

esis

22

9x

621

JEFFERSON'S SELF AND OTHER: SUPPRESSING RACE, RELIGION, AND
WOMEN IN NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

NICOLE RENEE DE FEE

To the Graduate Council
STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Nicole Renee' de Fee entitled "Jefferson's Self and Other: Suppressing Race, Religion, and Women in *Notes on the State of Virginia*".
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree at Austin Peay State University, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under the rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of the source is made.

Permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this thesis may be granted by my major professor, or in his absence, by the Head of Interlibrary Services when, in the opinion of either, the proposed use of the material is for scholarly purposes. Any copying or use of the material in this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature Nicole de Fee


Date March 12, 2001

Accepted for the Council:

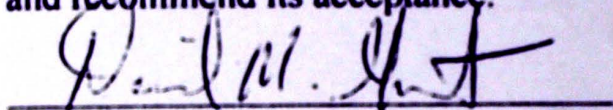
Parvin R. Watts
Dean of The Graduate School

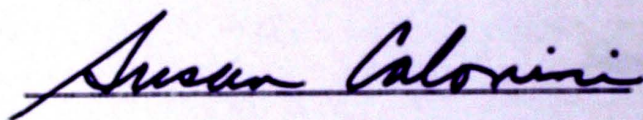
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Nicole Renee' de Fee entitled "Jefferson's Self and Other: Suppressing Race, Religion, and Women in *Notes on the State of Virginia*." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in English.

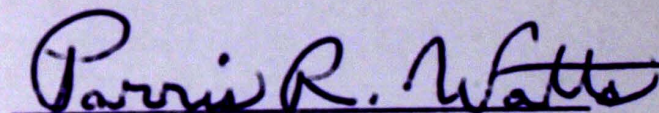

Michael Schnell, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:





Accepted for the Council:


Dean of The Graduate School

**JEFFERSON'S SELF AND OTHER: SUPPRESSING RACE, RELIGION, AND
WOMEN IN *NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA***

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents

Willis M. and Rita Horton

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

Austin Peay State University

Nicole Renee' de Fee

May 2001

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Michael Schnell for his support, guidance, and patience. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Dr. David Guest and Dr. Susan Calovini for their comments and assistance throughout this process. I would like to thank Dr. Susan Calovini for her friendship and support as well. I would like to thank my family: my parents, siblings, and my relatives spread throughout the state of Louisiana. Finally, I would like to thank Shelia Collins for her friendship and encouragement throughout my graduate school career.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents
Willis M. and Rita Horton
and
Levern and Gertrude Defee

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study examines an ideological and psychological connection among the three recurring subjects of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia—culture, nature, and the Other. This connection gives Notes an underlying thematic coherence. This study also argues that the coherence of Jefferson's Notes reveals a coherence among the process. I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Michael Schnell for his support, guidance, and patience. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Dr. David Guest and Dr. Susan Calovini for their comments and assistance throughout this process. I would like to thank Dr. Susan Calovini for her friendship and support as well. I would like to thank my family: my parents, siblings, and my relatives spread throughout the state of Louisiana. Finally, I would like to thank Shelia Collins for her friendship and encouragement throughout my graduate school career. Although they are not necessarily answered,

My study draws support from the and justification for Jefferson's thought through the examination of scholarly criticism as well as an examination of the works of some of Jefferson's contemporaries in order to illustrate the inherent coherence of the text. My study also examines Jefferson's connection to the text and his need to define the universal self versus the Other, as well as the connection between Jefferson's eventual alignment with eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought and concept of the universal self and the effect of this connection in relation to Jefferson's final queries in

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	INTRODUCTION	PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION.....	1
II	JEFFERSON, SENTIMENTALITY, AND THE THREAT OF THE FEMALE OTHER.....	9
III	JEFFERSON, SCIENCE, AND THE RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS OTHER.....	26
IV	THE BREAKDOWN AND DISSOLUTION OF JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSAL.....	43
V	CONCLUSION JEFFERSON AND THE TEXT.....	54
WORKS CITED.....		59
VITA.....		61

This study examines an ideological and psychological connection among the three recurring subjects of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia—culture, nature, and the Other. This connection gives Notes an underlying thematic coherence. This study also argues that the coherence of Jefferson's Notes reveals a coherence among the seemingly divergent strands of late eighteenth-century culture that Jefferson's text incorporates. The coherence of Notes comes most prominently to the surface in the query "Manners." In this query Jefferson's questions about life and existence culminate, although they are not necessarily answered.

My study draws support from the and justification for Jefferson's thought through the examination of scholarly criticism as well as an examination of the works of some of Jefferson's contemporaries in order to illustrate the inherent coherence of the text. My study also examines Jefferson's connection to the text and his need to define the universal self versus the Other, as well as the connection between Jefferson's eventual disillusionment with eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought and concept of the universal self and the effect of this connection in relation to Jefferson's final queries in the text.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	INTRODUCTION	PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
II.	JEFFERSON, SENTIMENTALITY, AND THE THREAT OF THE FEMALE OTHER.....	9
III.	JEFFERSON, SCIENCE, AND THE RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS OTHER.....	26
IV.	THE BREAKDOWN AND DISSOLUTION OF JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSAL.....	43
V.	CONCLUSION: JEFFERSON AND THE TEXT.....	54
	WORKS CITED.....	59
	VITA.....	61

"Manners." In this query Jefferson's questions about life and existence culminate, although they are not necessarily answered.

But elsewhere, too, Jefferson's questions about life and existence concern the connections among culture, nature, and the Other. In seeking the answers to these questions, Jefferson directly addresses the relationship between the universal (or "catholic" as Jefferson calls it) and the particular. Jefferson's book is clearly not a novel, and most critics have discussed *Notes* as sharing eighteenth century proto-scientific concerns with logic, law, and reason. Yet Jefferson's concern with the universal and the particular and the form in which the text is written echo traits of another form of eighteenth century thought and writing, sentimental fiction. The sentimental qualities of the text itself and perhaps even make possible Jefferson's rhapsodic poetic descriptions of nature. These same sentimental qualities also allow Jefferson to combine science, philosophy, poetry, and religion so that he may question the boundaries of self-definition

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study examines an ideological and psychological connection among the three recurring subjects of Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia—culture, nature, and the Other. This connection gives Notes an underlying thematic coherence. This study also argues that the coherence of Jefferson's Notes reveals a coherence among the seemingly divergent strands of late eighteenth-century culture that Jefferson's text incorporates. The coherence of Notes comes most prominently to the surface in the query "Manners." In this query Jefferson's questions about life and existence culminate, although they are not necessarily answered.

But elsewhere, too, Jefferson's questions about life and existence concern the connections among culture, nature, and the Other. In seeking the answers to these questions, Jefferson directly addresses the relationship between the universal (or "catholic" as Jefferson calls it) and the particular. Jefferson's book is clearly not a novel, and most critics have discussed Notes as sharing eighteenth century proto-scientific concerns with logic, law, and reason. Yet Jefferson's concern with the universal and the particular and the form in which the text is written echo traits of another form of eighteenth century thought and writing, sentimental fiction. The sentimental qualities of the text include and perhaps even make possible Jefferson's rhapsodic poetic descriptions of nature.

These same sentimental qualities also allow Jefferson to combine science, philosophy, poetry, and religion so that he may question the boundaries of self-definition

as he questions the “boundaries” of nature, specifically the state of Virginia. By defining the “boundaries” of the state of Virginia and writing Notes in the manner of sentimental thought and fiction, Jefferson also defines the boundaries around the female and different races, declaring them as distinctly “other.”

Jefferson establishes Virginia as the particular through which he will seek the universal. Thus Notes becomes not only a project of defining Virginia, but also of defining America, and ultimately of defining the self. As an attempt to discover the universality that underlies apparently disparate particulars, Notes becomes a search for universal origins. But even as Jefferson conducts a proto-scientific search for universal origins, his emotional effusions over the particulars through which he searches—and sometimes, especially in “Manners,” over the frustrations of that search—bring the search to a halt in a consideration of those particulars. He pauses to draw emotional conclusions from now central particulars. Hence his search for universality reveals that universality is not universality at all, that it is not an unchanging truth, but a shifting construct. Despite his best efforts not to acknowledge that the universal is dynamic, Jefferson is forced to do so again and again, most explicitly in his treatment of the self versus the Other.

However, criticism on Jefferson has not made these explicit links among culture, nature, and the Other, and their importance for Jefferson and Notes. Twenty years ago critics of Notes were discussing the structure of the text. Later they began to discuss Jefferson’s concept of the farmer and the man of the land. And recently they have been discussing race. In a 1978 essay, Clayton Lewis argues that Notes is not only unified, but also a unified work of literature, not merely a reference work of disorganized notes about

5
Virginia. Lewis claims that Jefferson's habitual style and his deliberate stylistic choices recreate his experiences in nature to involve the reader in the text. Thus they help to create the cohesive structure of the text and make Notes a work of literature.

Robert Ferguson also argues that Notes is a unified text, but he contends that it is unified because Jefferson models Notes after eighteenth-century legal compendia. Ferguson's argument starts to show how science affects the text, that it is used as a means of imposing order where there seems to be chaos, not only for the book, but for Jefferson's life and country. Ferguson also touches on Jefferson's need to use scientific and mathematical principles to define the land for his text.

Ferguson's reading of science as a means to impose order on chaos in Jefferson's text lays the groundwork for arguments concerning the placement of boundaries on nature. Harold Hellenbrand's argument shares elements of both Lewis's and Ferguson's. Hellenbrand argues that Jefferson's text is unified within the realms of literary discourse and society and is also, at the same time, concerned with the "philosophical assumptions ... of natural and civil law" (3). Like Ferguson, Hellenbrand argues that in Notes Jefferson looks to natural and civil law as he attempts to impose order upon chaos. By looking to natural and civil law, Jefferson seeks a model not only for a universal order into which humanity fits, but, within that, a political order that might unify a new and strife-ridden nation.

Hellenbrand also makes an initial connection between man and land, as well as initiating an abstract connection between woman and land. He contends that, for Jefferson, to have stability in an agrarian society, there should be a "marriage" between the farmer and the land, thus a direct correlation between stability in the agrarian society

and stability in the family. Hellenbrand also initiates an implied Other in his argument as well. He does not explicitly define “race,” “manufacturing,” and “women” as “others,” but argues that each of the three directly opposes Jefferson’s well-ordered world.

The connection between man and land is made even more explicit by Rosalie Baum. She not only examines how Jefferson’s ideal yeoman farmer has become a “myth” for American culture and how Jefferson’s perception of the farmer influences later perceptions of the farmer, but also examines how, for Jefferson, being a farmer connects humankind to the land and to Heaven, thus promoting society and a virtuous life. Baum, too, addresses the conflict Jefferson sees between an agrarian society and a manufacturing society. In this conflict, she also sees the possibility of a duality within Jefferson’s thought and psyche—an implied conflict of self and Other, agrarian and manufacturer. However, she contends that Jefferson is able to resolve the conflict between the two opposing forms of society through science; Jefferson applied manufacturing to farming and called it “experimental farming.” Without claiming to do so, Baum supports the hypothesis that Jefferson’s way of establishing order, or in this case making opposing objects fit, is through science.

Science and order continue to remain the key terms in Jefferson criticism, and Christopher Looby argues that Jefferson, like his naturalist contemporaries Bartram and Peale, did in fact look to nature for a model of order not only for man, but also for politics, and that he found this system of order in taxonomic classification. He argues that Jefferson views nature as a subject that can be dissected and classified neatly. Looby also addresses the problem that arises from this form of classification; no matter how much information one single person gathers about a subject, that subject can never be fully

known and understood by that one single person. Thus, according to Looby, the only thing that can fully understand society is society itself. Despite its faults, taxonomic classification still affords Jefferson a model that he hoped would order his politically unordered society. By examining Jefferson's search for political unity in nature as it could relate to society, Looby addresses the search for a universal language in nature.

The conversation shifts when Frank Shuffelton enters the discussion. His argument still deals with boundaries and classification, but on another level. Shuffelton designates Jefferson and Thoreau as boundaries, so to speak, of a discursive community; Shuffelton seeks to discover whom the discourse community found between Jefferson and Thoreau excludes. By doing so, Shuffelton argues, one learns more about the discourse community. As in Hellenbrand's argument, there is no specific definition of the "other," but Shuffelton implies this concept by looking at what Jefferson and Thoreau do not include in their views of the self.

Though Hellenbrand and Baum imply a connection between the female and the land, Gisela Tauber explicitly makes the connection. Tauber argues that Jefferson's Notes is an unconscious cathartic release of the anxiety he felt over the declining health of his wife and newborn child. Within the scope of her argument, she is able to make the connection explicitly between the female and the land by arguing that Jefferson recreates birth scenes in nature, thus making nature a maternal figure. She also introduces the idea that not only does Jefferson seek to find order in nature, but he also exhibits a need to "create" nature, and satisfies this need by "creating" Virginia. Tauber argues that Jefferson's organization of the text and description of Virginia follows a Biblical format in which Jefferson creates his own "Genesis" of Virginia.

Robert F. Dalzell, Jr.'s argument, though not specific to Notes, also addresses Jefferson's penchant for science and for creating. He contends that the building of Monticello by Jefferson reflects the post-Revolutionary American ideal of autonomy. Dalzell's argument echoes many of the criticisms specific to Notes, and within the context of criticism on Notes helps to illustrate Jefferson's concern with science, order, and creation. Dalzell argues that Jefferson's house reflected Jefferson—that it was suited to his tastes and his sense of individuality. Therefore, in a general way, Dalzell addresses Jefferson's search for the self and creation of identity.

In the mid to late 1990's, there was another shift in criticism on Notes, a turn toward reading race in the text. One argument that provides a foundation for discussion of race in Notes is Nicolas Hudson's, which concerns race in eighteenth-century thought in general. Hudson examines the evolution of the terms *nation* and *race* from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment and how the changes in meaning and understanding of the terms affected thought in the respective time periods. Hudson points out that the term *race* was used to demean as well as elevate status. Hudson also shows the correlation between the emergence of scientific classification of humans and the changing scopes of the terms *nation* and *race*. "Imagined communities," a term Hudson borrowed from Benedict Anderson, also emerge with the growing prominence of scientific classification. Hudson argues that their sense of the groups to which they belonged or wished to belong determined how Enlightenment thinkers used the terms *nation* and *race*.

Hadley Arkes also addresses Jefferson's view on race, more specifically slavery, in relationship to Jefferson's feelings about the French Revolution, which represented for

Jefferson the continuing fight for "universal liberty." Supporting the French Revolution provided Jefferson a rationalization for his support of slavery. Because Jefferson viewed the French Revolution, according to Arkes, as being similar to America's fight for liberty, Jefferson was able to rationalize the murders of innocents as unpleasant by-products of the Revolution. Jefferson, likewise, rationalized slavery in a similar manner, as an unpleasant by-product of America's search for liberty. Arkes also, in his criticism of O'Brien's The Long Affair: Thomas Jefferson and the French Revolution, re-introduces the possibility for a duality in Jefferson, though not in the same manner as Baum. O'Brien, according to Arkes, argues that there are two sides to Jefferson: the Jefferson who is a model for freedom and liberty, and the Jefferson who is a model for militiamen and genocide supporters. And, just as Baum shows how Jefferson uses science to reconcile manufacturing with agrarianism, O'Brien and Arkes show how Jefferson uses an account of the French Revolution to reconcile slavery with freedom. More directly than any other critic John Saillant addresses race and the racist implications inherent in the sentimental thought of Jefferson's Notes. He argues that as a sentimental thinker, Jefferson saw the world in black and white, both literally and figuratively. He also argues that Jefferson's "search" for universality contributed to the expatriation of black Virginians to Liberia. According to Saillant, feelings about race begin to change in Jefferson's day from a view similar to Jefferson's—a stark distinction between black and white—to a greater acceptance of moderation and diversity, even though Jefferson stays stagnant.

My study will add to those others by exploring explicitly, not implicitly, Jefferson's treatment of the Other versus the "self" in the search for a national, universal,

and individual identity. And, although Jefferson has been classified as a sentimental thinker, and although others have argued that Notes is a literary text, this study will draw the connection between Jefferson as sentimental thinker *and* Jefferson as writer. Part of Jefferson's ability to explore the self and the Other and the search for identity is directly related to his adoption of the "sentimental" form in his text.

My study examines these two major, but intertwined, components in three chapters. Chapter Two will focus primarily on establishing Jefferson's concept of the Other and the boundaries placed on the Other, through Jefferson's use of science and scientific classification in Nature. Though focusing primarily on Jefferson, this chapter will draw support from Jefferson's contemporary naturalists, mainly William Bartram, to illustrate the post-Revolutionary need to establish order in a politically unstable America and a sense of identity for the new nation. Chapter Three will continue to examine the Other and boundaries on the Other, but will examine sentimentality in Jefferson's text and the way Notes fits within the context of other sentimental writers like William Hill Brown and Hannah Webster Foster. Chapter Four will be a close examination of the query "Manners" and will seek to display how "Manners" is the cohesive focal point of the text.

in the self [which] disguises confusion as to the purpose of the self, politics yields to publicity" (255). Though she is not discussing Jefferson's Notes, I think no truer statement can be made about Jefferson's text. In trying to define himself though Notes on the State of Virginia, Jefferson, in a way, reproduces himself in his portrayal of Virginia.

And again, though Douglas is not speaking of Jefferson's text, her point that this production of the self disguises one's confusion about one's purpose is what I have been referring to as Jefferson's realization of the breakdown of the universal in the query

CHAPTER II

JEFFERSON, SENTIMENTALITY, AND THE THREAT OF THE FEMALE OTHER

In "Query XVIII: Manners," Jefferson attempts to describe the relationship between the universal, or *catholic* as he calls it, and the particular, in reference to the manners of Man. This explanation of the particular places Jefferson's proto-scientific work in the realm of the sentimental novel. Clearly Jefferson Notes is not a novel by any means, but the attempt to find a universal meaning through a particular is often considered by scholars, to be a characteristic of sentimentality and sentimental fiction. Like many works of early sentimental fiction, which were in epistolary form, Jefferson's text, too, is in epistolary form. Each chapter, or query, is an answer to a series of questions posed by Marbois in his attempt to learn more about America. Therefore, Jefferson's text can be seen as one side of the conversation between Jefferson and Francois Marbois, the secretary of the French legation to the Continental Congress. Furthermore, as Ann Douglas points out, one of the by-products of sentimentality, but also very much a convention of it, is that sentimentality results in "Replication of the self, absorption in the self [which] disguises confusion as to the purpose of the self; politics yields to publicity" (255). Though she is not discussing Jefferson's Notes, I think no truer statement can be made about Jefferson's text. In trying to define himself though Notes on the State of Virginia, Jefferson, in a way, reproduces himself in his portrayal of Virginia. And again, though Douglas is not speaking of Jefferson's text, her point that this reproduction of the self disguises one's confusion about one's purpose is what I have been referring to as Jefferson's realization of the breakdown of the universal in the query

"Manners." It is in "Manners" that the disguised confusion, to borrow from Douglas, becomes uncloaked.

Furthermore, in Jefferson's text as a work of sentimentality, politics indeed "yields to publicity" (Douglas 255). Many critics have argued that Jefferson's Notes is designed so that Jefferson could promote his politics. Thus Jefferson's text becomes a public medium through which to promote his thoughts and ideas. And this is all done through the particular of the state of Virginia. The conventions of sentimental fiction allow for Jefferson's poetic descriptions of nature, as well as Jefferson's combination of science, philosophy, poetry, and religion so that he may question existence through the "boundaries" of Virginia.

Another trait of sentimental fiction is its concern with the "woman question." Though Jefferson does not address this explicitly, his attempt to define Virginia, America, and the self are related to the problem and the threat of the female; in this problem lies Jefferson's quest for universality. Jefferson conducts his quest for universality as a teleological pursuit that has for its foregone conclusion not the universal of which the self is a part, but the universal that is the self. The definition of Virginia leads to the definition of America which leads to a definition of human and non-human nature, which leads to the definition of the self.

Jefferson's quest for universality begins immediately in "Query I: Boundaries." Jefferson begins Notes as his own story of Creation. As Gisela Tauber notes:

[Jefferson] begins the Notes with the "genesis" of Virginia, like God on the first day of creation forming the "mother country." For the most part, his chapters actually follow the order of Biblical creation or bear a striking similarity to the order in which God created the world. (638)

By creating an origin and defining the boundaries of Virginia, Jefferson places the question of universality within the question of origin because he begins his search for universality by seeking to find the origin from which all things come which is done by defining the particular of the state of Virginia. Also embedded deep within this question is the question of the self and the Other, in this case, the threat of the female Other to the male self. The threat of the female can only be contained if the male places limitation or boundaries on her. Hence, as Tauber points out, the "mother country" (the female) must be created by Jefferson (the male). Jefferson defines Virginia's boundaries in terms of land granted by various men of power:

These limits [boundaries of Virginia] result from, 1. The antient charters from the crown of England. 2. The grant of Maryland to the Lord Baltimore, and the subsequent determinations of the British court as to the extent of that grant. 3. The grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn, and a compact between the general assemblies of the commonwealths of Virginia and Pennsylvania as to the extent of that grant. 4. The grant of Carolina and actual location of its northern boundary, by consent of both parties. 5. The treaty of Paris 1763. 6. The confirmation of the charters of the neighbouring states by the convention of Virginia at the time of constituting their commonwealth. 7. The cession made by Virginia to congress of all the lands to which they had title on the North side of the Ohio. (4)

By defining what Virginia is by its boundaries, Jefferson also defines the Virginian, and by defining the Virginian in such a way, Jefferson simultaneously lessens the female threat. A Virginian is only a Virginian by living within the boundaries of Virginia as determined by men, therefore men have the power to bring forth or create the identity of men without the aid of the female. In giving themselves an autochthonous birth from a land they have brought into being, men create their own power to produce themselves in a solipsistic self-production. Thus they bring forth their own identity as the universal male. As he creates his own universality, this enlightened male appropriates to

himself the female power to give birth. So he eliminates the female exception to his universality. Of course, any exception necessarily threatens universality and the power it confers. However, this erasure of the female is not as tidy as it appears. The containment of the female by boundaries does not eliminate the female. As Tauber points out, Virginia is the "mother" country, and the land becomes a metaphor for the female. So, even in attempts to suppress or eliminate the female by constraining what is seen as the potential female threat, the female still exists. In Jefferson's attempts to find the universal through the particular, he must define himself by what he is not. He is male; therefore, he is not female. However, if he is to find the universal, what he is not, the Other, is still him, the universal self.

Jefferson does gender the land female. As Tauber notes, Jefferson has multiple descriptions of nature that represent a birth scene. One such description occurs in "Query IV: Mountains." Jefferson actually takes his audience through the entire act of procreation through his wildly erotic description of nature. He begins with the act of

intercourse: "[The] James and Patowmac [rivers] penetrate through all the ridges of mountains eastward of the Alleghany" (Jefferson 9). Though I will later argue that rivers are another way of Jefferson's gendering the land female, in this case, by designating the rivers as the objects penetrating the mountain, Jefferson distinctly genders the rivers male. Furthermore, gendering the rivers male here creates conflicting imagery. Female becomes male; male becomes female. Jefferson thus creates an image of the penetrating

female, the female who appropriates male power, the castrating female, an even more threatening object than just the female herself. The mountains may present either breast images or phallic images. Again, this is a possible image of the castrating female, and a

continued threat. Jefferson creates a scene of heteroeroticism, homoeroticism, and impotence, perhaps as an expression of the motives, self-contradictions, and frustrations of the universal.

However, as the description continues, this does not remain a scene of impotence, or still birth. The penetration of the rivers through the mountains produces an orgasm in nature: "In the moment of their junction [the rivers] rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea" (Jefferson 9). Jefferson then refers to the mountains as *she* and takes us through the birth process:

For the mountain, being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an indefinite distance in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach and participate in the calm below. (9)

Jefferson recreates the birth trauma, "the riot and tumult roaring around," and then delivers the reader, and symbolically himself, into "the calm below," into what he desires to be his peaceful, well-ordered world.

After experiencing this scene of nature, "the traveler himself is suggestively reborn" (Kolodny 28). The land (of Virginia) then, does present itself, though implicitly stated, as female. Jefferson never does explicitly designate the entirety of the land as female, but, as Annette Kolodny explains, Jefferson "continually hints at ... the essence of the pastoral paradox: man might indeed, win mastery over the landscape, but only at the cost of emotional and psychological separation from it" (28).

Julia Kristeva's essay on abjection offers a compelling explanation of the basis behind one's need to master that from which one separates oneself. She believes that there are three parts of self-identity—"I," "Other," and "alter-ego to Other." The "I" must expel the "Other," and at the same time, expel the "alter-ego," a part of the "Other." But

Kristeva contends that what is expelled is retrievable through that same expulsion in desire, joy, pain, or violence. Crucial, also, to the identity of the "I" is identity through the mother. Kristeva feels that one's identity is formed through the mother, not the father. For the child, the mother becomes the Other and the father is the "alter-ego" to the mother. The child must then devour the mother, either literally through breast milk, or figuratively by making the desires of the mother the desires of the child. The child seeks to be like the mother through mimesis. In order for the child to form his identity, the child must reject the mother who is now seen as the abject. Kristeva calls this reluctant rejection which leads to the repression of the desire for and of the mother (Kristeva 1-89).

In the abject, the expelled undesirable in this case which could be the "mother," loathes, and from loathing of the abject comes fear of the abject. Loathing the abject forms the frontier/boundary around self (Kristeva 1-32). The male need to form boundaries around the female is to contain her threat to male existence, which Jefferson initially tries to do in "Query I: Boundaries," and he exhibits the male need to detach himself from, while containing and defining, the female.

Notes shares the attempt to contain and define with sentimental fiction, which characteristically participates in and describes the placing of boundaries on female behavior. Placing boundaries on female behavior is also a way of dealing with the "woman question" that sentimental fiction seeks to explore. This type of restriction on the female is seen in the well-known novels of William Hill Brown and Hannah Webster Foster. In Brown's The Power of Sympathy, a woman's code of behavior is made very explicit by men, even as specific a restriction as to the types of books she *should not* read.

Mrs. Bourn asks Mr. Worthy what type of books he recommends her daughter read. He replies that

unless a proper selection is made, one would do better never to read at all.

The point of female education should be taken not to put those in the way of young persons, which might leave on their minds and disagreeable prejudices, or which has a tendency to corrupt their morals. (Brown 20)

His response is reaffirmed by Mr. Holmes:

We wisely exclude these persons from our conversation, whose characters are bad, whose manners are depraved, or whose morals are impure; but if they are excluded from an apprehension of contaminating our minds, how much more dangerous is the company of those books, where the strokes aimed at virtue are redoubled, and the poison of vice, by repeatedly reading the same thing, indelibly distains the young mind?... Novels, not regulated on the chaste principles of true friendship, *rational love*, and *connubial duty*, appear to me totally unfit to form the minds of women, of friends, or of wives. (Brown 20-21, my emphasis)

Women, therefore, should follow the guidelines of what men have established for them. Additionally, not only is the female's code of behavior defined by men, but the passage above also implies the need to place restrictions on the emotions of the female, as connoted by the phrase "rational love." Emotions are traditionally seen by men as opposed and inferior to reason, and as distinctly feminine. "Rational love" would not be entirely an emotion. If women must adopt a masculinized version of love, they lose one of the traits defined as distinctly female and accept the belief that love is inferior to reason and can only be justified if it is rationalized—that is defined and prescribed by men. This in turn becomes another way in which male power seeks to control and contain what it perceives as a female threat.

Still addressing what women should and should not read, Mr. Holmes further recommends that women read satire for the benefit of their selfhood:

Satire is the correction of vice and follies of the human heart; a woman may, therefore, read it to advantage. What I mean by enforcing this point, is, to impress the minds of females with a principle of self-correction....
(Brown 27)

The point of female self-correction is to lead to her self-knowledge which should lead her to an understanding of her boundaries. However, self knowledge for the female is only good if she understands and accepts her boundaries. Hannah Webster Foster's cautionary tale, The Coquette, illustrates what happens when the female breaks from her boundaries as predetermined by the patriarchy and becomes a threat to the order of manners already established.

In this first letter of this epistolary novel, we learn that Eliza Wharton's fiancé has died. She hopes his death will prompt her to realize "the fading nature of all sublunary enjoyments and the little dependence which is to be placed on earthly felicity" (Foster 107). But it does not. Instead, she realizes that her happiness comes from what she finds pleasurable, and as a result, she refuses to engage herself, and to place herself under the control of another man again. She allows herself to be courted by and seen with numerous men, and the presumptions and conclusions made by society about her virtue, as well as her eventual pregnancy, destroy her reputation and lead her to a life of exile. Because she tries to escape the boundaries placed on her, the rules of conduct she must follow, she is labeled a coquette, and her story becomes an illustration of the disaster that awaits the unconstrained female. Ironically enough, Eliza is still a threat even after she dies. Even in her misconduct as a woman, she is still able to receive the forgiveness of another woman, her mother; thus she is absolved of her sins and able to transcend the boundaries that contained her, and she is able to go to Heaven. The inscription on her headstone illustrates her absolution and transcendence:

restrained by man, then both men and This Humble Stone,
 also exited and becomes a "vagabond" In Memory of
 apocalyptic allegory of the ELIZA WHARTON,
 her death shortly thereafter re Is Inscribed by Her Weeping Friends,
 and harder to be fertile and product To Whom She Endear'd Herself by Uncommon
 with the implications of dimin Of Calm Resignation. ... (242)
 concerned with restraining the Painful Scene, Far from Every Friend;
 self and the Other through the And Exhibited an Example
 Of Calm Resignation. ... (242)

Jefferson continues to place boundaries around the female in the query following
 However, her expulsion from society also deeply affects the male who put forth
 "Boundaries," Query II: Rivers. Water is typically seen as a female image, in the
 the most effort to try to contain and to restrain her, Major Sanford. He destroys her by
 implications that it both brings life and sustains life. Jefferson's descriptions and
 trying to force her to operate within her designated code of behavior, and hence he forces
 classification of rivers becomes a form of control for Jefferson. The result is a
 a separation between the male and the female. Eliza's story then, becomes a metaphor for
 After creating Virginia by separating it from everything else in "Query I: Boundaries"
 the same pastoral paradox Kolodny points to in Jefferson. Sanford's control over the
 "Boundaries," Jefferson continues to mimic the Bible separating the land from the water in
 woman (Eliza) does not give him the sense of control and conquest he assumed the power
 "Query II: Rivers." However, he also symbolically creates an Adam and Eve in the
 over the female body would give him:

Thus, that splendor and equipage, to secure which, I have sacrificed a
 virtuous woman, is taken from me; that poverty, the dread of which
 prevented my forming an honorable connection with an amiable and
 accomplished girl, the only one I ever loved, has fallen, with redoubled
 vengeance, upon my guilty head; and I must become a vagabond in the
 earth! (238)

Sanford continues in his agony: "While my being is prolonged, I must feel the
 disgraceful, and torturing effects of my guilt in seducing her!" (239).

Eliza's story can therefore be read as a different type of cautionary tale, and not
 one aimed at women either. If Eliza represents Nature, or a mother land, unduly

restrained by man, then both men and Nature will eventually be destroyed, for Stanford is also exiled and becomes a "vagabond in the earth" (238). Foster's novel becomes an apocalyptic allegory of the destruction of Nature. Eliza's birth of a still-born child and her death shortly thereafter represent a weakened nature for whom it is going to be harder and harder to be fertile and productive for man. Like Sanford, Jefferson is not concerned with the implications of diminished fertility in a constrained Nature. He is more concerned with restraining the threat of the female, finding the universal, and defining the self and the Other through the boundaries of the state of Virginia.

Jefferson continues to place boundaries around the female in the query following "Boundaries," Query II: Rivers. Water is typically seen as a female image, in the implications that it both brings life and sustains life. Jefferson's descriptions and classification of rivers becomes a form of control for Jefferson.

After creating Virginia by separating it from everything else in "Query I: Boundaries," Jefferson continues to mimic the Bible separating the land from the water in "Query II: Rivers." However, he also symbolically creates an Adam and Eve in the description of the two main rivers from which the most estuaries flow, the James and the Elizabeth. Furthermore, the Elizabeth river is part of the James river. So, just as Adam was the first man, so the James seems to be the river from or into which most others flow. Just as Eve comes to Adam as a helpmate, the Elizabeth river seems to represent a helpmate for the James. And, though these rivers are vital for life in general, how vital they are for Jefferson is determined largely by how much he can manipulate them for his use.

Identified and determined by their "male" function. Furthermore, the river's navigability can be controlled and manipulated by man, as in the case of Jackson's River.

Jefferson again oddly yokes male and female symbols, but unlike the birth scene in the query on mountains, the yoking of male and female symbols is a result of Jefferson's containment of the female. Jefferson does imply late in the query that the rivers have a gender of female when he refers to the "bosom" of the Ohio river (10). But, more oddly, for Jefferson the typically male symbol of a warship, a symbol of distinct male military power is female, as it was by convention for his contemporaries: "The Strafford, a 60 gunship went there, lightening *herself* to cross the bar at Sowell's point" (Jefferson 5, my emphasis). He links the same images again on the following page: "A gunship goes to James town, and, lightening *herself*..." (Jefferson 6, my emphasis). As in the aforementioned birth scene with the mountain, there are a number of conflicting images here. The feminized gunship may be seen as a castrating female image, therefore posing an even greater threat to the male. Or, by masculinizing the female image, she becomes a threat to herself because she has been defeminized and teeters on the brink of her own annihilation. If the female image becomes masculinized, then she is useful only to the point of her own masculinization, in which case then the masculinized female image exhibits the male control over the female body. However, there is still a symbiotic relationship between the female ship/river and the male. The river's usefulness is determined by the gunship's ability to navigate it. The more navigable the river, the more time Jefferson spends describing it. Likewise, the gunship's usefulness is determined by the river's navigability. Therefore, the gunship may be seen as a "she-male," and though both the gunship and the river are identified as female, their usefulness and their purpose are identified and determined by their "male" function. Furthermore, the river's navigability can be controlled and manipulated by man, as in the case of Jackson's River:

the expence [sic] would not be great, when compared with its object, to open a tolerable navigation up Jackson's river and Carpenter's creek, to within 25 miles of Howard's creek of Green briar, both of which have then water enough to float vessels into the Great Kanhaway. In some future state of population, I think it possible, that its navigation may also be made to interlock with that of the Potowmac, and through that to communicate by a short passage with the Ohio. (Jefferson 6)

As earlier pointed out by Kristeva, one way to retrieve that which is expelled is through violence. And again, one way to form one's identity is through imitation of the mother. In these scenes with the gun ships on the river, and the attempt to masculinize the female in order to lessen the threat of her, the pastoral paradox resurfaces. In Jefferson's attempt to master the river either with the use of gun ships or by manipulating its navigability, Jefferson becomes less and less connected to Nature as he alters it through the forces of man. To recover what is lost, Jefferson uses violence to manipulate the land to make it more a part of him—to regain a sense of control. The two processes exist simultaneously. Furthermore, instead of Jefferson seeking to imitate the female, he tries to create a sense of self by making the female more male and more like him. Therefore, by making the land more masculine, he creates a false sense of his own security and identity in Nature. He can manipulate Nature, at least at this point, to reflect what he wants to find, therefore creating his own perceived universal.

Jefferson continues to define the female based on her purpose in relationship to her usefulness to the male. This occurs again in "Query VI: Productions Mineral, Vegetable and Animal." In this case, Jefferson does not focus on a female image but on the female herself. Jefferson portrays the female Native American's purpose as being in direct relationship to the function she serves for her husband. Jefferson observes that the female is submitted to undue drudgery and that she is "habituated to labor" (60). Already

she is masculinized, not in a way that makes her a further threat to the male, but less female and therefore less of a threat. Because the female is "habituated to labor," she "very frequently [attends] the men in their parties of war and hunting" (Jefferson 60). Jefferson's description of the labor of the female implies that the livelihood and survival of the nation depends on her ability to serve her husband in the field. This does not put her in a position of power, but instead forces her to submit to the needs of the tribe or nation, therefore sacrifice herself to the will of her husband and follow him into the field for war and hunting.

The ability of the female to accompany the male also conflicts with the female function of child-bearing. A wife with child becomes an inconvenience for the male who requires her help in the field, and the pregnant wife becomes a threat to the existence of the tribe. As a result, Jefferson notes, the Native Americans "have learnt the practice of procuring abortion by the use of some vegetable; and that it even extends to prevent conception for a considerable time after" (60). On the surface this seems to be a reasonable benefit for the tribe, and Jefferson seems almost to laud this ability. Subversively, the exercise of abortion and contraception can be an exercise of male control over the female body. If men directly or indirectly stop or prevent what is considered the definitive female function or trait, childbirth, they rob the female of part of her feminine identity. Her femininity must be virtually eliminated until it serves the male purpose for the female to have children.

Likewise, when the female Native American becomes the wife of a white man, her purpose changes to suit the white husband's needs. Since the white man does not need his wife to accompany him to the field for the survival of the family, he can afford

to have her pregnant all of the time. Jefferson illustrates this "phenomenon": "The same Indian women, when married to white traders ... produce and raise as many children as the white women" (61). Jefferson, himself a white man, seems to hold this ability due to change of circumstance and purpose in high esteem. The Indian woman can be elevated to the status and purpose of the white woman, to be the wife of a white man and to be the mother of his children.

As Jefferson continuously defines the female by her boundaries, and therefore defines himself as that which is not included in the boundaries he defines, he continues to embody the pastoral paradox; in his attempt to contain and master the female, he separates himself from the female/land. His aforementioned rebirth in the query "Mountains" illustrates the paradox, but the pastoral paradox becomes even more complex as Jefferson is not only reborn, but also returns to the womb in "Query XI: Aborigines". Jefferson's excavation of the Indian burial ground represents his birth and his return, while at the same time reiterating the abject (the mother) which Jefferson tries to expel while simultaneously becoming a part of it.

Kristeva contends that "the corpse, the most sickening of wastes, is a border that has encroached upon everything" (3). In this sense, then, the Indian burial ground is the abject with which Jefferson is confronted. Jefferson finds in the corpses of the Indians the border which is the border between the object and the abject, the border of the mother that is at the same time destroyed and consumed. The act of excavation requires Jefferson literally to dig up the earth (the female), thus destroying her. Though the earth was first dug into to create the burial site, the burial was not an act of destruction, but a symbolic return to the mother and a literal return to the earth; therefore, the destruction of the earth

was a serene return to the womb. The trauma of the destruction caused by digging leads to eternal peace and serenity in the earth. However, because Jefferson is digging up what was once seen as peace he creates a disruption and therefore a destruction of the earth, or the mother.

[The bones] were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass, distant parts were found together ... so as, on the whole, to give the idea earth without any attention to their order. (98)

Jefferson's purpose for digging up the Indian burial ground represents his quest for origins and the universal. He finds that when the first Indian dies he is "placed erect and earth put about him, so as to cover and support him" (Jefferson 98). When the next Indian and subsequent Indians die, "a narrow passage [is] dug to the first, the second something to be repulsed because the birth does not lead to peace and serenity. The earth reclined against him, and the cover of the earth replaced, and so on" (Jefferson 98). Burying each dead Indian as reclining on the one before it suggests a sense of commonality, even a sense of common origin. A sense of a universality is confirmed by the way in which they are buried. All share the same grave; all share the passage of return to their origin. The idea of a common origin in this burial scene is reified by the "narrow passage" leading to the Indian corpses; it represents a birth canal leading back into the rejection of the mother. The attempt to know and to confine her inevitably leads to his womb, a womb from where all seem to come. The "birth canal" in this scene is, however, an abject birth canal because it works in both directions. It creates a passage that not only signifies a return to the womb, but it also signifies an exit from the womb; it expels while at the same time it consumes. The scene is a scene both of life and death. Jefferson must examine death, the corpse, in order to understand the nature of life. In its expulsion and return to the womb because he is travelling back into the disharmony and trauma of the birth process, and he is returning to the earth, a symbolic return to the mother. And, in death, "the most sickening of wastes," the corpse (Kristeva 3).

As illustrated by this scene that a return to the womb inevitably must destroy the ... Jefferson has to destroy the earth to discover the passage to return to a deeper part of the earth. Jefferson's return to the womb illustrates the unconscious realization

that is The abjection of the birth canal image becomes evident when Jefferson finds the disharmony to which it leads. Jefferson does not find that this rebirth leads to peace and serenity:

[The bones] were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass, entangled and held together in clusters by the earth. Bones of the most distant parts were found together ... so as, on the whole, to give the idea of bones emptied promiscuously from a bag or basket, and covered with earth without any attention to their order. (98)

By illustrating that the passage leads to a scene of confusion, the mother becomes something to be repulsed because the birth does not lead to peace and serenity. The earth here also represents death, as in the Kolodnian reading of Eliza Wharton's story as one in which the male destroys himself by destroying nature. This is an earth whose fertility is being vanquished. She leads to desecration, not harmony.

Jefferson's excavation also represents a defilement of the mother, and within the context of the pastoral paradox and the abject, Jefferson's excavation is a reluctant rejection of the mother. The attempt to know and to confine her inevitably leads to his separation from her. And, in the excavation, Jefferson is placing a boundary upon the land, by manipulating it to serve his own purposes, to understand the burial practices of the Indians. Jefferson's discovery of the passage does represent a rebirth for him because he becomes aware of something previously unknown, but at the same time, this is a return to the womb because he is travelling back into the disharmony and trauma of the birth process, and he is returning to the earth, a symbolic return to the mother. And, it seems as illustrated by this scene that a return to the womb inevitably must destroy the female. Jefferson has to destroy the earth to discover the passage to return to a deeper part of the earth. Jefferson's return to the womb illustrates the unconscious realization

that is drawing closer to consciousness as the query "Manners" approaches, that the self and the Other are part and parcel of one another. Jefferson becomes part of the land as he excavates it to find the nature of origin and universality.

Though Jefferson seeks to find the answers to his questions about universality through the boundaries of the state of Virginia, what he finds instead are complicated female images which pose a threat to his existence and to his concept of the universal male self. He continuously attempts to find ways in which to force the female Other to fit within his definition of the self. He attempts to make her less Other than she is. He realizes, however, that although the female can and, he implies, must be contained, he slowly realizes that he can only exist if the female Other exists. But, this still presents to Jefferson a problem in his concept of the universal. As seen in Eliza's story, and in Jefferson's description of the Indian burial ground, the destruction of the female leads to stagnation and to the possibility of death. So, if the universal is stagnant, the universal is death and origin. For Jefferson, then, if he finds the universal, he finds his own annihilation.

does not answer his questions in "Query XVIII," they become much more lucid, despite the confusing prose. The question that becomes most clear is the question of a universal origin.

Also in "Query XVIII: Manners," Jefferson directly addresses the relationship between the universal (or as he call it, the "catholic") and the particular. Jefferson's concern with the universal and the particular is important not only because it places Jefferson's proto-scientific work in the realm of sentimentality, but also because it gives Jefferson a way in which to attempt to find a universal origin. The "boundaries" of Virginia, with which the text opens, become the particular through which Jefferson seeks

CHAPTER III

JEFFERSON, SCIENCE, AND THE RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS OTHER

"Men and manners," according to William Bartram, "undoubtedly hold the first rank [in nature]" (13). So, at least according to Bartram, and arguably according to his contemporary fellow naturalists, humankind is not only part of, but the foremost part and best example of nature. If man is a part of nature, even a microcosm of nature's workings then presumably the answers or the keys to man's existence can be found by looking into nature. At least it seems that finding the keys to humankind's existence is what Jefferson tries to do in his Notes on the State of Virginia. Jefferson tries to make explicit the link Bartram makes among man, nature, and existence, and in turn this link connects the seemingly disparate parts of Jefferson's text. Jefferson's "Query XVIII: Manners" seeks to explain what Bartram merely points out about the connection among man, nature, and existence. Jefferson's questions about life and existence culminate in "Manners." Although he does not answer his questions in "Query XVIII," they become much more lucid, despite the confusing prose. The question that becomes most clear is the question of a universal origin.

Also in "Query XVIII: Manners," Jefferson directly addresses the relationship between the universal (or as he call it, the "catholic") and the particular. Jefferson's concern with the universal and the particular is important not only because it places Jefferson's proto-scientific work in the realm of sentimentality, but also because it gives Jefferson a way in which to attempt to find a universal origin. The "boundaries" of Virginia, with which the text opens, become the particular through which Jefferson seeks

to find the universal. Notes, through the guise of defining Virginia, is an attempt also to define America and ultimately the self. For if Jefferson can define the self, then he will have uncovered the unknowns of humankind's existence.

In his proto-scientific approach to doing so, Jefferson lapses into poetics and philosophical thinking as a result of what he witnesses in nature and humankind. These lapses prompt him to realize that his ultimate goal in defining the self and finding the universal origin cannot be had through scientific categorization and order. In Jefferson's attempt to establish universality through reason and rationality, he realizes that universality is not a stable construct. The universal is always and everywhere, or it is nothing. At any given moment, the universal must incorporate everything that precedes and everything that succeeds it. Consequently, the universal of any moment differs from the universal of any other moment. Therefore, the universal is not always, but differs from one time to another. The universal is always dynamic and hence always unattainable. Jefferson's text slowly illustrates this inability, as both a proto-scientific and a philosophic work. As "Query XVIII" approaches, both Jefferson the proto-scientist and Jefferson the philosopher unravel the universal even as they weave it.

Despite Jefferson's best efforts not to acknowledge the shifts in his universal, they appear again and again in his text in his treatment of the self versus the Other, most prominently in the discrepancy of treatment of different races (Native Americans and African Americans) as Other and his view and treatment of women as Other. The way in which Jefferson observes nature in an attempt to answer his larger question of origin and universality is a direct result of the problem of the dynamic universal as well as a direct result of Jefferson's view of self versus Other. For Jefferson, like other eighteenth-

century naturalists, ordering and classification in nature means that there is a hierarchy and a purpose for all things within nature—not that there are several equal categories, but that each category has its own place and its own purpose, and its orders within the scope of Nature.

Like Jefferson, another prominent eighteenth-century American naturalist, William Bartram, also presents a conflicting view of nature. On the one hand, he presents all of nature as being equally important in the favor of God:

In every order of nature we perceive a variety of qualities distributed amongst individuals, designed for different purposes and uses; yet it appears evident that the great Author has *impartially distributed his favors to his creatures*, so that the attributes of each one seem to be of sufficient importance to manifest the divine and inimitable workmanship. (Bartram 14-15, my emphasis)

Though each creature may be different, each creature's purpose and function is equal (here) in stature to that of its other fellow creatures. However, just a short moment after establishing equality within nature, Bartram establishes a hierarchy as he describes some of the more "useful tribes" of plants that

are conspicuous for stateliness, figure, or splendor, yet their valuable qualities and virtues excite love, gratitude, and adoration to the great Creator, who was pleased to endow them with such eminent qualities, and reveal them to us for our sustenance, amusement and delight. (15)

Here Bartram creates a hierarchy in nature as attributed to God, and regardless of whether Jefferson attributes this same hierarchy to God, he is still able to find the same hierarchy in nature by defining things according to their use and purposes. However, one must also make Jefferson's assumption that the same natural law that applies to plants and animals applies to mankind. Inevitably, if this is true, then certain members of mankind must be superior to other members of mankind as determined by their purpose and use.

The use of the word *tribe* here, even in the context of the description of plants, conspicuously calls to mind images of Native Americans commonly distinguished from one another according to their *tribe*. And, as Nicolas Hudson points out, at this time the word *tribe* “was increasingly used to replace ‘nation’ in descriptions of ‘savage’ peoples outside of Europe” (248). Within the context of both Bartram’s observations of nature and Hudson’s statements on “tribes,” it is not surprising that Jefferson’s language and descriptions of Nature and Native Americans reflect both concepts of nation and tribe.

Though Jefferson does not delineate rivers into tribes, he certainly places the highest value on the rivers which are the most useful to man. He pays little attention to Indians, in a subversive way, is describing their usefulness as well. By comparing Logan rivers that do not serve his purposes. The description of the Piankaintank is but one of many examples: “*Piankaintank*, the little rivers making out of *Mobjack bay* and those of the Indian Chief to the great Greek and Roman orators, Demosthenes and Cicero, many examples: “*Piankaintank*, the little rivers making out of *Mobjack bay* and those of Jefferson refutes Buffon’s argument that America is degenerative. For Jefferson the *Eastern shore*, receive only very small vessels, and these can but enter them” (7, failure of Native Americans in general to reach their full potential does not attest to the original emphasis). In the course of three lines, Jefferson describes the unusefulness of presumed degenerative atmosphere of America. Instead, Jefferson does not allow not one but what appear to be several rivers. On the other hand, those that are the most occasionally for the influence of civilization and for rare anomalies because Nature is useful to man, such as the Ohio (whose sublimity coincides with its usefulness) and the universal and hierarchical. Native Americans are simply presumed to be in a lower rivers flowing from her, elicit the most attention from Jefferson.

One of Jefferson’s descriptions of the Native Americans in “Query VI:

Jefferson implies that there is a natural deference on the part of the Native American to Productions Mineral, Vegetable and Animal” sounds more like Bartram’s description of the whites. [The Native American] will defend himself against an host of enemies, plant tribes. Describing the potential for “genius and mental powers” of the Indian, Jefferson writes,

Hence eloquence in council, bravery, and address in war, become the foundations of all consequence with them. To the acquirements, all their faculties are directed.... Of their eminence in oratory, we have fewer examples.... Some, however, we have of superior lustre. I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan.... (62)

Since Jefferson seeks and finds an order in Nature, and since Jefferson sees Jefferson's use of words like "eloquence," "eminence," and "lustre" echoes Bartram's Nature as being directly related to man, it seems almost inevitable that Jefferson looks to use of similar language in the plant-tribe passage above, for Bartram uses words like "stateliness," "eminent," and "splendor" which invoke similar responses and lead to similar interpretations of both passages. Both Bartram's and Jefferson's passages illustrate that admiration of an object or an object's illustration of "eminent qualities" is enough to designate its purpose in the order of Nature, for its purpose then is only to be institutionalized science, as the organized discovery of truth, could serve as a model for admired by others. And, though Jefferson's description of the rivers is more explicit in its explanation of purpose and usefulness, Jefferson also, in the above passage on the Indians, in a subversive way, is describing their usefulness as well. By comparing Logan the Indian Chief to the great Greek and Roman orators, Demosthenes and Cicero, Jefferson refutes Buffon's argument that America is degenerative. For Jefferson the failure of Native Americans in general to reach their full potential does not attest to the presumed degenerative atmosphere of America. Instead, Jefferson does not allow comfortable with the idea of classifying humans in the same manner as plants and occasionally for the influence of civilization and for rare anomalies because Nature is animals (252).

universal and hierarchical. Native Americans are simply presumed to be in a lower classification than white men. They would be in this lower classification anywhere. Jefferson's description and treatment of African Americans in *Notes* clearly reflects both of these ideas. In "Query XIV: Laws," Jefferson's description of African Americans becomes a ludicrous parody of scientific thought; he even teeters on the edge of classifying African-Americans as a species other than human: [The Native American] will defend himself against an hose of enemies, always chusing to be killed, rather than to surrender, thought it be to the whites, *who he knows will treat him well?* (59-60, my emphasis). The suggestion here is that regardless of the potential the Native American has to evolve from his savageness, he inherently knows the civility of the white man, but would rather defer to his natural, submissive place in Nature.

Since Jefferson seeks and finds an order in Nature, and since Jefferson sees Nature as being directly related to man, it seems almost inevitable that Jefferson looks to the order found in nature and devises a system of politics based on the same type of scientific classification he uses to order nature. If nature governs itself with a hierarchical system, then, too, so should man. Christopher Looby argues that Jefferson did seek social order in natural order. Like most Enlightenment thinkers, Jefferson believed "that their savageness and inferiority, but also gives them credit for having some sort of institutionalized science, as the organized discovery of truth, could serve as a model for governing process. For Jefferson, though the appearance and the customs of the Indian the organization of state and society" (Looby 261). A system as taxonomy allowed make him different from the white man, he is still man. Whereas, according to Jefferson, Jefferson to make nature a model for political organization. Also an inclusive feature of the black slave is so different in feature, custom, and mental capacity that it is hard for an this form of classification, as Looby points out, is that it allows for classification based on intelligent person to consider the black slave a man.

"the surface appearance of things: it assigned particular things to particular categories according to outward features" (262). And, as Hudson notes, the use of the word *race* human for his ideas on universality to make sense. As Looby pointedly concludes his begins to appear in scientific literature around the same time people began to become article, "[E]vidently a being that disrupts the ordered categories of nature is bound to comfortable with the idea of classifying humans in the same manner as plants and make political trouble somewhere" (269). In his well-ordered society, Jefferson must animals (252).

Jefferson's description and treatment of African Americans in Notes clearly black slave, both by category and by physical distance. To establish his own universality, reflects both of these ideas. In "Query XIV: Laws," Jefferson's description of African he must banish the Other from it.

Americans becomes a ludicrous parody of scientific thought; he even teeters on the edge of classifying African-Americans as a species other than human:

However, like John Mandeville, Jefferson in his representation of the Indian makes "the strange familiar and the familiar strange" (Greenblatt 43). Hence, Jefferson constructs what [W]hether a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, [they] are inferior to the whites in the endowments of both body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose, that different species of the same genus, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications. *Will not a lover of natural history then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eyes of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them?* (143, my emphasis)

serves his purposes to refute Buffon's claims, Jefferson must turn the Native American into the Mandevillian Other, therefore illustrating their proximity in human nature to their contemporaries to dehumanize African Americans to place them in a species or sub-species other than humanity proper. When Jefferson describes the Native American woman as being "submitted to unjust drudgery" (60), he quickly turns around to say that "Were we [civilized white Americans] in equal barbarism, our females would be equal drudges" (Jefferson 60). Jefferson explains the differences between Native Americans and whites as a result of circumstances; "The causes of [the difference] are to be found, not in a governing process. For Jefferson, though the appearance and the customs of the Indian make him different from the white man, he is still man. Whereas, according to Jefferson,

Again, when Jefferson describes the child bearing practices of the Native American women and their ability to prevent conception and "procure abortion" in order to be more useful to their men in the field, Jefferson also shows their ability to act like intelligent person to consider the black slave a man.

Jefferson almost has to identify his black slave as being a species other than human for his ideas on universality to make sense. As Looby pointedly concludes his article, "[E]vidently a being that disrupts the ordered categories of nature is bound to make political trouble somewhere" (269). In his well-ordered society, Jefferson must place the most conspicuous Other somewhere else, and in doing so, he tries to remove the black slave, both by category and by physical distance. To establish his own universality, he must banish the Other from it.

However, like John Mandeville, Jefferson in his representation of the Indian makes "the strange familiar and the familiar strange" (Greenblatt 43). Hence, Jefferson constructs what I shall call the "Mandevillian Other." In his attempt to refute Buffon's contention that America is degenerate, Jefferson shows that the Native American is not so Other as originally perceived also illustrates Jefferson's ongoing search for the universal. By describing the Native American as closer to the self, Jefferson justifies and acknowledges the possibility that both the Native American and Jefferson can be Virginians. They both have the same origin, and therefore have the same reason for being a part of the same land. Though Jefferson inherently maintains throughout the text that the Native Americans are inferior to whites, when it

serves his purposes to refute Buffon's claims, Jefferson must turn the Native American into the Mandevillian Other, therefore illustrating their proximity in human nature to their white, European counterparts. When Jefferson describes the Native American woman as being "submitted to unjust drudgery" (60), he quickly turns around to say that "Were we [civilized white Americans] in equal barbarism, our females would be equal drudges" (Jefferson 60). Jefferson explains the differences between Native Americans and whites as a result of circumstances: "The causes of [the difference] are to be found, not in a difference of nature, but of circumstance" (Jefferson 60).

Again, when Jefferson describes the child bearing practices of the Native American women and their ability to prevent conception and "procure abortion" in order to be more useful to their men in the field, Jefferson also shows their ability to act like white men. Conversely, the Native American has every reason to fear Bartram. The white women when their circumstances change. Jefferson observes that

The same Indian women, when married to white traders, who feed them and their children plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from excessive drudgery, who keep them stationary and unexposed to accident, produce and raise as many children as the white women. Instances are known, under these circumstances, of their rearing a dozen children. (61)

Jefferson takes what seems to be a foreign idea of child bearing practices and an odd trait

of Native American women and shows how under different circumstances, the Native American woman is startlingly similar to her white female counterpart. This perception that the Native American is not so Other as originally perceived also illustrates

Jefferson's ongoing search for the universal. By describing the Native American as closer to the self, Jefferson justifies and acknowledges the possibility that both the Native American and Jefferson can be Virginians. They both have the same origin, and therefore have the same reason for being a part of the same land.

The perception of the Native American as being more self than Other also occurs in Bartram's Travels. As we find out, Bartram's perception of the Native American is the same as the Native American's perception of Bartram, that both are barbaric men with the intent to kill the Other. When Bartram first encounters the Indian and sees his rifle, Bartram is positive the Indian is there to kill him once he has spotted Bartram:

On perceiving that he was armed with rifle, the first sight of him startled me, and I endeavored to elude his sight ... but he espied me, and turning short about, sat spurs to his horse and came up on a full gallop. I never before this was afraid at the sight of an Indian.... I saw at once, that being unarmed, I was in his power ... and I resolved to meet the dreaded foe.... (43)

Having never feared an Native American before, and letting his fear overcome his rational sensibilities, Bartram assumes an armed Native American must be out to kill white men. Conversely, the Native American has every reason to fear Bartram. The Native American has a "look of malice, rage, and disdain," but his speech demonstrates a much different intent:

White man, thou art my enemy, and thou and thy brethren may have killed mine; yet it may not be so, and even were that the case, thou art now alone and in my power. Live, the Great Spirit forbids me to touch thy life; go to thy brethren, tell them thou sawest an Indian in the forest, who knew how to be humane and compassionate. (44)

The Native American seems to have every reason to distrust Bartram, especially after we learn that he was treated harshly by the white men at the trading post the previous day. Although in Bartram's narrative, Native Americans never mistreat him or his brethren, he acts as if they have. Both Bartram and the Native American perceive each other as the barbaric one; each assumes the other will needlessly kill what the other perceives as his natural foe. Bartram, however, shows that the Native American is not far removed from his white audience. Though the Native American has been wronged, he turns the other

cheek, eschews retaliation, and thus demonstrates the Christian virtue of love of one's enemies.

What Jefferson, however, is unable to do, is likewise to acknowledge the humanity he shares with the black slave. As for Mandeville in his treatment of Jews, for Jefferson African Americans are so far opposite himself that he cannot make them fit into his concept of universality. Mandeville describes the lack of physical skill of the Jewish race because of their inability to escape from the prison of nature in which they seem to be enclosed, except for the rare anomaly of the race who breaks through by way of a man-made trail. The Jews are further immured because they speak only Hebrew; therefore they are unable to communicate with others outside of their implied natural habitat. Mandeville also implies that, because they cannot learn any other language, they will not unite with the Christians, and, because they will not learn any other language, they will unite against the Christians (Mandeville 166). Jefferson, likewise, views black slaves, and the African race in general, as being so inexplicably outside of himself that he cannot include them in his well-ordered universe of Virginia. He must therefore physically place them somewhere else; hence he proposes that they be sent to the West Indies.

Like black and white, religion and science cannot coexist in Jefferson's universal. Jefferson's discussion of the schist and the mysterious shell formations leads him to consider and reject three hypotheses concerning their origin. His way of carefully discounting each hypothesis, by applying science to refute religious assumptions, and then applying religious principles to explain what he cannot prove with science,

illustrates another aspect of the breakdown of the self versus the Other: Jefferson the scientific/rational self versus the religious/irrational Other.

Jefferson determines that the first of the three hypotheses, a universal flood, is not impossible or unreasonably unlikely. Given certain religious assumptions, a logical interpretation of the phenomenon would be through the "flood" archetype. Jefferson refutes this hypothesis, but does so in a way that is inoffensive. Instead of labeling the hypothesis as completely unreasonable, Jefferson concedes that a flood might have deposited shells on high ground, then uses science and logic to carefully point out why a "universal" flood is impossible. By giving some credit to the very slight possibility, Jefferson incorporates the concept of the Mandevillian Other here. By scientifically explaining away the religious theory without dismissing its potential for validity, Jefferson presents the Other/religion as not being so far removed from the self/science.

Jefferson's use of science to debunk a religious theory in turn leads him to another religious/archetypal explanation. If science leads him to a non-scientific explanation, then the Other, religion, cannot be so far removed from the self, science. And the second hypothesis Jefferson refutes echoes the Biblical creation of the earth, that the earth was covered with water and the earth rose through the water creating land. Again, Jefferson carefully uses a scientific explanation not only to lend credit to the hypothesis, but finally to refute it. Jefferson again concedes that such an event may have happened, but explains there is no recorded scientific data that could prove that parts of the earth heaved themselves through the water to produce land; therefore, this cannot be a feasible explanation of the shell formations (32). Jefferson concludes that this hypothesis is not satisfactory.

Once Jefferson finds what he thinks to be a rational explanation of the shell formation, as put forth by Voltaire, Jefferson applies the same method of logic and reasoning to show why Voltaire's explanation is wrong. But instead of applying science to debunk religion, Jefferson does just the opposite and applies a religious explanation to refute the rational explanation. Jefferson questions nature's ability to form such formations under Voltaire's hypothesis. In fact, according to Jefferson, this hypothesis is so improbable that not even Voltaire himself could prove his own idea. Upon recognizing this, Jefferson allows for a possible divine intervention in the creation of the shell formation:

There is a wonder somewhere. Is it greatest on this branch of the dilemma; on that which supposes the existence of a power of which we have no evidence in any other case; or on the first, which requires us to believe the creation of a body of water and its subsequent annihilation? (33)

Besides, Jefferson creates a dilemma for himself here. He cannot allow for the flood that there should not be philosophical dilemmas of any kind because science can provide because, as he asks rhetorically, are we to believe in "the creation of a body of water and its subsequent annihilation?" (33). Whether there is a religious or scientific explanation, Jefferson cannot allow for a nature that destroys what it produces. Water cannot create life, and then destroy it. This is the same reasoning behind Jefferson's belief that the mammoth still exists somewhere in North America. His argument that the mammoth still exists is premised on the assumption of the temporal universality of nature:

Such is the oeconomy of nature, that no instance can be produced of her having permitted any one race of her animals to become extinct; of her having formed any link in her great work so weak as to be broken. (53-54)

It is important not only for Jefferson's refutation of Buffon's argument, but also for his view of the self versus the Other that the creator not be the destroyer. If water, the bringer of life, also has the power to destroy what it creates, and if mother nature provides the

that religious and civil freedom are incompatible in what should be a well-ordered world.

Yet, under the laws of Virginia, a person with unorthodox beliefs will be punished.

Punishment may even extend to the loss of parental rights:

A father's right to the custody of his own children being founded in law on his own right of guardianship, this being taken away, he may of course be severed from him, and put by the authority of a court, into more orthodox hands. (159)

Jefferson goes on to point out the fallibility of this reasoning:

The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit [to government]. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no god. (159)

He seems to advocate religious freedom because belief in monotheism, polytheism, or atheism does not injure him. However, as his argument continues, Jefferson mentions that there is a "true religion," and that reason and free enquiry will "[bring] forth every false one [religion] to their tribunal, to the test of their investigation" (159). So, though

Jefferson seems to advocate religious freedom and diversity, he at the same time contends that exploration of different religions, through reason, will lead to a "true religion," in other words, a universal, single, verifiably true religion that will not allow for diversity.

The concept of universality continues at this point to break down even further. Jefferson contends that "Truth can stand by itself" (160). If this is so, if truth is already there to be plainly seen, why must man seek to find it? And, if "Truth can stand by itself," why must man need reason and free enquiry to protect truth against error? If reason and free enquiry exist to seek and to protect truth, then truth cannot stand on its own. If truth by its very nature is universal, the universal, hence the universal is not

stable. Jefferson's reasoning continues to falter as he proceeds to address matters of opinion: "Should all fall under Religion. However, what becomes confusing about Jefferson's

logic in this section is his attempt to subject opinion to coercion: whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? (160)

This last question is an odd question for Jefferson to pose. Uniformity, even of opinion, should be inevitable if one is speaking of universals. If there is a universal truth, then that truth is the same for everyone and everyone would know the same thing, believe the same thing; therefore, opinion and variety in belief would cease to exist. The universal does not

allow for diversity, and, earlier in his conclusions about race and religion, neither did Jefferson. Furthermore, Jefferson refers to a lack of religious freedom metaphorically as a

form of physical slavery. This metaphor is especially important in the context of this query because of the query that follows it, "Query XVIII: Manners," which deals with religion:

Difference of opinion is advantageous in religion ... Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. (60)

Jefferson embarks on a diatribe against coercion into uniformity. Although the question of diversity does present itself as an interesting problem under Jefferson's system of scientific classification, his reasoning behind religious diversity leaves his argument in a muddle of incompatibility and incomprehensibility. Jefferson's system of classification does allow for a degree of diversity within a group. For example, trees themselves are one category, and though there are many different types of trees, a tree is nonetheless still a tree. Therefore, no matter what type of religion one practices, by their nature it is still religion, and under Jefferson's system, monotheism is still a theism like polytheism and

atheism, and there should be no need to delineate the groups as different religions, but they should all fall under Religion. However, what becomes confusing about Jefferson's logic in this sense, is that for him in this case, diversity leads to the universal. Religious diversity promotes free enquiry, therefore it leads to one "true religion." And, even more confusing is Jefferson's acceptance that without reason and rationality, man cannot get to the "true religion," which would seem to mean that reason and rationality cannot exist without eventually finding its irrational counterparts. Therefore, the self and the Other cannot exist without its opposite, thus paving the way for the almost complete recognition of the breakdown of the universal.

Furthermore, Jefferson refers to a lack of religious freedom metaphorically as a form of physical slavery. This metaphor is especially important in the context of this query because of the query that follows it, "Query XVIII: Manners," which deals with slavery. Though Jefferson seems to be wholeheartedly concerned with religious enslavement, one has to wonder whether his language is also meant to evoke the image of legal and physical slavery of the plantations of the South. And in the last paragraph of the query, not only does Jefferson write of tribulations that may come with true religious freedom, but he also seems to foretell the Civil War and the problems that succeeded it:

[T]he way to silence religious disputes, is to take no notice of them ... A single zealot may commence persecutor, and better men be his victims.... From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting of effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion. (161)

Jefferson then seeks to explore the consequences of these final sentences of this query in the next query, "Manners," and tries to reconcile the contradictions he has established to this point regarding his search for universality and the possible co-existence of the self and the Other.

Jefferson begins "Query XVIII: Manners" by writing, "It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether catholic, or particular" (162). He acknowledges that people follow no set standard of manners. He therefore acknowledges that there are no universal manners. Were there an unconditional standard which all men followed, there would be the universal for Jefferson to observe. The standard here is the universal. Also in this opening statement, he begins to realize the fault of his method of searching for the universal through the particular: "It is difficult to determine... the standard, whether catholic, or particular" (162). Implicitly, it is impossible to find the standard/universal whether one looks for the universal in the universal itself or in the particular. Therefore, the attempt to find the universal and define the American and ultimately the self through the particular of the boundaries of the state of Virginia will be difficult. Viewing the habits of man in the state of Virginia does not lead, Jefferson concedes in his opening statement, to a discovery of the habits of all men. However, though Jefferson claims that it is "difficult to determine" standards of judgment, "whether catholic, or particular," he is not entirely convinced that the universal does not exist. He simply concedes at this point, especially after his call in the previous query "Religion" for diversity in religion, that the search has just become harder than he thought.

Jefferson appears as if he is going to give a well-thought out discussion of the manners of men, for he next writes, "It is more difficult for a native to bring to that

CHAPTER IV

THE BREAKDOWN AND DISSOLUTION OF JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSAL

Jefferson begins "Query XVIII: Manners" by writing, "It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether *catholic*, or *particular*" (162). He acknowledges that people follow no set standard of manners. He therefore acknowledges that there are no universal manners. Were there an unconditional standard which all men followed, there would be the universal for Jefferson to observe. The standard here is the universal. Also in this opening statement, he begins to realize the fault of his method of searching for the universal through the particular: "It is difficult to determine... the standard... whether *catholic*, or *particular*" (162). Implicitly, it is impossible to find the standard/universal whether one looks for the universal in the universal itself or in the particular. Therefore, the attempt to find the universal and define the American and ultimately the self through the particular of the boundaries of the state of Virginia will be difficult. Viewing the habits of man in the state of Virginia does not lead, Jefferson concedes in his opening statement, to a discovery of the habits of all men. However, though Jefferson claims that it is "difficult to determine" standards of judgment, "whether *catholic*, or *particular*," he is not entirely convinced that the universal does not exist. He simply concedes at this point, especially after his call in the previous query "Religion" for diversity in religion, that the search has just become harder than he thought.

Jefferson appears as if he is going to give a well-thought out discussion of the manners of men, for he next writes, "It is more difficult for a native to bring to that

standard the manners of his own nation familiarized to him by habit" (162). Given Jefferson's previous treatment of the Native Americans, one might assume that he would show how the habits and customs of Native Americans resembled those of their white counterparts. In such a way, Jefferson would be able to show how the particular manners of the inhabitants of Virginia illustrate the manners of the universal self. Instead, Jefferson peculiarly leaps from the subject of the Native Americans to slavery's influence on the whites. Ironically, Jefferson still makes assumptions that indicate he is searching for universal truths about manners through the particular instance, or manner, of slavery. But in attempting to find the universal, he realizes that the universal is not what he thought—a well-ordered world containing only the self and its equivalents.

Throughout the query in his discussions of masters and slaves, and parents and children, Jefferson shows that the self and the Other co-exist. Although he does not realize the implications of their coexistence until the end, early in the query he attempts to orient everything toward the self. The slave is not yet treated as a person, but as a commodity. Therefore, the slave is still far removed from the self, but not recognized as an Other and remains within an appropriate category for Jefferson's well-ordered world. Jefferson writes, "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other" (162). It seems as if Jefferson does not even know that his arguments for rational thought and reason are beginning to falter. For when he continues, "Our children see this ["boisterous passion," "unremitting despotism," "degrading submissions"], and learn to imitate it..." (162), Jefferson indicates that children can learn the "boisterous passion" of slavery. Imitation, then, according to

Jefferson, is the way in which one learns and is educated. So "passion" is something learned by imitation, and if passion is able to be learned, it then becomes something that is a product of culture. Passion ceases to be an emotion and becomes something concrete. Here, Jefferson makes a connection among reason, rationality, education, and passion.

Jefferson then contradicts himself. He insinuates that men are controlled by their passions and the man who does not allow passion to influence him must be exceptional: "The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances" (162), these "circumstances" being passion. If passion is equally adept at governing behavior as rational thought, then passion and rational thought must not be as different as Jefferson argues they are. This, then, inherently changes Jefferson's view of the male and the female. Even though passion represents the female and rational thought represents the male, each representation is equally as powerful in influencing behavior as the Other. Jefferson reaffirms the female threat. Rational thought and passion are equal if both are equally adept at governing behavior; however, the "passionate" influence is one that is bad, one that must be controlled because it creates the evils of slavery. Thus the female still poses a threat to the well-being of the male.

Furthermore, Jefferson claims that passion is part of the commerce of slavery. The passion of the business is what makes slavery despicable in Jefferson's eyes. It is not the inherent inhumaneness of the practice of slavery, but the intrusion of passion in it. But like "Query XVII: Religion," "Manners" is fraught with contradictions. Passion is learnable, therefore it becomes a product of one's culture, thus something tangible, thus rational. Even so, passion is undesirable; thus, it cannot be rational, but must be irrational. Additionally, in the manner of sentimentality, passion is something exclusive

to women and the woman's sphere. Jefferson's problem with passion may be its implied connection to the woman's sphere. If passion encroaches upon commerce, then femaleness encroaches upon maleness, and Jefferson is uncomfortable with such encroachments, as he has already demonstrated in previous queries.

Still, it seems that the one problem Jefferson has with slavery is the "passion" which slavery evokes governing the actions of the masters. Jefferson implies as much: "If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be sufficient if the child is present" (162). If a parent could teach a child the ways of slavery, and do so without teaching passion, then it seems as if slavery is at least compatible with rationality.

Slavery, without passion, is business. Business defines the male sphere, and because it is part of the male sphere, it is considered rational and reasonable because rationality and reason also define the male sphere. Therefore, the promotion of slavery is the promotion of business; thus slavery must promote rational thought and reason. If the child learns the business of slavery without learning passion, the child may be present when the parent deals in matters of slavery. However, the glaring contradiction Jefferson has presented is still in play; slavery provokes passion in men. The child, then, who imitates his father in the business of slavery learns passion, not rationality and reason.

Furthermore, passion and tyranny, according to Jefferson, are intimately entwined. One begets the other, and both are evil. Passion feeds off of and is nurtured by tyranny:

The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. (162).

Since passion is often linked to femaleness, and if passion causes the destruction of morals, then the female and representation of the female must inherently be amoral and contain the ability to corrupt all that is moral—its opposite, the male. If so, this type of conclusion about femaleness provides Jefferson with another reason, or excuse, to contain and restrict the female body and all represented by it, including slavery. The passion that feeds tyranny, the passion that causes the corruption of morals and industry, is the cause of slavery. Tyranny, then, is also not a quality of rational men or rational thought, nor is it associated with the male sphere. If tyranny is governed by passion, and especially if they serve to promote despotism and the “trampling on the rights of the other” (162), neither are qualities of rational men, then by default, tyranny is also an undesirable quality associated with the women’s sphere and femaleness.

Jefferson’s sense of the universal becomes further complicated and complex when he concedes that the rights of the “other,” presumably the slave, are being trampled. The qualities that define the undesirable and irrational aspects of slavery also define femaleness. The connection between slave and femaleness is strengthened when one considers the slave’s connection to the land. The slave does the actual toiling of the generations proceeding from him” (163), Jefferson nevertheless acknowledges that the land. He is in direct connection with “mother nature.” Ironically, Jefferson’s yeoman slaves do have rights. As beings with rights, the slaves are presumably part of the humankind whose inalienable rights Jefferson has asserted in the *Declaration of Independence*. This is a gross contradiction from Jefferson’s earlier assertion that the actual toiling and labor involved, yet the slave is not awarded the same degree of agricultural piety. Instead, the slave’s connection to the land holds more similarity to the African-Americans cannot even really be considered part of the human race but are a female’s connection to the land, one which subjects itself to domination beyond its will separate species altogether. The implication that slaves are human beings continues to but also threatens the power of the white male to govern his surroundings effectively. illustrate the breakdown of Jefferson’s universal.

Thus the man who does not have control over his slaves and his land implicitly promotes the female threat of power, which exponentially grows if the destruction of his industry of self yet, nor is he prepared to recognize the self as having an Other. So, Jefferson must results from his being governed by his passions. will call for the expatriation of the slaves, though he does so less conspicuously now.

Since passion is often linked to femaleness, and if passion causes the destruction of morals, then the female and representation of the female must inherently be amoral and contain the ability to corrupt all that is moral—its opposite, the male. If so, this type of conclusion about femaleness provides Jefferson with another reason, or excuse, to contain and restrict the female body and all represented by it, including slavery. The unconstrained female is poisonous and evil and threatens to contaminate the male. Therefore, slavery and the symbolic female represented by land must be contained, especially if they serve to promote despotism and the “trampl[ing] on the rights of the other” (162).

Jefferson’s sense of the universal becomes further complicated and complex when he concedes that the rights of the “other,” presumably the slave, are being trampled.

Whether the slave comes to realize or recognize his rights and tries to attain them through some means, or whether the slave “entail[s] his own miserable condition on the generations proceeding from him” (163), Jefferson nevertheless acknowledges that the slaves do have rights. As beings with rights, the slaves are presumably part of the humankind whose inalienable rights Jefferson has asserted in the *Declaration of Independence*. This is a gross contradiction from Jefferson’s earlier assertion that African-Americans cannot even really be considered part of the human race but are a separate species altogether. The implication that slaves are human beings continues to illustrate the breakdown of Jefferson’s universal.

However, Jefferson is not fully prepared to incorporate the slave into his concept of self yet, nor is he prepared to recognize the self as having an Other. So, Jefferson must still call for the expatriation of the slaves, though he does so less conspicuously now:

For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another....
(163)

What Jefferson insinuates is that slavery will exist as long as the descendants of slaves are born in the United States. Slaves, then, must bear their children in a country in which they are not slaves. For Jefferson, this solves two problems: it rids the country of slavery, passion, and the feminine threat which accompanies them, and it removes those whom he believes the universal self cannot include. Jefferson still cannot accept diversity in the human race because to do so alters his concept of self and universality. The universal, for Jefferson, is not diverse, does not change. It is the one true thing. The universal self for which Jefferson searches cannot, by his definition of universal, incorporate the slave into the self, nor can he even identify the slave as Other at this point because the universal self, for Jefferson, does not include a concept of Otherness.

Jefferson does, however, concede that slaves rights. He even goes so far as to acknowledge that they have God-given rights and that infringing upon these rights not only desecrates the liberties of the nation as a whole, but will also provoke the wrath of God:

And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they cannot be violated but with his wrath? (163)

Though Jefferson has been struggling throughout the entire text to devise a universal and well-ordered world, at this point Jefferson's argument dissolves completely. He acknowledges that slavery destroys the morals, liberties, and industry of the nation, the same nation of which Jefferson finds himself a part, and in doing so allows for slaves to be encompassed into his concept of the self. Jefferson also assumes the existence of God,

which he has previously questioned. He also skirted around the issue of the possibility of a divine power, but here Jefferson fully acknowledges one God. He also acknowledges that this God must intervene to guarantee the moral nature of the universe. This is quite a departure from the self-regulating universe Jefferson assumed earlier. Also by acknowledging one God as giving rights and liberties to all men, including slaves, Jefferson acknowledges a common origin. Yet this acknowledgment only complicates his attempt to construct universality. He contends now that the slave is the definitive Other, but even so, he fears the wrath of God in the self's treatment of the Other. He realizes, too, that he has provoked wrath in his quest for universality, which has resulted in the acceptance and even condoning of slavery and of the symbolic and literal restriction of women. And this realization evokes terror in Jefferson:

I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference. (163)

Jefferson who has been driven by reason and rationality in his pursuit of universality and the definitive self, now seems overcome by passion and irrationality. Jefferson gives credit to everything he had heretofore deemed unacceptable or illogical by acknowledging not only God, but also a "supernatural interference," something which neither Jefferson's use of science, rational thought, nor reason will be able to prove.

Furthermore, he acknowledges that man cannot change without the help of "supernatural interference." This seems to suggest that man is not even really guided by his own reason, that only divine intervention can enforce change. Jefferson completely negates Enlightenment notions that people have the capacity to create a "more perfect" his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of

government, or that people have the capacity to create the best of all possible unified, well-ordered worlds. Mankind, thus, is guided more toward evil than good; only intervention from outside the world of mankind can improve that world. Since mankind as a whole leans more toward evil than good, especially under the influence of passion, women, who represent passion also represent a threat to humanity. Yet here, too, Jefferson's attempt to draw boundaries around the self fails, for the female returns in the passions and injustices of the male who attempts to define a just and unimpassioned male state by driving women and people of African descent from it.

Having acknowledged what he has heretofore refused to acknowledge, Jefferson must change his definition of the self. The self now becomes defined by its opposition to the Other, thus becomes the Other, just as the negation of something incorporates the thing negated, or as the repressed returns in the means taken to repress it. By repressing the female threat of passion, as it has seen to be incorporated in its various forms—the female body, the land, the irrational, and slavery—Jefferson is forced to recognize that the self is part and parcel of all it negates and represses. Jefferson therefore recognizes all he thinks he is not. He recognizes the evil of slavery, the passion of man, and the existence of one God, a supernatural entity that cannot be proved by science or reason.

Jefferson quickly becomes apocalyptic once he comes face to face with the Other. His text had not taken an apocalyptic tone until now, but Jefferson sees a possible slave uprising as being a reflection of God's wrath. Jefferson reverses his feelings about the expatriation of the slaves as a solution. Expatriation will not abate God's wrath. Instead, Jefferson calls for a complete and unconditional abolition of the injustice of slavery:

The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of

heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation. (163)

Not only will this start to rectify the situation in the eyes of God, and may even make amends for enslavement, but Jefferson realizes here that he cannot completely do away with the black Virginian. Until this point in the text Jefferson defines himself by what he is not, and he is not a slave. He is not a black Virginian, and has designated the black Virginians as opposed to the self, so that Jefferson's definition of the self cannot exist without defining it.

This is part of the reason Jefferson has to make the Indian more self than Other. If the Native American had represented, for Jefferson, the definitive Other and Jefferson was successful in expatriating the slaves, with the rapidly impending extinction of the Native Americans, of which Jefferson was very much aware, once their extinction occurred, Jefferson would then have no one against whom to define himself. In effect, Jefferson would cease to exist. By making the Native American more like the self, if they became extinct, then the effect would be no different than any other death of a person incorporated in the "universal self." Since Jefferson's concept of the self is now defined by what it is not, a distinct Other must be incorporated into Jefferson's Virginia through which he is able to maintain his own concept of the self. Therefore, emancipation becomes the only plausible way in which to deal with the slaves because to eliminate their existence from America threatens the existence of the concept of the self. The need now to keep the black Virginians in Virginia incorporates the same type of fear Jefferson encounters earlier in the text—to find the universal creator means to find the universal destroyer.

This is Jefferson's turning point. Now has he not only called for diversity in religion, but also for diversity within the human race. His concept of universality alters dramatically. He has not found the answers for which he was looking, but now it seems as if he knows what questions to ask. He in a way comes to realize that his quest for universality and his attempt to define the Virginian and ultimately the self, cannot be done through pure reason alone. When speaking of the slavery question he says, "But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into everyone's mind" (163). He acknowledges that the slave question cannot be solved through "considerations of ... history natural and civil." He has just debunked his entire method of classification and his entire structure of politics, and left what is to be learned in the hands of God to impose "their way into everyone's mind." Jefferson has introduced disunity into his well-ordered world; in effect, Jefferson has just overturned Enlightenment thought. The mechanical world has been broken and as he illustrates that it cannot work on its own. Man needs help.

The lack of "Jefferson" and the lack of the "self" in these final queries and appendices represent Jefferson's apocalypse. As a result, Jefferson's worst fear is now realized. Jefferson ceases to exist.

The text itself illustrates Jefferson's struggle with the quest for the universal self, and as Jefferson tries to define a Virginian, and American, and the self through the context of the physical boundaries of the state of Virginia, the text becomes the last boundary to be defined by Jefferson. As Jefferson's concept of the universal breaks down accompanied by his disillusionment with Enlightenment philosophy, he realizes more

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: JEFFERSON AND THE TEXT

Jefferson's application of what one can arguably call a kind of new-found knowledge of "Manners" applies to the remainder of the text. Ironically, Jefferson's enlightenment about the Enlightenment also becomes his disillusionment. He tries to promote morality and virtue in the following query, "Manufacturers," by promoting the virtue of the yeoman farmer and by acknowledging that industry needs to exist somewhere, but that it should not be incorporated into the agrarian American self. However, Jefferson becomes more and more incapable of dealing with the breakdown of the universal and the self. For the remainder of the text Jefferson reports little but facts, statistics, and observations with very little philosophical speculation. Even when he does venture a remark, it is stated in a more matter-of-fact manner than as a speculation or suggestion. His last query contains information which he himself has not gathered but which comes from other sources. Doing so represents Jefferson's now complete disillusionment because essentially the final chapter and appendices do not come from Jefferson. The lack of "Jefferson" and the lack of the "self" in these final queries and appendices represent Jefferson's apocalypse. As a result, Jefferson's worst fear is now realized. Jefferson ceases to exist.

The text itself illustrates Jefferson's struggle with the quest for the universal self, and as Jefferson tries to define a Virginian, and American, and the self through the context of the physical boundaries of the state of Virginia, the text becomes the last boundary to be defined by Jefferson. As Jefferson's concept of the universal breaks down accompanied by his disillusionment with Enlightenment philosophy, he realizes more

fully that the concept of a well-ordered world cannot exist. In the process of this recognition and in his inability to construct and inability to justify the need for a well-ordered world, Jefferson finds that if the well-ordered world cannot exist, then Jefferson, the self as Jefferson knows it, cannot exist either. Paradoxically, instead of defining the self, Jefferson finds the lack of the existence of the self as he knows it and is better able to define what is Other than what is the universal self.

Jefferson's last attempt to save the self from annihilation occurs immediately following "Query XVIII: Manners" in "Query XIX: Manufactures." He continues to argue for man's connection to the land and continues to illustrate Kolodny's "pastoral paradox." Jefferson remarks that "those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue" (164-165). Jefferson "the scientist-self" starts to become Jefferson "the religious-Other." By acknowledging the existence of God in "Query XVIII: Manners," Jefferson has a means by which to justify husbandry and glorify the American yeoman farmer. Husbandry and agrarianism becomes God-ordained. Men must farm and strive to become not only the ideal agrarian yeoman farmer, but also the ideal Virginian, American, and self: "Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phaenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example" (165). The turn from science as justification for one's actions and as the main defining principle of self to religion and God, the now accepted barometers of cultural deportment, further illustrates Jefferson's recognition that the self, his "self" as representation of the universal self, cannot exist without the Other (here, religion). This turn from science also reinforces

outside of Enlightenment philosophy. Questions of race, religion, and gender cease to

Jefferson's disillusionment in the Enlightenment philosophy because recognition of a god, or supreme being/entity cannot exist in a scientifically well-ordered world.

Ironically, the "pastoral paradox" as illustrated by Jefferson in his call for maintaining morality through husbandry, control of the land and the female body as represented by land also become a divine order ordained by God. Again, that an idea or justification of an action derives from providential interference is something with which the scientist Jefferson would disagree; however, for the disillusioned Jefferson, this is his final feeble attempt at maintaining whatever little control he may have left.

Since Jefferson cannot maintain the ideals of the Enlightenment thought in which he once believed, he can no longer maintain control over the text which has until now been the tool Jefferson has used to define and set boundaries on race, religion, and the female. The last four queries, "Query XX: Subjects of Commerce," "Query XXI: Weights, Measures, and Money," "Query XXII: Public Revenues and Expences [sic]," and "Query XXIII: Histories, Memorials, and State Papers," appear mainly in the form of charts and second hand observations. These queries contain few philosophical speculations by Jefferson, if any at all. Furthermore, these last four queries do not concern themselves with the very issues and questions Jefferson seeks to resolve of the preceding nineteen queries of the text—issues of the boundaries defining the self and the Other. The remaining four queries are impersonal because Jefferson's disillusionment with Enlightenment thought and its subsequent breakdown keeps him addressing these issues because they cannot exist outside the realm of Enlightenment philosophy. If they cannot exist outside of Enlightenment philosophy, then Jefferson also cannot exist outside of Enlightenment philosophy. Questions of race, religion, and gender cease to

exist. Therefore, the text which contains definitions of boundaries for race, religion, gender, the self, and the Other can no longer serve as a defining text for Jefferson because he is left with nothing to define after his concepts of the universal self and the Enlightenment dissolve. For all his self-definitions, as the text closes Jefferson is left wanting, broken, and disillusioned, leaving the "universal" subject to further questioning by rational thought and irrational passions.

Works Cited

- Arkes, Hadley. "Jefferson on Race and Revolution." *The New Criterion* 15.3 (January 1997): 26-31.
- Barkan, William. *Travels and Other Writings*. Ed. Thomas P. Slaughter. New York: The Library of America, 1996.
- Baum, Rosalie Murphy. "The Burden of Myth: The Role of the Farmer in American Literature." *North Dakota Quarterly* 53.4 (Fall 1985): 4-24.
- Brown, William Hill. *The Power of Sympathy: The Power of Sympathy and The Coquette*. New York: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Dalzell, Robert F., Jr. "Constructing Independence: Monticello, Mount Vernon, and the Men Who Built Them." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 26.4 (Summer 1993): 543-580.
- Dav, George Alan. "Argumentation and Unified Structure in *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 26.4 (Summer 1993): 581-593.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of* **WORKS CITED** New York: Anchor Press, 1988.
- Ferguson, Robert A. "Mysterious Obligations: Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *American Literature* 52.3 (Nov. 1980): 381-406.
- Foster, Hannah Webster. *The Coquette: The Power of Sympathy and The Coquette*. New York: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992.
- Halloran, Harold. "Roads to Happiness: Rhetorical and Philosophical Design in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *Early American Literature* 20 (1985): 2-23.
- Johnson, Charles. "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth Century Thought." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 29.3 (1996): 24-52.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Ed. William Peden. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.

Works Cited

- Kolodny, Annette. *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Arkes, Hadley. "Jefferson on Race and Revolution." *The New Criterion* 15.5 (January 1997): 26-31.
- Lewis, Clayton. "Style in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *The Southern Literary Review* 17.2 (Spring 1981): 252-61.
- Bartram, William. *Travels and Other Writings*. Ed. Thomas P. Slaughter. New York: The Library of America, 1996.
- Looby, Christopher. "The Constitution of Nature: Taxonomy as Politics in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 26.4 (Summer 1993): 635-648.
- Baum, Rosalie Murphy. "The Burden of Myth: The Role of the Farmer in American Literature." *North Dakota Quarterly* 53.4 (Fall 1985): 4-24.
- Brown, William Hill. *The Power of Sympathy. The Power of Sympathy and The Coquette*. New York: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Dalzell, Robert F., jr. "Constructing Independence: Monticello, Mount Vernon, and the Men Who Built Them." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 26.4 (Summer 1993): 543-580.
- Davy, George Alan. "Argumentation and Unified Structure in *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 26.4 (Summer 1993): 581-593.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Anchor Press, 1988.
- Ferguson, Robert A. "Mysterious Obligations: Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *American Literature* 52.3 (Nov. 1980): 381-406.
- Foster, Hannah Webster. *The Coquette. The Power of Sympathy and The Coquette*. New York: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992.
- Hellenbrand, Harold. "Roads to Happiness: Rhetorical and Philosophical Design in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." *Early American Literature* 20 (1985): 2-23.
- Hudson, Nicholas. "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth Century Thought." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 29.3 (1996): 247-264.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Ed. William Peden. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
- Kristeva, Julia. *The Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.

Kolodny, Annette. The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Lewis, Clayton. "Style in Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*." The Southern Review 14 (1978): 668-676.

Looby, Christopher. "The Constitution of Nature: Taxonomy as Politics in Jefferson, Peale, and Bartram." Early American Literature 22 (1987): 252-273.

Mandeville, Sir John. The Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Trans. C.W.R.D. Moseley. London: Penguin Books, 1983.

Saillant, John. "The American Enlightenment in Africa: Jefferson's Colonizationism and Black Virginians' Migration to Liberia, 1776-1840." Eighteenth Century Studies 31.3 (Spring 1998): 261-282.

Shuffelton, Frank. "From Jefferson to Thoreau: The Possibilities of Discourse." Arizona Quarterly 46.1 (Spring 1990): 1-16.

Tauber, Gisela. "*Notes on the State of Virginia*: Thomas Jefferson's Unintentional Self-Portrait." Eighteenth Century Studies 26.4 (Summer 1993): 635-648.

VITA

Nicole Renee' de Fee was born in Metairie, Louisiana, on December 6, 1975. She graduated from Lassiter High School in Marietta, Georgia, in June, 1993. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from North Georgia College & State University in Dahlonega, Georgia, March, 1998. She entered Austin Peay State University the following August and will receive her Master of Arts degree in English in May, 2001.

Currently she is attending the University of Nebraska-Lincoln where she began work on her Ph.D. in English in August, 2000.