

Mexican War, the transcendentalist writer Henry David Thoreau argued that a true man followed his conscience rather than the political rhetoric of Manifest Destiny.

Even many men who initially supported Manifest Destiny eventually discerned fundamental problems in the relationship between territorial expansion and nationalism, and they began to doubt that the actions carried out in its name were either manly or right. As the acquisition of new territory from Mexico generated racial fears about the assimilability of its inhabitants, as well as sectional disputes over the expansion of slavery, many of the northern artists, poets, and politicians who had promoted Manifest Destiny (as part of the Young America movement) grew disenchanted with its results between 1848 and 1851. Southerners, meanwhile, fearful that their diminishing status within the Union threatened their manly honor and independence, continued to support desperate filibuster raids in the 1850s in an effort to extend slavery to new territories. Thus, the sectional differences that led to the Civil War grew in part out of differing conceptions over whether, and how, Manifest Destiny fostered manhood. Ironically, Manifest Destiny, intended to enhance national strength, nearly split the nation apart.

During the Civil War the aggressive, adventurous masculinity that had informed Manifest Destiny before the war was challenged by new realities that required increased subordination, regimentation, and technical skill. The term itself has, for all intents and purposes, ceased to be used in modern parlance, yet echoes of Manifest Destiny reverberated in the United States right through the Cold War period. Although its overtly militaristic and imperialistic thrust has been toned down, Manifest Destiny and its associated notion of a masculine United States continue to inform the rhetoric of American foreign policy.

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RELATED ENTRIES

Civil War; Imperialism; Jackson, Andrew; Militarism; Nationalism; Spanish-American War; Thoreau, Henry David; Western Frontier
—Robert W. Burg

MARKET REVOLUTION

The term *market revolution* describes a succession of economic and technological changes that transformed U.S. society between 1825 and 1860. The construction of roads, canals, and railroads; the opening of the West to settlement; the expansion of postal delivery routes; and the introduction of the telegraph drew previously disparate communities closer together and helped to create a national market of commodities, goods, labor, and services. This transformation fundamentally altered American notions of manhood, causing a shift from the eighteenth-century ideal of the community-oriented patriarch and provider to the more modern ideal of the market-oriented breadwinner and "self-made man."

American Manhood before the Market Revolution

Prior to the market revolution, American society was governed more by the natural rhythms of the environment than by the commercial forces of market exchange. Colonial and early national U.S. society consisted of small inland communities and seaboard towns; even such cities as New York, Boston, and

Philadelphia were small by European standards. With the exception of transatlantic commerce, trade remained local and the cost of transport made commercial transactions over longer distances prohibitively expensive. The relative social and economic isolation of colonial and early national American communities affected perceptions of social relations and definitions of gender and manliness.

The fundamental unit of colonial society and the basis for its concepts of manhood was the household, whose male head linked it to social and governmental structures. The responsibilities of the male household head were grounded in notions of duty, obligation, and deference, and his identity was bound up in social relations governed by these principles. Generally, men as well as women accepted their submission to their male superiors in a social order considered as God-given. Although men were regarded as driven by passions such as a desire for power, fame, and wealth, they were expected to govern and control themselves in accordance with social hierarchies and obligations.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as American men began to embrace the opportunities offered by transatlantic markets and an expanding commercial capitalism, new notions of male identity emerged that were rooted more in self-assertion, financial risk-taking, and rational individualism than in social duty and obligation. Many men found this to be a difficult transition. For instance, the Puritan businessman Robert Keayne (1595–1656) took great pains to justify business practices that had frequently been criticized and prove that he had fulfilled his obligations to the community through his philanthropic giving. But Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (written between 1771 and 1789), which discussed his rise to wealth and fame in the commercial seaport city of Philadelphia, suggests that Americans had come to embrace an ideal of a gain-oriented, rational masculinity by the late eighteenth century.

The republican and democratic political philosophy that informed the American Revolution and the new nation's government reflected emerging ideas about self-assertion and competition, and thus reinforced these new notions of manhood. In particular, James Madison's "Tenth Federalist," one of eighty-five essays written in support of the Constitution, promoted the idea that individualistic and pluralistic competition in an open marketplace would generate a well-balanced community. Republican ideology also assumed that the ideal male citizen would balance self-interest with concern for the needs of the community and the common good, but its suggestion that the pursuit of self-interest was legitimate when balanced by civic obligation

provided crucial momentum and justification for articulations of manliness based on personal gain.

The Rise and Governance of "Marketplace Manhood"

In the period between the 1825 opening of the Erie Canal in upstate New York and the emergence of a railroad network in the Northeast and Midwest by the 1850s, the United States transformed from an agrarian to a commercial economy. These economic changes helped to create a self-conscious middle class that articulated a new entrepreneurial model of masculinity grounded in notions of free competition, acquisitive individualism, and the pursuit of self-interest, limited only by one's talents and abilities and measured by economic performance. This ideal of manliness encouraged men to seek out the possibilities and opportunities of an emerging national market society and to reject many of the communal restraints and duties that had previously anchored manly identity. Middle-class Americans began to celebrate the "self-made man," and male traits considered selfish and dangerous by earlier generations were now considered essential to national economic expansion.

Describing this ideal of marketplace manliness as "self-made" served the needs of middle-class men at the time. It consciously distanced middle-class manliness from aristocratic notions of ascribed status or birthright, while also grounding it in achievements other than landownership or craft, both of which were threatened or made more difficult by urbanization and industrialization. As economic success became increasingly dependent on often anonymous and unpredictable market forces, men of the emerging middle class could ground their manhood in their own agency and focus on developing inner resources of initiative and self-control.

While marketplace manhood substituted independence and autonomy for community-bound duty, it did not condone amoral or unethical behavior. But because it helped remove traditional communal restraints on male behavior and subjected men to temptations on a daily basis, middle-class Americans feared that marketplace manhood could potentially undermine the social and moral order. As they constructed the negative male image of the "confidence man" to reflect these concerns, they developed two major ideological supports to provide marketplace manhood with the necessary moral grounding. The first was the concept of character, defined as the capacity for voluntary self-control. Whereas previous generations had primarily relied on communal restraints to discipline behavior, the marketplace man was to internalize communal mores. Based on this concept, Victorian men found

a balance between acquisitive individualism and civilized restraint. Character distinguished the man who had successfully combined communal moral standards, republican civic virtue, and productive, acquisitive habits into a unified self. As the moral cornerstone of marketplace manhood, the character ideal proved especially advantageous to the members of the emerging middle class, justifying their individual pursuit of economic gain while assuring them that this conduct was compatible with notions of self-sacrifice and self-restraint.

The second moral support for marketplace manhood was the ideology of separate spheres, which conceptualized the private sphere of the home (governed by the pious wife and mother) as an essential counterforce to the amoral marketplace. The ideology of separate spheres represented the home as a social space governed by Christian piety and moral purity where men could regain strength in conscience, moral resolve, virtue, and sincerity. Although the ideology of separate spheres implied a critique of market values, it actually coordinated the public conduct of men with the requirements of the marketplace and the rules of commodity capitalism. By offering guidelines of conduct that enabled men to offer themselves up for public scrutiny, examination, and assessment of their trustworthiness by others, the ideology of separate spheres provided ways to legitimize acquisitive impulses that were otherwise looked upon with suspicion and distrust. In short, the ideology of separate spheres enabled a notion of male individualism that followed the rules of capitalist exchange and market relations.

Transforming Marketplace Manhood in the Twentieth Century

By the late nineteenth century, the continuing effects of the market revolution prompted the rise of large corporations and the expansion of bureaucratic structures in both the public and private sectors. These developments, in turn, transformed marketplace manhood. With the corporatization and bureaucratization of the private and public sectors of U.S. society, economic activities previously regulated by market forces became subject to organization and regulation by private corporations and—during the Progressive Era, the New Deal, and both world wars—attempts at government planning. These changes made articulations of manliness less contingent on market forces and more on performance and the mastery of interpersonal skills within corporate and bureaucratic structures. As a result, the man seeking economic success in the twentieth century relied less and less on internally wrought character, and more and more on externally directed personality and salesmanship.

This new style of marketplace manhood became the object of periodic criticism throughout the twentieth century. Amid the economic boom that followed World War II, Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman* (1949) suggested that notions of manhood grounded in personality tragically undermined, rather than bolstered, masculine identity, and William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man* (1956) argued that the pursuit of economic success in a corporate setting destroyed the independence and creativity that constituted true manhood.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, as President Ronald Reagan celebrated entrepreneurial manhood, and as he and his successor George H. W. Bush pursued strongly probusiness policies, such critiques continued. The film *Wall Street* (1987) suggested that success in the stock market rested on a hyper-masculine ruthlessness and amorality, while *Regarding Henry* (1991) tells the story of a man who, losing his aggressive masculine identity after suffering a debilitating head injury, finds greater happiness and the respect of others through the formation of a new and more sensitive style of manhood. But the ongoing American celebration of capitalism has kept marketplace manhood at the center of American definitions of masculinity into the early twenty-first century.

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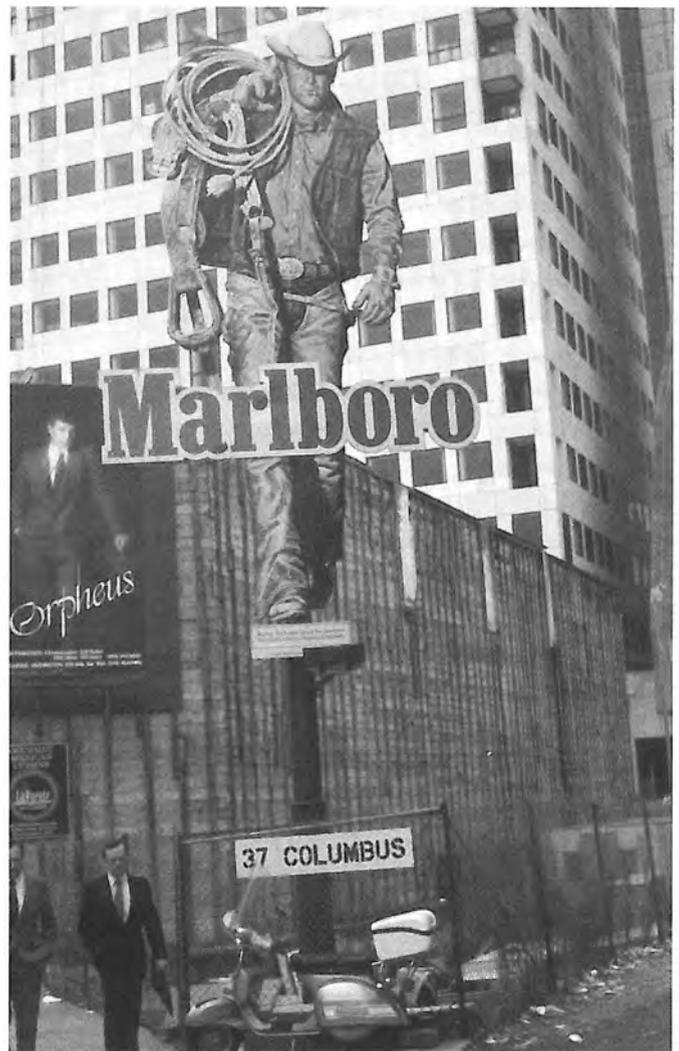
Advice Literature; Body; Breadwinner Role; Capitalism; Confidence Man; Cult of Domesticity; Individualism; Industrialization; Middle-Class Manhood; Republicanism; Self-Control; Self-Made Man; Sentimentalism; Success Manuals; Urbanization; Victorian Era
—Thomas Winter

MARLBORO MAN

The Marlboro Man is one of the most universally recognized and widely promoted icons of twentieth-century American masculinity. Initiated as part of a cigarette marketing campaign by the Philip Morris company in 1954, the Marlboro Man exemplifies one of the most successful brand promotions in American advertising history. In his most enduring incarnation, he is a strong, independent cowboy with chiseled facial features; his mastery of nature and the western landscape is symbolized by his horse and his ever-present cigarette. The Marlboro Man serves as a visual embodiment of Frederick Jackson Turner's theory that the frontier fostered an American character of rugged manhood and individualism.

The Marlboro brand was originally launched in 1924 as a women's cigarette with the slogan "as mild as May," but Philip Morris repackaged Marlboro in 1954 to counter the prevailing notion that the newly added filters were feminine and tasteless. In doing so, advertiser Leo Burnett drew directly upon the cowboy as "the most generally accepted symbol of masculinity in America" (Burnett, 42). Nevertheless, in a postwar capitalist economy that some Cold War commentators argued made men and the nation soft, early Marlboro advertisements depicted not just wranglers, but also confident

males in various professional roles—always with tattoos on the backs of their hands—in order to convey an image of masculine toughness and success. Sales of the brand accelerated after the 1963 "Come to Marlboro Country" campaign, which featured the musical score from the 1960 Western film *The Magnificent Seven*. These ads enshrined the stoic and robust cowboy in his rough western terrain as the company's enduring symbol (replacing a diminutive hotel boy whose "call for Philip Morris" had been heard on the radio since the 1930s). It was this phase of the Marlboro Man campaign that allied the dangerous experience of smoking and the mythic romance of the western wilderness with the figure of the self-sufficient male. After the 1971 prohibition of broadcasting ads for cigarettes, the visual attractions of Marlboro Country



Marlboro Man billboard in San Francisco (c. 1980). The billboard's juxtaposition with its city setting and the men in business suits symbolizes the enduring appeal of the cowboy figure, which was fueled by the processes of urbanization and corporatization in twentieth-century America. (Courtesy of Peter Filene)