and involvement in the manner of the classic suburban father, is characterized by frequent angry outbursts rather than the calm paternalism of his 1950s television forebears. Sitcoms such as *Married with Children* (1987–97), *The Simpsons* (premiered in 1989), and *Home Improvement* (1991–99) carry the critique of suburban manhood even further by featuring bumbling, incompetent, fiscally irresponsible, and even violent fathers. Still, these programs all stopped short of challenging the suburban father's role as absentee provider, authority figure, and, at least figuratively, head of the family. Similarly, in the film *She's Having a Baby* (1988), Kevin Bacon plays a suburban husband whose loss of freedom is made apparent through scenes of lawn mowing in unison with his neighbors and laborious but unfulfilling urban work. But while Bacon's character at first seeks to escape suburbia and the responsibilities of impending fatherhood, the birth of his child prompts his full embrace of suburban manhood. In all of these media images, the basis of suburban manhood remains intact: The suburban father/husband seeks to balance providing and participating, and also to find validation as a man through his home and family.

The reality of suburban masculinity has no doubt changed in the modern era, impacted by larger changes in the social, political, and economic landscape. Yet the archetype of suburban masculinity—including notions of male patriarchy, masculine domesticity, and male prerogative—has persisted, remaining largely static, perhaps in an attempt by middle-class Americans to retain familiar social and cultural patterns amid fundamental transformations in American life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carnes, Mark C., and Clyde Griffen, eds. *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Douglass, Harlan Paul. *The Suburban Trend*. 1925. Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970.

Kelly, Barbara M., ed. *Suburbia Re-examined*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Marsh, Margaret. "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915." *American Quarterly* 40 (1988): 165–186.

———. *Suburban Lives*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Muller, Peter O. "Everyday Life in Suburbia: A Review of Changing Social and Economic Forces that Shape Daily Rhythms Within the Outer City." *American Quarterly* 34 (1982): 262–277.

O'Connor, Carol. "Sorting Out the Suburbs: Patterns of Land Use, Class, and Culture." *American Quarterly* 37 (1985): 382–394.

Sharpe, William, and Leonard Wallock. "Bold New City or Built-Up 'Burb?' Redefining Contemporary Suburbia." *American Quarterly* 46 (March 1994): 1–30.

FURTHER READING

Baumgartner, M. P. *The Moral Order of a Suburb*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Bennett, Thomas L. *Suburbia: The American Dream and Dilemma*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1976.

Cowan, Ruth Schwartz. *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*. New York: Basic Books, 1983.

Halberstam, David. *The Fifties*. New York: Villard, 1993.

Muller, Peter O. *Contemporary Suburban America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981.

RELATED ENTRIES

Agrarianism; American Dream; Automobile; Breadwinner Role; Business/Corporate America; Cold War; Cult of Domesticity; Crisis of Masculinity; Fatherhood; *Father Knows Best*; Hollywood; *Home Improvement*; Industrialization; *Leave It to Beaver*; Masculine Domesticity; Middle-Class Manhood; Nuclear Family; *Organization Man, The*; Television; Urbanization; Victorian Era; Work; Working-Class Manhood; World War II

—*Elizabeth Myers*

SUCCESS MANUALS

The ideal of success has been a pervasive theme in American life, and prescriptions for achieving success have assumed a wide range of cultural forms. One of these has been the success manual, which experienced its greatest proliferation and impact on U.S. culture during the Gilded Age (1873–1900) and Progressive Era (1890–1915). Tailored toward male, middle-class audiences, success manuals equated success with manliness and gave detailed advice not only on choosing an occupation and developing a career, but on all forms of public and private behavior.

Advice literature, which has had a long history in American society, gained in significance with the onset of industrialization and economic expansion from the 1830s through 1850s. Books such as Sylvester Graham's *A Lecture to Young Men* (1834), John Todd's *The Student's Manual* (1835), William Alcott's *The Young Man's Guide* (1846), and Timothy Shay Arthur's *Advice to Young Men* (1848) counseled young men on dietary habits, urged temperance, and exhorted them against masturbation. These advice manuals promoted self-control as a mark of manliness in all walks of life.

By the 1870s, the success manual emerged as a distinct literary form, and the wide circulation of these manuals suggests their strong influence on ideas about manliness. Between 1870 and 1910, 144 new success manuals appeared on the market. Written by ministers, educators, and professional authors, they ranged from 300 to 800 pages in length. Sold by traveling agents on subscription plans, success manuals sold anywhere from 10,000 to 100,000 copies per title. Each title cost between two and four dollars—about one-quarter to one-half of an average weekly salary—with the most expensive manuals costing five dollars. Their content was culled from popular biographies, histories, and encyclopedias, and was heavily adorned with evocative illustrations. Two of the six national nonfiction bestsellers between 1870 and 1910—Thomas L. Haines and Levi W. Yaggy's *The Royal Path of Life, or Aims and Aids to Success and Happiness* (1879) and Frank Channing Haddock's *The Power of Will: A Practical Companion Book for Unfoldment of the Powers of Mind* (1907)—belonged to the success manual genre.

The authors of these success manuals experienced the transformations of the market revolution and were uniquely positioned to articulate changing currents of masculinity. More educated than most Americans, yet often of rural background, they belonged to a distinct generation that came of age between 1835 and 1880. Perhaps the most famous success manual author was Orison Swett Marden (1848–1924). Orphaned as a child, Marden grew up in five different foster families but went on to become an accomplished man. By 1882, he had acquired several degrees, including a medical degree from Harvard University and a law degree from Boston University. In 1894, he published *Pushing to the Front*, the first and most popular of his thirty success manuals. It went through 12 editions in 1894, and by 1925 had gone through 250 editions and been translated into 25 languages; one million copies were sold in Japan alone. In addition to his prolific efforts as an author and compiler of such success manuals, Marden also became the founder and editor of *Success Magazine* (1897–1911). Marden and other success-manual authors offered readers the simple message that hard work and good habits—called character by nineteenth-century Americans—contributed to manhood and success.

The achievements of writers like Marden appeared to validate their prescriptions for success and their character-based definitions of manhood. Amid late-nineteenth-century economic insecurity, social upheaval, and labor unrest, contemporary audiences needed such reassurances. Success manuals provided encouragement and comfort to their lower middle-class readers by offering a familiar antebellum ideal of success and manly achievement that emphasized independent entrepreneurship and a work ethos of virtue, sobriety, frugality, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice. Their advice on choosing a "calling" invoked traditional notions of work associated with self-employment, continuity of social mobility across generational lines, and small-scale production in a preindustrial setting. Writers praised a simple life and exhorted their audiences to avoid ostentatious, extravagant living in favor of moderation and respectability. Defining success in preindustrial terms, success-manual authors assured their audiences that economic ills could still be overcome by individual effort, and that true success and manliness remained tied to one's moral qualities rather than to economic achievement alone.

Despite their appeal to traditional notions of manliness and work, success manuals facilitated a shift from a producer-oriented ideal of manhood grounded in character to a consumer-oriented ideal of manhood grounded in a personality geared toward influencing and convincing others. Some of Marden's works, such as *The Power of Personality* (1906) and *Masterful Personality* (1921), reflected this shift. By the 1920s, prescriptions for manhood and success through the cultivation of one's personality increasingly became the norm as a modern business culture emphasizing notions of salesmanship took form. Examples would include Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936) and the Reverend Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952).

By the 1970s, as a severe economic recession led to diminishing expectations of financial success and as feminist advances prompted a feeling that masculinity was in crisis, the tone of success books changed. New works such as Robert J. Ringer's *Winning through Intimidation* (1974) and Michael Korda's *Power: How to Get It and How to Use It* (1975) exemplified a new emphasis on the use of power and aggression. Since the 1980s, books like Charles J. Givens's *Wealth Without Risk* (1988) and *More Wealth Without Risk* (1991) sought to reassure audiences that everybody could be successful without imperiling their economic well-being. These books signaled a greater desire for security and a decreased readiness among men to take risks needlessly. The idea of being successful and of finding the best way to achieve affluence continues to retain a great fascination for many Americans, most especially for American men, for success has often been equated with manliness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burns, Rex. *Success in America: The Yeoman Dream and the Industrial Revolution.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976.

Cawelti, John G. *Apostles of the Self-Made Man.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Hilkey, Judy. *Character Is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Weiss, Richard. *The American Myth of Success: From Horatio Alger to Norman Vincent Peale.* 1969. Reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Wyllie, Irvin G. *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches.* New York: Free Press, 1966.

FURTHER READING

Huber, Richard M. *The American Idea of Success.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.

Kilmer, Paulette D. *The Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996.

Kimmel, Michael. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History.* New York: Free Press, 1996.

Rodgers, Daniel T. *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850–1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Shi, David E. *The Simple Life: Plain Living And High Thinking in American Culture.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

RELATED ENTRIES

Alger, Horatio, Jr., American Dream; Arthur, Timothy Shay; Breadwinner Role; Bureaucratization; Business/Corporate America; Capitalism; Character; Class; Crisis of Masculinity; Franklin, Benjamin; Gilded Age; Graham, Sylvester; Individualism; Industrialization; Market Revolution; Middle-Class Manhood; Progressive Era; Property; Self-Control; Self-Made Man; Temperance; Work

—*Thomas Winter*

SUFFRAGISM

In 1776 the Declaration of Independence proclaimed that "all men are created equal," but for the next two centuries American suffrage laws implicitly limited who counted as a "man." Voting regulations reflecting beliefs about class, race, gender, and age restricted participation in the American political process. These beliefs were tied to ideas of virtue central to definitions of masculinity, particularly that independent men had a right and a responsibility to participate in public life and community governance through voting. During the twentieth century, however, concepts of masculinity were gradually divorced from definitions of citizenship and suffrage.

During the colonial and Revolutionary periods, suffrage rights were restricted to male landowners on the basis of the eighteenth-century belief that manhood and civic virtue (the ability and willingness to act in the public interest rather than out of self-interest) were grounded in property ownership and the economic and political independence it bestowed. The virtuous man of independent means embodied self-sufficiency, respectability, and stability; while those without property—particularly women, children, and slaves—were seen as dependents not adequately invested in the affairs of the state to have a voice in them.

The upheaval of the American Revolution forced a re-examination of these assumptions, since many men who were not qualified to vote fought for American independence. These soldiers argued that if they were man enough to die for their country, then they were entitled to a stake in the fledgling nation. In response, several of the new states eliminated the property requirement for voting, replacing it with a less restrictive tax-paying requirement. The notion of "republican manhood" maintained the earlier associations between manhood, public virtue, and suffrage, but it now expanded to include those without property.

During the early nineteenth century the concept of masculine political virtue became completely separated from property ownership, for property restrictions on voting disappeared entirely and industrialization produced a class of non-propertied wage earners. As a result, the belief spread that the right to vote should be connected to the man and not to property, and virtuous manhood became grounded in racial and gender identity rather than class status. White men asserted this modified idea of masculine political virtue ever more strongly as abolitionism, slave riots, and, beginning in 1848, the push for woman suffrage challenged their power. They characterized African Americans, women, and Native Americans as weak, dependent, and, therefore, unsuited to the rights of citizenship.

The Civil War (1861–65) again made the question of the vote—and its relation to manhood and to whiteness—a major national issue. Like nonpropertied men during the American Revolution, freed blacks who fought for the Union believed that their military service demonstrated their manhood and entitled them to suffrage rights. Furthermore, with the abolition of slavery many black males sought full citizenship, including the right to vote. The Fourteenth (1868) and Fifteenth (1870) Amendments offered them citizenship and suffrage respectively. These measures also represented the federal government's first attempt to define citizenship and voting rights—a decision that previously had been the province of the states. The North did little to enforce the new amendments, however, and southern white men excluded blacks from the public realm of politics and voting by reinstating property