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The Evolution of Haunted Space in Scotland

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Abstract

This article explores the popularisation of the concept of haunted space in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland. While earlier ghost stories were usually about the haunting of people, the rise of Gothic and Romantic literary aesthetics fuelled a new interest in both the Scottish landscape, and the dramatic potential of lurking spectres. Amid the upheaval of industrialisation and the Highland Clearances, and in a period when Scots were still wrestling with the implications of the 1707 Union, authors recorded stories of wandering ghosts as part of a broader movement to fashion a distinctive identity rooted in a specific cultural context. Against the frequently broad scope of academic literature on spectrality, this article draws attention to the crucial significance of contextual nuances and specific historical and social circumstances. In particular, it points to the fraught politics of loss and repossession in relation to the Highlands' history of depopulation and modernisation, casting a fresh light on the historical events that have given shape to Scottish haunted space.

Keywords: Haunted Landscape, Highland Clearances, Highlands, Ossian, Romanticism

Were we seriously asked what part of Christendom, whether in remoter ages or comparatively modern times, was most troubled with supernatural horrors, we should, without doubt or hesitation, answer, "Scotland." [...] [F]or a long series of generations, there was not a castle, tower, hall, or cottage, – nay, not even a herd's shealing, barn, stable, or other out-house – whether ruinous or in repair – throughout the whole kingdom, untenanted by one or more of these disembodied gentry a single night. [...] [Departed spirits] frequented the land in such multitudes, that thousands upon thousands of them could not find house-room, but were fain to live unsheltered in the open air; and after the evening twilight they were to be met with any where and every where.¹

The sketch above was produced for a London periodical in 1842. It promoted a concept of Scotland that would have been familiar to English readers: a nation replete with gothic terrors, in which both domestic and outdoor spaces were subject to spectral intrusion. The anonymous authors (or author, allowing for the use of the royal we) depict a cartoonish vista. Ghosts could be seen ‘gibbering’ in churchyards, ‘airing themselves’ at crossroads, or ‘lounging about such suspicious places as the renowned Tam O’ Shanter had to pass’.² With the reference to Robert Burns’s famous hero, the authors situate themselves in a tradition by which supernatural horror is exploited to comedic effect. But as in Burns’s poem, the vision of Scotland as an uncanny place is powerful despite the levity.

However, we ought not to accept uncritically the romantic idea that the Scotland of ‘remoter ages’ was ghost-ridden. This article argues that visions of the haunted Scottish landscape attained this cultural prominence only in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Pre-modern ghosts sometimes haunted specific locales, but more often haunted people; numinous forces in the landscape were as likely to be identified as fairies, nature spirits, angels or demons. From the mid-eighteenth century, stories of haunted spaces circulated more widely. Ghosts – especially Highland ghosts – became representatives of a specifically Scottish past, stalking a specifically Scottish landscape. Accounts of hauntings had traditionally advanced particular agendas, but amid the upheaval of industrialisation and clearances, ghost stories more than ever upheld complex political undertones.

My understanding of the term ‘haunted space’ – that is, as space frequented by ghosts, or the returning spirits of the dead – may strike some readers as naively literal. Scholars have identified the essence of ghostliness in a dizzying range of places, texts and ideas.³ Jacques Derrida’s foundational *Spectres of Marx* deals in memory and metaphor, nothing so glaringly unsubtle as the risen dead. Derrida posited a specific warning against tying ghosts to ‘the landscape of Scottish manors’; haunting was about the spectral echoes of the human past, and ought to be introduced ‘into the very construction of a concept’.⁴ Julian Wolfreys similarly states that ‘haunting is irreducible to the apparition’. To tell a story is to evoke ghosts, and spectrality is ‘at the heart of any narrative of the modern’.⁵ The Derridean tradition emphasises the haunting of time over space; Derrida’s ghosts are all the more nebulous because they have no fixed moorings. But much of the literature on haunted space understands ghostliness in similarly broad terms. Scholars have framed spectrality as constitutive of human habitats, especially urban ones. Michel de Certeau famously asserted that ‘[t]here is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits’, and that ‘[h]aunted places are the

only ones people can live in'.⁶ Historical and cultural geographers have done the most to develop this idea; representative is John Wylie's suggestion that '[p]erhaps haunting is a pre-requisite to place. That is, a place takes place through a spectral event of displacing.'⁷

However, the sweeping purview of academia's 'spectral turn' threatens to occlude the historical and political signification of culturally specific hauntings. In an influential article, Roger Luckhurst has critiqued Derridean hauntology on the basis that 'the generalized structure of haunting is symptomatically blind to its generative loci'. He adds that 'the ghosts of London are different from those of Paris, or those of California'.⁸ This article takes the position that the ghosts of Scotland are different from the ghosts of other areas; that the ghosts of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are different from the ghosts of earlier times; and that ghosts are different from other categories of spirits, or from shadows and echoes. I seek to show how late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literary and antiquarian accounts transformed conceptions of ghosts, and popularised a vision of haunted landscapes that romanticised Scottish (especially Highland) culture even as the forces of modernisation dismantled communities. Because they forced past and present into dialogue, and encrypted local areas with traditional lore, ghost stories constituted a language through which communities might debate and resist change. But the spectres who came to haunt the Highlands were largely impotent. Quaint representatives of an ancient and anachronistic Highland culture, they became part of a broader narrative justifying the (often brutal) remodelling of the region.

Relatively few pre-modern Scottish ghost stories have survived. Ghosts occupied uncertain theological territory. Even prior to the Reformation, some Scots argued that ghosts were superstitions or diabolic tricks. This was proclaimed all the more forcefully by Protestants.⁹ In his 1597 *Daemonologie*, James VI argued that 'Ghostes and spirites' might have been plentiful in times of 'blinde *Papistrie*', but had practically disappeared from contemporary conversation.¹⁰ Accused witches described meetings with dead people, but their interrogators were swift to dismiss these 'ghosts' as manifestations of the Devil.¹¹ Educated Scots recorded more ghost stories in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, imitating an English trend of collecting accounts of spirits to refute materialist visions of the universe. This endeavour, however, was short-lived in Scotland.¹²

In his *Christianity in the West*, John Bossy writes: 'Unlike the modern ghost, the traditional ghost was personal not real; he haunted people not places and demanded the fulfilment of

obligations towards him from those whose duty it was to fulfil them'.¹³ Bossy overstates the case, but it is true that most pre-modern Scottish stories told of ghosts who appeared to specific individuals – usually friends or relatives – on particular business. The haunting was temporally constrained: the ghost departed for good when its business was resolved. Ghosts confirmed the reality of the afterlife, revealed murders and ensured that lands and monies were properly distributed.¹⁴ The stories had clear moral agendas. Some also had political import. A fifteenth-century account described a monk who visited from Purgatory to attest that William Wallace had passed speedily to Heaven, despite (or because of?) all the Englishmen he had killed.¹⁵ But the main functions of ghost stories were to support Christian doctrines and promote social responsibility. Since they served as religious ambassadors, ghosts could not linger indefinitely; their proper place was in the world beyond.

In his survey of early modern English ghost beliefs, Peter Marshall argues that Bossy's picture is 'half-true', but late medieval and early modern ghosts displayed a decided preference for churchyards.¹⁶ Scottish ghosts rarely *confined* themselves to churchyards, but there was an idea that ghosts would rise from their graves. The English chronicler William of Newburgh (1136-98) recorded a couple of stories of Scottish revenants who emerged from cemeteries at night to terrorise their local communities.¹⁷ Haunted houses were also a recognised tradition. In the early modern period, spirits haunting houses were generally interpreted as demons, but there were exceptions.¹⁸ The Presbyterian minister Robert Wodrow (1679-1734) recorded various ghost stories, including one about a Dundee house haunted by two boys who had been sold as slaves – an example of the idea, now widely referenced by scholars, that ghosts manifest as expressions of past trauma.¹⁹ There are also scattered mentions of popular belief in haunted spaces. James Kirkton (d. 1699), another prominent Presbyterian minister, wrote of a woman called Christian Hamilton who was executed for the 1679 murder of her uncle and lover, James Baillie of Corstorphine, second Lord Forrester. Kirkton observed dryly that '[i]t need scarcely be added, that till lately the inhabitants of the village were greatly annoyed, of a moonlight night, with the apparition of a woman, clothed all in white, with a bloody sword in her hand, wandering and wailing.'²⁰ In 1691, the Episcopalian minister Robert Kirk recorded the popular tradition of fairy hills, which the 'mountain-people' thought were dwelling-places for the souls of the dead.²¹ But in spite of these cases, there was no established notion that castles, manors, ruins, forests and glens were liable to be haunted.

From the mid-eighteenth century, a confluence of factors roused new interest in wandering ghosts. By this period, vanishingly few educated individuals openly professed a belief in ghosts, and

attempts to harness ghosts as religious propagandists had largely fallen by the wayside. Shorn of their theological import, ghosts were ripe for reinterpretation by writers and storytellers. In the context of rising literacy rates and the development of book and periodical markets, supernatural themes increasingly migrated into fiction.²² The birth of Scottish Gothic is often located in the early nineteenth century, but elements of the gothic aesthetic could be found in poetry from the mid-eighteenth century.²³ 'The Grave' (1743), a popular blank verse poem by Robert Blair, featured a host of ghosts patrolling a cemetery:

In grim Array the grizly Spectres rise,
Grin horrible, and obstinately sullen
Pass and repass, hush'd as the Foot of Night.²⁴

As Eric Parisot notes, eighteenth-century poetry increasingly shaped how people thought about death, usurping the traditional authority of religious texts.²⁵ Blair was a minister, and 'The Grave' was a broadly religious work, but his aimless ghosts offered a wholly unchristian vision of the fate of departed souls. In subsequent decades, other authors similarly weaved ghosts into the fabric of caliginous landscapes. James Beattie's 'Ode to Peace' (1758) described tenebrous ruins where ghosts 'glare horrid from the sylvan gloom'.²⁶ In his 1748 *Adventures of Roderick Random*, Tobias Smollett had a character ruminant, in evocative terms, on the haunted nature of desolate buildings:

I'll seek some lonely church, or dreary hall
Where fancy paints the glimmering taper blue,
Where damp hang mouldering on the ivy'd wall,
And sheeted ghosts drink up the midnight dew;²⁷

Constitutive of the atmosphere, these ghosts reconceptualised everyday spaces, infusing them with melancholy.

Particularly important in reframing ghosts was James Macpherson's cycle of Ossian poetry, which was published in the 1760s to widespread acclaim. Drawing on Irish mythology and Scottish Gaelic ballads, Macpherson's poetry, published as the allegedly rediscovered work of the ancient bard Ossian, offered a seductive vision of a lost Gaelic civilisation. The poetry turned ghosts into symbols

of dispossession, an idea that would come to underpin nineteenth-century evocations of haunted landscapes.²⁸ The world Macpherson presented – a society on the brink of dissolution, a narrator recalling bygone glories – was haunted metaphorically and literally. The spectral remnants of past heroes flitted through the landscape, occasionally manifesting to offer counsel or foretell calamity. Macpherson was not concerned with graveyards and shadows; the aesthetic of his work is romantic more than gothic. But like the poetry discussed above, his depiction of ghosts exuded a sense of loss. In one case, the warrior Cuchullin is visited by a departed ally with a ‘feeble’ voice. Surmising that the ghost wishes to dissuade him from going into battle, Cuchullin is scornful: ‘How art though changed, chief of Lara! [...] Thou art not Calmar’s ghost [...] his arm was like the thunder of heaven.’²⁹ Macpherson’s poetry was a response to the harsh governmental repression of the Highlands following the 1745 Jacobite uprising; in his loss of martial vigour, Calmar’s ghost mirrored disarmed clan chiefs.³⁰ The Ossian poetry was instrumental in developing a vision of Highland glens populated by wistful, enfeebled phantoms, while its sublime scenery came to stand for the pictorial representation of Scotland as a whole.

In the nineteenth century, Scottish Gothic became more established as a genre.³¹ Other factors further spurred the popularisation of stories of haunted landscapes.. The Scottish scenery, critiqued as gloomy and ‘horrid’ by earlier visitors, increasingly drew praise: travellers found sublimity in Highland vistas, and the newly popular field of landscape painting brought majestic mountain scenes to a wider audience.³² Folklore also took off as a discipline. The Statistical Accounts (1791-99 and 1834-35) interspersed geographical and topographical analysis with snippets about local beliefs, and there was a proliferation of works about traditional customs and legends.³³ Robert Chambers popularised various Edinburgh ghost stories, including modern-day ghost tour staples about Major Thomas Weir and George ‘Bluidy’ Mackenzie.³⁴

But the most marked surge of interest was in Highland ghosts. The geologist John MacCulloch (1773-1835) argued that ghosts were particularly well suited to the ‘wild rocks’, ‘dark lakes’ and ‘gloomy caverns’ of the Highlands. He added that Highland ghosts were ‘voracious’, ‘thievish’, and violent; they would ‘pull a man’s hair and box his ears’.³⁵ Walter Scott (1771-1832) wrote of a ghost called Lham Dearg who haunted the woods of Glenmore and Rothiemurchus, and battled passers-by. He wore ‘the array of an ancient warrior’, and one of his hands was covered in blood. Scott asserted that ‘the northern champions of old were accustomed peculiarly to search for, and delight in, encounters with [...] military spectres’.³⁶ Writing in the early 1820s, William Grant Stewart combined

depiction of fearsome past spectres with a reflection on present-day loss. He declared that the 'ancient race of Highland ghosts were a set of stout, lusty, sociable ghosts'. They were corporeal and material, and could be killed by weapons. They were also 'ill-natured and cruel, and cared not a spittle for woman or child'. In modern times, ghosts had become 'puny, green, worm-eaten effigies that [...] stalk about our premises, and, like the cameleon, feed upon the air'. Their 'degeneracy' from their ancient 'majesty of person, and chivalry of habits', Stewart added, mirrored that of men.³⁷

In emphasising ghosts' martial abilities, these authors recalled stereotypes of 'invincible' Highland warriors.³⁸ Anne Macvicar Grant (1755-1838) took a different line, highlighting the ties of kinship uniting ghosts to their descendants. She wrote that 'the dreams, the tales, and the songs' of the Highlanders 'abounded' with ghosts. These ghosts were 'in a high degree moral, rational, and prudent', and generally returned to loved ones, being 'conjured up by affection'. This echoed Grant's depiction of Highland culture generally: she underlined bonds of friendship and familial obligation, avowing that '[n]o highlander ever once thought of himself as an individual'.³⁹ Grant offered an alternative vision of the character of Highland ghosts, and depicted them as haunting people first and foremost. However, it is notable that she too construed Highland spectres as culturally distinctive.

Conflicting impulses drove the nineteenth-century vogue for folklore. Penny Fielding writes insightfully of 'the bifurcation of orality into an acclaimed ideal and a disparaged social condition'. Propelled by a sense of cultural endangerment, authors and antiquarians championed oral tradition. But they also equated illiteracy with social inferiority, and sought to reinterpret Highland stories through the disfiguring lens of sentimentality.⁴⁰ The folklorists took sceptical stances, and there was an implicit assumption that their readers shared this scepticism; ghosts were things *other* people believed in. Introducing one ghost story, the English antiquary Francis Grose declared: 'As the relation will enliven the dullness of antiquarian disquisition, I will here relate it, as it was told me by an honest woman [...] who, I will be sworn from her manner, believed every syllable of it.'⁴¹ The story was a passing entertainment for him and his readers; the storyteller's credulity, exaggerated in Grose's retelling, was both amusing and bemusing. Ghost stories fashioned an alternative, mystical, unenlightened Scotland that could be marketed as a curiosity. The idea that Scotland was a magical place can be traced back to the Middle Ages, but it was taken up with new enthusiasm in the nineteenth century.⁴² Increasingly, Highland ghosts became Scottish 'mascots', in line with the broader appropriation of Highland culture to represent Scotland as a whole. Stewart began his survey of Highland ghosts by locating them in a national framework: 'so early as the days of Ossian, [...]

ghosts have been, at all times, a plentiful commodity among the hills of Caledonia'.⁴³ Similarly, a periodical declared:

The English cannot get up decent ghosts, because the English, – made robust by those two excellent things, beer and beef, wax fat: and a fat ghost would be an absurdity. But the Scotchman, being gaunt and bony, hails the ghost as a man and a brother [...] The ghost steals on us from the mountain, the lake, the mist, the forest, the glen. Indeed, the ghost is the exclusive property of the Celtic race; and it is almost the only property that race has ever been able to retain, – as the Irish in Ireland, and the Scottish Highlanders can testify.⁴⁴

Here, the Scottishness of ghosts was underlined by their connections to scenery commonly associated with the Highlands. The romanticisation of Scotland coincided with rising visitor numbers, and in the twentieth century ghost tourism became a fully-fledged element of the Scottish economy.⁴⁵

Simultaneously, surging interest in Scottish tradition coincided with the disruption of communities precipitated by enclosure and clearance. The Highlands were particularly heavily impacted, with tens of thousands of people forced from their homes. Ghost stories arguably allowed Scots to maintain community traditions amid the upheaval of modernisation.⁴⁶ By telling stories of the supernatural, as Karl Bell suggests in a discussion of nineteenth-century urban English communities' responses to environmental change, people encoded their surroundings with traditional lore that resisted official reordering.⁴⁷ There is evidence that Scots used ghost stories to codify the environment. Writing in 1822, David Stewart of Garth explained that some Highlanders could 'give a connected, and minutely accurate detail of the history, genealogy, feuds, and battles of all the tribes and families in every district', and would support their stories 'by a reference to every remarkable stone, cairn, tree, or stream, within the district; connecting with each some kindred story of a fairy or ghost'.⁴⁸ Supernatural stories became, by this reading, a way to exert ownership over the landscape. There was also potential for Scottish accounts of haunted space to be subversive. The sense of loss that was common to gothic and romantic accounts of ghosts might be a reflection on death, but also served to critique contemporary society. Robert Fergusson's 'The Ghaists: A Kirk-yard Eclogue' (1773) described a pair of Edinburgh ghosts who met in a churchyard to lament Scotland's servitude to England:

Black be the day that e'er to England's ground
Scotland was eikit by the UNION'S bond;⁴⁹

But growing interest in haunted space in Scotland, particularly as it pertains to the Highlands, cannot be read as a straightforward act of resistance to change. The writers who recorded stories of haunted landscapes were not necessarily opposed to modernisation. John MacCulloch defended the clearances, arguing that the expansion of sheep farming was revolutionary.⁵⁰ Nor do printed accounts necessarily represent oral tradition accurately. Pre-modern Gaelic literature rarely included ghosts. Gaelic songs did explore supernatural themes, but usually focused on fairies or shapeshifting.⁵¹ Antiquarians' stories of Highland apparitions, meanwhile, were generally about second sight. It is possible that legends about wandering ghosts became more popular among common folk in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Owen Davies argues that eighteenth-century English popular culture saw rising interest in 'hordes of silent memorial ghosts who walked the roads, roamed the fields or lingered by pools', at the expense of 'the purposeful ghosts that interacted with humans'. He suggests that society was gradually forgetting the pre-Reformation idea that ghosts returned from Purgatory, and therefore could appear only during a specified period after death.⁵² The same might apply to Scotland, but this is speculation. It is just as possible that folklorists gave disproportionate attention to a certain category of ghost story, as well as attaching dubious claims of ancient pedigree. It would not be the first invention of Highland tradition.

With this in mind, it is worth thinking further about the politics of haunted Highland space. Recent scholarship has challenged the tendency to assume that stories of hauntings were innately subversive, and problematised readings of them as acts of cultural resistance. In her work on Native American ghosts, Renée Bergland notes that by forcing Native Americans from real territories into 'white imaginative spaces', the 'ghosting of Indians' works to 'establish American nationhood'.⁵³ Emilie Cameron makes a similar argument about Indigenous communities in Canada: 'confining the Indigenous to the ghostly [...] has the potential to re-inscribe the interests of the powerful upon the meanings and memories of place'.⁵⁴ Peopling the Highlands with phantoms similarly romanticised depopulation, as inferred in the extract quoted above describing the ghost as 'almost the only property [the Celtic] race has ever been able to retain, – as [...] the Scottish Highlanders can testify'. Ghosts, one might be forgiven for reflecting, are rather poor compensation for the other 'properties' lost to the Highlanders. It is notable, too, that even as Highland ghosts were depicted as warriors,

they were impotent – whether because they were ‘puny’ and ‘worm-eaten’, or simply because they were presented sceptically. Ghosts served to tie the Highlanders to the past; ghosts and people alike were anachronisms. By this reading, conceptions of haunted space developed not so much as a counter-narrative to modernisation, but as supporting testimony. Stories of ghostly landscapes separated off a bygone Scotland as a cultural relic, rendering the voices of the past present but powerless, and justifying the impositions of agricultural improvement.

There is no one way to explain the increased prominence of the concept of haunted space in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland. It was closely linked to the emergence of gothic themes within literature, to the development of folklore as a discipline, to the romanticisation of the Scottish landscape and to the rise of tourism. It stemmed in part from loss of kirk control over portrayals of the supernatural. While ghosts that returned to people were reclaimed to proffer religious messages in the late seventeenth century, eighteenth-century literary spectres did not necessarily operate within a religious framework. Frequently they were melancholy figures, articulating a sense of loss that foreshadowed the nineteenth-century ‘rise’ of a haunted Highland landscape, and the repossession anxieties it embodied.

More broadly, accounts of haunted space reflected on Scotland’s circumstances as a nation modernising, industrialising and bereft of political autonomy. Particularly notable is the new interest in Highland ghosts, and the endeavour to present them as culturally distinctive. We should be wary of simplistic assumptions that Scotland has perpetually been haunted, or at least, has perpetually been haunted in the same ways. And while narratives of haunted space were (implicitly or explicitly) political, we should not assume that they represent grassroots resistance to change. Framed as quaint curiosities, ghosts made ineffective cultural critics; the emphasis on Scottish superstition served frequently to justify modernisation. The haunting of Highland glens became a point of cultural pride, referenced humorously, even as living Highlanders were driven to coastal areas or shipped overseas. Ghosts can be vehicles for widely varied messages, and while there is value in sweeping summations of the significance of spectrality, we ought also to pay close attention to historical and political context if we hope to make sense of hauntings.

Notes

¹ 'A Sketch of Scotch Diablerie in General', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 25:147 (1842), 317-31, p. 317.

² Ibid.

³ See María del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren, 'The Spectral Turn: Introduction', in *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 1-27; Peter Buse and Andrew Stott, 'Introduction: A Future for Haunting', *Ghosts: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis, History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 1-20; David Coughlan, *Ghost Writing in Contemporary American Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), introduction; Esther Peeren, *The Spectral Metaphor: Living Ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), introduction.

⁴ Jacques Derrida, 'The Ghost Dance: An Interview with Jacques Derrida', interview with Mark Lewis and Andrew Payne, trans. Jean-Luc Svoboda, *Public 2* (1989), 60-73, p. 61; Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994 [French edn 1993]), p. 161.

⁵ Julian Wolfreys, *Victorian Hauntings: Spectrality, Gothic, The Uncanny and Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 6, 3.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984 [French edn 1980]), p. 108.

⁷ John Wylie, 'The Spectral Geographies of W. G. Sebald', *Cultural Geographies* 14:2 (2007), 171-88, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474007075353>, p. 180. See this article for references to the scholarship in this area.

⁸ Roger Luckhurst, 'The Contemporary London Gothic and the Limits of the "Spectral Turn"', *Textual Practice* 16:3 (2002), 527-46, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502360210163336>, pp. 528, 542.

⁹ Martha McGill, *Ghosts in Enlightenment Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), chapter 1.

¹⁰ James VI, *Daemonologie, in Forme of Ane Dialogue*, in James Craigie and Alexander Law (eds), *Minor Prose Works of King James VI and I* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1982), 1-58, book 3, chapter 7, p. 37.

¹¹ On this see Julian Goodare, 'Emotional Relationships with Spirit-Guides in Early Modern Scotland', in Julian Goodare and Martha McGill (eds), *The Supernatural in Early Modern Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp. 39-54.

¹² On England see Sasha Handley, 'Reclaiming Ghosts in 1690s England', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 345-55; on Scotland, McGill, *Ghosts*, chapter 2.

¹³ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 29.

¹⁴ McGill, *Ghosts*, esp. pp. 58-70.

¹⁵ Hary, *The Wallace: Selections*, ed. Anne McKim, electronic edn (Kalamazoo [Mich.]: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/mckim-the-wallace-selections>, accessed 29 August 2020, book 12, lines 1238-99.

¹⁶ Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 255.

¹⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton, 2 vols (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1856), vol. 2, pp. 184-90.

¹⁸ McGill, *Ghosts*, pp. 39-43.

¹⁹ Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: Or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*, ed. Matthew Leishman, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-43), vol. 4, p. 91. On ghosts as manifestations of trauma, see Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 2nd edn (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

²⁰ James Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland: From the Restoration to the Year 1678*, ed. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Edinburgh: John Ballantyne, 1817), pp. 182-4 (fn).

²¹ Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth* in Michael Hunter (ed.), *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science, and Second Sight in Late Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 77-106, p. 85.

²² See E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²³ Hamish Mathison, 'Gothic Poetry in Scotland: The Ghaistly Eighteenth Century', *Gothic Studies* 14:1 (2012), 34-46, doi: <https://doi.org/10.7227/GS.14.1.6>.

²⁴ Robert Blair, *The Grave: A Poem* (London: M. Cooper, 1743), lines 40-2, p. 5.

²⁵ Eric Parisot, *Graveyard Poetry: Religion, Aesthetics and the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Poetic Condition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 20.

²⁶ James Beattie, 'Ode to Peace', in *Original Poems and Translations* (Aberdeen: F. Douglas, 1761), sec. 3:2, p. 7.

²⁷ Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, 2 vols (London: J. Osborn, 1748), vol. 2, p. 272. Ghosts traditionally made flames burn blue.

²⁸ See Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's The Poems of Ossian: Myth, Genre and Cultural Change* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), esp. chapter 6.

²⁹ James Macpherson, 'The Death of Cuchullin: A Poem', in *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*, 2 vols (London, 1765), vol. 1, pp. 211-12.

³⁰ See Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's The Poems of Ossian: Myth, Genre and Cultural Change* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), esp. chapter 6.

³¹ Leading authors' explorations of haunted space are discussed in other articles in this special issue. See also Carol Davison and Monica Germanà (eds), *Scottish Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

³² See Nigel Leask, *Stepping Westward: Writing the Highland Tour c. 1720-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 46-52 ('horrid' at 49), 106, chapter 5 passim, 290-1.

³³ See McGill, *Ghosts*, pp. 146-9.

³⁴ Robert Chambers, 'Traditions of the Celebrated Major Weir', *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, 22 (1829), pp. 307-8; Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh*, revised edn (London: W. and R. Chambers, 1868), p. 245.

³⁵ John MacCulloch, *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, 4 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), vol. 4, pp. 341, 335.

³⁶ Walter Scott, 'Notes to Canto Third', in *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1808), pp. lxi, lxiv.

³⁷ William Grant Stewart, *The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823), pp. 5-6, 12 (fn).

³⁸ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, 3 vols (London: W. Johnston, 1771), vol. 3, p. 51. See more broadly

Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), chapter 3.

³⁹ Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions*, vol. 1, pp. 103, 225, 113, 51.

⁴⁰ Penny Fielding, *Writing and Orality: Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fiction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 8-12, p. 22 (quotation), chapter 2.

⁴¹ Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols (London: S. Hooper, 1789-91), vol. 1, p. 144.

⁴² See Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts, c.1600 to 1800* (Münster: Waxmann, 2007), pp. 61-71.

⁴³ Stewart, *Popular Superstitions*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ A Scoto-Celt, 'Scottish Characteristics: A Prelection', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 79:472 (Apr. 1869), 451-65, p. 456.

⁴⁵ See David Inglis and Mary Holmes, 'Highland and Other Haunts: Ghosts in Scottish Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30:1 (2003), 50-63, doi: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(02\)00031-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00031-2).

⁴⁶ See also Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Beliefs and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007).

⁴⁷ Karl Bell, *The Magical Imagination: Magic and Modernity in Urban England, 1780-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 6.

⁴⁸ David Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1822), vol. 1, p. 93.

⁴⁹ Robert Fergusson, 'The Ghaists: A Kirk-Yard Eclogue', *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, 20 (May 1773), 275-6, p. 275. See also Mathison, 'Gothic Poetry in Scotland'; McGill, *Ghosts*, pp. 134-8. On the politics of gothic more generally, see Davison and Germanà, 'Borderlands of Identity and the Aesthetics of Disjuncture: An Introduction to Scottish Gothic', in *Scottish Gothic*, pp. 1-13.

⁵⁰ MacCulloch, *Highlands and Western Isles*, vol. 3, p. 91.

⁵¹ Derick S. Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p. 64.

⁵² Owen Davies, *The Haunted: A Social History of Ghosts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 40.

⁵³ Renée L. Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000), pp. 4-5.

⁵⁴ Emilie Cameron, 'Indigenous Spectrality and the Politics of Postcolonial Ghost Stories', *Cultural Geographies*, 15:3 (2008), 383-93, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474008091334>, p. 390.