the river's rapids and the encounter with the mountain men become metaphors for the dangers of allowing male sexual energies and violent impulses to rage out of control. Denied an outlet for displaying affection toward other men, sexual and emotional feelings between men must be repressed. By the film's end Drew drowns, and two mountain men have been murdered, their bodies buried beneath the river. In a final dream sequence, Ed sees a gun clutched by an outstretched arm resurface from its watery grave. Symbolizing the return of the repressed, his nightmare suggests that men's attempts to sublimate primitive male desire are ultimately problematic.

Notable for its morally ambiguous and flawed characters, *Deliverance* departs from the genre conventions associated with the buddy film. By leaving the film without a powerful, male hero, *Deliverance* perfectly reflects the early 1970s call to re-examine traditional gender roles.

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Related Entries

Body; Buddy Films; Crisis of Masculinity; Freudian Psychoanalytic Theory; Guns; Hollywood; Homosexuality; Hunting; Male Friendship; Outdoorsmen; Self-Control; Violence

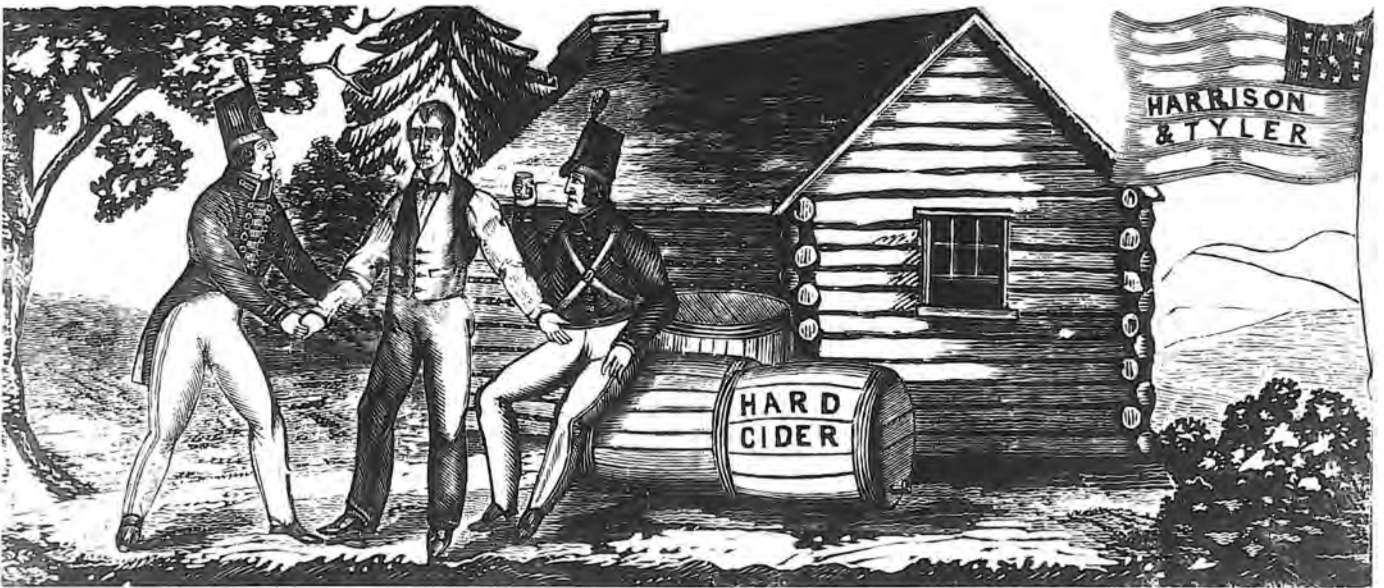
—*Michael R. Meadows*

Democratic Manhood

Between 1815 and the 1840s, a concept of democratic manhood emerged in the United States, marking a conscious rejection of European (especially British) notions of ascribed social status. Strongly associated with Democratic president Andrew Jackson, democratic manhood was defined as political equality and broadened political participation among white men—and by the exclusion of women and nonwhites from the privileges of citizenship. It emphasized physical prowess and boisterous patriotism, expressed by the popularity of such frontiersmen as Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett. Furthermore, the concept informed a developing urban counterculture that resisted the aristocratic pretensions and bourgeois morality of an emerging middle class.

Several developments of the early to mid–nineteenth century contributed to the emergence of democratic manhood. First, urbanization and industrialization drew increasing numbers of transient young men into the nation's expanding cities, eroding communal restraints on behavior and limiting the control that patriarchal families could exercise over their sons. Second, early industrialization challenged the manly ideal of the "heroic artisan," which was grounded in ideas about independence and producer values, by making it increasingly difficult for apprentices and journeymen to advance to the position of master craftsman and forcing them into wage labor. These men had to articulate a new concept of manhood, suitable to their social reality. Third, by 1824 all states except Virginia, Florida, and Louisiana enacted universal adult, white-male suffrage, eliminating previous tax- and property-based restrictions on voting rights and grounding citizenship in gender and racial identity.

The 1820s saw the emergence of a flourishing urban subculture of "dandies," or "sporting men," many of whom were apprentices, journeymen, or clerks, who embraced an antipatriarchal, antiaristocratic ideal of democratic manhood. Freed from the familial control and social constraints of small communities, the growing urban male population challenged paternalistic authority, looked to boardinghouses and male peers for their frame of reference, and abandoned values such as virtue and self-restraint in favor of qualities such as hedonism. The masculine libido, not yet appropriated by capitalist production, market mechanisms, and the political party system, gained free reign in these urban subcultures. Sporting men, flamboyant in dress and conduct, yet egalitarian and antiaristocratic in their values, sought to demonstrate their manliness in the urban marketplace of labor, in volunteer militia and fire companies, in street gangs such as New York's



This 1840 woodcut features presidential candidate William Henry Harrison welcoming a wounded soldier to his log cabin and offering him hard cider. With the enactment of universal white-male suffrage, political candidates increasingly conveyed an image of democratic manhood emphasizing heroic patriotism, humble origins, and frontier folksiness. (From the collections of the Library of Congress)

infamous Bowery B'hoys, and in a culture of erotic entertainments and burlesque shows. Surging immigration to the nation's cities in the 1830s and 1840s further abetted the development of this urban subculture.

The participants in this urban male subculture proved and defended their manhood through the ritualized violence of boxing and blood sports. The boxing ring was in many ways ideally suited for acting out democratic manhood, for it was an egalitarian space that defied notions of ascribed status. In this arena, victory or defeat depended solely on the masculine prowess and fighting skills of the combatants. Even though it generated social hierarchies based on merit and achievement, status in these hierarchies remained open and fluid: Since fighters and their supporters could meet for rematches, one's manhood could continually be proved.

Democratic manhood played a role in the riots that became a part of the political culture of Jacksonian America. These riots often involved issues of race, class struggle, and industrial development, and they reflected a longstanding tradition of "crowd actions" by which urban underclasses sought to enforce their political will. In 1849, for example, William Charles Macready, a British actor widely perceived as aristocratic, was performing in New York City's Astor Place Theater. Followers of Edwin Forrest, a rival American actor who was a popular symbol of patriotism among the city's sporting men, stormed the theater, prematurely ending Macready's performance. Several hundred others started a riot outside the theater that left twenty-three dead and over one hundred wounded.

Democratic manhood also affected the nation's politics, on both local and national levels. On the local level, the New York City Bowery B'hoys formed the basis of Tammany Hall, the Democratic political machine that would later control city politics during the late nineteenth century. On the national level, the presidency of Democrat Andrew Jackson (1829–37)—who was presented to the electorate as a heroic Indian fighter, general, and frontiersman with a penchant for violence—became a rallying point for political involvement among an expanded white male electorate. Jackson promised that his Native American removal policy, which would open up land between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River for settlement, would promote independence and autonomy for white men. His destruction of the Second Bank of the United States (called "Mother Bank" by its opponents) on the grounds that it allegedly suffocated white men's independence and promoted the development of a "moneyed aristocracy" carried reminders of Revolutionary-Era Republican concerns over British parental usurpation. However, although Jackson presented himself as the defender of white men's independence by opposing this key element of a capitalist market economy, he also cleared the path for further economic development. As a white, egalitarian ideal of democratic manhood became dependent upon exclusionary policies toward nonwhites, it left the very beneficiaries of these policies defenseless against capitalist development that would eventually undermine the independence of white men.

Jackson's political success prompted the opposition Whig Party, which was generally more supportive of the developing

market economy, to appropriate the language of democratic manhood. In 1834, the Whigs sponsored a speaking tour featuring the Tennessean frontiersman Davy Crockett, who was running for reelection to Congress. In 1840, the party ran a victorious "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign that portrayed its presidential candidate, William Henry Harrison, as a simple man of democratic values, while labeling the Democratic candidate, Martin Van Buren, as an effeminate aristocrat.

Since the nineteenth century, the notion of a democratic manhood has emerged as a significant part of cultural currents of masculinity in U.S. society. After 1815, the ideal of a democratic manhood, and the urban male subculture it sanctioned, fueled the hostility and frustration of a growing transient white male population. Antipaternalistic in nature, and a product of the social pressures of early industrialization and urbanization, this manifestation of democratic manhood represented an attempt by urban men to shape society in their own egalitarian image. Aspects of this subculture remained a part of single urban men's culture. Many of its elements would later be absorbed into a notion of the "strenuous life," understood as a combination of an active citizenship in combination with a virile and assertive masculinity, which was policed by the state and channeled into a variety of political outlets or appropriated by capitalist processes and an emerging consumer culture.

The extension of suffrage to African-American men after the Civil War and to women after World War I challenged the association of democratic values and citizenship with whiteness and manhood, while also broadening the reach of political egalitarianism inherent in the ideal of a democratic manhood. At the end of the twentieth century, the masculine appeal and association of democratic rhetoric with manhood persisted in U.S. politics and presidential campaign strategies, typified by television commercials featuring Ronald Reagan chopping wood, emphasizing Bill Clinton's humble origins, or showing Patrick Buchanan sporting a beaver hat.

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RELATED ENTRIES

Bachelorhood; Consumerism; Crockett, Davy; Cult of Domesticity; Gilded Age; Jackson, Andrew; Leatherstocking Tales; Market Revolution; Nationalism; Patriotism; Race; Republicanism; Strenuous Life; Victorian Era; Violence; Western Frontier; Whiteness; Working-Class Manhood

—*Thomas Winter*

DETECTIVES

The detective is an icon of American masculinity that articulates the myth of the lone hero. The detective narrative is concerned, above all, with the investigation of the hero's masculinity, which must be tested and proved by solving the case. Detective heroes, who offer models of ideal manhood, have also embodied changing social attitudes toward masculinity.

Edgar Allan Poe's character C. Auguste Dupin is the literary father of all fictional detectives, including Arthur Conan Doyle's famous British sleuth Sherlock Holmes. The sleuth is characterized by the superior skills of deduction and observation associated with manhood in Victorian culture. By the 1920s and 1930s, an increasing emphasis on aggressiveness, sexuality, and the body in American constructions of male identity generated new kinds of detective figures. The hard-boiled private eye, popularized by writers such as Raymond