

### *John Paul Jones and the Curse of Home*

There were at least two versions of a chapbook titled *History of Paul Jones, the Pirate* circulating in nineteenth-century Britain, part of a body of literature on this sea captain, an international sensation and source of domestic mythology even before his death in Paris in 1792.<sup>1</sup> John Paul, or Paul Jones as he became known, was as these chapbooks tell it, “of a wild and ardent disposition,” well-suited to “a sea-faring life.” “Prompted partly by a spirit of revenge, and partly by the prospect of plunder,” Jones would eventually “desert his national standard” and, using “his complete knowledge of the northern coasts of Great Britain,” mount a series of “marauding schemes” on behalf of the Revolutionary United States. Returning to his “native place” in April 1778, not only did Jones attack the town of Whitehaven on the English side of the Solway, where he had trained as a young mariner, but he also made a “warlike” appearance at St. Mary’s Isle in Kirkcudbrightshire, looking to take the Earl of Selkirk hostage. This was “within a very little distance of a spot endeared to Jones by the strongest ties,” namely his birthplace of Arbigland, approximately twenty miles east along the Galloway coast. Jones’s defeat of HMS *Serapis* off Flamborough Head in September 1779 would become his most famous act, hailed as a coming of age for the nascent American navy. Yet as these chapbooks make clear, the previous year’s cruise including the capture of HMS *Drake* near the Irish coast, when Jones was in command of the sloop USS *Ranger*, was key in establishing his mythos, “a state of alarm” spreading around the coasts of the British Isles, with reports vulnerable to “every species of exaggeration.”<sup>2</sup> During the nineteenth century, stories of Jones continued to provide a fulcrum of meaning or social text on both sides of the Atlantic. This adventurer was a means by which contemporaries negotiated relationships between local, national and global geographies, one conspicuous individual who could embody much larger questions of land and sea.

This article pursues the overdetermined figure of Jones through a clustering of texts, most prominently Allan Cunningham's novel of 1826 *Paul Jones*, yet to receive scholarly notice, with James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pilot* (1824) as a counterpoint.<sup>3</sup> It does so as part of a project to recover the literature of southwest Scotland within the Romantic-era canon,<sup>4</sup> including the undervalued contribution of Cunningham,<sup>5</sup> but also to illustrate a dynamic spatial politics in these accounts of Jones. What follows builds on work on the early nineteenth-century Scottish novel—Cunningham undoubtedly existing in what Ian Duncan has called Walter Scott's "shadow"<sup>6</sup>—as well as on recent interest in seafaring narratives and the figure of the pirate.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, it contributes to scholarship in the area of the environmental and specifically "blue" humanities, a re-centring of the ocean "as a domain in its own right" that also looks towards reconciling "the maritime and the terrestrial."<sup>8</sup> The controversial figure of Jones underscores the fraught category of the local in this context, providing an allegory for what it means to exist in a world of transatlantic and indeed global circulations. In Cunningham's novel, the theme of dislocation emerges as an insoluble sticking point for the text's imaginative geography, a loss of home reframing the ebbs and flows of the oceanic world.

This article begins with context on Jones's actions during 1778-79. A detailed analysis of Cunningham's novel, including in relation to works by Walter Scott, next emphasizes what is a remarkable handling of the local. The article then proceeds to Cooper's *The Pilot* with its own distinctive geography of Jones, before a final section ties up the significance of this naval hero and/or pirate as a lodestone for a sense of place in the nineteenth-century world.

### **Romance of Real Life**

Jones's harrying of the British coast across 1778-79 merits a full chapter in Norman Longmate's *Island Fortress*, which includes the detail (however romantic) of scrambling

volunteers in Kirkcudbrightshire having “fiercely engaged a supposed ship which turned out to be a rock,” as if the captain’s mythos was already indistinguishable from the coast itself.<sup>9</sup> There is an extensive body of writing on Jones from the eighteenth century to the present day, in which Cunningham’s eccentric *Paul Jones* is less of an outlier than might first appear. In the first instance, USS *Ranger*’s twenty-eight-day cruise in April 1778 was registered immediately in both the local press and London papers. *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* reprinted from an extraordinary issue of *The Cumberland Pacquet* to inform its readers of an “infernal business” at Whitehaven. Patriotic indignation in the piece is amplified by the revelation that the leader “Paul or Jones (the latter is an addition only to his name)” served his apprenticeship out of the port. This material establishes a de-legitimization characteristic of the British response in its observation that the “unprecedented” attack was carried out “for a considerable sum of money”<sup>10</sup>: as a privateer under a new American flag, Jones was vulnerable to imputations of piracy.

In its coverage, *The Dumfries Weekly Journal* included correspondence from Kirkcudbright begging assistance with the threat of *Ranger*, which had “plundered” St. Mary’s Isle for “booty”. Another letter expanded on the captain himself, “a villain of abilities,” explaining that: “There is great reason to believe that this J. Paul Jones is the same person with a John Paul [...] a native of this stewartry, and the greatest miscreant under the canopy of heaven.”<sup>11</sup> What follows is a chaotic unfolding of fact and fiction in the periodical press, with false reports including one that attributes the burning of Widdrington Castle to “the crew of an American privateer.”<sup>12</sup> The early reporting captures the exigencies of war correspondence in the late eighteenth century, but also the anarchic quality of war itself. The culture of impressment, for example, meant that Jones’s landing party at St. Mary’s Isle were reportedly mistaken for a press gang.<sup>13</sup> In fact, impressment is a vital factor throughout the early accounts of Jones, contributing to the questions of legitimacy surrounding this warrior

in the cause of republican liberty, his “history of mutinous crews” indicative perhaps of what Evan Thomas calls a “low tolerance for insolence,” but also of a theatre of war populated by unwilling actors.<sup>14</sup> What John Mack describes as the period’s “motley crews,” patched together from patriots, mercenaries and others, all usually drunk,<sup>15</sup> contributed to strain questions of loyalty quite without the need of novelistic romance.

In fact, much that could be said of Allan Cunningham’s romanticization of this adventurer is extant in the “factual” literature. An 1830 *Memoirs* suggests that Jones himself inhabited a kind of chivalrous romance, a living Waverley Novel: “How seldom does the romance of real life exist till the age of thirty!” (Incidentally, Jones himself dabbled as a poet, with verse described in the *Memoirs* as “far from despicable.”)<sup>16</sup> Thomas Carlyle’s “great men” historiography is deeply unfashionable in the twenty-first century, but Jones has long had a capacity to monopolize history. Descriptions of the actions of USS *Ranger* under the collective pronoun “she”—“She had taken some fishing boats on the coast of Ireland”—already had to contend with the oversized persona of the captain in the early reports.<sup>17</sup>

There can be no question of the impact of Jones’s attacks on the British public, even if we can occasionally detect a certain pride in this home-grown threat: “men who have the same spirit and bravery with ourselves.”<sup>18</sup> On 5 May, *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* reflects that, “The people of Whitehaven it is thought can never recover from their fright: two thirds of the people are bordering on *insanity*, the remainder on *idiotism*.”<sup>19</sup> It was declared early on, however, that this “audacious conduct” would have “good effect” in prompting a thorough revision of defensive operations.<sup>20</sup> Coastal defence would remain a huge concern in Britain over the following decades of war with Revolutionary and then Napoleonic France. The archives at Drumlanrig castle in Dumfriesshire contain what is in effect a manuscript handbook to invasion, reflecting the duty of leading aristocrats in this climate of fear. The contents, pointedly, seem to cover 1778-97, beginning in the year of

Jones's *Ranger* cruise.<sup>21</sup> Decades after the attack on Whitehaven specifically, Cunningham would find in it a metaphor for an empire coming unstuck. Vastly exaggerating the damage done by Jones and his crew, whose attempt to set fire to the town's shipping was largely unsuccessful, Cunningham describes "blazing ships" filled with the colonial commodities of sugar and rum. The moment is charged with global-political significance, but it also plays out what we will see is the novel's fixation with the local, since these flames illuminate "flocks of sheep reposing on Criffel side" (2.185-86)—spotlighting, in other words, the site of Jones's birthplace across the Solway Firth.

### **"An outrage on probability"**

*Paul Jones* is the first of three novels published by Allan Cunningham, part of a body of work that includes drama, poetry, songs, tales and biography.<sup>22</sup> By the time it appeared in 1826, the Scottish novel was established as "one of the leading genres of European Romanticism," yet the financial crash of 1825-26 was in the process not only of bankrupting Walter Scott but was causing a general downturn in the British novel industry.<sup>23</sup> *Paul Jones* develops the key theme of Cunningham's oeuvre as indicated by the lines he chose from William Collins as the epigraph to his "dramatic poem" *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell* (1822)—"The native legends of thy land rehearse; / To such adapt thy lyre"—with the history of Jones offering a canvas for this preoccupation with locality.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, though Cunningham's literary reputation was forged in the metropolitan magazines of the early nineteenth century, his writing repeatedly circles back to his roots in southwest Scotland and the surrounding area. As it does so, it illuminates some of the more extreme consequences of what it means to imagine place in the medium of literature, producing a regional geography that is at once intense, obsessive and unreliable. This feature of Cunningham's work had been announced when, in 1810, he debuted as the author/forged of a codified regional ballad "tradition" for R. H. Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*.<sup>25</sup>

Though ostensibly biographical, the plot of *Paul Jones* makes dramatic emendations to the known history of Jones, most noticeably by introducing the character of Lord Dalveen, a pantomime villain and doppelganger to Jones's anti-hero. Their fates are intertwined from early material establishing the Solway milieu and Jones's coming-of-age as a transatlantic sailor; through a second volume that orbits around the events described above at Whitehaven, St Mary's Isle and against HMS *Serapis*; and into a third which combines both radical unrest in France and the revolutionary battlefield in America (featuring regrettable material on native Americans)<sup>26</sup> with an outlandish telling of Jones's later actions including on behalf of the Russian navy. Jones is ultimately revealed as Lord Dalveen's half-brother in a version of what Neil Rennie has described as the "conventional pirate-to-aristocrat plot."<sup>27</sup> (Indeed, a rumour of noble illegitimacy remains alive in Evan Thomas's 2003 biography of Jones, where it is used to explain feelings of social resentment underpinning the meteoric rise of this landscape gardener's son.)<sup>28</sup> Keeping to the historical record, the émigré figure of Jones dies in Paris here, but things come full circle in a more symbolic way when his friend and lieutenant Robin Macgubb commits to have Jones's name included on his own gravestone back in their Galloway homeland (3. 371). As this suggests, Jones's *mobility* as centred on his initial decision to leave home and join the American cause is the key driver of the novel and the source of its tragic energy. Politically, this is a text that toys with feudal nostalgia (see 1.347) but reads as basically supportive of the American Revolution (not the French). It is peppered with moments of radicalism while developing a suspicion of political rhetoric, using the ambivalent character of Jones as a means to traverse "the debateable land of liberty and slavery" (3.243). It is unlikely to be recuperated as a lost masterpiece any time soon, but Jones's history helps to shift Cunningham's version of the Romantic attention to locale into overdrive.<sup>29</sup>

Early reviews of *Paul Jones* were consistent in finding the fabulous elements overcooked. *The Literary Chronicle* complained that, “In this admixture of fact and fiction, there is rather too much of colouring,” while *The Imperial Magazine* declared “an outrage on probability,” registering disgust at a sensationalist pornography of war enjoyed by “those who are in love with wonders, who delight in groans.”<sup>30</sup> In the *Blackwood’s* “Noctes Ambrosianae” series, John Wilson censured a lack of seafaring knowledge in a text that “smells not of the ocean”: “There are waves—waves—waves—but never a sea.”<sup>31</sup> Without meaning to defend Cunningham’s deeply uneven work, many of these criticisms do seem to lie with the genre of romance. *The Literary Gazette* piece observes dryly that Cunningham, “does not hesitate to introduce spectres, evil spirits, witches, and warlocks, wherewith to work out his, not miscalled, romance,” describing the author as “better qualified for poetical description.”<sup>32</sup> At the same time, critics tended to find landscape the strongest element of the text. *The Inspector* commented that, “Mr. Cunningham discovers the poet, whenever he *describes nature*.”<sup>33</sup> That bears further scrutiny, since it touches the defining topos of *Paul Jones*: a saturation of the local.

In order to best appreciate this, the incredibly popular Walter Scott cannot be overlooked as a measuring rule for Cunningham in 1826. Triangulating the Scottish novel scene at this period, Ian Duncan suggests that while James Hogg steered to the romance-supernatural side of Scott’s wake, John Galt tacked towards novelistic realism, each carving out a space in the marketplace on this basis.<sup>34</sup> As is true of large parts of Cunningham’s oeuvre (including, notoriously, his edition of *The Works of Robert Burns*),<sup>35</sup> *Paul Jones* certainly veers towards romance, focusing specifically here on its capacity to (dis)organize space. This works dialectically: an amplified version of the local emerges in dialogue with riotous globetrotting. Meditating upon his abandonment of home, Jones paces “the shore of the Solway” and the novel tells us that “the world was all before him” (1.365). The local

coastline is a gateway to the remote, but it will also prove to be an inescapable frame of reference throughout the text, just as (in one of the more absurd passages) Jones's sister Maud Paul survives kidnapping by pirates to turn up as supreme leader of what seems to be a Galloway cult in the American wilderness (3.184-209).

The looming presence for Cunningham's romance of the Solway coast was Scott's *Guy Mannering*, published in 1815 and already a classic by the following decade. Scott's second novel enacted a discovery of the Galloway coastline: Mannering finds himself lost in a "black morass" of "unknown country" west of Dumfries, struggling with unintelligible directions ("like a mile and a bittock") and a "defaced" road sign. This opening firmly established the southwest as a realm of romance, to be penetrated by Mannering "like a knight-errant of old," and along with *Old Mortality* (1816) and *Redgauntlet* (1824), would canonize the region within the tourist geography of "Scott country."<sup>36</sup> *Guy Mannering* and *Paul Jones*, largely chronologically coincident novels, both specifically emphasize an anarchic maritime culture on the Solway, which prominently features smugglers and pirates. Thinking spatially, Ayşe Çelikkol argues that smuggling presages "the dissolution of local attachments," providing a challenge in Scott's works to "the mobilization of affectionate loyalty" for a British empire operating within a world-system of free-market exchange.<sup>37</sup> Much the same could be said of pirates, perhaps even more of a challenge to borders, agents of chaos in a seascape where territorial affiliation is already exponentially more conditional: a matter of flags rather than soil.

*Redgauntlet* further secured Scott's imaginative grip on the Solway coast. There, in a text that criss-crosses the Solway between Scotland and England, Scott found a means to wrench the genre of the historical romance (further) into symbolic indeterminacy, with the premise of a fictional Jacobite rebellion helping to signal a newly destabilized phase in the Scottish novel in a work Ian Duncan has called "postmodern."<sup>38</sup> Cunningham's *Paul Jones*



collaborates in that work, by developing the resonances of the Solway's "quick-sands, sunken ships, shifting channels, and reefs of sand" (2.139).<sup>39</sup> And indeed, what might be called an archipelagic perspective in Scott—integrating the local into a complex set of spatial relations—is taken on by Cunningham, in his version of the Solway migrant romance. The consequence of the local is not always as straightforward in these novels as in the Enlightenment model of circles of sympathy, where patriotism degenerates gradually outward.<sup>40</sup> Rather, local attachments exist within an uneven, circulating economy, with smugglers and pirates definitive signs of what Çelikkol identifies as a form of spatial *laissez faire*.<sup>41</sup> Scott's Waverley Novels have traditionally been read as deriving national meaning from the local, yet if nationalism provides a consolidating tier for collective loyalty, the entire process remains uncertain.<sup>42</sup> Such complexity may well be a universal condition, but it does seem to reflect an existential modernity embodied in the work of the novel, generating a version of what William E. Connolly describes as "eccentric" attachment, in which "concentric circles of political culture are complicated and compromised by numerous crosscutting allegiances."<sup>43</sup> In the case of Cunningham's *Paul Jones*, the sea captain's pledge to the revolutionary cause naturally reveals crosscutting allegiances within the British empire. Still, Jones's predicament is represented less in those terms than as a fundamental contest between local attachment and oceanic liberty. And in this context, a potent form of homesickness begins to distort the novel's world, in a kind of perverse amplification of circles of sympathy.

Scott was undoubtedly a major influence on anyone writing about the Solway in the mid-1820s. Alyson Bardsley reads *Guy Mannering* as developing a newly aesthetic model of land, which is no longer accessible (only) as property but as art, part of "a more flexible notion of the nation";<sup>44</sup> while in his book on geometry, Matthew Wickman views the "striking curves" of the Solway coast in *Guy Mannering* as pregnant with a "moment in Scottish history when history itself became bound up within the sphere of the image."<sup>45</sup> If a

tendency of the historical romance is to convert space into text, Cunningham's *Paul Jones* renders the exercise distinctly tragic, with the idealization of place stuck in a typology of disinheritance and loss. And certainly the aesthetic project of the genre is anything but static, offering up an imaginative geography potentially as circuitous and unstable as a coastline. This is nowhere truer than in Cunningham's *Paul Jones*, a romance whose improbabilities centre on an abundance of the local.

### **Displacement**

*Paul Jones*'s opening chapter proceeds quickly into what was, by 1826, familiar metafictional play in the historical romance. "I could," Cunningham reflects, "deepen the sea of Solway, strew its bottom with pearls, and put some six leagues more of sea between Siddick and Saint bees." Even "Criffel might arise with an increase of height, and overlook her sister Skiddaw." Yet, he insists, "this I dare not do,—I dread the severe and awful aspect of truth" (1.3). There is a comedic aspect to this in light of the counterfactual extremities that follow, but at the same time the novel is establishing a truth-value in the representation of local essence—romanticization, in other words, of a region "unsung in song and unemblazoned in story" (1.2). The chapter describes in detail "the Scottish side of the sea of Solway," finding Paul Jones (still at this point John Paul) and Lord Dalveen at a place called the Mermaid-bay during a break in the middle of a duel, the tide "leaping upon the green sward, and almost touching their feet" (1.6). Notably, the coast is immediately transgressive, placing and threatening to displace the antagonists. Shortly thereafter, an impatient Dalveen announces, "Shall we return to the dance?—shall we count the successive lines of the Solway tide? ... shall we make an estimate of the probable wealth of the good town of Dumfries from the number of vessels passing and repassing during the tide?" (1.10). The novel is working out its generic identity here: not, in the end, either topographical or statistical analysis, but romance. Yet location remains paramount. Cunningham makes one of his narrative

interjections to wish, “Could I present a picture of my native shore with the poetic skill and glowing fidelity of Turner” (1.4). This is a novel that accords with recent applications of Latourian actor-network theory to the physical environment and specifically the sea, a theoretical means to “transform a world made out of ‘raw materials’ into an assemblage of (potentially) political actors.”<sup>46</sup> Reflecting on the duel, Dalveen announces that, “we fought because the Mermaid-bay is a tempting place” (1.32). The local coastline is not a setting so much as a central narrative machinery, an actor, perhaps even the prime subject of the text, though this has a tragic charge in a novel about dislocation and disinheritance.

Developing this imaginative geography in a work that is peppered with references to Robert Burns, Cunningham offers a version of the folkloric device by which a man’s fame “consecrates the place of his birth” (1.1-2). Explicit references to Jones’s birthplace as an “auld clay bigging” (1.327) with “a clean hearthstane” (1.113) identify this exercise with Burns, suggesting a parallel between national bard and national pariah.<sup>47</sup> As regards Burns, the birthplace trope was sufficiently well-established by 1818 for John Keats to find his Alloway cottage disgustingly commercialized (“O the flummery of a birth place!”);<sup>48</sup> while John Barrell has shown how burdened cottages had become as symbolic sites by the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Cunningham does not exercise much restraint in this regard: Jones’s birthplace on the shoreline is not merely humble but literally hidden (“invisible at a distance” (1.136)), and is saturated with nautical imagery having been built “in imitation of the imaginary architecture of the Spanish armada” (1.104).

What *Paul Jones* essays is in a sense a desecration of the patriotic ideal of Burns. Burns’s quasi-autobiographical poem “The Cotter’s Saturday Night” offered a sentimental mythology acceptable to radicals and conservatives alike in the nineteenth century,<sup>50</sup> but the narrative of Jones was much more contentious. He is caricatured by a character in the novel as, “a fellow who intends to plough the High Street of Kirkcudbright, and sow it with rye-

grass” (2.260). To Cunningham in 1826, the American Revolution was significantly legible as a harbinger of progress. Yet Jones’s abandonment of home—of the sacred cottage—to fight on behalf of the Thirteen Colonies threatens to shatter outright what Çelikkol calls “the topography of loyalty.”<sup>51</sup> At the same time, there is always a sense here that liberty, whether American or oceanic in form, might be empty rhetoric. (It is interesting to note that a US edition of *Paul Jones* was published in 1827).<sup>52</sup> Certainly the historical Jones was no leveller: the rank and conduct of a gentleman were central to both his self-image and his approach to naval discipline.<sup>53</sup> In Cunningham, he is “a man bold, brave, and vain, who loves fame more than liberty” (3.118), living out the paradox of becoming “a tyrant and a blood-spiller for the sake of living under the shadow of freedom” (2.96). In this context, Jones’s renunciation of home becomes his defining act—not without justification, but ultimately tragic.

Researchers from Lancaster University have found “dissimulation” at work in *Redgauntlet*’s overlay of fictional and literal geographies, in a Solway that is “out of synch with the progress of time”: at once “elusive” and “locally distinctive.”<sup>54</sup> While similarly weaving between real and imaginary places,<sup>55</sup> the narrative geography in *Paul Jones* is prone to slippages and perversion. It is with the character of Robin Macgubb that this takes on a manic quality. Macgubb is a Galloway mariner who serves as a close lieutenant to Jones and is a man with a truly myopic sense of local pride: “his affection extended on each side of the Mull of Galloway so far as a man might see on a sunny day” (2.188). He is thus a core expression of the novel’s preoccupation with southwest Scotland. The complication is that as a lifelong sailor Macgubb is firmly of the sea. The Solway is “like a mother’s breast” (2.309) to him, his regional identity reflecting the littoral and “glocal” qualities of the Solway Firth itself. By this means the novel begins to suggest that global mobility might encourage an unhealthy relationship to the local, with Macgubb’s obsession and Jones’s dispossession the available options. Indeed, while Macgubb’s outré local attachment serves to illuminate the

depth of Jones's tragedy, the novel also finds space to criticize his parochial chauvinism.<sup>56</sup>

There are comparable overextensions of the local elsewhere in Cunningham's work as in the romance genre more generally; here, at least, it seems symptomatic of what happens to the geography of romance when the ultimate expression of local attachment—the figure of home—is under threat. The Mull of Galloway, the emotional root of Macgubb's whole being, “is in a manner a twice-made place” (3.6), he observes, the text implying not only that nature has been improved by human means, but also that the landscape gains a volatile new life in the imagination.

Towards the end of the third volume, Jones finds himself surrounded by fellow emigrant Scots serving in the Russian navy, all of whom are competing to challenge the traitor to a duel. Bizarrely, most if not all of the men seem to be from Galloway. “It shall never be said that green Criffel had a knave born at its foot who made the bonnie mountain a by-word for baseness,” exclaims one of them (3.318). In this manner the local component of Jones's betrayal overwhelms the national. It is the same dynamic at work in North America, where “the children of Caledonia” repeatedly default to the southwest (e.g. 3.194).<sup>57</sup> It is as if the allegorical power of romance has gone into overdrive, the scorned birthplace spreading through the narrative like a virus. It is either a breakdown in the gradations of “circles of sympathy” or an extreme iteration of that logic, with local attachment globally triumphant. Investigating “nostalgic attachments to the homeland” as an aspect of British colonialism particularly associated with Scottish culture, Jason R. Rudy finds that “markers of local or provincial identity” serve “a more generalized national identity once one moves outside the nation.”<sup>58</sup> Here, however, while the Galloway locale provides a springboard for a tale of national and global proportions, it is also a spatial obsession that troubles any other frame of reference, just as Macgubb can *only* understand what he encounters in local terms. Thus, while Cunningham disavows the licence that fiction offers to grant Criffel “an increase of

height,” his romance of locale really does just that. This is certainly true of the character of Wulik, described as a “Half-blood warrior” (3.161) and “wild American” (3.163), who turns out to be a close relation of Macgubb. Predictably, Macgubb is overwhelmed, exclaiming “ye have blood in your veins as rich as a mine in Mexico” (3.208).

The ocean remains critical throughout, as a realm of imaginative othering, of quest and *Bildung* awaiting the hero with his idealized cottage origins. Hester Blum argues that “sea narratives disallow imaginative output that is not based on the material and experiential specificity of work,” but as John Wilson’s complaint (“waves—but never a sea”) registers, Cunningham writes the ocean largely in metaphysical terms.<sup>59</sup> Tidal motion recurs as a narrative device, a mark of this literary coding of the sea (e.g. 2.237, 247). Nevertheless, if the ocean is primarily a romance territory here, its association with the American cause makes it an arbiter of historical as well as narrative time. (In fact, it is worth underlining the degree to which, from the vantage of 1826, the manifold forces of globalization—including warfare, migration and the circulation of capital—were synonymous with maritime culture.) I have argued previously that in the “theoretical histories” of John Galt, the system of global capitalism assumes a power of literary narrative that the texts themselves disclaim.<sup>60</sup> In this case, what looks like romance space may sometimes be symptomatic of maritime modernity itself, subject to radically open horizons, part of the cultural acuity or “realism” of romance. Regardless, what emerges is a truly unstable geography, a Galloway globe perhaps indicative of chaotic writing but also of an emotive confrontation between the local and the fluidity of the maritime world.

It would be wrong to suggest that *Paul Jones* magnifies its regional locality to the exclusion of nation. At one point, Jones declares himself the inheritor of the legacy of William Wallace (1.177), and there is a coding of aristocratic oppression as English throughout, via the motif of gluttony (e.g. 1.307). In tandem with its local fixation, the novel

is also probing at what difference there is between the Scottish and English shores of the Solway. “I know Whitehaven and the road into it as well as I know the way into my own trowsers” (2.167), announces Macgubb, having earlier begged Jones to target England before “bonny Dumfries” or “cantie auld Kirkcudbright” (2.55). Jones himself, though a declared “citizen of the world” (3.116), draws a distinction, choosing to show the “Scottish side” mercy, though this is in part strategic (2.159). Certainly Jones’s statement, “I draw my sword on the land that gave me birth” (2.214) is ambiguous, the novel’s crosscutting political entities having rendered it impossible to define exactly what this means. Still, there is a clear sense in the text of a dialectical tension between local and global extremes, with imaginative geography presented as a zero-sum game, national culture somewhat extraneous to a painful contest between cottage and ocean.

When Jones is on the brink of leaving home in the first volume, the novel describes how, “He thought on the West India isles, where he had so often spread his sail; on the coast of America, where had so often cast anchor; and on the shores of his native frith, where he had roamed while a child, gazing on the waters, and envying the active mariners as they guided their ships along. He glided in thought from isle to isle, and from shore to shore” (1.366). It is difficult to imagine a more obviously archipelagic conception of space than this: a transatlantic world of overlapping connections. *Paul Jones* roots itself in a locale so secluded and distinctive that it is reimagined as an island: the “Isle of Galloway” (2.210). Yet this home territory is overlaid by links “from Kirkcudbright to Calcutta” (2.139). As it progresses, however, the novel ends up reforming the entire world into a kind of “Galwegian wilderness” (2.107) through the exercise of a dogged homesickness. When Macgubb announces late-on, “Hame’s aye hame,” this is a thesis that the novel tests. What happens to home in a global world? How stable is any idea of place? The strong texture of romance and what we might call a coastal awareness here exacerbate the inherently subjective and

contingent qualities of belonging. And the achievement of *Paul Jones* is its positioning of the local as not just a prime source of affection, but an emotional conflagration that signals the impossibility of a stable web of global loyalties.

### **Navigation**

In the hours following the attack on Whitehaven in 1778, USS *Ranger* turned its attention to the Scottish coast. Jones's extant, real-life correspondence records what Longmate calls the "most courteous invasion" "ever suffered" by Britain, namely the landing at St. Mary's Isle, a peninsula which stretches into the Solway from Kirkcudbright.<sup>61</sup> In a highly-wrought letter dispatched after the event, Jones engaged in a gentlemanly display towards Lady Selkirk, and would eventually return the expensive plate he claimed to have been unable to prevent his men from looting.<sup>62</sup> Jones went on to mount further exploits elsewhere on the Scottish coast, including a "bold and hazardous attempt of burning the shipping in the harbour of Leith,"<sup>63</sup> but the St. Mary's Isle episode provides a shred of evidence for a view that he behaved differently on "home" soil. Certainly the politics of belonging remain an animating force for Cunningham's novel. As noted above, the most celebrated act of this sea captain was his capture of HMS *Serapis* on 23 September 1779 in command of USS *Bonhomme Richard*, in what became known as the Battle of Flamborough Head because it took place in proximity of the Yorkshire coast. That basic fact is worth noting, since in Cunningham's *Paul Jones* the battle is transported to the western side of Britain as part of the text's combination of geographical legerdemain and local fixation. This allows Cunningham to stage the event as a test of local attachment: Macgubb remains loyal to the British as long as "the hills of Galloway glowed bright" and commits himself to the Americans only "when the twilight came, and the land of Galloway grew misty" (3.343).

An equivalent act lies at the heart of James Fenimore Cooper's 1824 *The Pilot*, a significant, antithetical precursor for the handling of place in Cunningham. The "subject" of



*The Pilot* is described misleadingly by Frederick Burwick and Manushag Powell as the Battle of Flamborough Head.<sup>64</sup> In fact, what Cooper narrates is a series of fictional events in the period following (hence: “the pirate has bought himself a desperate name since the affair off Flamborough Head” (1.198)). Jones, who remains in disguise as “Gray” here and has already reached mythical status as “the bloody Scotchman” (2.165), gives his age as thirty-three, which dates the novel to 1780 (1.88). Intriguingly, the novel locates Gray/Jones in the area where it is set. His comment that “my earliest years were passed on this coast” (1.176) could be interpreted as a reference to the island as a whole, but Cooper goes to lengths to establish Jones’s detailed knowledge of the Northumberland setting, a deep “acquaintance with that particular spot” (3.301) that is not really plausible for a man from the parish of Kirkbean. This gesture might only indicate slippages to be expected from an American writer exercising what Cooper calls his “truant pen” (3.187). Still, the transplanting of Gray/Jones is integral to the plot, which depends on his expertise in piloting the hazardous Northumberland rocks and tides.

In *The Pilot*, Cooper was assuming the authority to “paint those scenes which belong only to the ocean,” in reaction to what he considered an amateurish view of sea life in Scott’s 1822 *The Pirate*.<sup>65</sup> *The Pilot* is of course a near-homonym to *The Pirate*, but piloting also gestures to the structural role played by Gray/Jones in the novel, summed up in the statement, “his was the master spirit that directed the whole” (3.129), and there may be a further subtle punning on “pilot”/“plot.” Jones is actually a relatively small part of the novel, in a story that weaves narrative threads around the coastal setting of St. Ruth’s Abbey, which is being inhabited by the loyalist American Colonel Howard. Howard’s female wards are romantically entangled with Revolutionary mariners involved in naval operations in the area, for which Gray/Jones is the lynchpin. *The Pilot* follows these events to an ending in which a closing estimation of Jones’s character rests on his having been “greatly instrumental in procuring

our sudden union” (3.303). This “union,” via the convention of the “national tale” form, signifies a marriage between the US naval officer Mr. Griffith and Cecilia Howard, the Colonel’s niece, but also the independence of the United States, with its new “confederate government” (3.293). In the Howard family, politically divided across a generation, Cooper finds a way of playing out the Revolution as civil strife, with Britain and America “children of the same family” (3.81). The littoral setting also enables him to explore a phenomenology of the coast in a collision of private (land) and public (sea), the text by parts a proto-realistic depiction of naval warfare, by parts novel of manners with farcical anti-gothic material reminiscent of Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey* (eventually published in 1817).

In political terms, then, Cooper’s American novel or rather *Tale of the Sea* is interested in a (partial) exculpation of Jones. This patriotic tendency would be amplified by the Hollywood treatment in 1959’s *John Paul Jones*, where the captain is played woodenly by Robert Stack and Cooper’s political equivocation is gone. That film opens and closes by brashly celebrating the legacy bequeathed by Jones to the modern US navy.<sup>66</sup> In Cooper, Gray/Jones is a flawed promotor of a largely good cause: his “love of liberty” is described as “questionable,” a “desire of distinction, his ruling passion” (3.301-2), overlapping in this way with Cunningham’s tragic perspective. Cooper subsequently developed his views in an 1843 biographical essay which declared, “he is a traitor only who betrays by deceiving,” and portrayed Jones Carlyle-esque as “a great man.”<sup>67</sup> As it happens, the May 1824 publication of *The Pilot* prompted another article filling out “the mysterious character” of Jones in *The London Magazine*, with which Allan Cunningham was long associated, a link that helps to position *Paul Jones* in relation to *The Pilot*.<sup>68</sup> All of this reveals how contested the idea of Jones was in the early nineteenth century, and indeed Burwick and Powell survey stage plays also renegotiating his legend in the 1820s and 1830s.<sup>69</sup>

Returning to Cooper's decision to displace Jones's backstory into the North Sea: if we are to read this as anything other than artistic convenience, Gretchen J. Woertendyke offers a useful perspective by arguing that *The Pilot* attempts to map American history in space rather than time, and so refigures the British coastline in symbolic terms. As it happens, Woertendyke herself confuses the northern English setting with Scotland.<sup>70</sup> This repetition of Cooper's own vagary is striking, but it does tend to bear out Woertendyke's point about the role of a romance geography in constructing an American national consciousness here. In this profoundly ideological environment, in other words, Jones's success against *Serapis* is symbolically weighty enough for him to become the *genius loci* of the nearby area. Certainly *The Pilot* lacks the overwhelming dialectical emphasis on the local so characteristic of Cunningham's global romance, though it is a matter of speculation whether Cunningham's emphatically Galwegian Jones is an intentional counterblast to Cooper's Northumberland transplant.

Where the littoral context tends to (tragically) amplify Galloway in Cunningham, the extensive overlap of sea and land in Cooper makes Northumberland the more provisional territory, since *The Pilot*'s play with "amphibious" (2.192) warfare proves loyal to the ocean as supreme text. This reaches a climax when Gray/Jones bursts into the dining room of St. Ruth's "heavily armed with the weapons of naval war" (3.103), representing an oceanic, levelling force on the excesses of British loyalism. Defending Jones's act of rebellion in the biography he penned for *Graham's Magazine*, Cooper stressed the political equivalence of the various parts of the British Empire, meaning that even a "resident of the British capital had a right to oppose the aggressions which led to the American Revolution." That line of argument might imply the need to avoid a narrow essentialism of the homeland—of course the very affliction that resonates throughout Cunningham's novel.<sup>71</sup> In the context of *The Pilot*, at least, the ocean seems to make such an inflexible understanding of landed authority crass.

Key to this dynamic is the figure of “long” Tom Coffin, a “simple-hearted cockswain” (2.340) who wields a harpoon for a weapon (2.153) and steals the show with an exhilarating death at the end of the second volume. There, nominative determinism raises its head in Tom’s resolve “to die in my coffin” (3.339), his affection for his ship consummated at last in the breakers. Like Macgubb, Coffin provides the emotional centre to his novel, though he distinctly lacks the local pride or mania that is the counterpart to Macgubb’s immersion in the marine. In the end, Woertendyke believes that Coffin’s seamanship, a “placeless epistemology,” ultimately necessitates his death as a means of reeling *The Pilot* into a modern nationalism.<sup>72</sup> But we might modify that reading to underscore Coffin’s loyalty to the sea as a condition of rather than a prologue to modernity, in an international context defined at least as much by his variety of dislocation as it is by national finality, even if Cooper resists the full implications of such “liberty.”

Cooper’s text works on behalf of a US trying to work out its place on the world stage, but it does so while recognizing the ocean “as a domain in its own right.”<sup>73</sup> Certainly the maritime was a challenge to, as well as basis for, nineteenth-century nationalisms in the transatlantic context. In *The Pilot*, there is a clear tension in the possibility that the ocean itself and not America is the true paradigm of liberty. Cooper is preoccupied with discipline and how it can coexist with the political leitmotif of liberty, which is presented as the founding conundrum of the United States, a polity forged in revolution. For all the rigours of naval discipline, his maritime ideal is imbued with spatial freedom in a way that challenges territorial attachments *per se*. “A messmate, before a shipmate; a shipmate, before a stranger; a stranger, before a dog; but a dog before a soldier!” Coffin declares, in a nautical revision of circles of sympathy (2.263). This fully-fledged sea novel paints the archipelagic circulations of world space around a shadowy Northumberland that is home to a shadowy, transplanted John Paul Jones, with Coffin’s fulsome dedication to his ocean home wrestling control of the

text and only recoverable as American in the most provisional terms. In this respect, neither *The Pilot* nor *Paul Jones* is quite convinced by the nationalistic aspirations of the historical romance. Still, Coffin's peripatetic, migrant loyalty might be a less radical condition than the frantic exercise in local attachment that would be Cunningham's rejoinder.

### **Dead Men Telling Tales**

Three decades later, Herman Melville's *Israel Potter* (1855) would also take John Paul Jones as a subject. That novel begins and ends by emphasizing its hero's rootedness in rural Massachusetts—the final sentence explains that Israel Potter, “died the same day that the oldest oak on his native hills was blown down.”<sup>74</sup> The fictitious Potter accompanies Jones aboard both *Ranger* and *Bonhomme Richard*, with the captain represented via the paradox of savagery within civilization, his skin revealing “mysterious tatoosings” in a portrait with clear affinities to Ahab in *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale* (1851).<sup>75</sup> Melville's treatment develops the antihero of both Cooper and Cunningham, underlining the Solway mariner's establishment as an internationally important mythic entity.<sup>76</sup> Travelling back across the Atlantic with Jones, Potter finds that he has become trapped on an enemy ship and reflects on “the gulf between him and home” growing wider.<sup>77</sup> Home, in this instance, seems to be not only Massachusetts but Jones himself. The migrant captain has become an embodiment of the American experience, even of belonging in the abstract.

To return to Cunningham's *Paul Jones*, however: it is more easily described as coastal fiction than a sea tale, interested as it is in a condition “of the lonely sea-side” (1.302). Its enduring value is a consideration of local attachment in a global, oceanic world, suggesting that our feeling for home will not disappear though it may warp under duress. The editor of Jones's memoirs calls him a “half-conscious renegade” with a poorly worked-out resentment of “England,”<sup>78</sup> while Cooper's Gray/Jones resents others, “For ever harping on that word home!” (3.165). The historical Jones seems not to have forgotten his family,<sup>79</sup> and

indeed Cunningham's version insists "I love my country" (1.178), even while he is engaged in the construction of "a glorious kingdom" on "unstable water" (1.172). As all of this suggests, loyalty in the stories of Jones is complex. In Cunningham's novel specifically, Jones entirely swallows up the history of southwest Scotland, as the endpoint in a series of "three D's" that define the region: Douglasses, Dalzells and John Paul Jones, a.k.a. the devil (1.359). In this way, Cunningham—himself an emigrant to London—makes the captain a handbook to dislocation, a way of describing place by its loss.

Stories of Jones were key to a developing, popular idea of the pirate and the antihero more generally, with analogues to, for example, the pirate Lambro in Byron's *Don Juan*, who is also a mix of politeness and brutality—"Of mild demeanour though of savage mood"—and is similarly fated to play out history as tragic irony: "His Country's wrongs and his despair to save her / Had stung him from a slave to an enslaver."<sup>80</sup> "Liberty," these sources insist, is a difficult ideal. In both Cunningham's *Paul Jones* and Cooper's *The Pilot*, however, the political conundrum presented by Jones accompanies a question of space. Centred firmly on the Solway milieu but redolent of an historical moment when local cultures at large were coming sharply into relief both within and against the forces of globalization, Cunningham's Jones stands for a sense of place that inhabits a fraught dialectic between belonging and mobility, between cottage and ocean. As the "pilot" of Cooper's novel, tasked with navigating the enemy coastline, Gray/Jones is also a key symbol for the connection of land and sea, but as his rather sketchy backstory suggests, his defining act of departure is merely bittersweet there. This reflects, to a degree, the different traditions for which these texts adopt the sea captain: American in the case of Cooper, southwest Scottish above all in the case of Cunningham. Certainly Cooper's text does not share the frenzied potency of Cunningham's portrait of local attachment in *Paul Jones*, a globetrotting novel that fashions the category of home into a tragic device.

*Paul Jones* is a preeminent example of a larger project in Cunningham's writing, in which southwest Scotland and its environs become an overtly—sometimes wildly—literary text. And while the novel records a world-historical episode from the outlook of a coastal community's unique sense of place, it does so well-aware of its own potential role in renewing and reforming that sense of place, as a fashionable literary artefact of the 1820s. What Cunningham's novel ends up foregrounding through its handling of the revolutionary conundrum of Jones is, above all, the role of the imagination in geography, and how this source of connection also leaves it susceptible to any imaginable distortion. For his part at least, Macgubb's local attachment readily devolves into a pathology. We might understand this as a sign of the greater atomization of society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than today, but Cunningham's emphasis on the uneven, volatile imperative of belonging is of enduring relevance. Read against Cooper's *The Pilot*, with its emphasis on an oceanic consciousness for which Northumberland is an expedient background, it is notable that Cunningham's coastal fiction actually presents a more emphatic *and* more unstable vision of the local. In fact, anchoring itself as fulsomely as it does to Galloway helps *Paul Jones* to bring the subjective dynamism of place so starkly into view—since, as the novel amply demonstrates, the idea of the local complicates as much as resolves under pressure.

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<sup>1</sup> See *History of Paul Jones, the Pirate* (Newcastle and Hull: W. & T. Fordyce, n.d.) and *History of Paul Jones, the Pirate* (Glasgow: printed for the booksellers, n.d.). The text is

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largely identical in both, though the Glasgow edition features an additional article titled “Black Hole of Calcutta” at 21-24. There is also a later Fordyce edition from after the publisher moved from Dean Street to Grey Street in Newcastle, with no mention of the Hull location.

<sup>2</sup> See the “Dean Street” Fordyce *History of Paul Jones*, 4-12.

<sup>3</sup> Allan Cunningham, *Paul Jones; A Romance*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1826); and James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pilot; a Tale of the Sea*, 3 vols (London: John Miller, 1824). These editions henceforth cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>4</sup> This article is an output of a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship entitled “Regional Romanticism: Dumfriesshire and Galloway, 1770-1830,” based at the University of Glasgow.

<sup>5</sup> The small portion of recent scholarship on Cunningham has largely been concerned with short fiction. See Allan Cunningham, *Traditional Tales*, ed. Tim Killick (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2012); Tim Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and David Stewart, “Romantic short fiction,” in Ann-Marie Einhaus, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the English Short Story* (Cambridge U. Press, 2016), 73-86. Other fragmentary studies have emphasized his song work or mentioned him in the context of better-known figures. See Dennis M. Read, “Cromek, Cunningham, and ‘Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song’: A Case of Literary Duplicity,” *Studies in Bibliography*, 40 (1987): 175-86; John Goodridge, “John Clare and Eighteenth-Century Poetry: Pomfret, Cunningham, Bloomfield,” *The Eighteenth Century*, 42 (2001): 264-78; and David Groves, “De Quincey, Allan Cunningham, and the *Edinburgh Saturday Post*,” *The Review of English Studies*, 41 (1990): 230-32. For more substantial consideration, readers must currently return to David Hogg’s *Life of Allan*



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*Cunningham* (Dumfries: John Anderson & Son; Edinburgh: John Grant; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875).

<sup>6</sup> See Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton U. Press, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> See Frederick Burwick and Manushag N. Powell, *British Pirates in Print and Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Neil Rennie, *Treasure Neverland: Real and Imaginary Pirates* (Oxford U. Press, 2013); Hester Blum, *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (U. of North Carolina Press, 2008); and Talissa J. Ford, *Radical Romantics: Prophets, Pirates, and the Space Beyond Nation* (Edinburgh U. Press, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> John Mack, *The Sea: a cultural history* (London: Reaktion, 2011), 217. See also Steve Mentz and Martha Elena Rojas, eds., *The Sea and Nineteenth-Century Anglophone Literary Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); Nicholas Allen, Nick Groom and Jos Smith, eds., *Coastal Works: Cultures of the Atlantic Edge* (Oxford U. Press, 2017); Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton U. Press, 2012); and Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge U. Press, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Norman Longmate, *Island Fortress: The Defence of Great Britain 1603-1945* (London: Hutchinson, 1991), 192.

<sup>10</sup> *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 28 April 1778, 2. For a collection of some of the early press coverage of Jones, see Don C. Seitz, *Paul Jones: his Exploits in English Seas During 1778-1780* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1917).

<sup>11</sup> *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 28 April 1778, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 13 May 1778, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 28 April 1778, 3; *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 1 May 1778, 2.

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- <sup>14</sup> Evan Thomas, *John Paul Jones: Sailor, Hero, Father of the American Navy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 33.
- <sup>15</sup> See Mack, *The Sea*, 141-49.
- <sup>16</sup> *Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; London: Simpkin & Marshall, 1830), vol. 1, 85, and vol. 2, 320.
- <sup>17</sup> *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 4 May 1778, 2.
- <sup>18</sup> *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 9 May 1778, 3.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 5 May 1778, 2.
- <sup>20</sup> *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 29 April 1778, 2.
- <sup>21</sup> See “G. A. to Col. the Earl of Dalkeith. Containing reports on coasts of Scotland and England for repelling projected French invasion, and various memos on artillery, and defence of the rivers Medway and Thames, 1778-97.” Drumlanrig estate, Volume 42.
- <sup>22</sup> The other two are Cunningham’s *Sir Michael Scott; a Romance*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1828); and *Lord Roldan; a Romance*, 3 vols (London: John Macrone, 1836).
- <sup>23</sup> See Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow*, 21-23.
- <sup>24</sup> See Allan Cunningham, *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, a Dramatic Poem; The Mermaid of Galloway; The Legend of Richard Faulder; and Twenty Scottish Songs* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1822).
- <sup>25</sup> R. H. Cromek, ed., *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song: with Historical and Traditional Notices relative to the Manners and Customs of the Peasantry* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1810).
- <sup>26</sup> See for example, vol. 3, 122 & 129.
- <sup>27</sup> Rennie, *Treasure Neverland*, 155.
- <sup>28</sup> Thomas, *John Paul Jones*, 15.

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<sup>29</sup> Interest in the local at this period encompasses many different fields—sticking close to home, however, Fiona Stafford describes how “local detail [...] began to seem essential to art with any aspiration to permanence,” in *Local Attachments: The Province of Poetry* (Oxford U. Press, 2010), 30.

<sup>30</sup> See *The Literary Chronicle*, 395 (December 9, 1826): 772; and *The Imperial Magazine*, 10 (July, 1828): 660-61.

<sup>31</sup> John Wilson, “Noctes Ambrosianae, no. XXX,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 21.121 (January, 1827): 107.

<sup>32</sup> *The Literary Gazette*, 516 (December 9, 1826): 773.

<sup>33</sup> *Inspector: Literary Magazine and Review*, 2.7/12 (January, 1827): 237.

<sup>34</sup> See chapters 7 and 8 in Duncan’s *Scott’s Shadow*.

<sup>35</sup> Allan Cunningham, ed., *The Works of Robert Burns; with his Life*, 8 vols (London: James Cochrane, 1834).

<sup>36</sup> Walter Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ed. P. D. Garside (Edinburgh U. Press, 1999), 3-4. See here Nicola J. Watson, “Holiday Excursions to Scott Country,” in Benjamin Colbert, ed., *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 132-46. Such tourism was encouraged by works like Robert Chambers, *Illustrations of the Author of Waverley* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1822) and, later, William Sharp, *Literary Geography* (London: Pall Mall Publications, 1904).

<sup>37</sup> Ayşe Çelikkol, “Free Trade and Disloyal Smugglers in Scott’s *Guy Mannering* and *Redgauntlet*,” *ELH*, 74 (Winter, 2007): 759, 768.

<sup>38</sup> Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow*, 246-47. See also Penny Fielding, “‘Earth and Stone’: Improvement, Entailment and Geographical Futures in the Novel of the 1820s,” in Alex Benchimol and Gerard Lee McKeever, eds., *Cultures of Improvement in Scottish Romanticism, 1707-1840* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 155.

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<sup>39</sup> For more specific echoes of *Redgauntlet* in *Paul Jones*, see the race against the tide at vol. 1, 259-72.

<sup>40</sup> See David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, ed. J. B. Schneewind (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983), 49.

<sup>41</sup> Çelikkol, “Free Trade,” 760.

<sup>42</sup> See here Anthony Jarrells, “We Have Never Been National: Regionalism, Romance and the Global in Walter Scott’s Waverley Novels,” in Evan Gottlieb, ed., *Global Romanticism: Origins, Orientations, and Engagements, 1760-1820* (Bucknell U. Press, 2015), 109-26.

Describing limits to a national view of Scott, Jarrells posits the force of romance as “marvelous but local detail” within the novel as itself driving a global perspective that is diverse or “noncosmopolitan” in form (110-12). Such specificity, however, exists alongside romance fiction’s capacity to invoke more shapeless expanses of space.

<sup>43</sup> William E. Connolly, *Neuropolitics: Thinking, Culture, Speed* (U. of Minnesota Press, 2002), 177, 186.

<sup>44</sup> Alyson Bardsley, “In and Around the Borders of the Nation in Scott’s *Guy Mannering*,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 24 (2002): 408.

<sup>45</sup> Matthew Wickman, *Literature after Euclid: The Geometric Imagination in the Long Scottish Enlightenment* (U. of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 61-64.

<sup>46</sup> See Patricia Yaeger, “The ocean as quasi-object, or ecocriticism and the doll from the deep,” in Mentz and Rojas, eds., *The Sea*, 168.

<sup>47</sup> See Burns, “The Vision” [K62], l. 16; and “The Cotter’s Saturday Night” [K72], l. 24, in James Kinsley, ed., *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), vol. 1.

<sup>48</sup> John Keats, “To John Hamilton Reynolds, 11, 13 July 1818,” in Carol Kyros Walker, ed., *Walking North with Keats* (Yale U. Press, 1992), 175.

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<sup>49</sup> John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: Invasions of Privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford U. Press, 2006), 220-21. For information on Jones's birthplace, now a museum, see <http://www.jpj.demon.co.uk/>.

<sup>50</sup> See Christopher A. Whatley, "'It Is Said That Burns Was a Radical': Contest, Concession, and the Political Legacy of Robert Burns, ca. 1796-1859," *Journal of British Studies*, 50 (July, 2011): 646-50.

<sup>51</sup> Çelikkol, "Free Trade," 760.

<sup>52</sup> Allan Cunningham, *Paul Jones; A Romance*, 3 vols (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & F. Lea, 1827).

<sup>53</sup> See *Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones*, vol. 1, 46.

<sup>54</sup> See Christopher Donaldson, Sally Bushell et al, "Digital Literary Geography and the Difficulties of Locating 'Redgauntlet Country,'" *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 42 (2016): 178, 180-81.

<sup>55</sup> The key setting of the Mermaid-bay apparently belongs to the latter category. The novel, suggestively, notes that it is named for "a wild legend" (1.6) and Cunningham may be revisiting an earlier discussion of the local mermaid tradition in "The Mermaid of Galloway," in Cromek, ed., *Remains*, 229-48.

<sup>56</sup> This degree of circumspection is not always present in Cunningham: see, for example, "Hame, Hame, Hame," in Cromek, ed., *Remains*, 169-70. Appositely, the note to that poem draws on Germaine de Staël to emphasize the degree to which sentiments of home may be more powerful "when repeated in a strange land," since "local allusion brings imagination to the aid of memory and thus produces a charm to soothe the woes even of banishment itself" (171-72).

<sup>57</sup> Compare, here, David Stewart's account of James Hogg imaginatively overlaying the Cape Colony in southern Africa with Annandale in southwest Scotland, as part of a discussion of

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“mobility” and the Anglo-Scottish border region, in “Genuine Border Stories: James Hogg, Fiction and Mobility in the 1830s,” *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 48 (2018): 92-93.

<sup>58</sup> Jason R. Rudy, “Scottish Sounds in Colonial South Africa: Thomas Pringle, Dialect, and the Overhearing of Ballad,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 71.2 (2016): 199, 202.

<sup>59</sup> Blum, *View from the Masthead*, 15.

<sup>60</sup> See Gerard Lee McKeever, “‘With wealth come wants’: Scottish Romanticism as Improvement in the Fiction of John Galt,” *Studies in Romanticism*, 55 (Spring, 2016): 69-94.

<sup>61</sup> Longmate, *Island Fortress*, 191.

<sup>62</sup> See *Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones*, vol. 1, 87-92.

<sup>63</sup> *History of Paul Jones*, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Burwick and Powell, *British Pirates*, 87.

<sup>65</sup> See Rennie, *Treasure Neverland*, 143-44; and Cooper, preface to *The Pilot*, vi.

<sup>66</sup> *John Paul Jones*, directed by John Farrow (Burbank: Warner Bros., 1959). Incidentally, at the time of writing the flagship of the US navy “Expeditionary Strike Group Seven” is named USS *Bonhomme Richard* in tribute to Jones.

<sup>67</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, “John Paul Jones,” *Graham’s Magazine*, 23 (Philadelphia: July & August, 1843): 15, 87. See also Emilia Le Seven, “James Fenimore Cooper’s ‘John Paul Jones’: Sketching a Controversial Great Man of the Sea,” in Steven Harthorn, ed., *James Fenimore Cooper: His Country and His Art* (Oneonta: The State University of New York College at Oneonta, 2013), 25-28.

<sup>68</sup> “Sketches of Paul Jones,” *The London Magazine*, 9 (May, 1824): 492. The text here is close to the chapbooks above. An influential chapbook by Ann Lemoine may be a common source. See Roy Bearden-White, *How The Wind Sits: The History of Henry and Ann Lemoine, Chapbook Writers and Publishers of the Late Eighteenth Century* (Levelland: Laughing Dogs Press, 2017), 72.

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<sup>69</sup> Burwick and Powell, *British Pirates*, 91.

<sup>70</sup> Gretchen J. Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism: Romance and the Geography of Genre* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 2016), 137, 139.

<sup>71</sup> Cooper, “John Paul Jones,” 15.

<sup>72</sup> Woertendyke, *Hemispheric Regionalism*, 136-37.

<sup>73</sup> Mack, *The Sea*, 217.

<sup>74</sup> Herman Melville, *Israel Potter: His Fifty Years of Exile*, ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker and G. Thomas Tanselle (Northwestern U. Press, 2000), 169.

<sup>75</sup> Melville, *Israel Potter*, 62

<sup>76</sup> Other noteworthy treatments of Jones in nineteenth-century literature include Alexandre Dumas, *Le Capitaine Paul*, 2 vols (Paris: Dumont, 1838), which builds on Cooper and on Dumas’s own 1838 dramatic work *Paul Jones; Paul le corsair*; Pierce Egan the Younger, *Paul Jones*, 2 vols (London: F. Hextall, 1842); William Makepeace Thackeray’s unfinished *Denis Duval* (New York: Harper, 1864); and Rudyard Kipling, “The Rhyme of the Three Captains,” *The Athenæum*, 6 December 1890, which invokes Jones as part of an attack on literary piracy. Woertendyke also notes Jones’s appearance in works by Maturin Murray Ballou and by John Lauris Blake as a means to “establish the credibility of tales of piracy” (*Hemispheric Regionalism*, 116).

<sup>77</sup> Melville, *Israel Potter*, 132.

<sup>78</sup> *Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones*, vol. 2, 322.

<sup>79</sup> *Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones*, vol. 1, 155.

<sup>80</sup> Lord Byron, *Don Juan*, in *The Major Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Oxford U. Press, 1986), 3.53. Approaches to the question of the slave trade occur repeatedly in both Cunningham’s *Paul Jones* (e.g. 3.228) and Cooper’s *The Pilot* (e.g. 1.264); while Cooper

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would later apologise for Jones's own time working aboard a slaver by writing that, "the pursuit did not please him" ("John Paul Jones," 13).