

University of Louisville

ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

5-2020

Louisville's dark tourist: Liminality, legend, and the macabre.

Montgomery Quaid Adams
University of Louisville

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.library.louisville.edu/etd>



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Adams, Montgomery Quaid, "Louisville's dark tourist: Liminality, legend, and the macabre." (2020).
Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 4255.
<https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/4255>

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository. This title appears here courtesy of the author, who has retained all other copyrights. For more information, please contact thinkir@louisville.edu.

LOUISVILLE'S DARK TOURIST: LIMINALITY, LEGEND, AND THE MACABRE

By

Montgomery Quaid Adams
B.A., University of Kentucky, 2015
M.A., University of Louisville, 2020

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts in English

Department of English
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

May 2020

LOUISVILLE'S DARK TOURIST: LIMINALITY, LEGEND, AND THE MACABRE

By

Montgomery Quaid Adams
B.A., University of Kentucky, 2015
M.A., University of Louisville, 2020

A Thesis Approved on

April 17th, 2020

by the following Thesis Committee:

Thesis Director
Dr. Timothy Johnson

Second Committee Member
Dr. Stephen Schneider

Third Committee Member
Dr. Karl Swinehart

ABSTRACT

LOUISVILLE'S DARK TOURIST

Montgomery Quaid Adams

April 17, 2020

This thesis is a historical and theoretical analysis of touristic motivations behind visiting dark tourist attractions that uses two Louisville, Kentucky attractions as case-studies. It begins by providing an overview of concepts relevant to the analysis of these motivations including liminality, dark tourism, and legend studies, thereby drawing connections between these concepts to develop a framework for the analysis of these liminal spaces and the legends that surround them. It uses these theories to build a framework that argues for the inclusion of legend studies in the conversation of dark tourism and providing a new lens for viewing touristic motivation for visiting dark attractions, and allowing for a deeper understanding of the act of dark tourism. The thesis is divided into two chapters—the first covering an overview of the theoretical backing exploring liminality, dark tourism, and legend studies before putting these theories into practice in a mini-case study that analyzes the Pope Lick Trestle and the legends of a monster that is said to stalk the location. The second chapter applies what was done in chapter one to the study of Waverly Hills Sanatorium, an abandoned tuberculosis hospital with a dark history of death, despair, and legends that highlight aspects of the human experience that can only be had in these liminal locations that lie on the boundary of death.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	v
CHAPTER ONE	1
Defining Liminality	2
Defining Dark Tourism and the Dark Tourist	6
Defining Legend	17
Returning to the Legend of the Pope Lick Monster – A Mini-Case Analysis	21
CHAPTER TWO: WAVERLY HILLS SANATORIUM	30
Waverly Hills: A Brief History	31
Waverly Hills: Space and Place	36
Categorizing Waverly Hills as Dark Tourist Attraction	39
Dark Exhibition and the Epidemic	42
The Children of Waverly: Dark Exhibition and Shrines of the Patient Experience	46
The Legend of 502, Crisis Heterotopias, and Dark Shrines	49
The Shadow People and the “Creepers”	53
Implications and Conclusion	60
REFERENCES.....	64
CURRICULUM VITA	68

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Stone's Spectrum of Dark Tourist Activities	13

CHAPTER ONE

On Tuesday, May 28th, 2019, Louisville residents woke to find a headline from the *Courier-Journal* stating a “15-year-old girl dies in yet another train accident on the Pope Lick trestle.” Reports like this one are all too common around Louisville and document the latest in a series of deaths associated with the Pope Lick trestle and the legendary cryptid that is said to reside there. Though the city of Louisville and the Norfolk Southern Railway Corporation have tried everything—short of posting armed guards along the trestle—to stave off trespassers, they are powerless to stop the transmission of the legends surrounding the creature that are leading droves of people to descend on the trestle regardless of the warnings intended to keep trespassers safe. While the Legend of the Pope Lick Monster, and the real deaths surrounding it, are isolated local cases, they highlight a worldwide phenomenon in society today and begs the question as to why people keep visiting this site marred with real death in hopes of encountering the unknown or legendary. And why is this desire to do so becoming such a popular pastime in this historical moment?

Attempts to answer these very questions and to elucidate the reason, or reasons, why people choose to visit these sites and come face to face with death has plagued both the fields of Tourism Studies—particularly Dark Tourism Studies—and Folkloristics for decades. By using, and building upon, the foundational framework provided in Philip R. Stone’s 2006 article, “A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions and Exhibitions,” this thesis will seek to

explore the intersection of rhetoric and folklore through the concepts of liminality, legend, and their influence as driving forces behind the dark tourism phenomena. In doing so, another layer of meaning-making and classification is added to what Stone deems the “dark tourism spectrum,” while also exploring how legends associated with these sites not only bring in visitors but also how they can influence the experiences had in these macabre locations through instances of, and interactions with, liminal spaces and states of being.

In the academic sphere, the concepts of legend and dark tourism are often approached separately, each component providing and eliciting different responses from those who visit these sites or participate in the transmission and performance of legends. However, without considering the intersection of the legends surrounding a specific location and how a location’s physical space is used, it is impossible to get a clear and concise view of the effect these concepts have on the “dark tourist.” Thus, it is imperative to consider these notions not as individuals, but as two sides of the same coin when determining the intent and reasoning behind why people choose to explore these areas where death and darkness abound. In order to better describe how this thesis will use the framework provided by Stone to help better elaborate on the act of dark tourism and dark tourist motivation, it is important to first provide a foundational survey of dark tourism, liminality, and legend studies on which this project will be basing its argument.

Defining Liminality

To begin, an understanding of liminality and how the concept allows for a deep analysis of dark tourism and the touristic motivations that will be established in the following sections must be provided. In the most basic sense, the term *liminal*, or

liminality, is used to refer to a boundary or threshold of some sort, or a transitional period between two states, situations, or statuses (Liminality, n). Traditionally, we see it used, as posited by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner, to refer to the rites of passage within a community, where people occupy spaces or positions that are “betwixt and between” during transitional periods in life. While the idea of liminality is a thread that will be woven throughout, for the purposes of this analysis, Van Gennep’s idea that passage between stages happens in three phases—the *pre-liminal* (separation), *liminal* (threshold/boundary), and the *post-liminal* (incorporation)—and Turner’s idea of *Communitas* and *Societas* will be utilized in the analysis of dark tourist attractions and visitor motivations later in this work.

According to Sylwia Jaskulka’s, “The Liminality of Adolescence: Becoming an Adult From the Point of View of the Theory of the Rite of Passage” Van Gennep’s pre-liminal, or separation, phase can only begin when the individual is somehow separated from their old world or old position resulting in “time suspended between the old and the new role, between the old and new identity” (95). This liminal period between states is generally spent in preparation for crossing the threshold or boundaries between the phases and ultimately leading to the achievement of a new role, position, or identity found in the post-liminal state. While this trajectory is typical of social settings or other hierarchical social structures, this analysis will show that through the act of dark tourism and visitor interaction with the physical space of dark attractions and the legendry surrounding them, dark tourism practitioners can experience the same liminal/transitional process as posited by Van Gennep. While Van Gennep’s ideas of liminality and identity are important to the following case studies, analysis, and to the

concept of dark tourism overall, it would be remiss not to consider Turner's ideas of *communitas* and *societas* and their influence on the transitional experience.

In his work, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Victor Turner discusses the development of community and defines two major models for human interrelatedness and human interaction. The first, *societas* or, “[s]ociety as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of ‘more’ or ‘less’ (96), provides the structural organization, be it natural, social, environmental, or political, that humans exist within. As we will see shortly, the act of dark tourism, through liminality and legend, offers the dark tourist a means of flirting with the dangers and the boundaries that are parts of, and subversions of, their socially prescribed existence. The second concept, community, or *communitas*, “emerges recognizably in the liminal period, [and] is of society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders” (96), comes into play in situations that arise through the participation in dark tourism in which practitioners submit themselves to a sense of transformation through the challenging of established societal boundaries or through interactions with, and performance of, the history that is attached to a specific location. Both *societas* and *communitas*, in tandem with the three phases of liminality provided by Van Gennep, aid in understanding the states in which dark tourists can interact with the locations of death and disaster while also achieving the ability of transformation and transition through these spaces. Through mapping Turner and Van Gennep's ideas onto dark tourist attractions that depict these sites as a “moment in and

out of time, and in and out of secular social structure, which reveals, however fleetingly, some recognition...of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be fragmented into a multiplicity of structural ties” (96), a deeper understanding of the human experience at these sites of death emerges that sees these locations, and the experiences had there, as liminal. These sites offer unique spaces in which visitors can interact with not only the physicality of an attraction but also the legends and stories of a given location in order to craft an experience that accomplishes some personal need or desire specific to the individual.

While the concept of liminality gains its credence through the scholarship of Van Gennep and Turner—in recent years—it has been expanded to include large cultural shifts within a given society or civilization. This expanded reading of liminality is explored by Bjorn Thornassen in “The Uses and Meaning of Liminality,” where he discusses the power of liminality on society during “axial moments” in their history. He notes these liminal periods demonstrate “an in-between period between two structured world-views and between two rounds of empire building” and builds on Turner’s ideas of “social drama”—i.e. the “a sequence of social interactions of a conflictive, competitive, or agonistic type” (Turner 1975). Thornassen goes on to discuss Turner’s idea that liminality was important not only to identifying transitional periods and places but also to the ability to “understand ... human reactions to liminal experiences” and how identity is shaped by them. This shift in thinking regarding liminality provides a rationale for much of the current cultural zeitgeist of fear and anxiety present in the world, and particularly in the United States today. In allowing for the application of liminality and liminal states to a larger cultural body, an interesting connection between this idea of experience

tailoring and the recent increase in popularity of dark touristic endeavors—and the touristic motivations behind them—is shown through the act of visiting and interacting with these sites associated with death and the macabre. While these socio-cultural aspects of liminality have been dealt with and analyzed in many ways over the past several years, one particular genre of touristic endeavor has been on the rise—dark tourism. The following sections lay the foundations of the genre and explores its connections to liminality and the human experience through the exploration of not only the ways in which visitors use and interact with the physical space of these attractions but also the legends that make these spaces come to life.

Defining Dark Tourism and the Dark Tourist

Dark tourism, a term coined by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley in 1996, refers to the travel to sites that are associated with death and dying, documented tragic or violent events, and natural or man-made disasters. Over the last decade, dark tourism has become a wildly popular pastime for both youth and adults alike. Ranging from visits to well-known sites such as the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone in Ukraine; tours being given at the Ground Zero 9/11 Memorial in New York; the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland; and even as far “out there” as Point Pleasant, West Virginia, site of the Silver Bridge collapse (and a hot spot for the Mothman legend); to more “wild” and under-documented areas such as various paupers graves/potter’s fields around the world; dilapidated homes of former drug lords like Pablo Escobar; murderers like Pazuzu Algarad; or even belonging to cult-leaders like Jim Jones of the Jonestown Massacre. Our thirst for the macabre is anything but new. In fact, it transcends history and has deep rhetorical value when viewing today’s society.

Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone, two of the foremost scholars associated with the phenomenon of dark tourism, discuss this historic fascination with blood-soaked locations and the implications it has on us as humans in their work *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. In their introduction, Sharpley and Stone note that, “for as long as people have been able to travel, they have been drawn—purposefully or otherwise—towards, sites attractions or events that are linked in one way or another with death, suffering, violence or disaster” (4). Sharpley and Stone elaborate on this by recalling historic examples of spectators watching violent acts like the public executions of despotic rulers or criminals, or visiting active battlefields like those who watched from the safety of their carriages as at the Battle of Waterloo. While the act of traveling to historically dark places like these have been readily documented throughout our history, the academic study of dark tourism has only been taken up in the past couple of decades. Honglei Zhang et.al., authors of “Too Dark to Revisit? The Role of Past Experiences and Intrapersonal Constraints,” note that while dark tourism as an academic field of study “remains in its infancy” and even though copious amounts of research is being done on the subject,

much of the literature remains supply-side focused...[o]nly a handful of studies have examined the demand side of dark tourism from a tourist perspective, such as research on why people visit or do not visit dark tourism sites and how they experience/consume such sites (452).

It is in this lack of legitimate study into touristic motivation for visiting these dark sites that this thesis finds its purpose. I propose here that through addressing liminality as one underlying motivation for tourists visiting sites deemed dark tourist attractions as well as through the effects of this experience on the socio-cultural and personal motivations for travel to these dark sites, tourists are able to gain a means of dealing with personal issues

or needs that can be safely expressed or explored in these liminal sites. This, however, is but one factor to consider when analyzing the recent rise in dark tourism's recent boom in popularity.

Another theory for this increase in dark tourist activity can be attributed to the phenomena's increased visibility in today's popular culture as well as its associated entertainment value due to the likes of *YouTube* streamers such as Logan Paul. In 2017, Paul posted a video to the streaming platform documenting his visit to Aokigahara, or as its better known internationally the "Suicide Forest," near Mt. Fuji in Japan. This video showed Paul walking through the forest, discovering a freshly hanged corpse, and documenting his reaction to stumbling upon it. While his video went viral and was met with much backlash from his fans and the online community at large, it also highlighted the act of dark tourism and introduced the concept to a wider and much more mainstream audience. While this was obviously not the first instance of a dead body being depicted in the media—since the Logan Paul debacle—dark tourism has been increasingly showcased in several popular television series such as Netflix's *The Dark Tourist* (2019), a serial that places its host in dark tourist attractions around the world, and HBO's *Chernobyl* (2019), a dramatic interpretation of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster in Pripyat that would ultimately become one of the world's foremost dark tourist attractions. Both series have drawn in millions of viewers around the world since their release and have effectively brought the conversation of dark tourism to the forefront of studies involving travel and tourism.

Another proposed reason for this increase in dark tourist activities is the consistent state of fear and anxiety plaguing the world—particularly the western world—

in modern times. Since the early 2000s, America has been taking part in multiple on-going wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan, has experienced one of the biggest recessions in history—teetering on a depression that rivaled the one in the 1930s—and has seen a drastic uptick in domestic terrorism, mass shootings, general violence, and hateful rhetoric once thought to have been put to bed in modern society. As our fears of losing control of our own bodies and the world around us continue to intensify, our need to find stability in a society that is constantly in flux becomes apparent. Through dark tourism and interacting with sites of human tragedy, as well as the stories behind them, we can come face to face with historical death and violent acts. In doing so, we often gain a sense that humans have, historically, always bounced back after these dark periods or events, inspiring hope in the face of uncertainty. These liminal places that often exist somehow both inside and outside of history allow us to experience death and disaster on our own terms, in the intensity we are comfortable with, instead of being inundated with horrors beyond our control from every direction we turn. Philip Stone himself has gone on record noting the recent growth and popularity of dark tourism stating that, “I think, for political reasons or cultural reasons, we are turning to the visitor economy to remember aspects of death, dying, and disaster. There is kind of a memorial mania going on” (Sampson, 2019). We return to the concept of memorial in later sections, but regardless of the reason for this growth, as the act of visiting places of death and other dark aspects of humanity steadily increases, the static definition that is often attributed to the act of dark tourism becomes too narrow and restrictive to fully qualify the multiplicitous nature and meaning of these sites.

A definitive answer to what is included under the dark tourism umbrella has been

a topic of debate among scholars for years and has seen the term evolve overtime. Lennon and Foley's *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* argues that a site may only be considered a dark tourist attraction if a location exhibits a sense of "chronological distance" between the visitor and the site as well as taking into account the site's ability to "posit questions or introduce anxiety and doubt about modernity and its consequences" (12) to the visitor. Again, we see Zhang et.al.'s notion of preoccupation with the "supply" side of dark tourism that focuses on the site itself, rather than the motivations for tourists visiting it. While this is a documented concern regarding dark tourism, one must only look to its sister term "Thanatourism" to rectify the issue. A.V Seaton's 1996 work, "Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism," introduces readers to the concept of Thanatopsis and its larger function in society and the associated field of Thanatourism. Seaton states that through studying Thanatopsis—or "the contemplation of death"—in tandem with the analysis of "the stimuli by which such contemplations are generated and the forms of contemplative response such stimuli tend to produce" (235), a richer reading of dark tourist motivation is revealed through the ability of the visitor to craft their own personal experience and take-aways from a site, rather than a "one-size fits all" interpretation.

In reference to Seaton's work, Stone (2006) notes that dark tourism is "essentially a behavioral phenomenon, defined by tourist's motives as opposed to particular characteristics or a site or attraction" (146). Seaton goes on to argue that while a site's physicality is important to its analysis, through these behavioral aspects, five categories exist when it comes to the act of visiting these dark sites: travel to witness public enactments of death; travel to see the sites of individual or mass deaths after they have

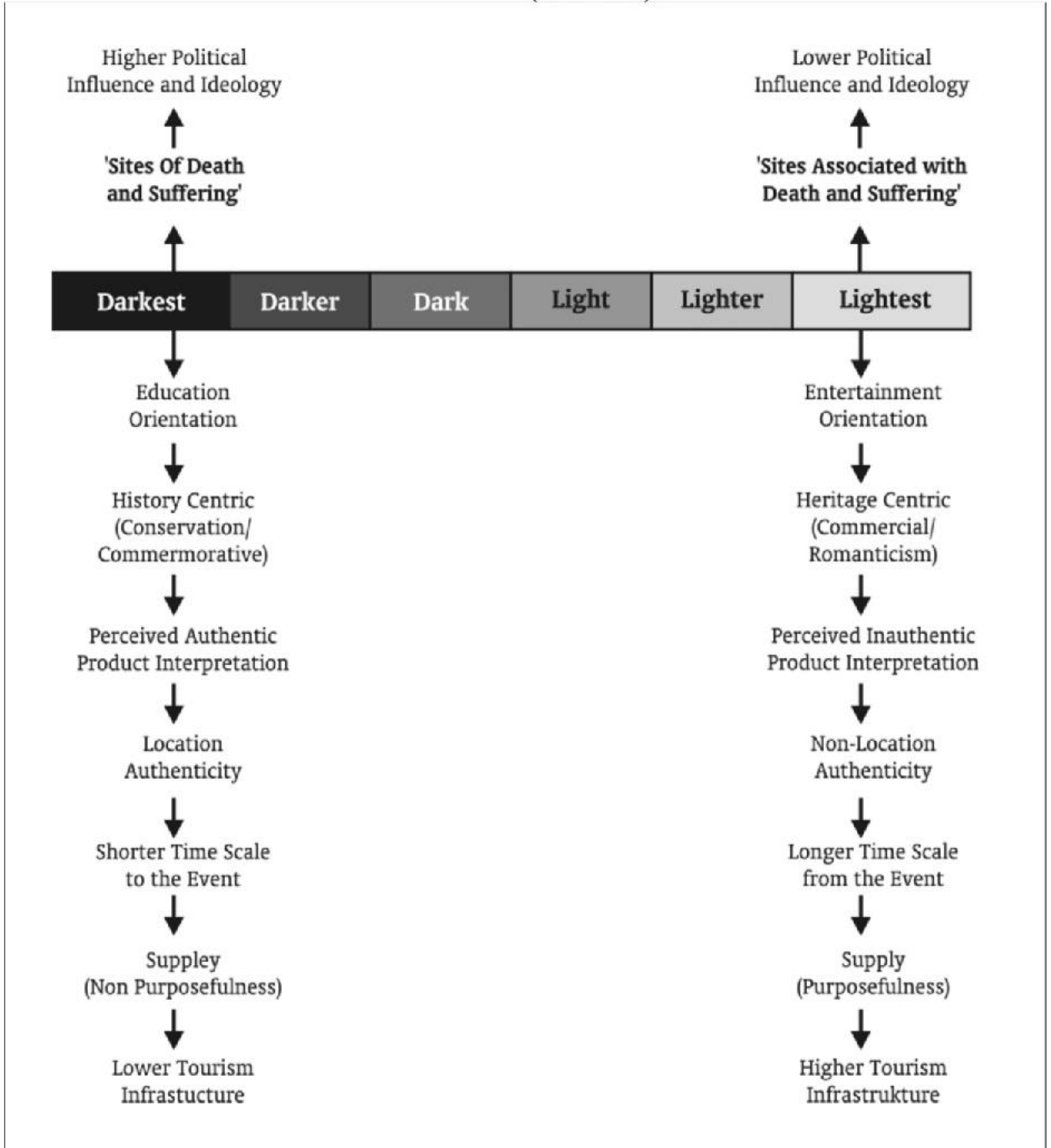
occurred; travel to memorials or internment sites, including graveyards, catacombs, crypts, and war memorials; travel to see material evidence or symbolic representations of death in unconnected sites; and travel for re-enactments or simulations of death (Seaton 240-242).

Using Seaton's categorization of dark tourist attractions, Stone also sought to expand the definition of what dark tourism is and what sites get to be considered dark tourist attractions. Instead of the traditionally accepted, yet narrow view, Stone seeks to form a more inclusive framework for establishing these sites that encompasses touristic motivation instead of ignoring, or glossing over, its influence. In his work, "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions, and Exhibitions," Stone argues that instead of the term dark tourism being applied to sites of mass death, genocides, and other death related attractions as a singular blanket term, that the sites in question actually fall under different classifications and "shades of darkness," that while similar to Seaton's categories, take into account the content of a given site as well as the possible touristic motivations for visiting these sites. Discussing the same notions as Zhang et.al. regarding the budding study of dark tourism, Stone also notes that while the study of the phenomenon continues to grow in popularity and the sheer amount of research that is being done surrounding the topic, the scholarship remains "both eclectic and theoretically fragile" (146). In the opening of his paper, he questions whether or not it is "actually possible or justifiable to collectively categorize a diverse range of sites, attractions, and exhibitions that are associated with death and the macabre as 'dark tourism'" (146) but goes on to do so anyway. To muddy the waters even further, Stone pulls from the work of William F.S. Miles who states that,

there is a difference between sites *associated with* death, disaster, and depravity and sites *of* death disaster and depravity. If visitation to the former is rightfully characterized as ‘dark tourism,’ then journey/excursion/pilgrimage to the latter constitutes a further degree of empathetic travel: ‘darker tourism’ (1175).

Through this notion of difference and in the theoretical existence of a form of “darker tourism,” Stone argues that “dark tourism products may lie along a rather ‘fluid spectrum of intensity’ whereby particular sites may be conceivably ‘darker’ than others, dependent upon various defining characteristics, perceptions, and product features” (146). Along with this spectrum of darkness, Stone also posits that while dark tourism sites exist on a spectrum of darkness in terms of the supply aspect, “so equally diverse are the motives of tourists who visit and consume these products” (147). Due to these various, and many, layers of meaning and interpretation that can be applied to these dark tourist attractions, Stone calls for a classification of these sites along a “dark tourism spectrum” model that accounts for Miles’s proposed difference between sites *associated with* death and sites that are *of* death, as well as similar notions of classification as exhibited in Seaton’s works. In this model, Stone places sites that are associated with death and suffering on the lightest end of the tourism spectrum, while sites that deal with real and tangible death are given the moniker of “darkest tourism.” Figure 1 (on the following page) depicts Stone’s spectrum and the qualifications he notes are indicative of each end of the spectrum.

**A DARK TOURISM SPECTRUM: PERCEIVED PRODUCT FEATURES OF DARK TOURISM
WITHIN A 'DARKEST-LIGHTEST' FRAMEWORK OF SUPPLY** (Stone 2006)



(Figure 1) Stone's Spectrum of Dark Tourist Activities from "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions, and Exhibitions"

Along with this spectrum, Stone also provides a conceptual framework hoping to “begin the task of building a typological foundation for dark tourism supply” (151). He does this by following in Seaton’s theoretical footsteps by qualifying dark tourist attractions and categorizing them in what he deems the “seven dark suppliers” of the dark tourism by outlining the perceived functions of each. These seven dark suppliers each fall along the spectrum he designed and consist of the following attributes and functions:

1) **Dark Fun Factories**

These attractions tend to deal with the sites, tours, and attractions which that present both real and fictional death, but with a sharp entertainment curve and commercial intent. These sites provide a “sanitized” or more family-friendly version of the site and the events that transpired within. These attractions are usually viewed as less authentic and tend to fall on the lighter side of the spectrum.

2) **Dark Exhibitions**

These attractions involve sites designed in such a way that while they may focus on death and suffering, they also often provide a “commemorative, educational, and reflective message” (152). These sites are often viewed as more authentic or serious, resulting in a darker ranking on the scale.

3) **Dark Dungeons**

Refer to attractions based on law and justice and typically refer to sites that were not originally intended to become dark tourism attractions such as (former) prisons, jailhouses, and courthouses. Due to their often commercial nature mixed with their historical value, Stone places these attractions in the middle portion of the spectrum.

4) **Dark Resting Places**

Refer to tourism focused on cemetery or gravesites. While this would seem like it would fall darker on the scale, Stone notes that, due to its mix of lighter elements (historic and environmental conservation) and darker, more serious ones (commemoration, education, preservation), visitation to dark resting places falls in the middle of the spectrum.

5) **Dark Shrines**

Refer to sites associated with the memorialization of the recently deceased. These sites are traditionally “pop-up” style and are constructed both formally and informally close to the site of, and closely after, the associated event or death occurred. Due to its proximity to the actual scene of death and its temporality, these attractions are placed on the darker sides of the spectrum.

6) **Dark Conflict Sites**

Refer to sites associated with warfare, war, and battlefields. These locations often focus on the historical, educational, and commemorative aspects of death and war throughout our histories. Due to these factors and the temporal distance between the events and the tourist, Stone argues that these sites fall on the lighter side of the spectrum.

7) **Dark Camps of Genocide**

Refer to the darkest form of tourism on the spectrum—travel to places *of* genocide, human atrocity, and catastrophe. These sites “tell the terrible tales of human suffering and infliction and have a high degree of political ideology attached to them” (157).

Although Stone’s categories are vital to the understanding of the work this thesis is doing, it is also important to note that while Stone made great strides in classifying the physical locations themselves, due to the inherent nature of defining categories, these classifications do not consider sites that exhibit qualities of multiple categories and the implications of liminality on visitor experience when traveling to these dark tourist attractions. Due to the nature of many dark tourist attractions and their ability to simultaneously exist within history in one form and in another form in the present, most dark tourist attractions exist in a liminal state. As we will see in the case studies presented later in this analysis, these sites exist in liminal spaces due to their construction and physicality, but also meta-physically through the way the spaces are interacted with by those who visit the sites.

However, for the moment, it is important to note that through the marrying of qualities from multiple categories, visitor motivations—or the experiences they can have in these locations—become much more personal and nuanced through the application of liminal states and spaces, making dark tourism a rhetorically important lens through which to view humanity and society at this current point in history. In using Stone’s

categories, coupled with the classifications provided by Seaton and Miles and the argument for category blending through the use of liminality to allow for a more personalized experience as this thesis notes, the foundational framework for the analysis of two of Louisville's dark tourist attractions is laid. However, before this analysis can occur, one final aspect of dark tourist motivation must be discussed through the incorporation of legend into a site's narrative.

Most recently, Philip Stone references dark tourist's motivations for visiting these sites in Hannah Sampson's 2019 article in *The Washington Post* entitled "Dark Tourism, Explained: Why Visitors Flock to Sites of Tragedy." Here Stone notes that, "[w]e've just got this cultural fascination with the darker side of history; most of history is dark [and] I think when we go to these places, we see not strangers, but often we see ourselves and perhaps what we might do in those circumstances" (Sampson, 2019). This quote exemplifies the idea that in these sites, visitors can see themselves and come to terms with fears, anxieties, or other needs that can only be explored in these liminal locations. However, while through history, we can garner information that might be relevant to our current historical moment, in the same article a larger theoretical problem regarding dark tourist motivation is brought to light. In the article, Sampson makes the argument that "some might associate the idea [dark tourism] with ghost stories and scares, but those who study the practice say it's unrelated to fear or supernatural elements" (Sampson, 2019). This idea that fear is not a contributing factor in tourist motivation for visiting these sites of death and darkness is fundamentally untrue as both the works of Stone and Seaton suggest. Furthermore, as this thesis will show, the "supernatural elements" mentioned in her article, can serve just as much of a vital of a role in the act of dark

tourism as fear, or any other potential emotion or desire, might. This can arguably be defined and further proved through the interactions with, and reenactments of, legends that are associated with these attractions and the events that have, or are said to have, transpired there.

Defining Legend

Storytelling and passing information through narrative forms have been some of the most prevailing arts of the human species since early man first began interacting with one another and recording our histories. These stories continue to provide us, just as they did our ancestors, moral and practical guidelines for life and rationales for the world around us, all while providing entertainment through fantastic characters, mysterious creatures, and magical elements. However, while these stories provided our ancestors with a guide to life and survival, they also served as a guide to the dead and the afterlife. From the ancient Greek myths of safe passage on the River Styx, the Norse Valkyries descending on blood-soaked battlefields and lifting the fallen up to Valhalla, to Ancient Egyptian mummification rituals, and current funerary practices influenced by folkloric elements, our obsession with what happens to us after we die, and at the threshold between life, death, and the afterlife, has haunted us throughout history. Although these stories can, and often do, serve as the foundations for how we traditionally view death and dying, practicing and performing these legends and myths provide us with an outlet for our curiosities and anxieties regarding the hereafter, often forcing us to come to terms with our deepest fears.

Legend itself, is malleable and inherently liminal in nature, changing and altering with the times and other shifts that occur within a given culture. This allows for legends

to be altered to reflect the fears and anxieties of a given moment and then completely changed to fit with another. For example, the vampire of legend is known for its ability to transform and reflect the culture and the time in which it is evoked. In the 1931 film adaptation of *Dracula*, the depiction of the infamous vampire, played by Bela Lugosi, represented post-World War One fears of the quintessential other and what happens when the other invades a familiar space. Contrast this with the modern vampire as depicted in *Twilight* (2008), *True Blood* (2008), or *The Vampire Diaries* (2009), that depict the “othered” vampire as just wanting to fit in with humanity by repressing their “monstrous” nature, reflecting a current societal weight of ethics and morality as well as balancing what is right and what is wrong. Through legends of the vampire, people can simultaneously confront the darker side of the human psyche while also reflecting the inner struggles we may be dealing with, projected through—and onto—the vampire. The idea that legend is pliable and always in transition due to its liminal nature allows for its application in this analysis, showing how, and why, some dark tourist attractions can be interpreted differently based on the experiences of each visitor prior to and while in the actual attraction.

To add an additional layer of meaning to this definition of legend, folklorist Robert A. Georges, author of “The General Concept of Legend: Some Assumptions to be Reexamined and Reassessed,” found in the 1971 compilation of *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*, also discusses the nebulous nature of defining the term. He states that a legend is defined as, “a story or narrative that is set in the recent or historical past [...] believed to be true by those who tell it and by those whom it is told” (5). Key takeaways from this definitional attempt are the idea of legend’s chronological placement, i.e. the

event or legend's distance in time from the person participating in the legend and the concept of belief associated with those who practice and transmit them. While these stories inform listeners and practitioners about past events, either real or fictional, through the transmission and interpretation of legend, practitioners gain the ability to experiment with the world around them and press the boundaries between the natural world and that of the supernatural. It is in these boundaries that the final layers of our definition can be extrapolated. In her work, *Legend and Belief: Dialectics of a Folklore Genre*, Linda Dègh, the late legend scholar, notes that, "legends [...] treat universal concerns. They deal with the most crucial questions of the world and human life" (2). These questions and concerns with our place in the world or the communities in which we frequent have been, and continue to be, the driving force behind legend. Through using legend, and its performance, we can explore areas of our psyche and the physical world that may be traditionally off-limits due to societal expectation, social role, or that would be inaccessible through other traditional means. This is only possible through the power of belief associated with legendry. Now, whether it is the belief that something will happen, or simply the belief that there is a possibility, no matter how remote, for something to occur, there is power in belief. Dègh goes on to state that legends, "connect and contrast the objectified, fictitious world of the tale with the real ... based on common knowledge about human encounters with the supernatural (or extra normal) world, concretized by personal experience" (82). Giving legend even an ounce of belief is enough for its power to blur the lines of reality and allows for its practice, or performance, to foster an experience for the practitioner and create an associated meaning. In this added layer of liminal existence between the real and fictitious, legend

gains more power through the potential for belief of the unbelievable. By performing or aiding in the transmission of a legend, a certain belief aspect is planted and through it, an experience is formed. This allows for those who use the legend or its performance to apply it to a given situation or to use it to explore boundaries traditionally off-limits.

Using the definitions provided by Georges and Dègh, as well as ideas of liminality present in the legend and its performance, we can piece together the framework for legend analysis that this text will utilize. For our purposes here, *legend* will refer to *stories, or narratives, set in a recent, or historical, past, that often uses human protagonists to press boundaries of human sociological structures and/or explore the universal concepts of the human experience.* Using this definition, a potential new layer of motivation and reasoning for why people choose to become dark tourists becomes possible. Linda Dègh touches on legend and its place within the human experience, noting the importance of creating and disseminating legend within the communities that created them because “the legend, even if it is not founded on reality, can create reality” (5). It is in this statement that the malleability of legend can be applied to dark tourism and dark tourism studies due to its ability to account for the motivation for seeking out and visiting sites of death. Dègh goes on to state that, “the legend has power, the nature of which is unknown and dangerous” (5). This power of legend, as this thesis will prove, has the ability to be used as a means to an end in achieving personal outcomes and to drive tourism to these sites, that without legend, would simply be interesting historical artifacts. The malleability of legend and its accompanying belief provide those visiting these sites with a purpose engaging in dark tourism and a narrative that helps curate the experience they hope to experience while there.

Returning to the Legend of the Pope Lick Monster – A Mini-Case Analysis

With an understanding of liminality, dark tourism and its associated classifications and categories established by Stone, Seaton, and Miles, coupled with a definitional account of legend that provides the framework for creating and influencing the dark tourist's behaviors and experiences in liminal spaces, the groundwork for this analysis's argument, and its implications on touristic motivations for visiting macabre sites, is realized. That said, it is important to see how this theory functions on a smaller scale before delving into the more intricate and complex case study provided in the next chapter. For this small-scale demonstration, we will now return to the Legend of the Pope Lick Monster that began this discussion. Here, an application of the framework developed in the sections above will be used to analyze the location for its dark touristic categorization potential as well as how the legends associated with it help drive tourism to the location itself and create personalized experiences for those who visit the site.

Appearing in publications such as John Kleber's *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (2000), Jeffrey Scott Holland's *Weird Kentucky* (2008), and in the 1988 film, *The Legend of the Pope Lick Monster*, directed by Ron Schildknecht, the Goat Man, who is said to stalk the Pope Lick Trestle, has haunted the city of Louisville for decades. As the name suggests, this legendary cryptid is said to be part-man and part-goat, but this notion is the only commonality among the legends surrounding the beast. From how the creature came to be, how it looks, to whether the creature lures unassuming trespassers out onto the active railroad tracks using his hypnotic powers (Kleber, 713) or by using its ability to mimic the voice of a visitor's loved ones ("The Pope Lick Monster", 2011), all the way to actively murdering those who stumble into his territory with an axe (Burkart, 2014), the

Pope Lick Monster is a dark shadow lurking in Louisville's history. However, most, if not all, of the variations in the legend end in the deaths of those who cross this cryptid, and more often than not, those who cross the Pope Lick Trestle looking to find the creature encounter it. While the Pope Lick Trestle was never intended to become a site associated with a killer cryptid or to have racked up an actual, and quantifiable, body count through the years, it has—much to the city of Louisville and the Norfolk Southern Railway Corporation's chagrin—became notorious for both. Through a thorough analysis of this legend and placing the location within the frameworks provided above, the motivation for why the story continues to be transmitted and why people choose to risk their lives to experience “death” by searching for the beast becomes evident, allowing for assessment and categorization under the dark tourist concept.

To begin, the physical location of the legend's practice—The Pope Lick Trestle—has become a strange mix of three different categories on Stone's spectrum: a dark fun factory, a dark shrine, and a dark exhibition attraction. It is important to address here the implications of drawing from multiple categories and how this influences touristic motivation for traveling to this site and the experience visitors will have there. As stated in the preceding introduction to dark tourism, these sites are often liminal in make-up due to their ability to exist within history and simultaneously outside of it as well. Due to this chronological malleability of the site and the legends around it, visitors can explore many various aspects of their own psyches and existence through the site, but of their own accord. While the site itself may exist at the intersection of Stone's categories, this liminal existence allows for visitors to tailor their experiences based on their needs at the time. Whether that experience is had through the physical location and its associated

motivations/qualifications based on Stone's categories or through the legendry associated with the site, depends on the person traveling to and experiencing this site.

To better demonstrate how this can be accomplished at these sites, it is important to get an idea of the physical space of the trestle in question. Built in the 1800s by the Norfolk Southern Railway Corporation, the trestle stands roughly 90 feet in the air and stretches roughly 772-feet across Pope Lick, a small stream that flows into the larger Floyds Fork tributary nearby. Used as a means of traveling over and transporting goods across streams and valleys without disrupting the environment below, trestles are inherently liminal by design. Providing a route from one side to another, the trestle, is a place constantly in transition and this liminal existence allows for the perpetuation of the legends and rituals associated with the site, both of which will be explored in the following analysis of the Pope Lick Trestle.

In viewing the dark tourist/tourism aspects of the trestle alongside the legendry and liminality surrounding it, an interesting interpretation of the site is shown. The functions of the legend of the Pope Lick Monster are equally as multifaceted as the dark tourism categorization itself as it serves many different purposes for those who seek the beast and to have an experience with "death" along the trestle. While this location and the legends surrounding it could provide enough material for a paper of its own, for its purposes here, we will be focusing on two motivational aspects to the legend's performance. Kleber's, *The Encyclopedia of Louisville*, introduces two of these primary motivations for the reenactment and transmission of this legend that this thesis will explicate. He notes that "[s]tories of encounters have abounded for more than three generations and have served as the mood-setter for multiple romantic encounters between

teenage boys and girls, many involving alcohol and tests of ‘bravery’ that require climbing onto, the trestle” (Kleber, 713). In regard to the “romantic encounters,” the legend of the Pope Lick Monster earns its place with other cautionary urban legends along with other “Lover’s Lane”/ “Make-Out-Point” narratives that deal with teenage sexuality and the transgression of boundaries set forth by their parents, guardians, and society itself. This legend motif tends to often revolve around teenage protagonists and their journeys to dark and secluded locations, seeking alone time with their partners, far away from the prying eyes of their parents and society. Here it is important to note the idea that the romantic encounters mentioned by Kleber reference teenage practitioners using the trestle for the exploration of boundaries involving experimentation with sexuality and sexual acts, boundary crossing activities through the enactment of the Pope Lick monster’s legendry, and the interaction with the physically liminal space of the trestle itself.

The teenage years of human development are rife with liminal experiences and states. Coming after childhood and just before adulthood, the teenager is in a constant liminal state as they transition into their future roles as adults and begin to explore and test boundaries and taboos that have been socially unavailable to them during childhood. Sexuality is one of those taboo subjects that teens are able to explore during these liminal years and through the legend of the Pope Lick Monster they are able to do so in a “safe” way. Like other Lovers’ Lane/Make Out Point legends, socially acceptable roles and views of sexual activity come to bare on the bodies of the practitioners interacting with the Pope Lick Monster’s legendry. In referencing the legend of “The Hook-Handed Man,” a popular and wide spread legend of sexual exploration and deviancy, folklorist

Alan Dundes posits that urban legends like the many variations of the “Lover’s Lane” motif can be read through a psychoanalytic lens, noting that these legends “reflect[] a very real dating practice, one which produces anxiety for both boys and girls” (Dundes, 31) about their bodies and budding sexualities. For girls, these legends allow for the exploration of anxieties about sexual expression and experimentation in a society that preaches against female promiscuity and the repercussions of falling into deviant acts (represented by the presence of the phallic hook ready to penetrate her body). For boys on the other hand, the fears of rejection and being metaphorically “castrated” (as represented by the hook being torn away from the killer as the couple retreats) are highlighted through the legend.

However, while this legend follows many of the same strategic elements as the traditional “Hook-Handed Man” legend, instead of an recently escaped, hook-handed, psych-ward patient waiting in the shadows for his chance to strike, the killer is a half-man/half-beast adding another element to the legend’s interpretation. The presence of this liminal creature that appears in this transitional period of human development indicates a deeper meaning to the legend for its practitioners. Dundes notes how the “Hook-Handed Man” legend is usually told from a female perspective and how their fears and anxieties that “previously nice boys, when parked in a car on a country road, sometimes act like sex maniacs” (30); a notion that is only furthered in the legend of the Pope Lick Monster and the reading of the creature’s hybrid appearance as liminal—somewhere between both human and animal—and reflecting the transition of the well-mannered boyfriend she came to the trestle with and his transformation into a sex-crazed beast. This notion, coupled with the image of the Pope Lick Monster and his axe as a stand in for the

hook-handed man's phallic hook, and a stylistically similar cautionary sexuality tale begins to emerge: one that offers the same sense of expressive boundary play and warning expressed by the traditional urban legends.

Another aspect of the legend, mentioned in Kleber's work, is the notion of "bravery tests" among the visitors to the trestle. While the pressing of sexual boundaries as seen above are typically linked to a feminine performance in urban legends, the notions of breaking rules and/or participating in/passing initiatory rites of passage are largely seen as a masculine one. In Schildknecht's 1988 film—which portrays one version of the legend—two male characters, Ben and Clancy, and one female character named Katie, are depicted as visiting the trestle to drink a few beers and to seek out the legendary "sheepman." As the film progresses and the characters make their way up to the trestle, Clancy is left behind to park the car out of sight, while Ben and Katie go on ahead. When Clancy reaches the top, he is met with a visibly shaken Katie who tells him he needs to go get Ben, who is portrayed as seemingly inebriated and beginning his journey across the trestle. While Clancy tries to catch up with Ben along the tracks, Ben places a beer at the half way point on the tracks and makes his way to the other side yelling back to Clancy that he had to stand in the middle of the track and drink the beer because it is "tradition." Though apprehensive, Clancy does as he is told and downs the beer. After completing the "trial" given to him by Ben, Clancy begins to head toward the other side of the trestle where Ben had previously exited. However, before he can make it, he is met with the legendary creature on the tracks, who instantly immobilizes Clancy with his hypnotic stare. The creature, just as fast as it appeared, fades away revealing a train that is barreling down the tracks toward Clancy which forces him to hang off the

side of the trestle while the train passes. This visual representation of the legend in action is strikingly similar to how the legend is interacted with today. People, particularly teenaged men, who visit the site continue to recreate the same scenario in an attempt to prove their bravery by crossing the trestle and conquering the beast. Returning to the work, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Victor Turner discusses the concept of liminality and its role in initiatory rituals as people move from specific states, both in age and social standing. He states, “[t]he ordeals and humiliations, often of a grossly physiological character, to which neophytes are submitted represent partly a destruction of the previous status and partly a tempering of their essence in order to prepare them to cope with their new responsibilities” (103). The enactment of crossing the trestle, from one side to the other, can be viewed as an initiatory ritual of sorts in which young people, traditionally men in the variations of the legend, shed their child-like state by facing a mythological creature (and/or the train in this adaptation) head-on in their journey into adulthood becoming part of the brave men who have faced the trials before them.

In “The Camp Mock-Ordeal: Theater as Life,” folklorist Bill Ellis discusses how the “mock ordeal” is used throughout summer camps in the United States to create a liminal experience for campers. He defines the mock-ordeal as, “contrived events in which a group of campers and counselors venture out to challenge supernatural beings, confront them in a consciously dramatized form, then return to safety” (487). These mock-ordeals typically involve some sort of “liminal monster,” which according to Ellis are “uncanny, extrahuman beings that are evoked to embody the groups psychic needs” (487). This idea of a liminal monster meeting some need for the practitioner is further

discussed in Jay Mechling's "The Magic of the Boy Scout Campfire," where he elaborates the liminal monster as posited by Victor Turner. Mechling references Turner's "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage" noting that these liminal monsters are not solely used to terrify the neophyte—persons undergoing the ritual—but rather to shock them "into thinking about objects, persons, relationships, and features or their environment they have hitherto taken for granted" (14). Mechling goes on to note that in the case of the boy scout campfire/camp, that it is possible that "campfire ghost stories and local legends are the bourgeois equivalent of liminal monsters" and that "the persistence of these legends at teenage camp fires suggest that they are meeting some psychic need, reflected ... in the thematic preoccupation with death and dismemberment" (Mechling, 49). Through these concepts of controlled danger experienced through mock-ordeals or "trials" involving legends of liminal monsters, participants in the Pope Lick legend experience death in a metaphorical and ritualistic way while being faced with the very real danger and potential for death associated with being on the active train trestle. In the metaphorical sense, by either performing or participating in the performance of this legend and its connections with death, visitors to this site are able to shed their teenage status and/or anxieties by facing their fears and apprehensions regarding sexuality, violence, and the supernatural horrors that could potentially await them in the dark. Through this bravery in the face of the mock-trial, they are given the power to move from their liminal position into whatever awaits them on the other side of their brief encounter with both metaphorical and real death. In the case of this particular legend and performance, teens arrive in this liminal space with the intent of either metaphorically facing the death of their childhood through the exploration of their budding sexualities,

or, quite literally, crossing the trestle by entering as a teenager, completing an established trial—either through the drinking of alcohol or encountering and triumphing over the actual monster—and emerging on the other side as part of the *communitas* of adulthood.

In providing the preceding theoretical introduction, framework, and mini-case analysis, this thesis shows the dualistic nature between legend and liminality that can lead to a much richer interpretation of dark tourist motivations for visiting macabre attractions. While the legend of the Pope Lick Monster provides an interesting introduction to a cornerstone piece of folklore in the Louisville, Kentucky community and a well-rounded dark tourist location, it is far from the darkest the city has to offer. The following chapter of this thesis seeks to provide an analysis of one of the most macabre locations in Louisville's history—Waverly Hills Sanatorium—and how the physical space and the legends surrounding it provide a rich repository of touristic motivation leading people to continuously visit this dark touristic attraction.

CHAPTER TWO: WAVERLY HILLS SANATORIUM

Within Louisville's city-limits stand several historic landmarks with rich ties to the community's heritage and dark histories that allow for their classification as dark tourist attractions. While each of these sites is worthy of its own analysis, for the purpose of this thesis, focus will be given to the once stately hospital with an infamously dark past that sits upon a distant hill just off of Dixie Highway in southwest Louisville—the Waverly Hills Sanatorium. Over the last few decades, this site has gained international acclaim due to the media attention it has been given and the legends surrounding the facility while also maintaining a prominent place in Louisville's history and imagination. From stories of overcrowding and neglect, to adultery, murder, and the unethical experimentation on those already tortured by the disease tuberculosis, this site has a long and dark history marred with the death and suffering of both the living and the dead. Waverly's claim as one of the most haunted destinations in the world has drawn attention from ghost hunters and dark tourists from around the world, bringing in thousands of visitors each year by capitalizing on the legends that surround the site, the beauty of the building's Gothic architecture, and the dark history the location provides. As this analysis will show, these aspects of the site drive visitors to this location and provide them with the ability to express a variety of motivations, including coping with modern day fears and anxieties through interacting with death and the macabre history for which the facility has come to be known.

As with the Pope Lick Monster and its trestle, Waverly can be placed within Stone's dark tourism spectrum, affording visitors with numerous ways of interacting with the physical space and legends associated with the sanatorium with each providing the potential for various meaning-making capabilities through notions of liminality. This chapter will first utilize the history of the facility to position Waverly along Stone's spectrum. It will then provide an analysis exploring how visitors to Waverly interact with the facility's legends, and the physical space itself, to create a liminal experience that addresses personal motives including fear of disease, societal obligation/role, trauma, loss of a child, and self-reflection of identity through the monstrous. Through this examination, I argue that legend has the ability to enact personal meaning-making experiences through the creation of liminal experiences, in places of real and fictional death, that allow people to transgress boundaries unable to be explored in the structured world outside this dark tourist space.

Waverly Hills Sanatorium: A Brief History

Tuberculosis, or the "White Death/Plague" as it was colloquially known during the late 1800s-early 1900s, is a serious infectious disease caused by bacteria that are transmitted through person to person contact and "through tiny droplets released into the air via coughs and sneezes" (Mayo Clinic, 2019). According to C.C. Thomas, author of *With Their Dying Breaths: A History of Waverly Hills Tuberculosis Sanatorium*, "[a]t the beginning of the twentieth century, Louisville was still virtually a swampland" and due to this, "many in the area became infected with tuberculosis, cholera, and other deadly diseases" (31). Kentucky's hospitable climate, coupled with its lack of preparedness to tackle an epidemic of this proportion, allowed the highly contagious disease to spread

among the general population largely unchecked. Jefferson County, Kentucky was particularly hard-hit by the disease due to its location along the Ohio River and its low-lying wetland topography, making it the perfect breeding ground for the bacteria. C.C. Thomas notes that in 1910, there were a total of 13,436 confirmed cases of tuberculosis—up from 6500 in 1909—in Kentucky, with “as many as one in every eight citizens dying of the white plague” (31). While several small clinics existed throughout the state at the time, the disease ran rampant and experienced phenomenal growth rates within the city. As a result, these existing facilities could not keep up with the medical needs of those afflicted with the disease, resulting in many of those infected being treated at home. Thomas references that this in-home treatment “made the situation so much worse [by] the fact that almost all of the victims were being cared for by family members, therefore infecting another generation” (32). With this vicious cycle only exacerbated by the lack of social distancing and proper medical care, Thomas goes on to state that “newspaper reports of the time stated that suffering TB victims were ‘creating a menace to the health of every person’” (32). As fears of becoming infected began to reach their peak and faith in the existing measures to properly care for the growing number of patients dwindled, the need for a larger facility, well away from the community, became evident.

It is here that I want to break away from recounting Waverly’s history and provide a discussion of the physical placement of the facility. Due to the challenges faced by the community and the medical facilities in the area when it came to the treatment and quarantining of patients, the need for a space that was wholly separated from the rest of the populace became the goal for those trying to combat the spread of the disease. The location that would become home to Waverly was chosen due to its isolated placement on

a high hill surrounded by a boundary of woods that separated the sanitorium from the world below. The creation of this particularly liminal space seemed to be the answer to the devastated community's prayers; and while the idea behind the building's placement in this environment was said to be due to the wooded area being able to create a peaceful atmosphere where patients could rest and get plenty of sunlight and fresh air, it also served as a threshold that separated Waverly, the world, and the community down the hill.

Once the location was chosen and the plans drawn-up, construction on the facility began in 1908, and two years later on July 26th, 1910, Waverly Hills Sanitorium opened its doors to patients for the first time. Unfortunately, while the intention behind the construction was good, the plans did not take into account an increase in the growth of both the disease and the population of Louisville during the building period, and the new hospital ran into the same issues at the clinics before it did. The original hospital was designed to accommodate roughly 40-50 patients, and before long the patient population at Waverly quickly reached, and surpassed, its intended capacity. For years, the facility ran the best it could, but with the ever-growing influx of patients, it became evident that something needed to be done. Additions and renovations began quickly once the population began to surpass the resources available and in 1926, a newly renovated Waverly Hills Sanitorium opened to meet these growing needs. After the renovations, the hospital was designed to be one of the nation's premiere medical institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis and was equipped to treat 400+ patients with top medical staff and cutting-edge treatments of the disease. Upon its completion, Waverly seemed, once more, to be the answer everyone had prayed for and continued to accept and treat patients

for nearly three decades. The hospital operated successfully until 1961 when streptomycin, an antibiotic that successfully treated and cured the disease was discovered, quickly becoming the front-line defense against the disease and rendered the hospital's primary use obsolete. A year later, after being renovated and thoroughly sanitized, the building reopened as Woodhaven Medical Services, a geriatric care facility. Woodhaven operated within the building until it was closed by the state in 1981 due to court-documented cases of overpopulation, neglect of patients by staff, and accusations of patient mistreatment. For 20 years after Woodhaven's closure, the building sat abandoned, suffering immense damage due to vandalization and negligent owners purposely damaging the facility for insurance collection purposes, until it was purchased in 2001 by Charles and Tina Mattingly. The Mattingly family purchased the facility with the hope of preserving the history of the hospital and the stories of the patients that called Waverly home. Although Waverly provides a very rich historical account of human resilience and community response in times of turmoil, it also provides a glimpse into the barbaric, and often traumatic, history of experimentation in the name of science and medicine.

While, as the staff reminds, Waverly Hills was designed as a place of healing, that is not to say it did not have its fair share of darkness and death over the years. The disease alone was a violent and catastrophic force on the bodies of the patients, so much so, that it was "commonly known as consumption because many of the victims appeared to be 'consumed' by something inside their bodies and would appear to quite literally waste away" (Thomas, 11). In the early stages of infection, the disease was often shrugged off as a minor illness as the symptoms were similar to ailments like the common cold or flu.

However, as the disease worsened,

Pain in the chest would become quite common. Often throat ulcers were a result of the constant coughing and made talking and eating difficult. Coughing up blood and extreme paling of the skin were the most visible symptoms. As the lungs became more diseased, the tissue itself would start to dissolve and would be coughed up as well (Thomas 17).

While the disease itself was horrifically painful and traumatic, the treatment was sometimes worse. Although completely medically approved and backed by the primitive science of the time, the treatments given to patients at Waverly would be viewed as borderline torture by today's standards. From performing an artificial pneumothorax (or the collapsing of the infected lung, giving the other a chance to heal); thoracoplasties (the surgical removal of ribs in order to manually collapse the lung,); to the infected organ being completely removed, many extreme treatments were given. Even though some patients did recover and were able to return home, between the disease and the treatment, many patient's last days were spent in immense pain and agony.

In the more than 100 years that have passed since the opening of Waverly Hills Sanitorium, few places across the nation have gained more notoriety than this sprawling Gothic estate. With the sheer amount of trauma, distress, and death the building saw on a daily basis, compounded by the 51 years the building was in service, and the many years that it sat abandoned after, stories and legends of things left behind at Waverly are commonplace within the local memory of the Louisville community of Valley Station. Over the last decade or so, the property has even earned its place as one of the most haunted buildings in America with myriad legends and folklore to back its title. With this notoriety, coupled with the reported 20,000-60,000 traumatic deaths that are said to have occurred on the hospital's grounds, it is not surprising the building has been featured on

television series such as SyFy Channel's *Ghost Hunters* and *The Scariest Places on Earth*, and Travel Channel's *Ghost Adventures*, as well as being name dropped in one of the CW's most popular shows, *Supernatural*. Through the marrying of the building's physical liminal location, its place—both inside and outside—of history, and coupling them with the legends ranging from—a nurse who supposedly hung herself outside of room 502 due to a “torrid affair” with a married staff doctor; or Timmy, the spirit of a small child who is said to have succumbed to the disease during his time at Waverly, yet still comes around to play ball with visitors; to the curious and playful shadow people on the 4th floor; all the way to more violent accounts of the “Creepers” who stalks the halls and exerts an oppressive force on those who encounter it—a fantastically intricate and rhetorically rich case-study of dark tourism and tourist motivation will be shown in the following sections. To begin this analysis, a discussion of the space and place Waverly occupies, both physically and temporally, is necessary to understand Waverly's unique position that allows for the accomplishment of tourists' personal motivations for visiting the facility.

Waverly Hills: Space and Place

According to the Waverly Hills Historical Society, during the time that Waverly was in operation, it acted as “a city in and of itself, complete with its own zip code. It had its own post office, water treatment facility, grew its own fruits and vegetables, raised its own meat for slaughter, and maintained many of the other necessities of everyday life.” This self-sufficiency was born out of necessity due to the contagiousness of tuberculosis and the idea that once you came to Waverly, “you became a permanent resident ‘on the hill’” (“About Waverly Hills”) thus you needed the necessities to survive. Patients and

staff alike had to say goodbye to the world outside Waverly's walls for the greater good of society to help stop the transmission of tuberculosis through quarantining themselves away from the community. This removal of Waverly from society at large, while medically necessary, places the location itself in what Michel Foucault describes as a "heterotopia," a concept, which he discusses in his 1967 work, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," that refers to real places that are "something like counter-sites" that exist "outside of all places even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality" (3).

These "other" places exist outside of the normal or rational world, often on the fringes of society and in the gray areas between utopias—or perfect places—and dystopias—places of disarray. Foucault notes that these counter sites act as "a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites ... are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (3). These heterotopias exist alongside reality, but are somehow removed, be that spatially or temporally, from their actual location or intended use. Waverly, in its liminal location on the boundary of civilization, exists in this heterotopic state. Foucault also discusses the ability of these heterotopic spaces to act as a reflection of a location that is removed from itself, but also simultaneously reflective of itself creating an "other." He notes that, "between utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there might be sort of a mixed, joint experience." To portray this idea, he uses the example of a mirror due to its "placeless" nature where he notes,

I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent (4).

This reflection, he argues, does exist and is grounded in reality, but it also acts as a

counteraction to the position that the reflected occupies in reality, “at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there” (4). The act of dark tourism itself creates a heterotopic experience that represents this idea of simultaneously occupying the a space as it is today, yet through interacting with the space and its histories, we are somehow also existing in this space as it was at a specific historical moment. This othered state is only furthered when visitors interact with and see themselves through the legends associated with a location by drawing connections between the legends they are enacting and themselves. Visitors can see themselves as another, or “othered” being, allowing them to come to terms with or process difficult emotions or events that transpired historically, yet have lasting applicability to the visitor today. This othering power of legend and the multiplicity of meaning gained through its use—coupled with the ability of dark tourism to both exist in the now and at the same time, in history—create a well-rounded and nuanced experience for the tourist while visiting these sites.

Historically, Waverly functioned as its own fringe society, operating away from the larger Louisville community in its own private bubble where patients and staff focused on curing tuberculosis. However, today, it stands as a broken shell of its former self. While the Mattingly family and the Waverly Historical Society have done amazing things in terms of conserving the building since it was purchased in 2001, the property is still largely in disrepair. Its walls covered in graffiti, many of its windows and doors remain broken, and multiple portions of the facility remain without power—making it a perfect venue for creepy tours rehashing the darker parts of Waverly’s history, for hosting

its annual haunted house, and as acting as the metaphorical heterotopic “mirror” that allows for the application of the Foucauldian theory to the liminal location that is Waverly. This is even more evidenced by the notion that heterotopias are generally not open to public consumption and “to get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures” (7). This is applicable to Waverly Hills as it sees only visitors with special permission from the owners or those who have purchased tickets to enter Waverly’s private space, further placing the property in an “othered” category. Through Foucault and his notions of heterotopias, we can understand where the legends of Waverly come from and the psychological reasoning for why, and how, visitors may use these legends to achieve a personal purpose. When looking at the various aspects of Waverly as a space, Foucault’s concept of heterotopia becomes instrumental in understanding how visitor interaction with the physically “othered” space of Waverly influences the experiences visitors have. This framework allows visitors to craft their own experiences at the site and allow for the continued perpetuation of Waverly as a dark tourist attraction. This idea of “othered” and liminal spaces is furthered in the analysis of Waverly and its unique ability to blur the boundaries of classification, further allowing for personalization of the dark tourist experience at the site.

Categorizing Waverly Hills as Dark Tourist Attraction

Using Stone’s categorical typology of dark tourist attractions and the application of liminal ideology, Waverly Hills Sanatorium can be classified by drawing on aspects of the dark exhibition, the dark fun factory, and the dark shrine, each allowing for different readings, opportunities for visitor motivations for visiting a site, and the multiplicity of experiences visitors can have at the site. Stone’s categories can be read through the

rhetorical appeal provided to visitors of the site through the space and legendry of the site, each allowing for a tailored personal experience within the site based on the visitor's initial motivations that drew them to a location in the first place. Since I have already laid out the definitional work that describes Stone's dark tourism categories in the introduction to this piece, I will not be providing an in depth look at each here. Instead, I want to draw focus to each of these categories and how, through them, visitors are enabled to have personalized experiences.

When looking at the category of dark exhibition, as defined by Stone, these sites offer visitors "products which revolve around death, suffering or the macabre with an often commemorative, educational and reflective message" (Stone, 153). Through this, visitors are able to venerate and to remember victims of tragic events or deaths in a site that provides them the opportunity to bear witness to the history and allows them to "bring their own emotional baggage to the story" (Stone 153). Through tapping into the pathos of the moment, provided by the history and the site itself, visitors are able to identify and to deal with personal traumas and emotions through interactions with these sites—a point that will be explored extensively in the following legends associated with Waverly Hills and the historical ramifications of the tuberculosis epidemic.

Similarly, Stone's dark shrine category also taps into the emotional aspects of touristic motivation by homing in on the act of remembrance and respect for the deceased. I talk about the shrine here in the same section due to the similarities between the dark exhibition and the dark shrine. These similarities are discussed briefly by Stone, noting the potential in fluid movement from dark shrine to dark exhibition. Sharing the historical focus provided by the dark exhibition, the dark shrine exists both formally—

such as monuments or markers on battle sites—and informally as pop-up shrines at sites of traumatic accidents, to appeal to the pathos of the visitors and allowing for a space reserved for mourning and remembrance, regardless of its temporariness. Like the exhibition, the shrine also allows for emotional baggage and traumas to be confronted through interaction with the sites constructed to memorialize certain events or traumas at a site of homage and bereavement. This malleability of the dark shrine allows for a liminal reading of the legends associated with room 502 that will be discussed in the following sections, showing that these sites allow for personal application through the history of the memorialized through tapping into visitor empathy. However, while the dark exhibition and the dark shrine deal with difficult, or more intense emotions, the dark fun factory categorization, is typically used for just that—fun. Stone notes the ability of these sites to present both real and fictional death in a way that is focused on entertainment. In these spaces, belief—as discussed by Dègh in the introduction to this project—is suspended and the visitors can become part of the drama and history presented in these liminal spaces. While these sites are typically heavily curated, they allow for visitors to deal with difficult emotions or the specter of death. These sites also have a definitive commercial aspect to them, and in the case of Waverly, this is the catalyst that allows for visitor experience through the tours of the facility offered by the historical society and owners of Waverly. This commercial aspect provides the financial backing for the restoration and preservation of the site due to the revenue gained from the tours and allows for the exhibition and memorialization of the historical moment in Louisville’s history with tuberculosis and interactions with the legends of the site.

Through this category blurring, Waverly offers a unique space that allows for various

interpretations and interactions to unfurl when it comes to visitor experience through the liminal state of the site. Viewing Waverly as an othered space allows for this blending of Stone's categories and for the ability to craft personalized experiences through interaction with the space, the history, and death—in a place that is by design, outside of the real world and on the fringes of society. While simply categorizing the location as a dark tourist attraction is possible due to the number of deaths and the history associated with the building, without looking at the specific categories provided in Stone's work, integral pieces of analysis would be missing that allow for a deeper and more rhetorically rich reading of touristic motivation and visitor experience within a given site. The following sections take the three categories defined above and explicates their uses through the physical space of Waverly as well as the legendry that surrounds it.

Dark Exhibition and the Epidemic

It goes without argument that dark tourism attractions associated with a history of disease or plague are some of the darker locations on the dark tourist's itinerary and, more often than not, exist outside of time without any real indication of the sheer pain and suffering that once occurred there. While Waverly historically existed as a bustling medical center that cared for its patients in life, it exists now as a shell of its former self, standing as a memorial to those who succumbed to the disease and Louisville's historic epidemic. Noting its place on the National Historic Register for J.J. Gaffney's Gothic inspired design and Waverly's important role in educating visitors about the tuberculosis epidemic in Kentucky, David Price states "it is our [the Waverly Hills Historic Society] mission to promote that and to restore the building and to preserve it for future generations" (Krause, 2019). However, it is through this memorialization of those who

lost their lives to tuberculosis and the availability of sites that are associated with disease that visitors are also reminded of the resiliency of humanity in the face of disease.

Over the last decade, humanity has been faced with the very real fear of contracting a range of diseases caused by viruses and bacteria such as the 2003 SARS (Sudden Acute Respiratory Syndrome) outbreak, 2009 H1N1 (Swine Flu) outbreak, the 2013 EBOV (Ebola) outbreak, the 2014 H5N1 (Bird Flu) outbreak, 2015 ZIKA virus outbreak, all the way to the most recent instance in 2019 with the COVID-19 (Coronavirus) Pandemic (a virus that is actively causing global quarantine situations, from which I am currently socially isolating and writing this piece.) In modern times, whenever there are reported outbreaks of disease, it is not long after that people begin to be bombarded by the media on all fronts hyping up the fears and anxieties of the masses and eliciting a sense of both warranted, and unwarranted, hysteria. Take for example recent news headlines about coronavirus, reminiscent of the horror game and film franchise, *Resident Evil*—“Hospitals on high alert for deadly virus,” “China locking down cities to stop virus,” “Outbreak beginning to look more like a worldwide economic crisis,” and finally, just before the virus was confirmed in the U.S, headlines referencing a Center For Disease Control representative stating that “It’s inevitable” when discussing the virus making U.S. landfall. All these headlines, ranging from January 24th, 2020 to February 26th, 2020, appeared in New York’s *Staten Island Advance*—a location that by the end of March 2020, would have the highest rate of coronavirus infection in the U.S.

However, in these times of crisis, by visiting places associated with documented instances of death due to disease, or by looking at the records of these historic pandemics, people are reminded that humanity has prevailed over disease before, instilling hope that

man will once again triumph over nature. On the heels of the 2009 H1N1 (Swine Flu) outbreak, the U.S. National Institutes of Health noted that the H1N1 outbreak “sharpened our focus on past pandemics,” allowing for the application of lessons learned from past disease outbreaks to “guide the public health response” (NIH, 2011). While these historic pandemics can provide scientists and global health experts with avenues for dealing with outbreaks in terms of data, the stories left behind by those suffering with disease and those lucky enough to survive long enough to be writing about the experiences of the pandemic, strike a chord with us in the modern day. While few sites of pandemic have been memorialized like Waverly Hills, the same sense of escapism and visitation has been popularized in literature from around the world. In his work, “Visitation Rites—The Elusive Tradition of Plague Lit,” Richard Goldstein discusses how historical plague and the literature around it—like Edgar Allan Poe’s *Masque of the Red Death*, J.H. Powell’s *Bring Out Your Dead*, or Bette Davis’s *Jezabel*—“attracts the alienated, perhaps because they sense the power of an epidemic to shatter social orthodoxy.” Visitation to these sites associated with death and disease—both real in the case of Waverly, and largely fictional cases in the literary works cited above—create a liminal experience that “shatters the social contract [and] forces us to break with form” and that “through this [visitors] will have to invent not only their own communitas but a new system of representation to make that process meaningful” (Goldstein). These sites remove visitors from their current temporal placement, thrust them into the midst of historic pandemic, and strip them of their current status by placing them in this liminal position. In Waverly’s case, the building has thousands of documented cases of tuberculosis, but while there were mass deaths in the facility, ultimately the disease was

conquered by human will and scientific advancement. The building not only serves as a memorial to those who lost their lives but also serves as a testament of the innovation of science and man's drive to cure the incurable and triumph over nature. By visiting Waverly—just as those reading about fictional sites and depictions of pandemic—tourists gain the opportunity to see the physical remnants of the hospital while being regaled with stories of how while bleak at times—and with many deaths—man prevailed over the disease in the end. Through these sites, individuals who are experiencing feelings of isolation or fear regarding their current circumstances with pandemic or disease are able to turn away from current temporal spaces of liminality and toward historic pandemics, which have defined resolutions, as a means of gaining closure (whether positive or negative) that helps them process their own precarious states outside of these liminal places and in the real-world. For visitors, Waverly provides both a place and history wholly focused on death, disease, and pandemic that allows visitors the chance to come face to face with these diseases and witness, first hand, the hope that science and humanity can provide in these troublesome times.

As an attraction, Waverly provides a unique encounter for visitors that provides educational, memorial, and inspirational attributes through both the physical building and the history that surrounds it, making it a particularly liminal space. However, in viewing it in this light, it also stands as a prime example of Stone's dark exhibition and dark shrine categories. Waverly falls into these categories due to the legends the location provides, particularly those surrounding the patient experience in the case of Timmy—the beloved child ghost—and the horrific fate of a nurse who lost her life in the building.

The Children of Waverly: Dark Exhibition and Shrines of the Patient Experience

Stories involving children, especially children who lose their lives in unforeseen circumstances, tend to pull at our heartstrings and draw the most attention. While the patient experience of those who resided at Waverly was described previously as one of healing, it also had its fair share of pain and death and this was unfortunately not just resigned for adults with the dreaded disease. During the extensive renovations to the hospital in the 1920s, a children's ward was opened that held roughly 50 beds to treat the "young victims of the disease, but also children whose parents were too ill to care for them" (AJRock). According to C.C. Thomas's *With their Dying Breaths: A History of Waverly Hills*, some of these children were as young as 8-months old when they were admitted to Waverly (59). Although there seems to be no record of just how many children lost their lives to the disease at Waverly, it is known that there was a significant presence of children who called the facility home during its operation. From a special area on the roof where children spent time playing and receiving treatment through heliotherapy, just outside of the fifth floor children's ward, to special classes held outside and throughout the hospital to provide these children with a sense of routine, to staff that treated these children like their own during their time in the facility, every precaution was taken to make sure Waverly's children received top-of-the-line care while also maintaining some sense of normalcy to their lives. Unfortunately, while the best care was given to cure these children, some still lost their battle with the disease and are said to still call Waverly home to this day. Two primary legends involving these lost children continue to be one of the most widely known tales people discuss and seek out when they visit Waverly. The first is that of Timmy, a young boy who died at Waverly, and the

second being that of an unnamed little girl who has been seen throughout the hospital but particularly on the 3rd floor. While there is no real historical documentation of either of these children existing, their legends weigh heavily on the minds of many visitors to the sanatorium.

Megan Sinnott's "Baby Ghosts: Child Spirits and Contemporary Conceptions of Childhood in Thailand," sees children, and child ghosts in particular, as "empty screens" that adults can project their fears, fantasies, and cultural anxieties upon (249). As dark and morose as the implications associated with dealing with the death of a child can be, due to the malleability and applicability of legends involving child ghosts to the various needs of those who participate in or transmit them, stories of ghost children remain an integral part of legend study, particularly in the study of dark tourism. In returning to the legends of Waverly, Timmy is said to be "a six or seven-year-old boy who died at Waverly but has yet to move on" (Gordon). Of the two child legends associated with Waverly, Timmy's is the better, and more widely, known, primarily due to there being no real or documented legend associated with the little girl aside from her being seen periodically by guests throughout the hospital. In Timmy's case, many visitors who are aware of his existence before visiting the site, or who have visited the site previously, frequently bring in toys—particularly balls—and invite the resident child ghosts to play with them while the visitors are present. These toys are often left as gifts for Timmy and the other child ghosts to enjoy long after the visitors have left Waverly. This happens so frequently that it is common to see these balls and other toys strewn throughout the sanatorium during tours. While visitors report seeing the balls moving seemingly on their own volition, "critics say a draft or an uneven floor is to blame for the movement, not a

ghost child” (Gordon). Regardless of the rationale behind the movement of the toys, the belief that Timmy, or any other child’s spirit for that matter, may actually get to use these toys and bring them some kind of joy, keeps the tradition alive and growing with visitors to this site. Those who choose to bring in toys for Timmy and the other children of Waverly could be using these legends as a coping mechanism for difficult emotions, childhood traumas, or as an opportunity to face the loss of their own child head on. When discussing motivations for visiting haunted locations in “You Look Like You’ve Seen a Ghost: A Preliminary Exploration in Price and Customer Satisfaction Differences at Haunted Hotel Properties,” Mathe-Soulek et.al notes that,

after the occurrences of a negative life event, individuals could use hedonic motivation and paranormal adventures to create a distraction, to generate optimism, to stimulate self-restoration, and to initiate personal transformation, as leisure and adventure activities are related to adjusting and coping (2).

In interacting with these child ghosts and their legends, visitors are able to deal with difficult emotions and traumatic events like losing their own children through memorializing and remembering these children and their stories, or in allowing visitors an outlet for nurturing or parental desires through “providing” for these lost children. The act of giving and leaving toys for these children as well as the memorialization aspect further places Waverly into Stone’s dark exhibition and dark shrine categories as it allows for the remembrance of these children, their place at Waverly, and their lives overall. This is particularly possible in the liminal space Waverly provides. As an inherently “othered space,” this shrine to the children who lost their lives at Waverly offers visitors a way of getting one step closer to death by removing themselves from the world outside of the space and entering one wholly associated with the dead. While typical shrines and memorials do offer a sense of connection with the dead, placing them

within a liminal site between the living and the dead provides a different connection than the traditional shrine and allows for different visitor outcomes when faced with them.

These same ideas of the shrine and the exhibition of the history belonging to those who called Waverly home are not only resigned to the patients who lived up on the hill, but the staff doctors and nurses who called Waverly home as well.

The Legend of Room 502, Crisis Heterotopias, and Dark Shrines

One of the most prevailing legends of Waverly Hills Sanatorium is that of a nurse who reportedly committed suicide by hanging herself in the fifth-floor hall just outside of room 502. Though there is no historical record of this suicide, the nurse's tragic tale continues to be told and the legends surrounding this poor woman's fate have taken on a life of their own. So much so that her story has become one of the most widely transmitted and most requested legends associated with the property. Although her legend exists in many variations, a single foundational aspect exists within each version—that this young nurse is said to have taken her own life due to pregnancy.

In a familiar and dramatized medical story like something straight out of Shonda Rhimes's *Grey's Anatomy*, the version of the legend that is told to guests on the tours of Waverly, provides a scandalous relationship between doctors and nurses set against the backdrop of a medical facility. In the legend, the nurse is said to have fallen in love with one of the staff doctors with whom she worked. While this man was married, being away from home for days at a time and working with a staff that would keep his secrets, afforded him the opportunity, and the environment, to have an affair. The doctor and the nurse began their illicit rendezvous under the guise that he loved her and would leave his wife to be with her. They continued their love affair, and shortly after, she became

pregnant with his child. The nurse was elated about the possibility of starting a family with her love and when she told the doctor, he seemed to be as well. The secret affair continued, and the baby grew within her unbeknownst to the other nurses and patients. Late one night when she was working on the fifth floor, it is said that the doctor she loved, and a few of his co-workers, grabbed the nurse and forced her into a room where they planned to perform an abortion. They strapped her down and put her under anesthesia. As she was fading in and out of consciousness, she asked them why they were doing this to her: a question that was only met with laughter as she fell asleep. Unfortunately, while the abortion was successful, something went wrong, and the nurse died on the table. Not wanting to be blamed for her death, the doctors quickly strung her up by the neck in the hall outside of room 502, staging her suicide before fleeing. While no charges were ever filed and her death was believed to be a suicide, legend tells that shortly after this, a small fetus was found in the waste run off on the perimeter of the property a few days after the nurse's body was found. While this is the most gruesome version of the legend to date, another provides a more compassionate twist, even if her resulting death still stands at the conclusion.

In stark contrast to the version featuring an illicit affair with a doctor, in alternate versions of the legend, the nurse is either happily married when she becomes pregnant or, while still becoming pregnant out of wedlock, she decides to keep her baby. In both versions she is happy to be pregnant and is looking forward to the potential happiness that awaits her when her baby is born. However, her happiness is ephemeral as a few months into her pregnancy, while working in the hospital and in close contact with the infected patients, she becomes infected with tuberculosis herself. Knowing that her

chances of survival were slim, the toll the disease would take on her body, and not wanting that life for her or her child, she decides that it would be in their best interest to end their lives on her own accord. In room 502, the 5th floor's restroom, she is said to have taken a combination of medications to abort her baby in one version and is said to have used medical equipment to perform the abortion herself in another. Having committed the act, she walked out of the restroom and hung herself in the hall just outside of the room. The fetus's body was once again found a few days later in the waste run-off, just as it was in the first version of the legend.

No matter which version of the legend you choose to believe, room 502 has become synonymous with this nurse's tragic suicide. However, it is also important to note here that the legend becomes even more real through the traumatic features of the narrative that have been converted into documented physical manifestations within the space. While the legend and the associated room 502 is a traditional stop on any of the given tours at Waverly, allowing everyone an opportunity to interact with the legend and the shrine visitors have crafted for her, it is often women who are most impacted by the recounting of the legend and by being in the physical room. This impact is discussed on the guided tours when they reference the experiences had by women, particularly mothers—both with living children and those that have passed—who have visited 502 in the past. Ranging from intense waves of nausea, the feeling of deep sadness, to one woman—who had had a hysterectomy several weeks before her tour of the facility—doubling over in pain when she entered the room, feeling as if her surgery wound was being torn open from the inside, the impression the room has on its female visitors is intense to say the least. These physical reactions to a potentially untrue legend indicate

some sort of spatial and psychological experience that can only be had in this space and in a certain state of being. In this case the examples provided on the tour, the women experiencing these physical manifestations have experienced childbirth, meaning they are still experiencing menstruation (in most cases) or have recently undergone a surgery involving an instrumental component of the female reproductive system and is now on the mend. These women often in transitional, or crisis states, are able to identify with the nurse and her tragic circumstances through their conscious choices of interacting with the legend and the space, and sometimes subconsciously through the body's reaction to the location. It is in these reactions to the room and to its legend that Foucault's concept of crisis heterotopia and Stone's dark shrine category become realized.

Through reading the legend of 502 and the reactions to the room experienced by women who visit the site as a Foucauldian crisis heterotopia—or a “privileged or sacred or forbidden place[], reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly etc.” (4)—a deeper understanding of how visitors interact with the space, be that physically or subconsciously, is shown. While the motivation for visiting room 502 is dependent on the visitor themselves, it is evident that the room, and the legend itself, have drawn a certain number of people who empathize with the nurse's tragic story. Whether this is due to losing a child of their own, experiencing a violent relationship, or dealing with feeling or thoughts of suicide, visitors come to 502 to pay their respects to the nurse and her unborn child that lost their lives there. It is common for visitors to bring and leave gifts of flowers, trinkets, and toys at a make-shift shrine to the mother and child. This act places the motivation for enacting this

legend and visiting Waverly—in particular the site of the nurse’s suicide—firmly in Seaton’s dark tourist behavioral category of visiting sites of historical accounts individual death as well as travel to memorial. It is in this act of the memorialization of the loss of the nurse’s life and her tragic tale, whether it be real or fictional, that places this legend and room 502 squarely in the darker range of Stone’s dark shrine categorization. Through this memorial and the enactment of the legend, visitors are able to see themselves reflected in the nurse’s story and while remembering the nurse, her child, and their story, visitors are able to work through their own issues and emotions after being faced with the worst outcome to their current situation and, once they leave this liminal space, will hopefully be able to find some sort of closure.

Although the ability to process and deal with real world emotions and traumas through legend and visitation sites marred with death are vital to fully understanding the motivation behind why people choose to spend their leisure time in these dark locations, sometimes the “fun-factor,” entertainment, and sense of enjoyment or fear gained from the paranormal or in encountering the taboo is equally important. Waverly’s legends involving shadow people and the dark entity the “Creeper” are prime examples of the notion of dark tourism that provides both fun and education through the interaction with the dead. Through these final legends, modern day fears are brought to life through the experiences of the past and these shadow entities that stalk the halls of the old sanatorium.

The Shadow People and the “Creeper”

Out of all the legends, ghosts, and scares that Waverly has to offer, the shadow people, along with the dominating force known as the “Creeper” or “Big Black”, remain

one of the most recounted and sought after legends associated with the property. When asked what they believe these entities are, Jay Gravette and Beth Pinotti, founders and members of SERIOUS Paranormal, a Louisville based paranormal investigation group, both agree with the commonly accepted idea within the paranormal community that these entities are manifestations of the “remnant energy” left behind in a location due to traumatic events. With the daily activity and sheer amount of both physical and mental trauma the patients faced during their time at Waverly and the abundance of death the building has seen over the years, this description could explain why these entities are so commonly seen on the property. Aside from acting as an investigator for SERIOUS Paranormal, Jay also serves as a local historian for Kentucky Historic Institutions and has extensive knowledge of the legends and other stories associated with Waverly, writing on them frequently. When questioned about his experiences at Waverly Jay notes that,

I've spent years doing this. I've seen shadow people. I know what they look like I've stood at Waverly Hills. looking straight down the hallway. I have seen humanoid forms going from room to room to room, up and down the hallway. I know what I'm saying. I know I saw a shadow person (Gravatte).

Jay's experience with the shadow people at Waverly is not out of the ordinary. Due to their commonality in the building these shadow entities feature as a stop on the guided tours of the building. Each tour goes the same, after making sure everyone's eyes are adjusted to the dark and all light sources (outside of the ambient) are extinguished, the guides tell guests to stay quiet and still, asking them to look down a long hall. Now, whether or not this is psychosomatic is something to be discussed in a different project, but it's not long before people start seeing these entities pop in and out of view. Because of the frequency these beings were seen, this was one of the most popular stops on the tour I took, because instead of the fear and anxiety of what was around the corner that we

had experienced during the rest of the walkthrough, this stop felt different, largely because of the way the shadow beings were presented to us. The guides talked about these entities as you might a child—curious, yet cautious, and flitting back and forth in and out of view. These entities were presented to us as fun and interested in what we were doing in their space, rather than being scary. It was almost like a game of “Where’s Waldo” or “Hide-N-Seek” as we were able to take a breath and just be in the space with these shadows for a moment.

However, while these entities are presented in a “light” and friendly way, there is one shadow creature we were cautioned against that exists alongside these curious shadow beings within the building. This creature is said to be violent and dark, rather than playful and curious. The “Creeper” is an entity of indeterminate shape, appearing humanoid at times, sometimes with exaggerated limbs, and sometimes a just a big black mass. But no matter the form it takes, it is always described as a shadow blacker than black, being so dense that light cannot pierce it, and has been spotted crawling on all fours along the floors, ceiling, and walls of the building. While Jay has had many run ins with the playful shadow people at Waverly, he recounts one of his encounters with the Creeper with a grimace. He states that,

I had a tour one day, bunch of rambunctious people. They were pissing me off. So, I just ran through the tour real fast. This is this. This is that, all right, let's go. There were a few people on the tour that I felt really bad for because they were there in this group and they were very interested in the history [of the building]. So, I was like, if you want to stay back, I'm going to give you a little extra. So, when I got that one group out of the building, I took this group back and we went up on the fourth floor. And as we're standing there talking, we start hearing doors slamming up and down the hallway. Now the thing about Waverly Hills is that on that part of the fourth floor, there's no doors. So, I always had two producers on all my tours. And I said, Kelly, come with me, Lynn get these people together and just, you know, put them in a room. Just keep them there just in case we have trespassers. So, we're walking up the hallway on the part of the fourth floor...and

at the end of the hallway, you can see the door to the fire escape. It's big metal door. There's just a little small square right there. And you can see the light from through the door through the old rooms. And as we're walking all of a sudden, it just went completely black in front of me. I could not see anything. It felt like I had a solid wall of blackness and then something shoved me with a force that knocked me into Kelly so hard. I left bruises on her chest. After she said that as we walked down the hallway, she saw it go completely black between she and I and she was about as far away from me as Beth right now. So, something came between us, then hit me, and that's all I can say (Gravatte).

While Jay's experience is one of the more violent reports given of the Creeper, upon seeing this entity, many witnesses also report feeling sick to their stomach or an overwhelming heavy feeling that takes over their bodies. Similar to the physical reactions experienced by the women who venture into room 502, the space that this creature occupies and the feelings it exerts over those who encounter it are physical manifestations in response to the unique spatial existence of Waverly. In reference to how the creature looks, Jay describes the entity in the best way he could, Jay states, "it's big and nasty" and "I hate to use a comic book reference but think like Venom" (Gravatte). While the legends surrounding this entity and the repercussions that come with encountering seem daunting, it has become one of the most well-known, and most requested, legends about the building. But why is this? What would make people want to come face to face with the shadows or even "Big Black" itself? The answer to these questions is intertwined with the motivation behind visiting these dark sites, to learn more about ourselves and to face our anxieties head on. The legends surrounding the shadow people fill a need for visitors that can only be accomplished in the liminal space of Waverly and the liminal nature of the shadow itself.

In order to interpret these two shadow legends effectively, a brief foray into the contemporary folkloric and psychological interpretations of shadow legends as well as a

discussion of the shadow as liminal must be established. To begin, Elizabeth Tucker provides one of the best overviews of the psychological aspects of shadow encounters in her works, *Haunted Halls: Ghostlore of American College Campuses* and her 2005 article, "Ghosts in Mirrors: Reflections of the Self." In *Haunted Halls* and "Ghosts in Mirrors," Tucker relies on theories presented by many scholars such as Linda Degh, Simon Bronner, and Alan Dundes to provide a folkloric interpretation of these legends and the power they have on the belief systems of those who encounter or interact with these shadow beings. Relying on Jungian theory to provide a psychological analysis of legend use among college-aged students, she marries identity and legend use with testimonies from students and alumni in order to craft her argument about how college-aged students' interactions with various entities, including shadow people, are part of a journey to discover and come to terms with their own identities. Tucker applies Jung's concepts of the *anima* and *animus*, the female and male parts of the human psyche (respectively) to the analysis of these legends and the interpretation of the practitioner's motivations for participating in these tales. As Jung, and by extension Tucker, argues, these concepts are present in each of us and these legends force these students to come face to face with their shadow-selves, or the "darker parts" of their identities, during the liminal period of living at home to living on a college campus. Visitors to Waverly, and other dark tourist attractions, experience this same type of liminal state as a temporary visitor to a location, one in which a suspension of disbelief occurs, and the interaction with legends surrounding the supernatural and death can occur while the visitor becomes removed from reality and placed in an "othered" state while in the location in question.

Just as Tucker did in her work, I seek to employ the notion of identity to provide a

liminal reading of these legends as a motivational factor for visiting this dark tourist attraction and seeking interaction with these shadow entities. As discussed in the introduction to this project, the term liminal is used to refer to a boundary or threshold of some sort, or a transitional period between two states, situations, or statuses (Liminal, adj.). Traditionally, we see it used, as posited by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner, to refer to the rites of passage within a community, where people are positioned “betwixt and between” during transitional periods in life. However, in recent years, the concept has been expanded to include larger cultural shifts within a given society or civilization. This concept is explored by Bjorn Thornassen in “The Uses and Meaning of Liminality” when he discusses the power of liminality on a society during “axial moments” in their history. He notes these liminal periods demonstrate “an in-between period between two structured worldviews and between two rounds of empire building” and builds on Turner’s ideas of “social drama.” Thornassen goes on to discuss Turner’s idea that liminality was not only important to identifying transitional periods and places but also to the ability to “understand . . . human reactions to liminal experiences” and how identity is shaped by them.

The popularity of these shadow beings and the Creeper itself has shown an increase in popularity on tours and in the zeitgeist of the Waverly community as the shadow has begun to move from benign figure that follows us anywhere there is light, to an ominous force that should be feared in our popular culture. Although the shadow has been present in horror films and stories for generations, in recent years they have taken a terrible, and at times monstrous, turn in modern popular culture. From Peter Pan’s shadow acting as a spy/grunt for Pan’s nefarious deeds in ABC’s *Once Upon a Time*

(2011), to the angsty half-demon/half-human love interest of Charmed One Maggie who is fighting against his inner demon in the CW's *Charmed* (2018), all the way to the monstrous Mindflayer of Netflix's *Stranger Things* (2016), the shadow—be it humanesque or otherwise—has become a monster reminiscent of our times. The shadow can be seen as a physical representation of our inner dark side, traumas, or identities we may not feel comfortable with physically realized and, to our dismay, brought to life. In returning to the ideas of Thornassen referencing the liminality that exists between structured worldviews, in this sense outdated and static views on identity, at axial moments in society, I argue that our current point in human history will be, in future studies, one of these liminal and axial moments. At a time when the way people view the world around them is starting to transition into new ways of thinking and being, the modern representation of the shadow lies at the border between the old world and the new. No longer just a flat shape on the ground, the reflection of our self is now given shape and autonomy. Not quite human, but not quite not human either—a liminal monster for a liminal moment in human history. Jeffery Jerome Cohen's, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* notes that American society exists in “commodified ‘ambient fear’—a kind of total fear that saturates day to day living.” This fear, he argues, results in our fascination with monsters of all kinds, ranging from vampires, werewolves, and zombies, all the way to *Jurassic Park*. Monsters represent our fears personified, and if that's the case, the shadow—representing our fears of the dark parts of ourselves coming to the surface and trying to stop progress and change—becomes a terrifyingly poignant monster we are up against.

Waverly, as the liminal space it has been established as, allows for a small-scale

enactment of the “axial moment” present in the modern world. An “othered” place where these fears of the darker sides of humanity can be explored without the repercussions of doing so in the real world. And through interacting with these legends of unnamed and unformed shadows, visitors to Waverly are able to express these anxieties in a “safe” way. These legends only further ground Waverly as a dark tourism attraction based on Stone’s categorizations of the dark fun factory and the dark exhibition. Although the dark fun-factory classification offers an experience that is more “commercial and more entertainment based,” the dark exhibition does so with a focus “revolve around death, suffering, or the macabre with an often commemorative, educational, and reflective message” (Stone, 153). Due to this classification on the darker side of the tourism scale, these legends of the shadows allow visitors to come face to face with death and the darker sides of their identities by taking part in an entertaining and emotion driven experience involving the dead who call Waverly home.

Implications and Conclusion

Waverly is undoubtedly one of the most haunted and most traveled to of the dark destinations in Kentucky, and possibly the entire nation. With its constant coverage and exploration in the supernatural community and its ever-present place on paranormal television, the buzz surrounding the facility has yet to fade since it opened for public tours in the early 2000s and largely in-part due to the immense presence and perpetuation of Waverly’s legendry. Within the Louisville community, word-of-mouth transmission of the legends about the facility are fairly common place, being referenced by Christie Mattingly—daughter of owner’s Tina and Charles Mattingly—in SyFy’s episode of *Scariest Places on Earth* that visited the site in the early 2000s. Christie states that,

“everybody knows what it is in Louisville, it’s like a known thing. You bring up the name and they’re like, ‘oh yeah!’ they have either been up there or heard about it” (“*Contagion of Fear*”).) Aside from the media attention that has been already referenced at the beginning of the chapter, Waverly Hills also has a relatively large presence online, with it being the topic of blogs, travel journals, and discussion communities on websites like *Reddit* and being shared frequently in folklore and paranormal groups on social media like *Haunted Kentucky* and *Stories, Legends, and Myths of Kentucky* on *Facebook*.

While Waverly remains rich in history and stands as a testament to the plight of residents of Louisville who historically faced tuberculosis, without the legends and stories about the former residents that are said to still reside in the building, it would largely be just that, an interesting historical site. While it could, and likely would, still be able to be classified as a dark tourist attraction due to the large number of deaths that occurred in the facility and the educational value associated with those deaths, without the legends associated with Waverly, it would lose many layers of potential meaning for visitors. Through incorporating Stone’s categories of dark exhibitions, dark fun factories, dark shrines, and their associated motivations that tourists exhibit, Waverly gains a multi-layered interpretation and the ability for visitor meaning-making on a person-by-person basis instead of a curated experience that would be had without its legendry. However, through the continuous transmission and interactions with the legends associated with the building, the discussion of Waverly itself, and the sheer number of visitors the site sees every year, the legendary Waverly Hills Sanatorium clearly holds a special place in the imaginations of many people from around the world. A notion that will not only ensure its continued success and availability as a dark tourist attraction but also its place as a

testament to the trials and tribulations of the human experience and its importance as part of Louisville's macabre history.

In conclusion, as the analysis of both the Pope Lick Trestle and Waverly Hills Sanatorium have shown, it is imperative to consider both the influence of how visitors interact with these dark tourist spaces—be that either physically or through the legends associated with the site—and this interaction's influence on visitor motivations and outcomes for visiting sites filled with death and darkness. As stated in the introduction to this project, while the concepts of legend and dark tourism are often studied separately, this analysis has argued that there is value in studying these two concepts alongside each other rather than as separate ideologies. By viewing these concepts as one informing the other, a richer interpretation of the motivations visitors hold, and the outcomes they hope to reach when visiting these sites marred with death becomes available to analyze. These motivations—as shown in the case-studies presented here—in turn, seek to fill a specific gap and area of question in the study of dark tourism as noted by Zhang et.al.

In order to show this further, I would like to return now to two quotes mentioned previously from folklorist Linda Dègh's *Legend and Belief: Dialectics of a Folklore Genre* because through these quotes, she alludes to two of the most critical takeaways of this project. The first being that “legend has power, the nature of which is unknown and dangerous” (5). Legend, in its liminal existence, has the power to create personal meaning for those who interact with or perform it. Couple this meaning-making power of legend, with sites that are liminal—in terms of physical or temporal space—and the potential for transformation, both personal and societal, is exponentially increased due to its applicability to a multitude of motivations for visiting these dark sites. This is only

furthered in the second quote by Dègh, noting that “the legend, even if it is not founded on reality, can create reality” (5). As this analysis has shown, through interaction with legend, visitors to dark tourist attractions who take part in or enact the legends associated with a site, be they fictional or factual, are able to use the power instilled in legend to come to terms and deal with personal needs, effectively creating a reality for themselves in which legend becomes the agent of transformation. Placing these legends, and in turn the visitors, in liminal locations that are either *associated* with or are *of* death and disaster create a transgressional experience unique to these spaces that allow visitors to come face to face with their fears and anxieties surrounding dark subjects like the ones presented here. In short, legend does have power, the likes of which are unknown and dangerous as Dègh would say. However, in that uncertainty, legend power to transform and enlighten brings about a whole new layer of analysis and understanding to the act of dark tourism and our fascination with the dark and macabre parts of the human experience.

REFERENCES

AJRock. "Waverly Hills." *Atlas Obscura Online*.

<https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/waverly-hills-sanitorium>

Burkart, Gregory. "The Bizarre Legend of Louisville KY's 'Pope Lick Monster'."

Fearnet, Feb. 21, 2014,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140609044915/http://www.fearnet.com/news/news-article/bizarre-legend-louisville-kys-pope-lick-monster>.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

"Contagion of Fear." *Scariest Place on Earth*, Fox Family, 2001

Dundes, Alan. "On the Psychology of Legend." *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*. University of California Press, 1971.

Ellis, Bill. "The Camp Mock-Ordeal, Theater as Life." *Journal of American Folklore*. vol. 94, no. 374, pp. 486-505, 1981.

Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces," *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuit *. October, 1984.

Georges, "The General Concept of Legend: Some Assumptions to be Reexamined and Reassessed." *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*. University of California Press, 1971.

Goldstein, Richard. "Visitation Rites: The Elusive Tradition of Plague Lit." *The Village Voice Online*, 14 March 2020.

- Gravatte, Jay. Personal Interview. 6 June 2019.
- Jaskulska, Sylwia. "The Liminality of Adolescence: Becoming An Adult From The Point Of View Of The Theory Of The Rite of Passage." 2nd International Conference on Education and Social Sciences, 2-4 February 2015.
- Kleber, John E. "Pope Lick Monster." *The Encyclopedia of Louisville*. University of Kentucky Press, 2000.
- Krause, Rachel. "History and Hauntings at Former Tuberculosis Hospital Draws in Thousands Each Year." *Wave3 News*, 12 May 2019.
- Lennon, John, & Malcolm Foley. *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. Cengage Learning EMEA, 2000.
- "Liminality, n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, December 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/248158.
- Mathe-Soulek, Kimberly, Aguirre, Grant, and Ioana Dallinger. "You Look Like You've Seen a Ghost: A Preliminary Exploration in Price and Customer Satisfaction Differences at Haunted Hotel Properties" *Journal of Tourism Insights*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp 1-11, 2016.
- Mechling, Jay. "The Magic of the Boy Scout Campfire." *Journal of American Folklore*. vol. 93, no. 367, pp 35-56, 1980.
- Miles, William F.S. "Auschwitz: Museum Interpretation and Darker Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp 1175-1178, 2002.
- Murphy, Senator Christopher. "There is a very real, palpable fear out there today." *US Senate CSPAN*, June 15th, 2016 4:00-6:01 EST, https://archive.org/details/CSPAN2_20160615_200000_US_Senate/start/5040/en

d/5100.

Sampson, Hannah. "Dark Tourism, Explained: Why Visitors Flock to Sites of Tragedy."

The Washington Post, Nov. 13, 2019,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/travel/dark-tourism-explainer/>.

Seaton, A.V. "Guided By the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 234-244, 1996.

Sharpley, Richard, & Philip R. Stone. *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory & Practice of Dark Tourism*. Channel View Publications, 2009.

Sinnott, Megan. "Baby Ghosts: Child Spirits and Contemporary Conceptions of Childhood in Thailand." *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp 293-317, 2014.

Stone, Philip. "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions, and Exhibitions." *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 145-160, 2006.

"The Pope Lick Monster." *The Parklands of Floyds Fork Blog*. Sept. 29, 2011.

<https://www.theparklands.org/Blog/15/THE-POPE-LICK-MONSTER>

Thornassen, Bjorn. "The Uses and Meanings of Liminality." *International Political Anthropology*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 5-28, 2009.

Turner, Victor. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*." *In the Forest of Symbols*, pp 93-112, Cornell University Press, 1967.

Turner, Victor. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Cornell University Press, 1975.

Turner, Victor. *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1988.

Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine Pub., 1969.

Zhang, Honglei et. al., "Too Dark to Revisit? The Role of Past Experiences and Intrapersonal Constraints." *Tourism Management*, vol. 54, pp. 452-464, 2016.

CURRICULUM VITA

M. Quaid Adams

Graduate Teaching Assistant / University of Louisville / Department of English

507 Warnock Street / Louisville KY 40217

quaid.adams@louisville.edu / 859-553-2590

Area(s) of Interest

Rhetoric (Memory, Space, and Place), Composition Pedagogy, Folklore, Narrative Studies

Education

M.A. in English - University of Louisville, August 2018 – Present

Thesis: “Louisville’s Dark Tourist: Liminality, Legend, and the Macabre”

Committee: Drs. Timothy Johnson, Stephen Schneider, and Karl Swinehart

B.A. in Secondary English Education / Folklore & Mythology -

University of Kentucky, June 2015

Thesis: “Camp Folklore: Performance and the Development of Youth Identity.”

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Jeanmarie Rouhier-Willoughby

Academic Employment

Graduate Teaching Assistant, University of Louisville, August 2018 – Present

Writing Center Consultant, University of Louisville, August 2018 – August 2019

Courses Taught

ENGL 101-04: Introduction to College Writing

ENGL 101-86: Introduction to College Writing

ENGL 102-02: Intermediate College Writing (Introduction to Folklore)

ENGL 102-06: Intermediate College Writing (Introduction to Folklore)

Publications

“Transgressing the Boundaries of Mind and Form: A Review of Matthew Vollmer’s *Permanent Exhibit*.” *Miracle Monocle*, Issue 12 (2019).

Internships

Miracle Monocle: Online Literary Journal, Editor & Podcast Host, January 2019 – Present

Conference Presentations

“Doctor Who: Speciesism and the Doctor’s Morality as Framework for Human Behavior.” Graduate Student Regional Research Conference. February 2019.

“The New Gothic: American Media and Popular Culture.”

Graduate Student Regional Research Conference. February 2019. (Co-Presentation w/ Adam Yeich, M.A.)

“Shadow Snatchers, Lobotomies, and Cave Dwelling Witches: Cave Lore and Sanitariums in Louisville Kentucky.”

International Society of Contemporary Legend Research Conference. June 2019.

Chaired and/or Organized Panels and Conferences

“Perspectives on Contemporary Legend Conference.” International Society of Contemporary Legend Research. Summer 2013. (Assistant to Dr. Jeanmarie Rouhier-Willoughby and UK’s Department of Modern and Classical Languages)

“Perspectives on Contemporary Legend Conference.” International Society of Contemporary Legend Research. June 2019. (Panel Chair)

Honors and Awards

Graduate Teaching Assistantship, University of Louisville, Fall 2018 – Present

Editorial Publications

Queer, Rural, American: A Miracle Monocle Micro-Anthology. Graduate Editor. Fall 2019

Miracle Monocle: Issue XII. Graduate Editor. Spring 2019

Miracle Monocle Podcast. Co-Creator and Co-Host. Spring 2019

Service

Alpha Phi Omega – National Co-Ed Service Fraternity

Delta Theta – Chapter Advisor – University of Louisville

Affiliations

International Society of Contemporary Legend Research

American Folklore Society