available as catalogued publications nor as the subject of interdisciplinary critique. Additionally, the critical lenses had to be broad enough to encompass the traditional body of Gothic scholarship and literature as well as the maps, illustrations, and prose descriptions of the haunted and uncanny effects and affects that have been encountered on the ghost tour. Thus, the guidebook case studies that appear in this thesis were used as a means of resisting the separation of Gothic stories from Gothic tours and tourism ephemera. Instead, and as demonstrated, they centralise the signs and signifiers that are needed to produce any given haunting. While my thesis takes a necessarily narrow focus on specific maps and itineraries, and provides a multidisciplinary analysis of how tour-takers locate and tour particularly haunted areas, it is important to note that it has also scoped out avenues for further research, not least an in-depth

exploration of the function of the body when using the guidebook. Specifically, this would involve an expansion of the analyses of John Ingram's *Haunted Homes of Great Britain* (1883-4) to include further considerations of the role played by literary cartographies in the mapping and construction of haunted geographies. This future project would build upon and contribute to Xavier Aldana Reyes' notion of "Gothic Affect" in Charles G. Harper's *Haunted Houses and Hereditary Curses* (1907) and systematically explore how and why a crucial shift in guidebook formulation from association to affect came about. As indicated by the critical investigation of Richard Jones' *Walking Haunted London*, further consideration of the role of the body and its interactions with the supernatural on ghost tours is necessary. Certainly, additional study of Gothic affect and corporeal responses to the ghost tour could offer insight into the specific gothic effects deployed by tourism bodies. Moreover, this work could flesh out the provisional definition of haunting as a *polysensory* condition of space that appears in this work. Ultimately, my preliminary studies in this thesis indicate a necessity for corporeal models of affect that acknowledge that Gothic tourism is inseparable from commodity consumption and the ever-changing practices of popular culture and entertainment. It could answer questions such as: "why are certain sites and, correspondingly, their tours more popular than others?" and "do ghost itineraries and maps become 'souvenirs' of Gothic experiences?"

As indicated throughout this thesis, matters of affect and corporeal response call into question to whom the body 'belongs' and how this consideration changes its affective responses to the text and/or journey. Chapter Two addressed the question of gender by formally integrating this concern into its analyses of tourism artefacts, tour formulation, and the gender-inflected differences that can condition the experience of the tour-taker. While work on spatiality and women with respect to

ghost stories has established critical traction, for example Emma Liggins' *The Haunted House in Women's Ghost Stories: Gender, Space and Modernity, 1850-1945*, there remains a gap in scholarship pertaining to matters of women's experiences with Gothic tourism. At present, the majority of scholarship on ghost tourism has a tendency to assess and examine the tour as if the tour-taker were a genderless figure, a critical stance that is highly problematic. Given that ghost tourism scholarship often requires practical research, the researcher's subject position needs to be given greater weight, particularly regarding how the female assesses the potential impact and the ramifications of the tour content on her body. As spatial theorists have clearly shown, spatial performance varies according to factors such as a gender and age. My brief discussion of my own gender barriers and/or amplification of dread to the tour evidence that critical discussion of ghost tourism needs to be subjected to further gender-based analysis. This study has demonstrated that work from gender studies, cultural history, and spatial theory might be deployed to account for sex- and gender-specific effects and affects. Perhaps a sociological approach, with an appropriate sampling of male and female test subjects, will be undertaken in the future. Ultimately, more work needs to be done on how fear and dread are elicited in an urban setting with due consideration to how and why sex and gender can alter and/or mediate corporeal responses. While tours and guidebooks may provide the navigational bearings by which the tour-taker can project Gothic meaning, ways of seeing and understanding the world are, ultimately, both individual and nuanced.

Another way that ghost tours help its tour-takers to see the world is by offering an alternative vision of any given location. As argued in Chapters Three and Four, the Gothic becomes a technique of heritage tourism at the level of storytelling and

knowledge dissemination. Despite Emma McEvoy's contention that "Gothic tourism is a very different kind of tourism" that is frequently at odds with heritage tourism ("Gothic Tourism" 477-78), my study has demonstrated that this is not necessarily the case. Specifically, it contends that it is important to examine the intersections of heritage *and* cultural practice that occur at all levels of 'high' and 'low' culture. Heritage, put simply, is how we make sense of the past, and should not be dismissed as something inferior to 'History' that, too, has its own narratives, fictionalisations, and erasures. As I make clear through both in-person and virtual ghost walking tours, ghosts are deployed as Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, cleverly condensing complex histories into memorable and exciting fictions. We as a culture resurrect ghosts through the performance of tours and storytelling in both an attempt to remember and as a resistance to cultural amnesia. The metaphor of the ghost as a monument emphasises the role that culture takes in maintaining its status as a mnemonic strategy. Ghosts only function as a heritage object successfully if we continue to engage with, and be haunted by, them. Thus, haunted heritage is based on a reciprocal relationship between what we want to preserve and what we are willing to forget.

In the same way that ghosts can be polysemic and offer or preserve meanings in the cultural and material environment, they can also be an insidious mechanism that completes the very act of "active amnesia" that they are meant to rectify. Research uncovered an egregious absence of race and/or diversity in general in the haunted heritage of London. Literary and historical London has been, and continues to be, notorious as the epicentre of imperial, cultural, and xenophobic anxieties and trauma within the Gothic literary tradition. And, yet, the Gothic mode is purported to be a subversive cultural critique. Sadly, this stance is consistent with

Eurocentric dominant narratives on matters of racial others. What is clear is that ghost tourism often subverts within an acceptable limit. Although scholars of ghosts and haunting often laud the ability of hauntings to make seen what has been repressed, the heritage ghost deflects this responsibility. Haunted heritage, in my research, maintains the Christian and white dominant narrative of the past and excludes any representation of racial and religious others. Michele Hanks explores the role of religion, and her findings indicate religious exclusions in ghost tourism and haunting narratives of ghost tours. By drawing on Paul Gilroy's position that blackness has been systematically excluded from Englishness, Hanks' arguments about religious othering are persuasive. In fact, the exclusion or selective inclusion of religious turmoil in ghost narratives is paralleled by the absence or 'white-washing' of racialised others in haunted heritage narratives. London's cosmopolitan identity does not appear in its haunted landscapes. In fact, Haunted London is presented as a predominately Anglo-White space, the histories of which follow the same problematic trajectory of mainstream tourism. The Gothic, as genre and cultural expression steeped in the 'art of darkness', is one that is inextricably entrenched within white and European ideologies. With that in mind, a post-colonial examination of haunted space across Great Britain would offer the proper correctives to this problematic representation that I was unable to address within the remit of my study.

My thesis begins in the nineteenth century and concludes with contemporary online and virtual tours and games to offer further correctives to how we must perceive tourism in an age of hypermedia. While critics in the 1980s and 1990s saw the decline of what they perceive to be tourism proper with the advance of technology, what we really have witnessed are old practices of armchair tourism transposed and transfigured by the new media and technologies of the twenty-first

century. Designers and producers of these media forms seek to provide the newest, most innovative experiences that bring heritage, architecture, and fascinating histories directly to the tourist. It is necessary to understand transmedia beyond its hardware and its various platforms and, instead, understand that it is a remediated stance. Through the critical lens of remediation, it becomes evident how and why tour-takers and tour-producers use technologies to engage with Gothic tourism in a participatory and reciprocal construction of a Gothic experience. This study has taken the discourse of Gothic tourism beyond the bounds of physical and literary travel to unchain the field from the problematic strictures of wider tourism studies. A focus on ghost tourism that is always *in situ* ignores the actual methods of tour engagement by tour-takers. Although, as examined at length in this thesis, virtual tourism was present before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the inability to travel and the rise of virtual offerings should be an impetus to change the trajectory of tourism studies, including Gothic tourism. There are a number of under-theorised similarities and intersections between tourism accomplished through virtual means and that enacted within a physical landscape.

Ultimately, the theory of post-tourism advanced in this study is correct on the grounds that tourists know they are tourists and actively participate in 'the game'. Scholars, therefore, need to pay attention to the trends in video game and online content production to discover the unique possibilities and futures of digital and/or cyber-Gothic tourism. One need look no further than the aspirational game project *Ghost Theory*. Unfortunately, like many indie games, the game was not completed. It was, however, not scrapped due to any lack of interest by the global gaming community. Still enlivened by the prospect of a virtual-reality game wherein people can play the role of a parapsychologist and investigate real sites of haunting from

around the globe, entire communities are engaged with the bringing the augmented reality ghost tour to fruition. With Virtual Reality apparatuses readily available on the market, polysensory cyber-ghost tourism will soon be a reality. Gothic scholarship must prepare itself to welcome this as well as the yet to be imagined forms that Gothic tourism will take.

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