

competition had been an accepted, even an expected and encouraged, aspect of manly behavior since the late eighteenth century—one sanctioned by the economic theories of Adam Smith and the political writings of James Madison. However, after midcentury, competition for its own sake became a pervasive principle directing all aspects of men's lives in U.S. society, generating among men an obsession with competitive sports. Team sports enabled men, whether participants or spectators, to balance new demands for disciplined conduct and submission of the individual to the collective will with a culturally inscribed mandate of personal competitiveness. Games such as baseball, football, basketball, and volleyball promised to build character, develop military virtues, and foster self-control, while also enabling men to act passionately through aggressive competition.

Passionate manhood meshed well with such fundamental changes in the late nineteenth-century United States as urbanization, the growth of modern bureaucratic and administrative apparatuses, and the shift from entrepreneurial to corporate capitalism (with its emphasis on professional hierarchies, routinized career paths, and a division of labor). These developments destabilized older foundations of manliness and required new articulations of masculinity that would socialize men into a changing social and political matrix. The emphasis on bodily strength and male passions encouraged forms of behavior that earlier men might have considered antisocial, but passionate manhood adapted men and masculinity to a new world of depersonalized and dispersed authority.

Passionate manhood continues to influence cultural definitions of masculinity in contemporary U.S. society. Although no longer limited to men, this influence is evident in such body-centered leisure activities as mountain climbing and bicycling, as well as in the ongoing appeal of aggressive athletic competition. It is further reflected in Americans' consistent admiration of assertiveness and resolute action, particularly in their presidents. Finally, passionate manhood has been exemplified most recently in the mythopoetic men's movement and, more generally, in the persistent appeal of achieving contact with a more true and pure inner self.

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RELATED ENTRIES

Atlas, Charles; Baseball; Body; Bodybuilding; Boxing; Boy Scouts of America; Bureaucratization; Character; Crisis of Masculinity; Darwinism; Football; Fraternal Organizations; Gilded Age; Gulick, Luther; Hall, Granville Stanley; Imperialism; Individualism; James, William; Middle-Class Manhood; Militarism; Muscular Christianity; Nationalism; Outdoorsmen; Progressive Era; Republicanism; Spanish-American War; Sports; Strenuous Life; Violence; War; Western Frontier
—Thomas Winter

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy—the governance of the household and its members by the male *paterfamilias* (father of the family), and the social relations this arrangement entails—has empowered men in both private and public life and defined male gender identity throughout U.S. history. A male-governed household has often been perceived as a model of good public order. Patriarchy,

while supporting social hierarchies and power relationships based on gender, has also served as a foundation for power systems based on race, ethnicity, and class, and thus created the impression that social hierarchies based on these categories are part of the natural order. Women, nonwhites, and other disempowered groups, however, have challenged patriarchal power.

Patriarchy in Early America

European colonists brought to America social systems in which the male-headed household was the fundamental unit, male household heads represented their families politically, and men exercised power over their families (especially their sons) through the promise of the inheritance of land and other real estate. Colonists also adhered to the belief that these patriarchal social and political patterns were divinely instituted and necessary for a well-ordered society. These assumptions informed such early visions of American society as the Mayflower Compact (1620) and Massachusetts governor John Winthrop's Model of Christian Charity (1630)—both of which were, effectively, contracts among men about social order and the purpose of their colonial undertaking.

Colonial societies in New England, the Chesapeake Bay region, and elsewhere sought to maintain a strict patriarchal order. The Puritan leadership of the Massachusetts Bay colony perceived the gathering of both male and female religious dissenters at the house of Anne Hutchinson as a threat to their patriarchal power, and they expelled her and a group of her followers in 1638. Scholars have argued that the witchcraft accusations in Salem in 1692 (with a large majority of the accused being women) suggests an attempt to counteract challenges to pervasive patriarchal power. Seventeenth-century Chesapeake laws about the status of black servants grounded slavery in a legally constructed system of race-based patriarchy. Colonists in both regions defined Native American societies as uncivilized because their gender relations did not conform to European patriarchal patterns.

The era of the American Revolution witnessed both an ideological challenge to patriarchy and its affirmation in the drafting of the Constitution. Boycotts of English goods drew women into political activism and encouraged such women as Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray—supported by such male patriot leaders as Thomas Paine and Benjamin Rush—to seek political equality with men in the emerging republic. Furthermore, the republican ideology that justified resistance to England's King George III also called for a softening of patriarchal governance in families and households. Despite these challenges to patriarchal leadership, citizenship and political power in the new nation were confined to white

male property owners, and national identity formed around a notion of white male patriarchy embodied in the figure of wartime leader George Washington.

Patriarchy in the New Nation

During the first six decades of the nineteenth century, economic developments such as the market revolution and industrialization tended to undermine earlier forms of patriarchy and forced its regrouping, particularly in the northern states. The market and industrial revolutions forced a reconfiguration of male patriarchy by causing a decline in the significance of land ownership as a foundation of male economic and political power. Instead, male power became increasingly grounded in the forces of market exchange and men's ability to respond to them, and a new rationale for middle-class male authority promoted free competition, acquisitive individualism, and the pursuit of economic self-interest. A concomitant ideology of "separate spheres" defined men as alone suited to administer and participate in public political and economic life. Patriarchal power—at least for the middle class—depended increasingly on fathers' abilities as breadwinners and their capacity to provide education and guidance, especially to their sons. Linking manhood to income-generating activities gave men a greater share of economic power than they had held in the traditional patriarchal household.

In addition, an emerging emphasis on the equality of white men (grounded in republican notions of equality) and the practice of universal white-male suffrage that became widespread in the 1820s challenged earlier patriarchal notions that had assigned public political power to a propertied male elite. Yet this emerging notion of equality, which did not include women or nonwhite men, perpetuated patriarchy by preserving the male monopolization of political power.

Western expansion and frontier migration had ambivalent consequences for definitions of male patriarchy. On one hand, state and federal policy relied on notions of male patriarchy, with the white, male U.S. government serving as the paterfamilias, in defining Native Americans as child-like wardens of the government and relocating them further and further west. Similarly, the ideology of Manifest Destiny cast white males as divinely ordained instruments by which republican institutions would be spread across North America. On the other hand, the conditions accompanying westward migration forced a rethinking of the patriarchal relations that had developed in the industrializing, urbanizing East. The physically and emotionally demanding trip forced men and women to work more closely together on a basis of greater equality than they had previously. This process created new settler societies based on

social experiences in which patriarchy proved to be less useful in guaranteeing survival than more equitable forms of social organization. As a result, the new western states of the late nineteenth century were among the first to jettison a key element of political patriarchy by granting women's suffrage.

Feminist challenges to patriarchal power arrangements gained momentum during this period. Beginning in the 1830s, abolitionist women and men made comparisons between the authority men held over women and the power male slaveholders wielded over their slaves, formulating a wide-ranging critique of masculine patriarchal power and control. Radical Quakers, spiritualists, and transcendentalists developed notions of gender equality based on spiritual grounds. In 1848 women's rights activists congregated at Seneca Falls, New York, drawing on the model of the Declaration of Independence and its case against tyranny to critique male patriarchal power and demand political equality.

In the agrarian economy and slave society of the South, however, patriarchy in its more traditional form thrived and gained significance as the foundation of public order and social relations. Southern plantation owners perceived their family members and their slaves (some of whom were their own offspring) as an extended household under their patriarchal control—and non-slave-holding yeoman farmers supported their patriarchal power and governance. Defenders of slavery, such as George Fitzhugh, the author of *Cannibals All!* (1857), argued that the patriarchal social relations of the slave system provided more humane working conditions for its laborers than did the impersonal, market-driven economy of industrial capitalism. The defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War began to undermine race-based patriarchy in the South as the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (1868 and 1870, respectively) extended suffrage and other rights of citizenship to black males—although white Southern males responded by resisting these changes and seeking to salvage prewar patriarchal relations.

Men and Patriarchy: The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Social and economic developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries generated new challenges to patriarchal structures. Urbanization and the accompanying expansion of white-collar managerial work created a sense of uncertainty among men who now carried neither the power of property ownership nor entrepreneurial authority. Middle-class men, feeling a loss of patriarchal power, felt what historians have called a “crisis in masculinity.”

In addition, a resurgent women's rights movement demanded suffrage and challenged male patriarchal authority

in the realm of public politics. Many women began proposing maternalist models of city politics based on the notions of “municipal housekeeping.” The feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman proposed such a maternal state in her utopian novel *Herland* (1915). In 1920 women suffragists succeeded in erasing one key element of patriarchy—the male monopolization of political power—with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the vote. Male social and political reformers, such as educator John Dewey, social scientists Lester Frank Ward and Thorstein Veblen, socialist writer Upton Sinclair, and African-American civil rights activist W. E. B. Du Bois, joined women reformers in arguing that patriarchy was unsuitable for a democratic society.

Challenges to patriarchy did not affect only white, native-born men. The immigrants that came to the United States between 1880 and 1914 from southern and eastern Europe frequently brought with them social relations grounded in traditional notions of patriarchal power. Yet the social and economic environment they entered offered opportunities that allowed individual family members to challenge and escape patriarchal power, leaving many immigrant fathers feeling that their masculine identities had been compromised.

U.S. foreign relations served as an ideological stage for affirming and renegotiating male patriarchy. Politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt promoted U.S. imperialism in the late nineteenth century on the grounds that colonial governance by white men would protect weaker, nonwhite people against the irresponsibility of their governments—as well as making American men more assertive rulers abroad and uncontested patriarchs at home. During both world wars, U.S. propaganda called on men to exercise their duties as patriarchal defenders of women's virtue and to gain women's allegiance to their patriarchal rule by enlisting to fight. During the Cold War years, and beyond, American presidents and policymakers would continue to use patriarchal arguments (protecting weaker people) to justify military intervention.

Patriarchy Crumbling: Recent America

The decades after World War II witnessed intensifying and increasingly successful challenges to gender- and race-based patriarchy by civil rights and feminist activists. The 1964 Civil Rights Act eroded patriarchal prerogatives by prohibiting discrimination along lines of both race and gender, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act guaranteed suffrage rights to African Americans. Resisting a system of race-based patriarchy gave African Americans of both sexes a sense of empowerment. But it also made women of both races even more keenly aware of the nature and strength of patriarchy in U.S. society. Likewise, the

resurgence of feminism in the 1960s mounted a formidable challenge to male patriarchy, although the fate of the resulting Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) suggests that their success in uprooting it was only partial: Passed by Congress in 1972, the ERA failed to achieve ratification by the requisite number of states by 1982, due in large part to strong resistance from conservatives, who feared a breakdown of the traditional patriarchal family.

Many males participated in the challenge to gender patriarchy. Profeminist men—including gay author Gore Vidal, African-American civil rights activists Martin Luther King, Jr., and Jesse Jackson, rock musician John Lennon (who released “Woman is the Nigger of the World” in 1972), and actors Ed Asner and Alan Alda—spoke out against patriarchy and sought to articulate new models of manhood that separated male identity from gender hierarchy and claims to power over women.

The challenge to patriarchy was evident in academia as feminist studies, women’s studies, and men’s studies emerged as important new scholarly fields. Scholars in these areas produced systematic historical, sociological, anthropological, and literary analyses of patriarchal structures in American life. Historians, in particular, argued that standard narratives of the American past had often implicitly posited a white male “center,” thereby serving to justify and legitimate patriarchal political, social, and economic structures. Using postmodernist approaches, gender scholars contributed to the ongoing rejection of patriarchy by producing new, decentered narratives of American life.

In the 1970s, deindustrialization began to erode the economic foundations of male patriarchy. With the decline of key industries, economic power and the ability to provide for a family became increasingly problematic, and American families increasingly required a second income (a female as well as a male breadwinner) to get by or to afford a certain standard of living. In addition, the national divorce rate and the number of single-parent, female-headed families rose, especially, but not exclusively, among racial and ethnic minority groups. As a result, Americans became increasingly aware of alternatives to the conventional male-headed, patriarchal household.

The late-twentieth-century erosion of patriarchal power prompted a renewed sense among many American men that masculinity was in crisis. It also sparked the emergence of social movements intended to reground and bolster male power. During the 1980s and 1990s, religious conservatives increasingly urged the importance of preserving the male-headed family and relocating women from the workforce back to the home. Similarly, the Promise Keepers, an evangelical Christian group founded in 1991, sought to reground male household authority in men’s emotional and spiritual commitment to their families.

Conclusion

Throughout U.S. history, male patriarchy has served as an important reference point for the formation of male identity, the distribution of power, the organization of private and public relations, and the shaping of domestic and foreign politics. Economic change, feminism, and American democracy itself have consistently forced reconfigurations and erosions of patriarchal power. However, while profound challenges to patriarchy have occurred in the decades since World War II, bastions of male privilege remain, ranging from the U.S. Senate (where men are represented far out of proportion to their percentage of the population) to Georgia’s Augusta National Golf Club, the target in 2003 of feminist protests over the club’s all-male membership policy. Patriarchy thus remains a powerful, if contested, reality of American life.

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RELATED ENTRIES

American Revolution; Citizenship; Class; Crisis of Masculinity; Cult of Domesticity; Democratic Manhood; Feminism; Immigration; Imperialism; Industrialization; Labor Movement and Unions; Manifest Destiny; Market Revolution; Marriage; Masculine Domesticity; Men's Movements; Men's Studies; Military; Nationalism; Patriotism; Politics; Postmodernism; Promise Keepers; Race; Religion and Spirituality; Republicanism; Sexual Harassment; Sexual Revolution; Slavery; Suffragism; Television; Violence; War; Washington, George; Western Frontier; Whiteness; White Supremacism; Work; Working-Class Manhood

—Thomas Winter

PATRIOTISM

Patriotism and definitions of manliness have a shared history in the United States. While the pressure to be “patriotic” has been especially strong in times of national crisis or war, patriotism in general has been perceived as a significant component of manliness. Although women have been called upon to be patriotic as well, women's patriotism has been linked to the private realms of home, family, and

motherhood, whereas men's has been connected to public politics and the military.

Revolutionary and Early National America

American patriotism first appeared with intensifying resistance to British colonial policies in the 1760s and 1770s. American opponents of British laws identified themselves as “Patriots” and, defining their cause as a heroic defense of liberty, formed organizations such as the Sons of Liberty. An association between manliness and patriotism thus underlay the formation of national identity in the United States.

Still, patriotic devotion to an abstract concept of American nationhood took form only gradually and unevenly. During the debates surrounding the writing of the Constitution, devotion to the nation was identified with the civic virtue that early Americans considered essential to liberty under a republican form of government. Yet there were differences over the implications of manly patriotism: Both Federalist supporters of the Constitution and a strong national government and their Anti-Federalist critics associated their positions with republican manhood and the true fulfillment of Revolutionary patriotism. In light of such divisions, the figure of General George Washington (soon to be President Washington) served as both a powerful masculine symbol for national integration and a focus for patriotic sentiment. His birthday remained an important occasion for public celebrations of manly patriotism through much of the nineteenth century.

The Antebellum Period

Patriotic devotion to the American nation intensified during and after the War of 1812—sometimes considered a second war for independence—and again during the 1830s and 1840s as white Americans linked westward expansion to Manifest Destiny, patriotic duty, and masculinity. In this context, the independence of Texas and the unsuccessful 1836 defense of the Alamo by so-called freedom fighters such as Davy Crockett served as symbols for masculine patriotic perseverance. Many white Americans regarded geographic expansion in the Pacific during the 1840s and the nation's expansionist war against Mexico as a fulfillment of a patriotic continental vision of the United States as a nation. At the same time, opponents of the Mexican War, such as transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau, regarded resistance to the war as an expression of American ideals and a mark of manly patriotism.

Race, ethnicity, and religion figured implicitly, yet prominently, in antebellum definitions of patriotism and manliness. Western expansion carried a promise of free land and economic opportunities for white men. The removal of nonwhite,