New World Courtships
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NOTES

Introduction


5. Edmund Leites, The Puritan Conscience and Modern Sexuality (New Haven,
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8. Coontz, Marriage, a History, 146.

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17. Firestone, Dialectic of Sex, 119, 131.


25. Brownstein, Becoming a Heroine, xxi, xxiv.


27. For more on enslaved marriages, see Tess Chakkalakal, Novel Bondage: Slavery, Marriage, and Freedom in Nineteenth-Century America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Cott, Public Vows; Jennifer L. Morgan, Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Frances Smith Foster, Til Death or Distance Do Us Part: Love and Marriage in African America (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).


29. Hobomok was not Child’s only comparative work; widely read nonfiction such as The History of the Condition of Women, in Various Ages and Nations (1835) and The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages (1855) similarly operate in a comparative frame. Child was a Unitarian and her religious tolerance and liberal political beliefs led her to publicly advocate for abolitionism, women’s suffrage, and American Indian rights, among other causes. Child’s cultural and literary influences run deep. She published more than fifty books and wrote and edited foundational children’s texts, as well as writing numerous poems, short stories, and newspaper articles. See esp. Carolyn Karcher, “Introduction,” in Hobomok and Other Writings on Indians (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Carolyn Karcher, The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994).


31. See Mark Rifkin, When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8. I would not position Child’s efforts in the same arena as contemporary Native writers’ work; however, her attempts to locate appropriate ethnographic details demonstrate how she values a closer approximation of Native traditions over period stereotypes.

32. For instance, Mr. Higginson notes in his sermon that “the threshold of hell is
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37. Child’s revisionist history is most visible in her children’s book *The First Settlers of New England: The Conquest of the Pequods and Narragansetts and Pokanokets as Related by a Mother to Her Child* (1829) where she reads primary-source historical documents from New England for their “conquest” story—a move echoing Washington Irving’s “Philip of Pokanoket” (1819) and later redeployed by William Apess in *Eulogy on King Philip* (1836).


42. According to reports in the *Jesuit Relations*, there was considerable reluctance among the Wendat to convert because of the lack of divorce in Catholic theology. The “indissolubility of marriage,” wrote the Jesuit missionary Father Le Jeune in 1633, was one of “the most serious obstacles in the progress of the Gospel,” and one finds


1. *Why Marriage Mattered Then*


4. For more on the relation of the marriage-rites genre to the Marriage Act of 1753, see O’Connell, “‘Matrimonial Ceremonies Displayed,’” 98–116.


7. Ibid., 179, 223.

8. Ibid., 166, 175.

9. Ibid., vi, viii–ix.


11. Gayatri Spivack demonstrates how colonizers excused their colonizing actions by claiming that “white men are saving brown women from brown men” in “Can the


16. Bowles argues for Millar’s genuine curiosity about the status of women in various countries and historical periods, expressly resisting ideological readings of Millar and Scottish Enlightenment history as prescriptive—that is, imposing its normative values on other cultures. The difficulty with this argument, of course, is that it allows Millar’s theory to remain scientifically neutral, naively glossing over Millar’s rhetorical attempts to manage and control the category of women. Bowles’s claim for Millar’s neutrality proves especially troubling because it erases Millar’s attempts to manage the ideological implications of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) women’s authority: see Paul Bowles, “John Millar, the Four-Stages Theory, and Women’s Position in Society,” *History of Political Economy* 16, no. 4 (1984): 619–38.
17. Rifkin makes an argument for the ways that indigenous kin systems defamiliarize or “ queer” Western familial structures in When Did Indians Become Straight?


19. Ibid., 95, 98.

20. This argument surprisingly mirrors Niklas Luhmann’s more recent theory that mutual recognition is a central process in selecting a romantic partner: Luhmann, Love as Passion, 12; Millar, Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, 124.


22. Millar’s colleague Gilbert Stuart argues, in contrast, that northern Europeans had never treated women the way “ savages” supposedly did. Using the poems of Ossian as evidence of the more chivalric and gallant behavior of Highland men toward their women, Stuart plots a different schema for progress in the Germanic and Celtic regions. See Stuart, A View of Society in Europe, in Its Progress from Rudeness to Refinement (Edinburgh: Bell, 1778).


24. Ibid., 107.

25. Smits, “The ‘ Squaw Drudge.’”


27. Some restrictions between the sexes were beneficial, in Millar’s view, as too much heterosocial contact could lead to disrespect of women.


29. Ibid., 145.

30. Nancy Armstrong’s thesis that conduct books and fiction educated women to find pleasure in the domestic ideal is especially relevant here. See Armstrong, Desire and Domestic Fiction, esp. chap. 2.

31. In the late eighteenth century, Mary Wollstonecraft critiqued this species of male gallantry in her Vindications of the Rights of Woman. She advocated friendship over romantic love as the true basis of a companionate marriage. According to Barbara Taylor, Wollstonecraft believed that “ gallantry was politeness’s nastiest manifestation, substituting ‘ insolent condescension’ for true respect and fellow-feeling.” See Taylor, “ Feminists Versus Gallants: Sexual Manners and Morals in Enlightenment Britain,” in Women, Gender, and Enlightenment, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 43.

32. Millar, Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, 144, emphasis added.

33. Anticipating Friedrich Engels’s The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884), Millar argues that patriarchal relations between men and women were the foundation for increasingly complex relations of power—power that he would approve as civilization, but that Engels would critique as oppression. Both wrestled with Haudenosaunee gender traditions as complicating evidence.

34. Millar, Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, 117.

35. Ibid., 119, 121.

36. Ibid., 119.

37. Thomas Jefferson makes the circuitous claim that “ were we [Europeans and Euro-American colonists] in equal barbarism [with the Indians], our females would be equal drudges.” Furthermore, he notes, “ It is civilization alone which replaces women
in the enjoyment of their natural equality” in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 60.


42. Ibid., 49.


44. *Female American*, 50, 51.


46. Laura Stevens explores the way that missionary groups represented indigenous Americans as in need of rescue spiritually, physically, mentally, and culturally in *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
47. *Female American*, 110.
48. Ibid., 111–12.
50. *Female American*, 122, 123.
51. Ibid., 137, 139, 141.
54. *Female American*, 35.

2. **Comparing Rights, Comparing Stories**

2. Ibid., 28.
8. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*. Karen Anderson notes that the Jesuits’ only mention of Wendat women’s role in political life was to remark that the clans were matrilineal. She makes the claim that Wendat clan mothers could choose chiefs based on the similarity of social organization between the Wendat and Haudenosaunee, backing this claim with reference to Lafitau. Overall, there is more historical evidence for claims of a “gynocracy” among the Haudenosaunee than the Wendat, although the systems may have been fairly similar. See Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot*. I did not receive a reply to queries made at the Wendake reserve to confirm Wendat clan mothers’ roles in the selection of chiefs.
11. Ibid., 59.

13. It was not until 1993 that marital rape was finally recognized as a crime in all fifty United States.


15. Following Lawrence Stone’s claims that the rise of companionate marriage improved popular conceptions of and attitudes toward women, many historians have qualified and critiqued his claims. See note 7 in this book’s introduction.


19. Anderson argues that clan mothers appointed male clan leaders in Chain Her By One Foot, 107.


32. Ibid., 28.


34. Tom Porter, And Grandma Said . . . Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down through the Oral Tradition (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2008).


38. Brooke, Emily Montague, 40.


41. Ibid., 42.


43. Brooke, Emily Montague, 15.

44. Ibid., 16.

45. Ibid., 52. In this scene, Arabella asks in French if the women are from Lorette: “They shook their heads: I repeated the question in English, when the oldest of the women told me, they were not; that their country was on the borders of New England; that, their husbands being on a hunting party in the woods, curiosity, and the desire of seeing their brethren the English who had conquered Quebec, had brought them
up the great river, down which they should return as soon as they had seen Montreal” (52–53). Because they are explicitly not Wendat and because Arabella describes the women’s “privilege of chusing a chief” (59) and their customs of arranged marriage, I hypothesize that these women are Haudenosaunee—most likely Mohawk, traditionally known as “Keepers of the Eastern Door” of their homelands. While there is room for doubt, this attribution seems likely as most Algonquin groups further east were generally not as strongly matrilineal.

46. Ibid., 52, 58–59.
56. Plane offers fascinating readings of fragments of colonial record keeping to recover Native marriage practices in early New England: see Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*.
58. With the assistance of Herne and local officials, I was directed to Mitchell and McDonald, current office holders of traditional spiritual and community organization in their clans. For more on Mohawk border politics, see Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*.

62. On the Longhouse faith, see Chief Jake Thomas and Terry Boyle, Teachings from the Longhouse (Toronto: Stoddard, 1994); Anthony F. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (repr., New York: Vintage Books, 1972). Not all Haudenosaunee people adopted Handsome Lake’s Code; there is considerable disagreement over it to this day.


64. Personal interview, July 25, 2012.

65. Gerald Vizenor and others elaborate on the significance of this concept in Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).


68. Personal interview, July 26, 2012.

69. Mohawk notes that “The rights of individual young men and women were clearly subordinated to the perceived needs of the group by custom, and in this case, the defined group was the extended female family occupying the longhouse of the wife.” “Power of Seneca Women,” 26; see also n. 35, p. 34.

70. Personal interview, July 26, 2012.


72. McDonald draws on historical records and scholarship in these statements about eighteenth-century women’s choices; however, W. G. Spittal notes that Jesuit accounts of women’s premarital sex are imprecise about whether these practices were witnessed among the Wendat or the Haudenosaunee or both (Iroquois Women, 8). It is useful to keep in mind that sexual customs in the eighteenth century were significantly altered after the adoption of Handsome Lake’s Code in the nineteenth century. John Mohawk discusses changes to women’s roles in the wake of Handsome Lake’s Code in “Power of Seneca Women.”


74. Morgan claims, “In ancient times, the young warrior was always united to a woman several years his senior, on the supposition that he needed a companion experienced in the affairs of life. . . . Thus, it often happened that the young warrior at twenty-five was married to a woman of forty, and often times a widow; while the widower at sixty was joined to the maiden at twenty.” Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 322.

75. Personal interview, July 26, 2012.


80. Ibid., 183.
81. Ibid., 201.

### 3. Making Room for Coquettes and Fallen Women


2. Saint-Domingue, now Haiti, was the most profitable colony of the late eighteenth century. After Columbus claimed the island for Spain, naming it Hispaniola, it was later divided between Spain and France in the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick. The French-occupied portion was called Saint-Domingue. Sansay, like many US citizens, referred to the territory as St. Domingo (also San Domingo). During the French Revolution, when the colony’s enslaved population rebelled and declared themselves free citizens, Britain and Spain made their own unsuccessful attempts to acquire the colony. Eventually, the insurgent former slaves and the free black population, led by Dessalines, claimed independence from France and from slavery, largely expunging the white population and renaming the country Haiti. According to *Secret History*, the Sansays arrived in Saint-Domingue on the eve of Toussaint-Louverture’s arrest. There are many important studies of the Haitian Revolution and the French Caribbean; I have found the following especially useful: C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989); Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*; David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, eds., *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); David P. Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2004); Dorris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).


8. Ibid., 96.

9. See Hannah Foster, *The Coquette* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Dillon, *Gender of Freedom*, 184–96. Dillon’s work on both *The Coquette* and *Secret History* have been formative to my reading of Sansay.

10. These descriptions and quotes are all from Sansay, *Secret History*, 95.

11. Ibid., 87.

12. Ibid., 91–92.


16. Ibid., 92.


19. Ibid., 120.


23. Ibid., 140.

24. Ibid., 149.

25. In modern usage the term *Creole* marks a hybrid cultural identity and *creolization* is the process of syncretism or fusion between different cultures and ethnicities. Following Doris Garraway and Sean Goudie, I use the late eighteenth-century colonial
meaning of Creole, which referred to locally born white “Americans” (North, South, and Caribbean). Garraway cites the Dictionnaire Littré, where créole is defined as “‘homme blanc, femme blanche, originaire des colonies’ and the Petit Robert, where even today the word’s primary meaning is a ‘person of the white race, born in the tropical colonies, notably the Antilles.’” See Garraway, Libertine Colony, 20; Sean X. Goudie, Creole America: The West Indies and the Formation of Literature and Culture in the New Republic (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 8–9.

26. Felicity Nussbaum demonstrates how colonial economic practices displace sexuality on exotic women; Sharon Harrow tracks concerns about the spread of Caribbean moral vices “back home”; and Sean Goudie observes how the Caribbean becomes a foil for US claims of moral and political superiority in the Early Republic: see Nussbaum, Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Harrow, Adventures in Domesticity; Goudie, Creole America.

27. For one of many such reports, see Baron de Wimpffen, A Voyage to Saint Domingo in the Years 1788, 1789, and 1790 (London: T. Caldwell, 1797), 112–13.


29. As a “feme covert,” married women were legally “covered” or subsumed under a husband’s legal identity; see Cott, “Marriage and Women’s Citizenship in the United States.”


31. Ibid., 73.

32. Pennsylvania passed the Gradual Abolition Bill in 1780. Any children born of slave mothers after that date had to serve a lengthy “indenture,” but were freed after the age of twenty-eight. The state’s census records for 1810 record 795 enslaved persons living in Pennsylvania. See Joe W. Trotter and Eric L. Smith, eds. African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 44.

33. Sansay, Secret History, 95.

34. James, Black Jacobins, 32.

35. John Stedman’s description of his relationship with his “Surinam wife” Joanna, in Narrative of a Five Years Expedition in Surinam (1791), is one of the most extensive accounts of this type of arrangement; see: John Gabriel Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revoluted Negroes of Surinam (repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).


39. Gyssels observes that French Creole women in Saint-Domingue have received the least amount of historical scrutiny, in part because records from the period have so little to say about them. She turns to more recent “historical metafiction” to consider the complex psychological interiorities of French Creole planters’ wives in slave-holding Saint-Domingue. See Kathleen Gyssels, “‘Les Créoles Galantes?’ White Women and the Haitian Revolution,” Echoes of the Haitian Revolution, 1804–2004 (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2008), 95–110.

40. Caribbean mulatto woman’s sexuality should not be equated with US black women’s sexuality. Caribbean women of color, as a class, were generally free (though mulattos could be enslaved). They functioned as an intermediary class, maintaining the distance between racial slavery and white hegemony. Although women of color experienced real inequalities of power in their relations with white men, they were generally not violently coerced into such relations in the way that enslaved black women working on plantations frequently were. My concern here is to maintain the important distinctions between “black” US women (of all racial mixtures) and Caribbean women of color (generally a specific class of free women).

41. The quotes and descriptions appear in Sansay, Secret History, 95.


43. Garraway, Libertine Colony, 236.

44. Garraway, Libertine Colony, 194–239. Similarly, Dayan observes that mulatto mistresses “became the concrete signifier for lust that could be portrayed as ‘love’”; Dayan, Haiti, History, and the Gods, 56.


53. Ibid., 153.
56. George Simpson estimates that in the early twentieth century, the percentage of couples living in *plaçage* versus marriage is 80/20; see “Sexual and Familial Institutions in Northern Haiti,” *American Anthropologist* 44, no. 4 (1942): 655–74. Haiti’s class divisions are also racial divisions created precisely through this historic division between wealthy free people of color (who often acquired their wealth through inheritances from white planter relations) and poor black peasants (primarily the descendants of former enslaved peoples). Haiti’s wealthy mulatto population was (and is) more likely to participate in civil and religiously recognized marriage. Even Toussaint-Louverture’s 1801 *Constitution* sanctions this division of official “institutional” marriage as it “encourages the purity of morals, and therefore those spouses who practice the virtues their status demands of them will always be distinguished and specially protected by the government.” See Toussaint-Louverture, “From *Constitution of the French Colony of Saint-Domingue, 1801,*” in *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789–1804: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Laurent Dubois and John Garrigus (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2006), 167–70.
59. Ibid., 520.
68. Ibid.

4. A Postcolonial Heroine “Writes Back”

1. Three extant reviews, all published in 1810, are collected in appendix F of *The Woman of Colour: A Tale*, ed. Lyndon J. Dominique (Petersborough, ON: Broadview...
Editions, 2008). They include a March review in the *British Critic*, a May review in the *Critical Review*, and a June review in the *Monthly Review*. As Dominique observes, this is a remarkable amount of reviews in a year (1808) when more than one hundred novels were published, an unusually high number. In a flood of contemporary novels, then, *The Woman of Colour* stood out as review-worthy; Lyndon J. Dominique, “Introduction,” in *Woman of Colour*, 20.

2. For more examples of Romantic-period representations of women in the West Indies, see Harrow, *Adventures in Domesticity*.


5. Bannet, *Domestic Revolution*.


9. Ibid., 93.

10. Ibid., 92.

11. See appendix F in *Woman of Colour*, 257.

12. This and the preceding quote are taken from DuPlessis, *Writing beyond the Ending*, 5.


15. Ibid., 79.

16. Ibid., 85, 72–73.

17. One such example of the way that white creole women imitated mulatto women can be found in Baron de Wimpffen. He claims that mulatto women “are the envy and despair of the white ladies, who aspire to imitate them, and who do not see that it is impossible for the strong and glaring colours [of their clothes], calculated to animate the monotonous and livid hue of the mulatto, to harmonize with the alabaster and the rose of Europe!” Wimpffen, *Voyage to Saint Domingo*, 113–14, quoted in Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, 175.


21. Ibid., 73, 88.


24. Ibid., 110–11.

25. Ibid., 111.

27. Ibid., 31.

28. In the introduction to *The Woman of Colour*, Dominique cites the work of Garside, Raven, and Schowerling to debunk the attribution of *The Woman of Colour* to E. M. Foster, the author of the novels listed on *The Woman of Colour*’s title page, an attribution most likely placed there as a common publishing strategy for boosting sales. Such a move would give the impression that a new author was actually an established one. Dominique speculates that because the “editor” of the novel is specifically acknowledged to be a woman, the author is likely female; moreover, there were certainly a number of highly educated and relatively wealthy people of color living in London at the end of the eighteenth century, any one of whom could have written this novel. Although we may never know who wrote the novel, Dominique offers a tantalizing lead for the story’s origin: the real case of Andrew Wright, a white English planter from Jamaica, who died in 1806 leaving a strange clause in his will relative to his two illegitimate daughters of color. Wright insisted that both Ann and Rebecca Wright marry “in England” (presumably guaranteeing that they would marry white men in England). See Dominique, “Introduction,” in *Woman of Colour*, 11–42; Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schowerling, eds., *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographic Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, vol. 2, 1800–1829 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 69–70.


31. Ibid., 165.


33. I thank Nicole Clifton for pointing out this effect of Olivia’s “widowing.”

34. *Woman of Colour*, 182, emphasis mine.


37. This and the preceding quote are from ibid., 106, 107.

38. Ibid., 148.


5. **Bungling Bundling**

Notes to Chapter 5


4. Early Americanists are some of the nicest academics; thanks to Ed White, who generously recommended the bundling episode in The Life and Adventures of Obadiah Benjamin Franklin Bloomfield, M.D. and to the other members of the Society of Early Americanists (SEA) listserv who suggested additional instances of bundling while I was researching chapter 5.

5. See, for example, my discussion of Hymen: An Accurate Description of the Ceremonies Used in Marriage, by Every Nation in the Known World (1760) by “Uxorious” in chapter 1. The quotation is taken from Hymen’s subtitle.


7. A Friend to the Fair Sex, “To the Editor,” 491, 496, 497.


17. Smith and Hindus, “Premarital Pregnancy in America.”
23. Ibid., 101–2.
26. On the relationships between the urban and rural in early America, see Ed White, The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
29. For John Adams’s remarks on bundling, see Adams, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, 1:195–96 and 1:221. We cannot be sure that Abigail and John bundled, but we do know that they took a trip together before marriage, seemingly unchaperoned, and shortly after they were making plans for marriage. See Alaric Miller, “Serious Jesting: A Close Inspection of the Smith-Adams Epistolary Courtship Based on Their Early Love-Letters, 1762–1764,” Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, paper 3531 (University of Montana, 1997).
31. Ibid.
34. Ibid. Dana Doten argues that Yankee bundling was adapted from the Dutch practice of *queesting* in *Art of Bundling*, 33–52.


46. Martha Meredith Read, *Margarettta; or, The Intricacies of the Heart*, ed. Rich-

47. Edward Franklin, The Life and Adventures of Obadiah Benjamin Franklin Bloomfield, M.D.: A Native of the United States of America, Now on the Tour of Europe. Interspersed with Episodes, and Remarks, Religious, Moral, Public Spirited, and Humorous (Philadelphia: Published for the Proprietor, 1818). In his 1969 bibliography, Lyle Wright tentatively attributes the novel to its copyright holder, Edward Franklin; however, because I have been unable to locate any evidence of an Edward Franklin living in Philadelphia in 1818, I assume this name is a pseudonym. See Lyle H. Wright, American Fiction, 1774–1850 (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969), 47. I have found no reviews of the novel, and only one advertisement for the book by bookseller E. Goodale in the February 2, 1820, Hallowell Gazette (7, no. 5: 3), Hallowell, Maine. Accessed on March 21, 2013, through America’s Historical Newspapers.

48. In a separate essay in progress, I address Franklin and Sterne as Atlantic world models of self-fashioning in Obadiah. Notably, Jonathan Corncob also draws on Sterne’s suggestive breaks and pauses in the narrative to indicate sexual activity.

49. On the picaresque in early American fiction, see Davidson, Revolution and the Word. On the British picaresque, see Watt, Rise of the Novel.


51. Hymen includes an account of a “Hottentot” wedding replete with a priest who repeatedly “pisses” on the bride and groom; see “Uxorious,” Hymen, 197–98.

52. Italics in original. Franklin, Obadiah, 3–4.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 93–94.

55. Ibid., 93–94, 95.

56. I have italicized the Yankee’s dialogue for clarity; ibid., 97.


59. Cott summarizes how the rhetoric of mutual conjugal affection became a central metaphor for describing the system of governance imagined by the new nation’s founders in the late eighteenth century; both marriage and government were conceived as “voluntary union[s] based on consent.” See Cott, *Public Vows*, 10; Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims*, esp. chap. 4; Lewis, “Republican Wife.”


63. As such, the meanings of courtship are figured differently for white male and white female subjects in early national literature. Whereas Benjamin Franklin famously characterizes his premarital sexual activity as “errata,” the narrative trajectory of popular early American seduction novels makes the same premarital sexuality fatal for women. Dillon, *Gender of Freedom*, 130.

64. Obadiah’s father’s initial intention of setting him out for a religious career echoes Benjamin Franklin’s account of his father’s desire to “tithe” him to the church.

65. All of the preceding quotes come from Franklin, *Obadiah*, 25. The text leaves blank what Yorick catches hold of.


**Epilogue**


5. Rifkin, When Did Indians Become Straight?


9. Foster, ’Til Death or Distance Do Us Part. On slave marriage in literature, see Chakkalakal, Novel Bondage.


15. Brownstein, Becoming a Heroine, xxi; Boone, Tradition Counter Tradition, 6.


20. Ibid., xi.
