Introduction

John Gast's 1872 *American Progress* is perhaps the best-known image of the nineteenth-century American concept of *Manifest Destiny*.[1] Painted twenty-four years after the United States literally "won the west," taking half of Mexico's territory as spoils of war, and eighteen years before the U.S. Census Bureau proclaimed that there was no longer an identifiable American frontier, Gast's vision of Manifest Destiny is both self-confident and self-congratulatory. American territorial expansion literally brings light to darkness in this painting. An allegorical female representation of "American Progress" (with the "star of empire" on her forehead) leads the pioneers westward, schoolbook in hand, along with the great technological advances of the era, the telegraph and railroad. Wild animals flee as she nears, and bare-breasted Native-American women make way for a white family in a covered wagon. *American Progress* was widely circulated in print form, and it quickly became one of the preeminent artistic visions of westward expansion (Figure 0.1).[2]

The first thing that strikes the viewer, of course, is the scantily clad and well-formed flying woman who dominates the painting. So focused is Gast's allegorical figure on her civilizing project that she fails to note that her translucent gown is in imminent danger of sliding off. Why did Gast represent "American Progress" as a woman, when so many of the iconic nineteenth-century images of western settlement were male? The gold-rush

[1] I will capitalize Manifest Destiny throughout this study to signify its significance. As Bruce Harvey has noted, "Manifest Destiny is one of the few ideologies, in the history of nations, that in its own time became so reified as to garner initial capitals in its name." Bruce Albert Harvey, *American Geographics: U.S. National Narratives and the Representation of the Non-European World, 1830–1865* (Stanford, 2001), 6.

[2] George Crofutt's print of *American Progress* was featured in his magazine, *Crofutt's Western World*. Crofutt was fond enough of the image to use it as the frontispiece in his guide for western travelers, in which he praised the image in great detail. George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* (Chicago, 1878), 1, 300.

FIGURE 0.1. *American Progress* (George A. Crofutt chromolithograph, 1873, after an 1872 painting of the same title by John Gast). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-737].

migrant, the U.S.-Mexico War solider, the fur trapper, and the frontiersman were all exemplars of masculinity in the middle decades of the century. Yet it is difficult to envision "American Progress" in any of these forms, indeed in any male form at all. It is the benign domestic influence of our allegorical figure, and of the white women in that covered wagon, Gast seems to indicate, that is responsible for the smooth and uplifting transformation of wilderness into civilization. The benevolent domestic presence obscures the violent process through which the United States gained control of the region.[3]

Was Manifest Destiny gendered?[4] It is the argument of both this image and this book that it was. Gender concerns shaped both the popular

[3] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, 1995), 194; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: the American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), 81–111; Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontiér, 1600–1860*. (Middletown, CT, 1973).

[4] In using the term *gender* I mean the "ongoing construction that shapes identities and the social practices of women and men over time." Katherine G. Morrissey, "Engendering the West," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds. (New York, 1992), ftnt. 4, 308. Joan Scott's observation that "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" has shaped the approach

understanding of the meaning of Manifest Destiny and the experiences of men and women abroad in the antebellum period. Expansionism in this painting is justified largely because it is domesticated. This illustration resonated with U.S. residents in the post–Civil War era in part because the vision of expansionism as "progress," and progress defined as the introduction of domesticity to the wilderness, fit with the hegemonic gender norms of the era. After the upheaval and staggering violence of four years of Civil War, survivors turned away from heroic individualism and looked toward work and home for meaning. The growth of the country, "from sea to sea," in the decades before the war was idealized as an essentially peaceful process, a period when harmony reigned and Americans were unified in pursuit of their destiny. *American Progress* is a vision of expansionism, both domesticated and restrained.[5]

As this study will explore, expansionism didn't always look this way. In the antebellum era, many Americans justified territorial expansionism precisely because it was *not* domesticated.[6] Potential new American territories were embraced by some American men because they offered opportunities for individual heroic initiative and for success in love and war, which seemed to be fading at home. They might not wish to gaze upon an antebellum version of "American Progress," featuring a bloody soldier floating over the "new frontiers" of Central America, the Caribbean, and Hawaii, but the violent implications of such a scene would not be incompatible with their vision of America's territorial future.

While domesticated expansionism, as pictured by Gast, had its antebellum proponents, many others embraced a more aggressive expansionism, in which Manifest Destiny would be achieved through the direct and rightful force of arms. Consider the gendered resonances of an 1849 poem written

of this study. Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category for Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1067.

[5] Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York, 1987); George Fredrickson, *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union* (New York, 1965).

[6] Following nineteenth-century usage, this study will use the term *American* to refer to a resident of the United States, as opposed to a resident of Central America, Mexico, Canada, or South America, and *America* as a synonym for the United States. As Frederick B. Pike and Lester Langley have pointed out, while residents of other states in the Americas have just as much right to call themselves Americans as do residents of the United States, they "invariably refer to themselves by the name of their native countries." Quote in Frederick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin, 1992), xvi; Lester D. Langley, *America and the Americas: The United States in the Western Hemisphere* (Athens, GA, 1989), xvi–xvii. Residents of the United States, on the other hand, have historically embraced the title wholeheartedly. As the *SQR* explained in 1850, "The United States are called par eminence, America, and their citizens Americans." "The Battles of the Rio Grande," *SQR* 2 (November 1850): 429.

by Francis Lieber, a professor of history at the University of South Carolina and respected intellectual.

> Long indeed they have been wooing,
> The Pacific and his bride;
> Now 'tis time for holy wedding –
> Join them by the tide.
> ....
> When the mighty God of nature
> Made his favored continent,
> He allowed it yet unsevered,
> That a race be sent,
> Able, mindful of his purpose,
> Prone to people, to subdue,
> And to bind the lands with iron,
> Or to force them through.

Lieber's verse in honor of a newly contracted canal project in Nicaragua initially renders the relationship between the oceans in a romantic fashion; they are a couple to be joined in holy matrimony after a lengthy courtship. But the tone of "The Ship Canal" soon shifts. Rather than peacefully supervise the ceremony, the vigorous American race subdues not only nameless people but the entire continent as well. God may have created the Western Hemisphere, Lieber suggests, but he left it to the American man to remake through force. It is the American who binds the lands with iron before forcing the oceans through them, with the inter-oceanic wedding reception effectively co-opted in a narrative of indomitable American will.[7]

Lieber suggests here that this Central American canal was a part of America's Manifest Destiny, the next stop, after victory against Mexico, in the unfolding process of American domination of the continent and hemisphere. In retrospect, of course, he would be proved wrong. By the time Gast painted *American Progress*, Americans realized that antebellum territorial expansionism ended at the Pacific Ocean and the Rio Grande. But it was not at all obvious in 1848 that the "continental frontier" marked a natural limit to the growth of the republic.

Manifest Destiny was alive and well after the U.S.-Mexico War, and the majority of Americans continued to hold expansive plans for the United States. Many Americans became commercial expansionists, and they

[7] Francis Lieber, "The Ship Canal," *SLM* 15 (May 1849): 266. Cornelius Vanderbilt's American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company contracted with Nicaragua to build a canal through the country at the height of the gold rush. The canal was never built, but it established America's interests there. David I. Folkman, Jr., *The Nicaragua Route* (Salt Lake City, 1972), 23–106. The idea that a romantic engagement could lead to a marriage defined by patriarchal authority and force would have fit well with nineteenth-century marriage conventions. Norma Basch, *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, 1982); Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (New York, 1998), 175–217.

envisioned American domination of the hemisphere or world emerging through the growth of a commercial empire. Others, who this study will term *aggressive expansionists*, advocated using force of arms to obtain new territories in Latin America and the Pacific. Aggressive expansionists were especially influential in their support for the controversial but widespread practice of filibustering. In the nineteenth century, a filibuster was not a long-winded speech in the Senate. *Filibustering* referred to private armies invading other countries without official sanction of the U.S. government. Filibusters were men who on their own initiative went to war against foreign nations, often in the face of open hostility from their own governments. The term also was used for the invasions themselves. Although the actions of these mercenaries were clearly illegal, they received the praise and even adulation of aggressive expansionists. Given that the United States has just won an enormous territorial concession from Mexico, the enthusiasm of Americans for aggressive expansionism seems, upon first examination, perplexing. It is only upon placing Manifest Destiny in its social and cultural context that enthusiasm for continued territorial annexation begins to make sense.[8]

This study investigates the meaning of Manifest Destiny for American men and women in the years between the U.S.-Mexico and Civil wars, based on written accounts from letters and journals to political cartoons and newspapers.[9] Travelers to the California gold rush left a large body of documents in which they expressed their often candid views of the lands and peoples they encountered on their voyages. Although these travelers were far more likely male than female, and were likely also to be more adventurous sorts than the neighbors they left behind, the men who crossed the isthmus on their way to California were otherwise a heterogeneous group in terms of occupation, age, and ethnicity.[10] Travel narratives and travel fiction, published

[8] Charles H. Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 3; Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, 2002), xi.

[9] Antebellum newspapers provide an excellent vantage point from which to judge public opinion of expansionism, since, as Michael Warner has written, "by the Revolution . . . the business of governing relocated itself from the context of town meetings and market-street conversations to the realm of a public constituted in writing and print." Michael Warner, "Franklin and the Letters of the Republic," *Representations* 16 (Fall 1986): 111. Tocqueville also noted the significance of newspapers in the construction of what scholars would later call the public sphere. "If there were no newspapers there would be no common activity. . . . A newspaper then takes up the notion or the feeling that had occurred simultaneously, but singly, to each of them. All are then immediately guided towards this beacon; and these wandering minds, which had long sought each other in darkness, at length meet and unite. The newspaper brought them together, and the newspaper is still necessary to keep them united." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. 1840 (New York, 1981), 409–10.

[10] Letters and diaries, like any other genres, are bound by their own representational demands and are shaped by both visible and invisible constraints. But, by and large, I would argue, they provide a less-mediated lens on the views of their writers than do other genres, like the published travelogue. On the heterogeneity of gold-rush travelers see Malcolm Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley, 1997).

in book form and in popular periodicals, proliferated during the antebellum period and were devoured by readers. At the same time, letters from foreign correspondents became a staple of the penny press, and travelogues became a staple of magazines like the *North American Review* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.[11] During the decade or so before the Civil War, politicians actively debated whether further territorial expansion was desirable, and many political tracts were published either supporting or opposing expansionism.[12]

This study argues that the American encounter with potential new territories in the antebellum period was shaped by concerns at home, especially evolving gendered ideals and practices. Dramatic changes in American society, economy, and culture reconfigured the meanings of both manhood and womanhood in the 1830s and 1840s. Antebellum Americans lived through an astonishing array of changes, including mass immigration from Europe; the emergence of evangelical Christianity in the Second Great Awakening; the end of bound labor in the North; the beginnings of a "market revolution," including specialization in agriculture and dependency on wider markets in even rural areas; changes in print technology; the decline of the artisan workshop; increasing class stratification; and universal white manhood suffrage. All of these transformations shaped the ideology and practices of womanhood and manhood, and the meaning of Manifest Destiny, as well.[13]

[11] Between fifteen and nineteen percent of all books charged from the New York Society Library in the 1840s were travel narratives. Ronald J. Zboray, *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public.* (New York, 1993), 176–9; Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville, 1997), 47–8, 57. An excellent bibliography of published American travelogues is Harold F. Smith, *American Travelers Abroad: A Bibliography of Accounts Published before 1900* (Carbondale, 1969).

[12] Thomas Hietala has suggested that "the American people as a whole may have shared their leaders' ideas, but the question of whether or not they did is less crucial to a comprehension of American expansion than identifying and examining the convictions of the public figures who attained the continental empire." Thomas Hietala, *Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America* (Ithaca, 1985), 2–3. This study suggests that personal letters and journals provide a window on "popular opinion," while texts in popular periodicals provides a means to deduce the opinion of an "informed public," or "knowledgeable public." Several scholars have posited that the "informed public" had a significant (and at times measurable) impact on foreign policy. See Gabriel Almond, *The American People and Foreign Policy* 1950. (New York, 1960); Ernest R. May, *American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay* (New York, 1968), ch. 2; James Rosenau, *The Attentive Public and Foreign Policy: A Theory of Growth and Some New Evidence* (Princeton, 1968).

[13] It is impossible to do justice to the vast literature on these multiple subjects in a footnote. Key works that have influenced this study include Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, MA, 1978); Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York, 1978); Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, 1998); James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860* (New York, 1997);

The reigning view of American womanhood in the early years of the republic, that of "republican motherhood," had, by the 1830s, been overshadowed by a new and contested ideology of domesticity. Republican motherhood posited that maternal influence would emanate outside the family home to the frontier, uplifting the values of new Americans and supporting male-initiated attempts to expand westward.[14] Domesticity idealized women as virtuous domestic beings who could change society for the better through their positive moral influence on their husbands and children, while it simultaneously demonized women who worked outside the home. By conceptualizing women as essentially domestic beings, the reigning ideology of the "woman's sphere" could isolate the wife and mother within her home, in a form of "imperial isolation."[15]

At the same time, however, women successfully used their elevated status within the home to effect change outside it. Women played key roles in many of the most significant moral and social reform movements of the antebellum era, including evangelical and anti-slavery reform, and, most notably, the Woman's Rights movement. Although by the 1850s, voting rights for white adult males had become nearly universal, women could not vote, and their legal rights in marriage were extremely limited, since it was understood that a woman transferred her civic identity to her husband in marriage. In 1848 200 women, and 40 men, gathered at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, and adopted a statement based on the Declaration of Independence that called for expanded rights for women, especially in the areas of marital and property law. Feminists continued holding conventions on a regular basis afterwards.[16]

Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York, 1991); David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York, 1998); Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (Cambridge, UK, 1989); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class*, 1788–1850 (New York, 1984). One important study to place Manifest Destiny in the context of these changes is Hietala, *Manifest Design*.

[14] On republican motherhood see Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1980). On domesticity see Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973); Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge, UK, 1981); Nancy F. Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*. Second edition. (New Haven, 1997).

[15] On imperial isolation see Mary Ryan, *The Empire of the Mother: American Writings about Domesticity, 1830–1860* (New York, 1982); Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," 1068. Domesticity was hegemonic if unachievable for most women. Ann D. Gordon and Mari Jo Buhle, "Sex and Class in Colonial and Nineteenth-Century America," in *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, Berenice A. Carroll, ed. (Urbana, 1976), 284.

[16] Elizabeth Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1998), 101; Norma Basch, *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage and*

Although delegates at Seneca Falls were split on the issue of women's suffrage, domesticity provided alternative means for women to influence the political process. The Second Party System accepted female partisanship, and the Whig Party, which blended evangelical religion with politics, was especially welcoming to women, including women as part of their vision of politics as "secular revivalism." Although Democrats initially critiqued Whig women's involvement in campaigns, slurring the party as effeminate, William Henry Harrison's victory in 1840 taught them the error of their ways. As Elizabeth Varon has shown, both parties in the 1840s and into the 1850s courted women's approval and used women in their campaigns.[17]

The economic and social upheavals that transformed the practice of womanhood had an equally profound effect on the practice of manhood, as did, of course, the new challenges to the gender order posed by female activism and the elevation of women through domesticity in the 1840s and 1850s. Competition and economic transformations eroded traditional routes of occupational advancement and made the process of both choosing a calling, and succeeding at it, more contentious and demanding for men of all walks of life.[18] A split emerged in patriarchal masculinity in the nineteenth century, as "practice organized around dominance was increasingly incompatible with practice organized around expertise or technical knowledge." For men the experience of work and home life, of social interactions, even of citizenship, was dramatically transformed from the 1830s to 1850s.[19]

Historians of gender have generally posited the crucial shift in male gender ideology in the late nineteenth century, when a "crisis of manhood" led men to reconceptualize proper male behavior.[20] In the early years of the

Property in Nineteenth-Century New York (Ithaca, 1982). On the empowering aspects of domesticity see Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872* (Ithaca, 1984); Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, 1990); Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana, 1991); Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (Urbana, IL, 1987).

[17] Varon, *We Mean to be Counted*, 82; Ronald Formisano, *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s* (New York, 1983), 262–7; Ronald and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Gender Slurs in Boston's Partisan Press during the 1840s," *Journal of American Studies* 34 (2000): 413–46.

[18] For one moving example of the perils of the marketplace, see Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America* (New York, 1994).

[19] Connell, *Masculinities*, 193.

[20] On the "crisis of manhood" see Joe Dubbert, "Progressivism and the Masculinity Crisis," in *The American Man*, Elizabeth Pleck and Joseph Pleck, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980), 307; Susan Lee Johnson, "'A Memory Sweet to Soldiers': The Significance of Gender," in *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West*, Clyde A. Milner II, ed. (New York, 1996), 257; Michael S. Kimmel, "The Contemporary 'Crisis' of Masculinity in Historical Perspective," in *The Making of Masculinities: the New Men's Studies*, Harry

republic, men had grounded their own sense of manliness in virtue, honor, and public service. By the late nineteenth century, these ideas were being supplanted by a new vision of "primitive masculinity," grounded in a selective reading of Charles Darwin's 1859 theory of evolution. Whereas an early nineteenth-century ideal of manly behavior resided largely in the life of the mind, by the end of the century, historians argue, the preeminent masculine ideal had gained important physical criteria. Middle-class men were encouraged to embrace their animal nature, to improve their physical strength, and to develop their martial virtues so that they could successfully compete with men of less-refined classes and races. Late nineteenth-century nostalgia for the sacrifices of the Civil War generation also supported the contention that middle-class men were growing soft and needed to reanimate their essential masculine virtues.[21]

In the middle decades of the century, however, there was not yet a hegemonic "primitive" masculinity. In a period before America's distinctive three-class structure had fully formed, when a middle class was only beginning to coalesce out of the transformations of work practices under industrialization, both class norms and gender norms were in flux.[22] During the period

Brod, ed. (Boston, 1987). For a critique of the "crisis" interpretation see Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds. (Chicago, 1990), 183–4.

[21] Darwin never claimed that "survival of the fittest" applied to races or to nations, (indeed the phrase was coined by Herbert Spencer) but this so-called social Darwinism justified both personal aggression and imperial domination by the late nineteenth century. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995); Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, 1986); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, 1993); John Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (Autumn 1994): 182. On Darwin and social Darwinism see Joseph M. Henning, *Outposts of Civilization: Race Religion, and the Formative Years of American-Japanese Relations* (New York, 2000): 14–16.

[22] As Stuart Blumin, among others, has documented, "a middle class was *not* fully formed before the [Civil] war." Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class*, 13. The overwhelming historical bias in favor of sources drawn from literate men of high white-collar occupations has skewed our understanding of American manhood by ignoring the practices of the vast majority of American men, or by simply equating class identity with gender identity. The experience of highly educated, upper middle-class men was not typical, yet it has too often stood in as representative of all men. Anthony Rotundo's study *American Manhood*, for instance (described as the "first comprehensive history of American manhood), relies entirely on sources drawn from the middle or upper-middle classes because "[m]iddle-class values have been the dominant values in the United States for two centuries. . . . If, as social critics have often written, the United States is a bourgeois society, one good way to open up a new topic like the history of manhood is to study the bourgeoisie." Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 296; see also the essays in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940*, J. A. Mangan and James Walvin eds., (Manchester, UK,

covered by this study, as Clyde Griffin has written, "markedly divergent conceptions and styles of masculinity co-existed, not only between social classes but within them."[23] In the 1850s, there was no single ideal of masculinity, like the "primitive manhood" of the 1890s or the "gentry masculinity" that historians have described in the eighteenth century, that dominated expectations for American men's behavior. On the contrary, a whole range of practices of manhood competed for men's allegiances.[24]

White American men of diverse occupations could and did embrace a wide range of masculine practices in the middle decades of the century. Laborers could locate their manhood in bare-knuckle boxing, in the sentimental ideals of melodrama, or in the very different theatrical genre of minstrelsy. Some urban workers, influenced by the spread of evangelical Christianity, internalized self-restraint and moral self-discipline, while others reveled in pre-industrial work habits and physical, often bloody cultural expressions drawn from Europe. Merchants could self-identify as militia members or could join socially exclusive men's clubs. Southern gentlemen upheld dueling as a key expression of their own culture of honor. Abolitionists embraced one another as well as the language of Christian fraternal love, while some professional men embraced competitiveness and political realism. Temperance cut across the economic spectrum, as did other reform movements of the period. The preeminent social organization of the antebellum city, the urban volunteer fire company, was explicitly heterogeneous in its membership, and it unified American men, from merchant to manual laborer, Irish immigrant to native born, in a celebration of strength, camaraderie, and social service in the interest of their city. An urban sporting culture brought together young men of different occupations in the shared enjoyment of urban entertainments, including prostitution. America's mass political culture of parades, marching, elaborate ritual, and alcohol consumption likewise

1987). For a critique of the tendency of historians of masculinity to equate class and gender see Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity?" 179–202.

[23] Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity," in *Meanings for Manhood*, Carnes and Griffen, eds. 185. This study is one of several in recent years to emphasize the importance of the fact that there co-existed multiple practices of manhood at mid-century, none of which was hegemonic. See for example, Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca, 2002); Amy S. Greenberg, *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City* (Princeton, 1998); Brian Roberts, *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture* (Chapel Hill, 2000); Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York, 2000). Several other notable studies have emerged out of a literary context. See especially Shelly Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley, 2002); Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham, 1998); Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York, 1975).

[24] Connell, *Masculinities*, 191.