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Victims of Patriarchy: Failed Masculinity in
Nineteenth-Century American Literature

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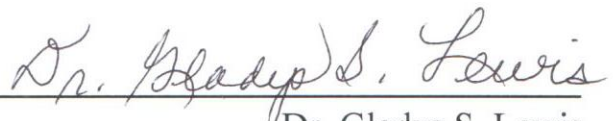
By

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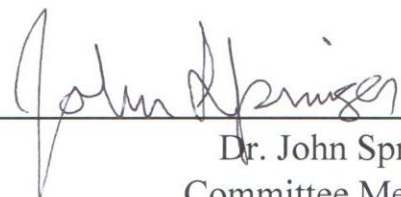APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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Abstract of Thesis

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The United States was built upon foundations of patriarchy which called for men to demonstrate their masculinity publicly. In the nineteenth-century, as middle- and upper-class Americans began to populate cities, there were less physical and public outlets to prove masculinity, festering insecurity and an increased drive to exhibit masculinity at home, in the marketplace, and with physical prowess. Many men lived in fear of being perceived as feminine, or exhibiting what was thought to be feminine qualities, such as emotion. This anxiety was pervasive in the culture and is demonstrated in literature of the time. A study of works by male writers in the nineteenth-century shows that the male characters attempted to manifest their masculinity in three defined demands: occupation, control over women and men, and physical strength. They accomplish this through diverting, denying, and disguising emotion. Men were often victims of patriarchal expectations, whether they were victims of their own drive to prove themselves, or fell victim to other men's need to demonstrate their masculinity. The societal solution for escaping patriarchal demands is flight to the frontier, both literally, which resulted in the settling of the West, and figuratively, with men living out their fantasies in dime novel Westerns or dreaming of finding an identity on the frontier. This thesis traces evidence for this claim by a study of the male characters in selected works by Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain, Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, and Washington Irving.

Acknowledgements

My mother is fond of telling us that "can't never did anything," which is a prompter for us to believe in ourselves. This has been a struggle for me at times, but it was especially important to remember as I explored my own frontier—writing my thesis.

To my family, who has always and will always be a constant in my life. To my friends, who were patient, gave advice, and were there for me even in my neuroses and bouts of hiding from all human contact while I drafted my thesis. And lastly, but most importantly, thank you to Dr. Gladys Lewis, whose American Literature survey class was the reason I chose my major. Five years ago, when I crawled into her office thinking I was in over my head in an upper level course, Dr. Lewis told me I could do it. Her belief that I could make it that semester drove me to accomplish more than I ever thought I could, and for that I am so grateful.

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Victims of Patriarchy: Failed Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature

Introduction

Though set in approximately 1757, the third year of the French and Indian War, James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* sets the stage for patriarchal values in nineteenth century America. The first chapter focuses on the decisions of Colonel Webb of the British army, commander of Fort Edward, to send a young officer from Fort Edward to Fort William Henry with the daughters of Colonel Munro, the fort's commander. The British army is a rigid patriarchal system which, in *The Last of the Mohicans,* represents a microcosm of the system of nineteenth-century patriarchy itself. In *The Creation of Patriarchy,* Gerda Lerner defines patriarchy as the "manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance" (Lerner 239), and does not focus on individual men who are products of and pressured to be part of this male-centric system. This brand of patriarchy is seen in the manner in which Duncan Heyward, the young officer, is introduced; he is a nameless "young man," (Cooper *Last of the Mohicans* 10), a part of the system rather than an individual. Like Heyward's treatment within the system of the British army, patriarchy is about the "performance of social roles, not . . . the expression of self" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 13).

The army demonstrates the rigidity of a patriarchal system when General Webb, the leader, dispatches the officer, Heyward, to deliver the daughters of Colonel Munro; the "young man, in the dress of an officer" (Cooper *Last of the Mohicans* 10) is assigned this task because of his station within the army. He is particularly eager to complete the task in order to be favored by General Webb and Colonel Munro (8-10) and therefore be perceived as capable and masculine because of the completion of his duty. Heyward is

tasked to live up to what is expected of him, and is left to his own devices to guide

Munro's daughters safely to Fort William Henry. He must prove his able masculinity by

taking care of the women. Heyward's duty, and the eighteenth-century system under

which he lives in *The Last of the Mohicans,* is mirrored in men within the patriarchal

system of the nineteenth century. Men of the nineteenth century, like Heyward as he was

left on his own to keep Munro's daughters safe, were pressured to fulfill societal

expectations about masculinity without the help of others.

Before the nineteenth century, a man was "expected to answer to his community"

(Rotundo *American Manhood* 12) if he did not fulfill his patriarchal role. By default, this

meant that men had to prove themselves on a public stage and were to be judged by how

well they fulfilled their duties and conformed to the societal standard. In the nineteenth

century, communities in America were less tightly-knit, and the culture was more

consumption based, and focused on demonstrating status by obtaining material goods.

For the middle and upper classes, identity was "based . . . . upon how one appeared and

lived" (Kimmel *Manhood* 81). The public face of patriarchy was still firmly in place but

it was less about duty to family and community, and more about keeping up the

appearance of status in order to maintain power. To be approved in a patriarchal society,

a man had to appear to have authority, both at work and at home. His success at being an

authority figure measured his masculinity. In the nineteenth century, patriarchy

manifested itself on a public stage and was enacted in men's occupations, in their control

over women and other men to maintain order, and in physical strength that enabled them

to establish leadership. In order to prove themselves in these three areas, men had to

demonstrate "masculinity," which is the male cultural expression of identity within a patriarchal system.

Feminist Judith Butler breaks down gender identity in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. She points out that the "acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive sexuality" (173). Butler's observation about gender suggests that there is a difference between biological maleness, or "manhood," and masculinity, which is the performance or demonstration of being a man. Scholarship on men and masculinity often conflates the concepts of manhood and masculinity. In *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, Michael Kimmel says that "manhood is . . . . not the manifestation of an inner essence; it's socially constructed" (3); though Kimmel has a valid point about societal constructions of male behavior, he is actually speaking about masculinity as a demonstration of being a man. For the purposes of this discussion, manhood is the "state or condition of being a man" (Oxford), meaning a matter of physiology, whereas masculinity is the "assemblage of qualities regarded as characteristic of men" (Oxford). Manhood is the societal perception of being a man as opposed to being a woman; masculinity is the demonstration of qualities and actions that are associated with men.

The social construction of masculinity is the vehicle through which patriarchy is enforced. Masculinity has to be expressed where patriarchy manifests itself; for the nineteenth century, masculinity was exhibited through men's professions, in their supremacy over women and domination over other men, and in the demonstration of

physical strength. Masculinity was often expressed and defined in opposition to femininity; this was seen in the nineteenth century in men's inherent fear and avoidance of what was thought to be a feminine quality: emotion. Beginning in boyhood, men in America were pressured to master "pain, fear, and the need for emotional comfort," and they were "encouraged to suppress other expressions of vulnerability, such as grief and tender affection" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 44), which started a lifetime habit of denial and avoidance of emotion.

The boyhood conditioning of emotional suppression became a coping mechanism as men attempted to meet societal standards. Denial, avoidance, and the redirection of emotion were exhibited in men's attempts to be masculine in their careers, which reassured men about the "freedom and power" (Rotundo 177) gained through work; in their exercise of "manliness through dominance" (176) over women and other men; and through displays of physical strength, because "proving who was fittest in a struggle [required] a kind of combative, athletic prowess" (Pugh 116). Men who are held to the patriarchal standard that exemplified (or attempted to exemplify) one or more of the masculine "virtues," but caused harm to themselves, other men, and women while attempting to embody these virtues were victims of patriarchy. Men in nineteenth-century literature attempt to live up to these standards and ultimately make victims of themselves or others by denying, diverting, or disguising their emotions.

In colonial America, families clung to traditional customs and values that had worked well for forging a new life in the early settlement of America. These values resulted in patriarchy that was "inflated by the rigors of immigration, farm-making, and Indian fighting in a New World where civil institutions were too weak to provide

security" (Sellers 9). During this time, men under patriarchy could easily position themselves as masculine: "production had centered on the family workshop, where family members . . . had participated in the ancient mysteries of hand production" (Smith-Rosenberg 83). Many men were either farmers or artisans who worked in the home and with their families, so the household could make a living and survive. They could prove their dominance by having a productive family and keeping them in line, and families turned toward one another rather than away.

Men in colonial America could often be secure in their identity as heads of households. Though they were held to public standards of masculinity, men were also accountable for leading their families: "To head a household . . . was to anchor the status system, preserve the political order, provide a model of government, sustain piety, ensure productive activity, and maintain the economic support of one's dependents" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 12). Artisans and farmers worked with their hands, meaning that they could easily be seen as masculine. Because of less defined class lines, if men happened to be businessmen, they were often in or could easily rise to positions of authority, meaning they could raise their social status and demonstrate masculinity through their career.

The expression of masculinity through men's occupations became more difficult in the early nineteenth century, especially in more urban areas where the masculine role and identity had less of an outlet; the Industrial Revolution brought drastic changes from the colonial, rural life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America to an increasingly urban existence. In *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846,* historian Charles Sellers observes, "As traditional cultures gave way to a spreading market culture, new beliefs, new behaviors, emotions, and interpersonal relations spurred

work and consumption" (4). This increasingly consumerist culture triggered enormous

changes in the way people made their money and in the way they related to one another.

Families were drawn to cities because of the commercial boom, which changed

the way people made money. Cities grew exponentially in the nineteenth century, with

mass movement to the cities: "In 1800 over 80 percent of American men had been

farmers; by 1880 only one-half of the nation's labor force was in agriculture" (Kimmel

Manhood in America 57). Men also moved from farming and artisanal craft, choosing to

become employed by others: "Although four of every five men were self-employed in the

first decades of the century, by 1870 only one-third were self-employed" (57). The rise

of industrial capitalism "inaugurated a historic shattering" of the system of artisanal

production by "extending markets for their products beyond neighborhood and local

customers" (24-25). Entrepreneurs paid "unskilled workers low piece rates" (25) to do

what skilled artisans and farmers used to do for a living. This indicated that cheap labor,

meaning children and women, typically of the lower class, was in increased demand, and

skilled workers had to find other ways to make a living. This caused unease in middle-

class men for a few reasons; because of the mass movement from rural to urban centers,

most men could no longer easily express masculinity by farming, and because of the

increased demand for unskilled labor, men could not demonstrate their masculinity in

specialized craft. Middle-class men living in cities were also unable to rely on being

breadwinners as demand for women's labor increased, and "rapid industrialization,

technological transformation, capital concentration, urbanization, and immigration . . .

caused a new sense of an oppressively crowded, depersonalized, and often emasculated

life" (Kimmel *Manhood in America* 58).

Men of the middle and upper classes could no longer be the heads-of-household in the same way they were when they were producing specialized products in the home. When men moved outside of the home to work and their wives stayed home to take care of the house and family, the home became an "insulated, privatized, feminine shrine" (Woloch 117) in which men were no longer the rulers. Because of their protracted absence from the home, men could no longer express their masculinity by directing or dominating their wives or families in all areas, which caused a cultural anxiety about how men were going to continue to control women. In the middle and upper classes especially, men were losing ground at home because their wives stayed home, which led to a fear and avoidance of the domestic setting: "The American male diverted or sublimated his energy away from the house," because it represented female power, "to a world of limitless opportunities" (Pugh 57-60) which existed in the marketplace.

In the cities, there were no crops to harvest and no Indians to fight, because there were larger civil institutions to protect citizens; men had no outlet for the aggressive, physical strength and competition that traditional values of patriarchy imposed, and they had to find other ways to express their masculinity; patriarchy still called for physical assertiveness and men "admired fighting virtues and often endorsed violence" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 224). Men were still under pressure to provide, to be aggressive, and above all to be masculine. Societal expectations to live up to patriarchal standards were at odds with the massive changes happening within society during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, which led to extreme anxiety in men about how they were going to fit in. As a result, during and after this societal upheaval, middle-class men had a crisis of identity, a loss of self-esteem.

Men's disquiet in the face of these changes is expressed in nineteenth-century literature. Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" offers an example of a man who is able to escape his modern responsibilities as well as the anxiety about change by fleeing to a more traditional environment in the wilds of the Catskills. Rip's flight into the country encapsulates the escape that men fantasized when dissatisfied with their lives— and with their wives. Rip is described as an "obedient, henpecked husband" (Irving 44), not an example of a masculine man; however, as he was a "descendent of the Van Winkles who figured so gallantly in the chivalrous days of Peter Stuyvesant" (44), he is a man whose roots lie in primitive masculinity. Rip also attempts to embody masculinity by being responsible for his family; however, he has a "meekness of spirit" and a "termagant wife" (44), which make him unwilling and unable to provide for his family. Rip is not destined for responsibility, nor does he want it. He is trapped in marriage with a strong woman who nags him to do his duty, which provides identification for male readers, because "strong-minded women increasingly agitated male gender anxieties as the century wore on" (Sellers 252).

Rip is well-liked but unable to manage his wife, family, or farm, and he is unable to live up to the patriarchal expectation that he dominate his family, so he escapes into the Catskill Mountains. Rip is saved from returning to his life by "a voice from a distance, hallooing 'Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle'" (Irving 50) that leads him into an all-male homosocial environment, in which they wore "enormous breeches" (51) and had "beards, of various shapes and colors," exemplifying masculinity and traditional patriarchal values. Their liquor, which has "the flavour of excellent Hollands" (52), allows Rip to fall into a deep sleep, thereby giving him an escape from his wife's

nagging. Rip's escape reflects the American literary convention of the man who takes "flight from society to an island, a woods, the underworld, a mountain fastness—some place, at least, where mothers do not come" (Fiedler 181).

Rip returns to find a much-changed landscape and is now at a "happy age when a man can be idle with impunity" (Irving 61), and he has not been forced to experience any of the societal changes first-hand by living through them and shouldering the burden as the men of the nineteenth century did. Rip is now able to evade responsibility all together. He did not have to sign up for war, as his peers did, nor did he have to raise his children or continue living with his wife, or find a new way of living as the economic means of production began to change. Instead, Rip escapes to the wilderness, and by sleeping there gains freedom and independence. Upon his return, Rip finds a society that loves him and a family that forgives him without shackling him to his former husband-provider role. He is also an object of envy for his peers: "it is a common wish of all henpecked husbands in the neighborhood, when life hangs heavy on their hands, that they might have a quieting draught out of Rip Van Winkle's flagon" (62).

The man of the nineteenth century was encouraged to be adventurous, brave, independent in thought and action, and he was to keep a firm rein on his impulses. When he was unable to meet these standards, he dreamed of fleeing, as Rip Van Winkle does when he cannot handle his wife and his domestic life. Shame became a major fear of men during this age; it was the "ultimate sanction against the man who would not or could not physically defend his honor against breaches of . . . code, and a shamed man meant a shamed and vulnerable family" (Sellers 176).

An escape to the wilderness like Rip Van Winkle's was a fantasy that many men were able to achieve, as seen by the rapid westward expansion in the nineteenth century. This expansion demonstrates that "the West was a safety valve, siphoning off excess population, providing an outlet for both the ambitious and the unsuccessful" (Kimmel *History of Men* 41). The frontier became an idealized landscape in which man is free from the constraining shackles of society; the ultimate solution to societal problems was to retreat from its pressures. In the nineteenth century, it was believed that the man of the frontier was "unchecked by restraints of an old social order, of scientific administration of government" (Turner 213). This means it was believed that men who fled to the West were free from the structure of the law and the city, which was seen as effeminate. The man of the frontier was also the "kind of man that all men might become" (213), showing that men often idealized the frontiersman who was able to prove his masculinity by going into the wilderness and living a life free of responsibilities of home and family.

Frederick Jackson Turner, in *The Frontier in American History*, helped to explain the qualities men were believed to develop on the frontier:

> . . . to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength . . . that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil (Turner 37).

These characteristics encapsulate what it meant to be a masculine man under patriarchy: a man with coarseness, strength, and practicality was able to exhibit his masculinity through his chosen career, whether it was farming or climbing the marketplace ladder.

The shadowy borderland between the east (the known) and West (the unknown) was a place in which men could escape the constriction of civilization, as seen in the family of Ishmael Bush in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Prairie*. Ishmael Bush is a man who has lived his life on the fringes of society, bragging that the "law had rarely been known to enter his clearing" (70) and he is also suspicious of learning, following the anti-intellectual, Jacksonian principle: "He had no respect for any learning except that of the leech because he was ignorant of the application of any other intelligence than such as met the senses" (70). He, his wife, and his seven sons retreat from society into the frontier because they are "unsuited for civilization" (Slotkin 99), and they attempt to live a primeval life, with their "clannishness, their belief in the revenge code" (99).

The family is "in quest of that which might be termed, without the aid of poetry, their natural and more congenial atmosphere" (Cooper *The Prairie* 2), meaning that the family, particularly Ishmael, believes that the wilderness is a better environment than the settlement, because it allows them "a kind of power and grandeur which is primitive and admirable: they achieve things . . . they are pioneers, they try to make their lives a fable of 'success'" (Slotkin 99). Above all, however, Ishmael is an example of the frontiersman who wants "to rule himself, to take what he wants even if it means breaking down established institutions . . . . He embraces a primitive idea of the law as well" (Beckman 370).

Still many more men were stuck within society, bound by their responsibilities to family and to their chosen careers. Men who could not escape could fantasize about Daniel Boone, a masculine man of the eighteenth century who was able to live out the Western dream. Boone was reputed to have complained that "someone is opening a farm

about twelve miles to the west of him. 'The place is getting entirely too thickly settled,' swears Boone, 'when a man can come and cut down trees without permission in your back yard" (Faragher 66). Daniel Boone was transformed into a "mythic hero" (Slotkin 66) in the nineteenth century because his biography linked "the heroic fable of Boone's adventures to the mystique of the wilderness land" (67).

For the men who were looking for a contemporary leader, Andrew Jackson was a rising star within the American political landscape who helped to solidify their identities. Jackson was an example of the rags-to-riches ideal that many Americans sought to embody, as the "first presidential candidate of nongentry origin" (Sellers 174), rising from a poor childhood in Waxhaw on the border of North and South Carolina to an illustrous military career, and finally to a political career, peaking with his inauguration as President in 1829 (301-303). He became a figure for men to follow, a "perfect model of the manliness ethos" (Pugh 12), and an embodiment of patriarchal virtue, known for participating in duels (Meacham 26), and an "international fighter of renown" (32) celebrated for fighting for American interests against the Indians in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (26) and against the British in the Battle of New Orleans (31-32). Jackson became the example by which men lived partly because he "carried to an extreme the aggressive masculinity through which men earned each other's respect" (Sellers 176). Jackson was "shaped by experience and temperament to appeal to the country's beleaguered common folk" (174), making him an object of admiration for a culture of men searching for an identity.

Though Jackson is an example of the patriarchal role that men sought to attain, he also exemplifies the negative effects that could come from these masculine standards;

while being hailed as an American hero, Congress under Jackson also approved the

Indian Removal Act in 1830, "favoring removal at nearly any cost" (Meacham 96). He

called himself the Indians' "Great Father," which is a reminder of the patriarchal

standards Jackson embodied and the power he held, but yet he used his position of power

to remove Indians from their ancestral homes and he "did not ensure that removal was

done humanely. . . . Jackson knew how to exercise power, and had he chosen to do so, he

could have used his power to bring about a fairer implementation of his removal policy"

(318). Instead, his policies led to the Trail of Tears, on which an estimated 4,000 of the

16,000 Cherokees that were forced to move died (318). In his will to exercise power,

Jackson made Indians the victims of his policies, setting in motion terrible acts of

atrocity; and being "prone to racism and intolerance" (169), he helped solidify the already

hostile tone in American treatment of Indians.

Jackson's rise to fame showed men that they could cling to traditional ideas of

patriarchy in order to try to hold on to their identities in the face of societal change.

Jackson became a "cultural symbol, a mythological character . . . capturing the nation to

such an extent that long after his two terms as president, the Jacksonian mystique lived

on" (Pugh 31). Following the lead of a strong, physical public figure such as Jackson,

men of the age were pressured to be the sole providers for their families, to keep

themselves physically and mentally strong, and to remain pragmatic and unemotional.

As they sought to cling to traditional values, men wanted to keep women from

being breadwinners, which would challenge men's ultimate cultural supremacy, because

men did not want to be seen as weak; men were "stronger, more manly in the present,

unequal arrangement" (Barker-Benfield 48), and should this imbalanced cultural

arrangement change, it would threaten men's identities and the order of patriarchal society, which would be "better maintained by keeping strong men over potentially disorderly women" (48). This led to an emphasis on women being seen as "dependent and affectionate" and "pious, pure, gentle, nurturant, benevolent, and sacrificing" (Woloch 120), as women of the home who are examples of morality and virtue for their families.

Works such as Edward Clarke's 1873 treatise *Sex in Education* protested co-education of males and females and the presence of women in the marketplace, saying that "sustained regularity of action and attendance . . . . walking, standing, reciting, or studying" makes the female sex "lose health, strength, blood, and nerve" (Clarke 125-126). In writing texts and advice books similar to Clarke's, middle- and upper-class men attempted to keep girls uneducated and urged women at home to preserve their "delicate" sensibilities, and they defined the domestic sphere and the marketplace as different worlds: the former for the women, and the latter solely for men, which confined women within an "increasingly isolated domesticity" (Smith-Rosenberg 86). Men of the middle and upper classes could position themselves as the opposite to the woman's idealized morality, making his strength and decisiveness the "oak" to the woman's "lily" (Clarke 126), her supposed delicacy of health and nerve. This ideal allowed men to feel as though they were masters of their home despite women's control over the running of the home, because "a masculinity tested daily by competing males required a domestic domain of unquestioned mastery" (Sellers 246).

In the androcentric, middle- and upper-class marketplace, men could embody the Jacksonian virtue of cutthroat competition, which was a method of proving masculine

prowess in an increasingly urban society (116). In the marketplace culture, men could not express feminine qualities such as emotion, or risk bringing shame upon self or family. This study analyzes the underlying pressures evident in the literary portrayal of the struggles of men in literature during the nineteenth century, particularly beginning in 1819 with the publication of "Rip Van Winkle" to the end of the century, when Theodore Dreiser wrote *Sister Carrie*. Chapter One, "Emotion Denied," demonstrates how literature of the nineteenth century reflects the effects of societal pressure on men to deny their emotion. In Jacksonian society, men were also pressured to be successful while conforming to rigid standards of masculinity. In *Sons of Liberty: The Masculine Mind in Nineteenth Century America*, David Pugh observes that "Jacksonians, like men ever since, were restless to achieve something more than that which . . . they were supposed to be content with" (24) Pugh's observation shows that men depended on "rugged individualism" (24), setting aside emotions relating to family in order to demonstrate their masculinity to other men.

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited America in 1831, he observed the American character and documented his thoughts in *Democracy in America*. He reflected on the inherent insecurity he noted in Americans, particularly in the men, saying that "it is strange to see with what feverish ardor the Americans pursue their own welfare; and to watch the vague dread that constantly torments them lest they should not have chosen the shortest path which may lead to it" (658). The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of the middle class, which was made up of insecure, self-made men of business who went to the workplace, a homosocial environment where a man could measure himself against other

men by achieving monetary and material success, while attempting to ascend the ladder of society.

An example of this focus on monetary success as an expression of masculinity is seen in *The Junius Tracts,* a series of works published in the mid-nineteenth century which trumpet the cause of capitalism and the marketplace. Written by Calvin Colton, a clergyman and man of business. *The Junius Tracts* demonstrate the culture's firm belief that "Labor is . . . the great capitalist; the embryo millionaire; and he who can stand up, in the bloom and vigor of ripening manhood, pure in heart, and determined to prosper, though he has not a penny in the world, may look abroad, and behold a large estate within his reach" (7). Colton believed that the "free American laborer is the most powerful, and may well be the proudest of men" (9), meaning that the self-made man was a fundamental example of masculinity because he has the ability to rise to the middle and upper class. Though the idea of rising from "rags-to-riches" was "statistically mythical" (Sellers 239), middle-class society looked to men such as Andrew Jackson, who lived the classic rags-to-riches life, as an example of what a man should be. The drive for success had a paradox at its core: "the Jacksonian call for a society of tough, independent citizens cancelled itself out as a call for conformity" (Pugh 24) to social expectations of what a man should be.

In attempting to conform to patriarchal standards and trying to demonstrate masculinity by pursuing an acceptable career, dominating his wife and family, or engaging in physical competition, a man could "let no misgiving show through the mask of confident affability he presented to a competitive world" (Sellers 251). Men had to hide their true selves in order to survive in society; some were more successful than

others at conforming to societal expectations. This subconscious pressure is evident in nineteenth-century literary characters such as Ichabod Crane in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Henry Fleming in *The Red Badge of Courage*, Reuben Bourne in "Roger Malvin's Burial," and Arthur Dimmesdale in *The Scarlet Letter,* which are analyzed in the second chapter.

Chapter Two, "Emotion Diverted," examines male characters in nineteenth-century literature who attempt to conform to societal ideals of manhood while hiding their true selves. In a society in which men denied and diverted their emotions, they began to fear their emotion, progressively focusing on the external rather than the internal. The emphasis on the physical body was so strong that men "began to treat physical strength and strength of character as the same thing" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 224). An increasingly large number of men lived in cities but were still encouraged to rely on their basic instinct of physical, decisive aggression rather than on "deep, logical reflection" (225). Men were urged to control emotion, but were allowed an outlet in physical aggression and competition to assert their dominance over others. Men who were perceived as less masculine because they lived lives of leisure, or took careers that were not considered masculine, such as writing. These different men even became the butt of jokes or objects of shame or fear. As James Fenimore Cooper observes in *Notions of the Americans*, "traits of character that are a little peculiar, without, however, being either very poetical, or very rich, are to be found in remote districts; but they are rare," showing the disdain felt toward those that are peculiar: eccentricity is tolerated, perhaps, if one is rich, but otherwise, those that are "poetical" are left to be outliers, in "remote districts." Cooper continues by saying, "it is not possible to conceive of a state of

society in which more of the attributes of plain good sense, or fewer of the artificial absurdities of life, are to be found, than here" (143). Americans, Cooper suggests, are people of good sense, and those who are different are not appreciated, and not considered part of society.

A consequence of the vision of American men that disdained sophistication or those who were different is a culture of men who feared intellectuals because they were seen as "peculiar." Jacksonian patriarchal ideals pushed men in society toward distrust of the men who "wished to hamper men from doing what men knew they must do" (Pugh 102). These "thinkers" were "reformers and cultivated men who were, according to influential adherents of the manliness ethos, impotent sissies at best, sexual mutations at worst" (104). These "dandies" were seen as effeminate, which was shameful in a culture so focused on the perception of masculinity; men were encouraged to "lower the flight of imagination . . . to the level of the earth" (de Tocqueville 738), meaning that they were urged not to engage in fantasy which was seen as a feminine activity. In *Notions of the Americans*, Cooper observes that, for men, learning was ideally done in the "jostlings of the world" and not through "dreaming retrospection" or "in a maze of theories" (127-128). Real men under patriarchy were to be out doing, learning by trade or practice rather than at home, thinking.

As the century wore on, society paid more attention to the male body, beginning a "vogue of physical culture" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 223), which showed a heightened focus on physical aggression. Men redirected emotion into displays of physical strength, valuing physical strength over intelligence and displays of violence over displays of emotion. As Michael Kimmel notes in *The History of Men: Essays in the*

History of American and British Masculinities, during this period, men's bodies were of the utmost importance because "the body did not contain the man; it was the man" (48-49). Literature throughout the century replicates this pressure in well-known characters, such as Brom Bones in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Billy Budd, Pap Finn, and the Shepherdsons and Grangerfords in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, showing what happens when men are encouraged to act first and think later.

Chapter Three, "Emotion Disguised," analyzes male characters in the nineteenth century who funnel their emotions into destructive habits. The struggle of traditional patriarchy against a changing society was reflected in an unconscious anxiety among men. This analysis, "Emotion Denied, Emotion Diverted, and Emotion Disguised," focuses on the characterizations of men in literature of the period, such as the way in which John Claggart is characterized and interacts with Billy Budd, the way Arthur Dimmesdale reacts to societal pressure in *The Scarlet Letter*, and the way Brom Bones in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" exerts his authority. These characters reflect the various ways in which men attempted to embody patriarchal standards of masculinity in the nineteenth century.

Male writers themselves embodied this culture of anxiety as well, as seen in Nathaniel Hawthorne's angst in the letter to his publisher in which refers to women writers as a "d----d mob of scribbling women" (Ticknor 141, Lewis 325). As David Leverenz observes in *Manhood and the American Renaissance*, male writers, too, were self-conscious "of being deviant from prevailing norms" (15) of masculinity because many were uneasy taking on a career in which large numbers of women were finding success, and they also struggled with the "middle-class ideology" of masculinity that was

"taking hold in American public life" (15). Writers of the nineteenth century, including

Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Stephen Crane, Mark

Twain, James Fenimore Cooper, and Theodore Dreiser are all products of this insecure

male culture, and the characters within their works can be understood within the context

of the nineteenth century paradigm. Though some of the works, such as *Billy Budd*,

"Roger Malvin's Burial," and *The Scarlet Letter*, are not set in nineteenth-century

settings, each work is written within and bounded by the context of nineteenth-century

patriarchal ideals of masculinity and reflects both the ideals and anxieties of nineteenth-

century men.

From Washington Irving in the early nineteenth century to very late in the century

in Theodore Dreiser, works of the writers of the nineteenth century reflect the

pervasiveness of male anxiety about conforming to standards of masculinity. The

expectations that the characters attempt to embody are encompassed by the three

patriarchal expectations of mastery over men's careers, domination over women and

other men, and display of physical strength. A study of these composite characteristics

shows that men were trapped by societal expectations, often becoming victims of these

patriarchal standards. In order to alleviate the varied pressures of "Emotion Denied,"

"Emotion Diverted," and "Emotion Disguised," many American men dreamed of the

frontier, whether they were able to pull up stakes and experience it firsthand, or escape

through works of fiction or tales of men living in the frontier.

Chapter One: Emotion Denied

After the American Revolution and during the Industrial Revolution, the American family in the United States underwent a radical change. Men began to move from a largely rural existence to the town and city as they found work in businesses and factories. This new existence included less physical labor and, consequently, created more anxiety about their patriarchal role because many men who were working desk jobs in the cities could no longer rely on physical labor as both an outlet for and a demonstration of their masculinity. Because men began to live in cities, they needed to develop new means to prove their masculinity. The widespread anxiety "encouraged accomplishment, autonomy and aggression—all in the service of an intense competition for success in the marketplace" (Rotundo "Learning about Manhood" 37). Fear of being perceived as insufficiently masculine led to terror of femininity and of emotion, which were considered the opposite qualities of what it meant to be masculine. Fear of women, and "womanly" qualities intensified men's anxieties, which were "indirectly projected onto women and displaced by seeing various enemies as a smothering maternal figure . . . or as effeminate snobs" (Pugh 7-8).

This climate led to tension in men's relationships with other men and in their relationships with women. Men often overcompensated for their worries about masculinity by overreacting in their interactions with men, banishing all "feminine" qualities, such as love of domesticity and passiveness, from their lives, and by trying to keep women 'under their thumbs,' so they could not threaten the men's powerful status. Nineteenth-century literature reflects the results of this anxiety in men's lives. An examination of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, Herman Melville's *Billy Budd*,

and Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* demonstrates the unexpected consequences of men's attempts to live up to the pressure to deny and to avoid the emotional and familial world.

Often, a man's business dealings required that he set both his emotions and scruples aside because competition became the way to prove manhood. Successful men "did not merely survive, they survived and flourished by controlling other men and using whatever means necessary to do so, including bribery, spying, threats, exploitation of workers, and dynamiting the property of competitors" (Pugh 118). There were tacit social demands for men to do almost anything to achieve success, which could—and did—encourage men to let their "inner wolf . . . rise as an impulse" (Rotundo "Learning about Manhood" 41) so they could dedicate themselves to advancement in society at all costs. This dog-eat-dog philosophy further alienated men from their emotions and morals. This could be hazardous for men who forget about the emotions they have been persuaded by society to set aside, and channel their suppressed emotion into aggression toward other men, as is the case for Roger Chillingworth in *The Scarlet Letter* and John Claggart in *Billy Budd, Sailor*.

The Scarlet Letter, set in colonial Boston, tells the tale of a betrayal of Puritan morality; not only by Hester Prynne and Arthur Dimmesdale, but also by the cuckolded Roger Chillingworth, in his quest to restore his dominance over his wife and her lover. It is a tale of "a woman's struggle for strength and autonomy within patriarchy, and the rivalry of several men for dominance" (Leverenz 246) within that patriarchal framework. Chillingworth exemplifies the dangers of pressuring men to dominate women and other men, and turn from emotion; he is a self-professed "man of thought" (Hawthorne 83)

who has given his "best years to feed the hungry dream of knowledge." Leslie Fiedler, in *Love and Death in the American Novel,* describes Chillingworth as "oddly at home in the alien world of the primitive" (436), as he adheres to traditional patriarchal ideals, living in the wilderness, away from society, and marries a much younger woman in order to have control over her. Chillingworth is a man who has lived a cold life of seeking knowledge instead of embracing emotion or establishing a close relationship with his wife. He continues on this path when he finds his wife, Hester, as the town spectacle, having borne another man's baby. When she refuses to give the name of her lover, Chillingworth says, "let him hide himself in outward honor, if he may! Not the less he shall be mine" (Hawthorne 85).

He channels any emotion that he might have about his wife's infidelity and the wrong done to him into a hidden hatred and a "secret and wholly personal revenge" (Diffee 859) upon the man with whom Hester has had the affair. It is Chillingworth's "character as a scholar that motivated his search for the identity of his wife's lover" (Katz 9). Rather than taking true emotional offense, which might manifest itself in action against his wife, Chillingworth wants to find the other man in order to avenge his "dishonor" (Hawthorne 84). To restore his dominant status over the other man, the man must confess publicly, which would shame Dimmesdale and make Chillingworth dominant. Puritan ethics which dictate a Puritan's conduct would state that revenge and status are not important, that sticking to doing what is right should be the primary concern. However, at the heart of Chillingworth's disquiet is dominating his wife and especially her lover, thus restoring his patriarchal honor. Hawthorne unconsciously gives

his character a trait typical of men of Hawthorne's own time, in which being accepted as masculine and being seen as honorable were of the utmost importance to men.

When Chillingworth resolves to find the man who has wronged him, he is not at all concerned with punishing Hester or Pearl, saying "I seek no vengeance, plot no evil against thee. Between thee and me, the scale hangs fairly balanced" (84). Yet, Chillingworth's unwillingness to save his wife, whom he swears to secrecy, and his decision to reside in the town allow him to regain a semblance of traditional patriarchal power and control over his wife while continuing his mission to destroy her lover. So involved is he in his quest to find the identity of the adulterer that he sheds his former identity as Prynne and "took up his residence in the Puritan town as Roger Chillingworth, without other introduction than the learning and intelligence of which he possessed more than the common measure" (129). Chillingworth quickly fixes his vengeful eye on Arthur Dimmesdale, a minister in the town.

Chillingworth tells himself that he is "desirous only of truth" (140) and convinces himself that justice is his main concern, yet his already dormant and fragile sense of morality, set aside during his time away from society and because of his unemotional nature, easily twists into a need to avenge the wrongs done him, which "seized the old man within its gripe and never let him free again until he had done all its bidding." This is Chillingworth's "private rage to expose, control, and accuse" (Leverenz 260) Dimmesdale's crimes. Though *The Scarlet Letter* takes place in colonial times, Chillingworth represents the men of the nineteenth century who lived their lives under the belief that "civilization was not just a matter of reason . . . it was the triumph of man over man in primitive struggle" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 254). In Chillingworth,

this need to triumph in a primitive struggle manifests itself in an intense desire for revenge for being cuckolded by the younger man. Chillingworth's single-minded focus on dominating Dimmesdale results in an unhealthy preoccupation with the other man. Chillingworth turns into an evil version of his earlier, unfeeling self as a result of his obsession to regain his dominant status.

Conditioned by societal expectations that a man will exercise power over others, Chillingworth fixates on Dimmesdale, almost literally possessing him when he becomes the sickly man's physician. Chillingworth uses his medical knowledge to attempt to make the minister confess, asking, "Would you, therefore, that your physician heal the bodily evil? How may this be, unless you first lay open to him the wound or trouble in your soul" (Hawthorne 149). Dimmesdale is already both physically and psychologically vulnerable; for Chillingworth, the "victim was forever on the rack; it needed only to know the spring that controlled the engine" (152). Chillingworth leeches the other man's life force, binds himself to Dimmesdale, and feels an "intense, destructive emotion . . . compounded of the intolerable intimacy between doctor and patient" (Fiedler 234). Though Puritan morality might dictate that Chillingworth expose the other man's sin so that he can be publicly punished, he instead enjoys the bond of retaliation that he has established with Dimmesdale. As Dimmesdale becomes increasingly dependent upon Chillingworth for his well-being, Chillingworth is able to establish dominance over the other man, and he feeds his purpose in life as well, using his relationship with Dimmesdale to exact his revenge. As the parasitic relationship continues and Chillingworth continues to be obsessed with the younger man, he begins to change, both physically and psychologically:

old Roger Chillingworth was a striking evidence of a man's faculty of transforming

himself into a devil, if he will only, for a reasonable space of time, undertake a

devil's office. This unhappy person had effected such a transformation, by

developing himself, for seven years, to the constant analysis of a heart full of

torture, and deriving his enjoyment thence. (Hawthorne 183)

When Dimmesdale dies, Chillingworth's "evil principle was left with no further material

to support it" (276), and the old man dies soon after, a victim of his obsession to

dominate the other man.

In *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne establishes how dangerous a man's

disengagement from emotion can become; Chillingworth, unused to the world of

emotion, uses what he knows, which is the search for knowledge above all else, even

emotion. His natural inclination to unemotional exploration develops into a search for

"truth," or a confession and reparation for the wrongs done to him. In the process of

attempting to gain vengeance, he destroys himself and has a hand in destroying

Dimmesdale, making both men victims of Chillingworth's need to recuperate his

masculine status.

In *Billy Budd*, Melville introduces John Claggart and Billy Budd, who embody

different patriarchal ideals, and these ideals ultimately lead to each man's downfall,

making each a victim of societal standards of masculinity. Claggart, as a master-at-arms

of the *HMS Bellipotent*, is in a position of authority, which confers a masculine status in

his career, and is similar to Chillingworth in that he sets out to dominate another man,

and he appears to have no emotion except a burning hatred for a man, Billy Budd, who is

physically and morally better than he. Claggart's single-minded hatred and will to destroy

the other man shows the potential consequences of masculine ideals; a culture that sets morality aside can breed people who do not have a moral compass. Whereas Chillingworth sets out to regain status that he lost when he was cuckolded, John Claggart destroys an innocent man who never did anything to him; Billy Budd's destruction demonstrates Claggart's need to exert power over another in order to reestablish his status.

Like Chillingworth, Claggart is unused to the world of emotion, but he feels deep emotion toward the target of his hate, becoming "envious and hate-ridden" (Noone 251) toward the innocent Billy Budd. Instead of becoming evil over time as Chillingworth does in *The Scarlet Letter*, Claggart is the natural embodiment of evil at the beginning of the story, even in the way that he looks, with a complexion that "seemed to hint of something defective or abnormal in the constitution and blood" (Melville 804). The narrator emphasizes Claggart's "Natural Depravity" (816), making him an example of evil incarnate, and he is often cited as an example of "original sin" (Noone 254) in opposition to Billy's Edenic innocence. Unlike Billy, Claggart is not the masculine ideal; his "hand was too small and shapely to have been accustomed to hard toil" (Melville 804), meaning that before this career, he was unfamiliar with physical labor. Claggart's weakness shows a lack of the ideal of physical strength and suggests professional incapacity, which are two the gauges of masculinity in patriarchal society.

Claggart is not the perfect masculine specimen that Billy is, but he demonstrates his patriarchal masculinity in his occupation as master-at-arms, which is a powerful position on the ship. He is a "sort of chief of police charged among other matters with the duty of preserving order on the populous lower gun decks" (803-804). Essentially, he is

in charge of keeping the men under authority, which is especially important with a recent

mutiny still on the minds of many. Being the second-in-command who watches for

unruly or mutinous men, he is also the "most hated man on the ship" (Noone 253)

Because he is in a position of power, he is "arrogant to the crew" (251), and the crew

naturally engage in "dogwatch gossip" (Melville 805) about him, conjecturing that when

he came on ship, he was "without prior nautical experience," and noting that he "never

made allusions to his previous life ashore." Claggart's position of power over other men,

and his trusted status with Captain Vere contrasts with his unpopular status among the

men he has to police. Claggart's unpopularity escalates when Billy arrives and is

immediately popular. This prompts Claggart to exhibit power over the other man in order

to prove his masculinity, even though Billy does nothing intentionally to usurp the

master-at-arms' authority.

Claggart has a weapon at his disposal: his "brow was of the sort phrenologically

associated with more than average intellect" (804), suggesting that he is intelligent, and

he is a "virtuoso of equivocation who . . . never allows himself an unguarded expression"

(Gilmore 502). Billy is the opposite, a man who does not understand subterfuge and is

unguarded in both manner and mood. Their perceived differences—Claggart's insecurity

about his authority set against Billy's innocent, secure, and unassuming nature—make

the master-at-arms hate the young man with a passion, a passion of which Billy is

unaware because of his inability to detect duplicity. Billy is naturally good and thus

believes the best of everyone, and Claggart uses this to his advantage and, to keep up

appearances, "wears the congenial mask of respectability to conceal from the world his

true nature" (Miller 172).

In chapter eleven, the narrator breaks down possible causes of Claggart's antipathy toward Billy, saying "Toward the accomplishment of an aim which in wantonness of atrocity would seem to partake of the insane, he will direct a cool judgment sagacious and sound" (Melville 817), suggesting that rather than setting morality aside in pursuit of vengeance, as Chillingworth does, and without out real reason to hate the man, Claggart will be cold in his methodical destruction of Billy; though he does envy Billy's opposite demeanor and popularity, he also feels a "helpless and ambivalent fury" (Fiedler 454) that is insatiable.

Claggart's "helpless and ambivalent fury" bubbles within him because of anxiety about his own position and his own status as a man who is not well-liked by the crew due to his powerful position. The "new kid," Billy, changes his previously secure status and professional authority, and makes Claggart question his own masculinity and his standing. Claggart uses his intelligence and natural aggression against Billy to destroy him, revealing his hatred through subterfuge that Billy cannot grasp. Billy, believing the best of everyone and unable to discern hostility, does not believe that Claggart might have an agenda against him. When the young sailor spills some soup in the mess of the ship, Claggart exclaims, "Handsomely done, my lad! And handsome is as handsome did" (Melville 813), which seems to Billy to be a good-natured joke, but "the reply, too subtle for the victim or his companions, is ironic" (Miller 173), a hidden expression of Claggart's jealousy of Billy's status and his hatred of the young man.

Claggart's hatred builds up to the breaking point when "the monomania in the man . . . was eating its way deeper and deeper in him" (Melville 834). Claggart feels justified in continuing his plot, channeling his anxiety about his own status into hatred of

everything about Billy, including his "good looks, cheery health, and frank enjoyment in life" (819), as well as Billy's personality, which "had in its simplicity never willed malice." Billy is the opposite of Claggart; as a result, Claggart identifies Billy as his natural enemy and treats him in the manner in which nineteenth-century culture calls for a man to handle his adversary. He wants to bring Billy down at all costs. Claggart embodies the underlying Jacksonian societal belief that "all men may be equal in one sense, but some are more fit than others . . . others who wished to alter the process . . . had to be dealt with accordingly" (Pugh 111). In this vein, Claggart believes he is more fit to survive than Billy, and in a way he is, because he has intelligence and cunning that Billy does not. Because Billy is perfect physically, hardworking, happy, and well-loved by everyone on the ship, the young sailor becomes the natural target of Claggart's hatred.

This mentality reflects the competitive environment in which men conducted business during Melville's lifetime. In this setting, men could only achieve success at the expense of others; in *Billy Budd*, Claggart can only rest when he has destroyed Billy. Just as Chillingworth's body transforms as a result of his obsession with Dimmesdale, Claggart's drive to destroy Billy expresses itself physically: his "eyes, removing not as yet from the blue dilated ones, underwent a phenomenal change, their wonted rich violet color blurring into a muddy purpose. Those lights of human intelligence . . . were gelidly protruding like the alien eyes of certain uncatalogued creatures of the deep" (Melville 843). Claggart is unaware that in destroying Billy, he will destroy himself as well. Claggart becomes a victim because of his need to establish authority and maintain patriarchal status; Claggart ultimately dies at the hand of his victim, but he has achieved what he set out to do, which is to destroy Billy.

In Chillingworth's and Claggart's collapses, Hawthorne and Melville demonstrate that aggressive and unemotional ideals of behavior can lead to self-destruction. In Chillingworth, patriarchal expectations manifest themselves in the man's desire to dominate Dimmesdale, ultimately causing his own death. In Claggart, patriarchal standards are brought into focus by the man's position of authority; however, his insecurity about being hated because of his authority leads him to direct his hatred toward an innocent man, and he destroys himself and Billy Budd in the process. The absence of morals and the presence of too much of one emotion—hatred, and not enough of other emotions can lead men to take out aggression on other men.

Men were not the only ones affected by patriarchal pressure; relationships between men and women were also tinged with expectations about how each individual was to act. Sociologist and gender theorist Michael Kimmel observed that masculinity is "constructed in a field of power: 1) the power of men over women 2) the power of some men over other men" (*History of Men* 6). Patriarchy compelled men to dominate women and family, to be the breadwinner, and also to be the stoic head-of-household. Under these expectations, a strong masculine man, sensitive to patriarchy's demands, could also become a victim of his interactions with women.

In nineteenth-century America, as the relationships between women and men changed, men's power over women was threatened, so masculinity was also threatened. During colonial times, "the household was a productive unit. All family members engaged in work to sustain it, work that was done in or near the home. As part of the family labor force, women and children were subordinate to paternal authority" (Woloch 115). When men started to work outside the household, "their homes were no longer

centers of production, nor did family members work together for sustenance. Within the emerging middle class, 'home' became a private enclave" (115), as men's lives were separated from the day-to-day goings-on of their families. For middle- and upper-class men, home was no longer a place of togetherness; it was to be a haven to which men came to rest from their lives at work, and women were pressured to keep the home a comfortable refuge for the husband. This meant that men were less and less involved in problems within the home, and instead often leaving such concerns to the women.

In *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville remarks that in the American middle class, "the independence of women is irrecoverably lost in the bonds of matrimony" and that the American wife "lives in the home of her husband as if it were a cloister" (731). His critical observation shows that men and women of the middle and upper classes, always on unequal footing, lived almost wholly separate lives. The wife was at home and the husband was at work, each uninvolved in the other's domains. Even the *Ladies Magazine*, the precursor to *Godey's Lady's Book*, in advocating for women's education, said that women should have enough education as was compatible with the "cheerful discharge of her domestic duties, and that delicacy of feeling, and love of retirement, which nature so obviously imposes on the sex," and it reassures men that the magazine is meant to help women to "be fully sensible of the importance of the privileges now accorded them; not that they may usurp the station, or encroach on the prerogative of the man" (Hale 2). Nineteenth-century advice books about marriage also supported the idea of a separate, domestic sphere solely for women. One such book, entitled *The Marriage Guide for Young Men: A Manual of Courtship and Marriage* written by George Hudson and published in 1883, urges men to believe that "it is home that makes man a

hero in life's struggles. When dangers gather and storms rage, and he feels

discouragement creeping over him and chilling his spirits . . . then he thinks of home"

(179). This is an expression of the idea that for men, home was a haven; when they came

home it was to the 'private enclave' that Nancy Woloch describes, an escape from the

outside world; and ultimately middle and upper class men were often unconcerned with

the running of the household which was, for the husband, a pleasant retreat from the

marketplace.

As a result, men who were more involved in marketplace careers could become

distant, both physically and emotionally, from their homes and from their wives and

families. This resulted in tension and anxiety, in shifts in the way men and women related

to one another, and in changes in what was expected of both men and women in their

relationships: "the identity of a middle-class man was founded on independent action,

cool detachment, and sober responsibility . . . contrasted with that of adult females, which

was built on interdependence and connection" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 90). These

changes are manifested in the relationship between Chillingworth and Hester Prynne in

The Scarlet Letter.

Chilllingworth, for example, questions Hester, "What had I to do with youth and

beauty of my own" (Hawthorne 83). This reveals a large age difference between the two;

he sees himself as the opposite of her youth and beauty at the time of their marriage,

when Chillingworth had "already strongly channeled and partly exhausted the

potentialities of his nature" (Katz 5) and is unwilling to change for the better. A self-

professed "man of thought" (Hawthorne 83), Chillingworth admits that he married

because "my heart was habitation large enough for many guests, but lonely and chill, and

without a household fire. I longed to kindle one" (84), but in this conversation, rather than displaying affection for Hester or expressing a genuine urge to "kindle the fire" in his heart, Chillingworth instead "hints that she was largely an ornament to which he could return, whether after tedious hours at books or arduous months in the forest" (McCullen 230). Instead of talking of any kind of love for Hester or emotion about her actions, Chillingworth says that he has "thought and philosophized in vain" (Hawthorne 84), indicating his habit of thinking instead of feeling. Instead of being emotionally hurt by Hester's actions, Chillingworth is more concerned with his status as cuckold, as shown when he tells his wife that he does not want to identify himself as her husband: "I will not encounter the dishonor that besmirches the husband of a faithless woman" (86).

Nineteenth-century society held that women's nature "gives [men] complete control over her life" (Hudson 85). Chillingworth seeks to maintain this control over Hester, even though he is abandoning her to her fate. As Barker-Benfield states, "If you changed woman's position by removing her from her moral superiority . . . she would threaten order. The order would be better maintained by keeping strong men over potentially disorderly women" (48). As Hester is not morally superior to her husband, Chillingworth must tie her to him somehow. He accomplishes this with the pact of secrecy and the promise of vengeance, not against her, but against her lover. Chillingworth says "thou and thine, Hester Prynne, belong to me" (Hawthorne 85-86). He wants to keep his wife tied to him just enough to keep his secret, increase her shame, and trap Hester in the community where she has to keep her shamed status, thus maintaining control over her, thereby keeping up his patriarchal dominance.

Chillingworth leaves Hester alone to live the status he does not have to share—that is, she will always be identified by the scarlet letter and as an adulterer, but he does not have to be known publicly as her husband. However, he is obsessed with his status in silence. Chillingworth tells Hester, "Live, therefore, and bear about thy doom with thee, in the eyes of men and women—in the eyes of him whom thou didst call thy husband—in the eyes of yonder child" (83). By ridding himself of the Prynne name, Chillingworth dissociates himself from her. He does not take the public status of a cuckolded husband, saying "I have left thee to the scarlet letter . . . if that have not wronged me, I can do no more" (186). Hester's loss of status in the community and her public shame are enough of a punishment for him, but Chillingworth will settle for no less than Dimmesdale's soul.

In first seeing his wife as an ornament, leaving her alone, and then abandoning her to her fate within the town, Chillingworth personifies the nineteenth-century men who "relegated marriage . . . to the periphery of their lives" (Barker-Benfield 46). He also downgrades marriage in importance when he does not feel wronged by his wife, to whom he has made sacred vows and bound himself, and instead conceives an inveterate hatred toward the man with whom she has committed adultery. In Chillingworth's mind, the other man's wrong against him was far more significant than Hester's; he vows to find the man out, and promises Hester that "his fame, his position, his life, will be in my hands" (Hawthorne 86). Chillingworth dedicates his energy to ensuring that Hester's partner-in-sin, Dimmesdale, pays for what he has done, and he leaves his wife to be punished by society. Chillingworth is unable to bind himself to Hester, but he is perfectly willing to bind himself to Dimmesdale. Though Hawthorne sets *The Scarlet Letter* in the seventeenth century, he is projecting the ideals of the culture in which he lives upon the

men within this story, and in the nineteenth century, the distance that Chillingworth puts between himself and Hester is the result of the nineteenth-century culture that did not value women. In the nineteenth century, the order of men's lives were "ultimately derived from men's preoccupation with themselves" (Barker-Benfield 49).

Men's preoccupation with status and the appearance of power, money, and having control over a woman is evident in *Sister Carrie*, as manifested in the characters of Drouet and Hurstwood. *Sister Carrie* is chronologically later than the other works discussed; however, Theodore Dreiser was a product of the anxiety-ridden nineteenth-century male environment; he even left university after one year because he was "acutely conscious of the differences between himself and wealthier, better-looking classmates" (Poupard 161); as with many nineteenth-century men, he was aware of and anxious about appearances. Though he is of a later time than the other writers, later writings of the nineteenth century show how heightened the worries about status became, especially in the relationships between men and women.

If anything, in the latter half of the century, men's concern about keeping the status quo was greater than in the first half of the century. In *Women and the American Experience,* Nancy Woloch points out that especially in the latter half of the century "women's acceptance of low wages was their special asset on the labor market" (222). During the latter half of the century, women's part in the labor force increased from 13.7 percent in 1870 to 20 percent in 1910 (221). Woloch believes that due to the expanding market calling for low-wage, low-skilled jobs, demand for women's labor should have increased more than it did in the latter half of the century. However, as the push for more women, even middle-class women, to enter the workforce increased, middle-class men's

anxiety about their own status was heightened. In the latter half of the century, influential

people such as Theodore Roosevelt and even writers of advice books, such as George

Hudson, began to emphasize that "woman's place was at home, supported by men,

raising children, keeping house, and bolstering family life" (Hudson 222).

An awareness of this environment in the latter half of the century makes Theodore

Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* a relevant text for analysis when studying men's relationships

with women in the nineteenth century because of the way the book focuses on two men's

increased concern about their status and relationship with the women in their lives.

Dreiser was a product of the nineteenth-century male anxiety, and the male characters he

writes in *Sister Carrie*, Drouet and Hurstwood, are as well. Drouet is acutely in tune with

appearances; he also adheres to the traditional ideals of patriarchy. The narrator lists the

qualities Drouet treasures most: "good clothes, of course, were the first essential, the

things without which he was nothing" (Dreiser 4). This shows his need to demonstrate

status to other men. "A strong physical nature, actuated by a keen desire for the feminine,

was next," as in the manner of patriarchal expectations he wants to show that he can

stand up in physical competition, and he can also control women, and has a "mind free of

any consideration of the problems or forces of the world." When Hurstwood desires

Carrie, it is not out of careful consideration; he desires her because she is a pretty

accessory and will help him to appear to be successful. This is clear when he takes Carrie

to dinner; he chooses a seat close to the window, because he loves "to see and be seen as

he dined" (61). As Stanley Corkin notes, "Drouet's interest in being seen is far greater

than his desire to observe the street" (Corkin 610). Rather than engaging Carrie in

conversation, feeling emotion about her, what he notices is that "Carrie was really very

pretty. Even then, in her commonplace garb, her figure was evidently not bad, and her eyes were large and gentle" (Dreiser 64).

Because Carrie is an acceptable adornment that he hopes will help his image, Drouet brings her to live in his home, housing her, clothing her and helping in her career. He thinks that Carrie will bolster his image as a man with clothes, status, and a beautiful woman under his control, living an emotionless transaction that Drouet hopes will benefit his status. However, Drouet does not consider that Carrie is using him as well; when Carrie finds George Hurstwood, who affords her more opportunity, and she leaves Drouet, he says, "Use me and abuse me and then walk off. That's just like a woman. I take you when you haven't got anything, and then when some one else comes along, why I'm no good. I always thought it'd come out that way" (Dreiser 235-236). He denies emotion about her and instead resorts to masculine anxiety about the feminine, as "men feared the shrewdness of the opposite sex, and they were frightened by the ability of women to exploit their attractiveness to men" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 104). In the end, Drouet's relationship with Carrie is a shallow one based on his need to have a woman to control and to keep up masculine appearances, and the end of their relationship provokes suspicion and doubt in him about his masculinity; he pleads with her to "let me know where I stand" and then leaves, shamed and unmanned.

Carrie moves from Drouet to George Hurstwood, who is similar to Drouet in that he exhibits a deep concern for his status within the male community, keeping a job that affords him money and status and a wife and family who do the same. For Hurstwood, the appearance of patriarchal power is more important than actual power; he is imitating the appearances of those around him rather than embodying power itself. As he slowly

finds out, he has very little authority or control in his tidy life in Chicago. Hurstwood

proves that men's patriarchal identities were tied to maintaining the "status quo" of the

home. He is most content as a comfortably rich man with nice furniture and a lovely

home, with a status-loving wife and family; like many other men, in regard to domestic

duties, "there was a fine reserve in his manner toward the entire domestic economy of his

life which was all that is comprehended by the popular term, gentlemanly. He would not

argue, he would not talk freely" (Dreiser 89). Nor does he attach any emotion to his

family; they are accessories in his quest to keep his power and status.

Hurstwood is comfortable not being too involved in matters of the home, so long

as his status remains the same. His family is also not much bothered by his comings and

goings, unless their perceived status threatens to change if he decides not to allow them

their allowances or their usual trips; in many families in the nineteenth-century, men

became figureheads, no longer integral to the goings-on in the home. Hurstwood is

"irritated sometimes by the little displays of selfish indifference," though he never

expresses it because he does not make his family aware of his emotions, and he is

"pleased at times by some show of finery which supposedly made for dignity and social

distinction" (93). At his job, Hurstwood appears to be important, but he is "in fact merely

the 'front man' in Fitzgerald and Moy's imposing saloon who performs the role of genial

host but has few managerial responsibilities" (Pizer 219).

Hurstwood's identity revolves around an emotionless quest to keep his status and

money, and this attracts Carrie to Hurstwood. She notices his clothing first, which is a

symbol of his high status and money: "His clothes were particularly new and rich in

appearance. The coat lapels stood out with that medium stiffness which excellent cloth

possesses" (Dreiser 103). Hurstwood is a nineteenth-century man whose work and status help him to connect his "inner sense of identity with his identity in the eyes of others, and the expectations of others were bound to larger social conditions" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 168).

After Hurstwood meets Carrie and begins to fantasize about and become obsessed by her, he takes his identity and status for granted; he is attracted to Carrie's youth, feeling "the subtle waves of young life radiating therefrom" (Dreiser 112). Suddenly, his status at home with his nice things, selfish family, older wife, and absent children are not enough. When Hurstwood wants to be with Carrie, he begins to make foolish mistakes, arousing his wife's suspicion and then stealing from his employer, Fitzgerald and Moy's, in order to attain what he wants: Carrie, with her bloom of youth. In the process, Hurstwood loses his former status as an absent but money-making patriarch of his family, and his position of apparent power at Fitzgerald and Moy's that affords him little real responsibility but allows him to appear successful in the eyes of other men. Without his status, he resorts to what he knows: masculine encouragement to act first and think later, and "he looked about him and decided instantly" (276), concocting a plan to regain some control by tricking Carrie into going to New York in order to recapture something of his superficial status and authority, and restart his life.

Once Hurstwood is in New York, his "seemingly important position and his fine clothes and home and his prominent acquaintances. . . have been stripped away, he must make his way on his own" (Pizer 219). In his rush to regain control over his life, Hurstwood fails to consider that New York is a different world, and especially different because of the way he left Chicago—having stolen from Fitzgerald and Moy's, and in

trouble with his wife; Hurstwood cannot face peer judgment, or gain credibility by using his colleagues, so he is unable to use his former acquaintances to establish himself. New York is a bigger world than Chicago, and a "common fish must needs disappear from view—remain unseen. In other words, Hurstwood was nothing" (Dreiser 306).

As a typical nineteenth-century man whose identity is founded in his work, Hurstwood does not have a superficial job in New York, as he did in Chicago, and therefore he cannot establish the identity that he had in his former life. However, Hurstwood attempts to cling to some semblance of the familiar by keeping Carrie at home, willfully imagining that she is "of the thoroughly domestic type of mind. He really thought, after a year, that her chief expression in life was finding its natural channel at home" (317). He hopes, in some form or fashion, to regain the emotionless, status-driven life he had in Chicago. Carrie is not the kind of woman Hurstwood envisions her to be; she soon finds her footing in New York, eventually gaining in her confidence through friends and improving her status by finding a career on Broadway. This is a harsh blow to Hurstwood, because men's "real domain was now in the world—a world of business, professions, politics, and money making . . . . Women were expected to devote themselves entirely to private life, to the 'chaste circle of the fireside,' and to maintain an alternate world with separate values" (Woloch 115). As his status weakens, and he is now at home and not within the world of business, Hurstwood loses his grip on his identity within society, and Carrie's drive and ambition to work outside the home threatens the status quo as well as Hurstwood's status as a man.

Men such as Hurstwood clung to traditional values, and when women began to overturn them, an identity crisis could ensue, as it does for Hurstwood. He "constantly

muses about the past, as he cannot recognize that it should have no bearing on his new circumstances" (Corkin 616). Losing his status as the breadwinner emasculates Hurstwood. Even though he no longer has the friends or status that he had in Chicago, societal pressure to be the provider, to be masculine, was intense, and his entire identity within the patriarchal framework of society is tied to that status. Without the anchor of money, status, or even power in his relationship with Carrie, Hurstwood is adrift; when he loses his job and must look for work, he opts to stay at home, "enveloped in the gloom of his own fate" (Dreiser 420). Gradually, Hurstwood gives up on life all together, committing suicide and dying nameless and alone in New York, a victim of his own need to have a powerful career and to exert control over Carrie.

Both Roger Chillingworth and George Hurstwood exemplify the effects on men of a culture that does not value women enough, and yet both men seal their fates because of their views on women and status; Roger Chillingworth, a cold man, finds his 'fire' because of an act of betrayal by a wife he neglected, and Hurstwood ties himself to Carrie, trying to keep his identity as provider while demonstrating a deep attachment to nineteenth-century ideals of maintaining the status quo in work and home life.

When men's work moved out of the home and men began to fear women, there were potentially tragic results for men; if not, men were anxious that they might not live up to societal standards of being "expansive, self-reliant, aggressive" (Pugh 41). Literature of the period, reflecting this anxiety, shows what can happen when men deny emotion: destructive relationships between men like between Roger Chillingworth and Arthur Dimmesdale and the systematic ruin of innocents as John Claggart does to Billy Budd. Societal pressure to be unemotional and uninvolved can result in loveless,

ornamental marriages such as the one between Chillingworth and Hester Prynne; in superficial and brief relationships like the one between Drouet and Carrie; or it could result in a man like George Hurstwood— so used to his identity as the breadwinner that he cannot cope when his status changes. *Billy Budd*, *The Scarlet Letter*, and *Sister Carrie* show what happens when society gives men intense pressure to be emotionally stoic and separate from their families. Each man denies his emotion, and experiences a downfall when he must come to terms with his denial and avoidance. From boyhood, men were taught to deny and to divert emotion behind facades of strength: "peer pressure . . . forced them to control those "weak" feelings, as the fear of being labeled a 'crybaby' restrained the impulse to seek comfort in times of stress" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 44). Diversion of emotions behind a facade of masculinity allowed men to appear masculine and hide deepest secrets that would threaten their male identity; however, this hiding and could have tragic consequences.

Chapter Two: Emotion Diverted

David Pugh captures the essence of patriarchy in the nineteenth century when he writes that "each man had the right to be like all the other men, while at the same time it tormented him . . . that to be a part of the masses and nothing more . . . was a sure sign of weakness" (Pugh 25). Man was urged to make himself great, and yet he could not stand out from the crowd of men without risking ridicule or negative attention from other men. He certainly could not risk being fundamentally different from other men, because though individualism was treasured above all else, society used a set of uniform traits to describe the ideal man, with the implication that without these traits a man was weak, cowardly, or even feminine. Fitting into the patriarchal mold meant men must demonstrate masculinity in all aspects of life, at work, at home, in their physical bodies and strength, and especially in front of other men, because "in large part . . . American men define their masculinity, not as much in relation to women, but in relation to each other" (Kimmel *Manhood in America* 5). The pressure to conform to unrealistic standards of masculinity did not go unnoticed by authors during the nineteenth century. "Emotion Diverted" examines representations of men in nineteenth-century American literature who, for varied reasons, cannot express who they truly are and attempt to conform to society's expectations, often with disastrous results.

Ichabod Crane, in Washington Irving's "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," is an example of a man whose idea of masculinity leads him to take action. Crane represents a different kind of masculinity, one in which attaining wealth was of the utmost importance: "acquisition of wealth became a test among men for those who, knowing that life was short and time was money, were willing to chase the main chance with leaps and

bounds, often risking all in the hope of gaining everything" (Pugh 26). Ichabod Crane is

not an insider, nor is he an example of the Jacksonian physical man. Instead, he relies on

his intelligence. Crane is "considered a kind of idle, gentlemanlike personage" (Irving

429), vastly different from the farmers whose children he teaches. Crane cannot compete

with the rough masculinity that many of the farmers exhibit in this culture, so he has to

find another way to find acceptance in patriarchal society; he wants to use Sleepy Hollow

as a springboard to ascend the ranks of society. Crane "represents the sort of mercurial

and submissive manhood coming to predominate in the fiction and popular culture"

(Anthony, "Banking" 726), and he is uneasy about his role within society. Crane wants to

establish his position within patriarchy by gaining social stature by acquiring through

marriage a vast amount of land, as well as control over a woman, the heiress Katrina Van

Tassel. Though Crane's attempt to better his status in society is a common desire, the

town of Sleepy Hollow laughs at him because of the beliefs of the men in the society he

is trying to enter; having been labeled feminine, Crane cannot hope to climb the social

ladder as he had expected.

Crane's new brand of masculinity is riddled with anxiety because it rings a kind

of falsehood, chasing an economic success that is "as illusory as the ghosts inhabiting

Sleepy Hollow" ("Banking" 727). The residents of the town are suspicious of this

disingenuous quest for riches and status. Sleepy Hollow is described as "one of the

quietest places in the whole world" (Irving 424). It is a valley in which "population,

manners, and customs remain fixed, while the great torrent of migration and

improvement, which is making such incessant changes in other parts of this restless

country, sweeps by them unobserved" (426). Some take this to mean that Sleepy Hollow

is a "wished-for Federalist retreat from the forces of economic change" (Anthony, "'Gone Distracted'" 126), but in the end, the small society values and endorses the primitive, dog-eat-dog behavior of Brom Bones, an embodiment of the patriarchal ideal of physical prowess and competitiveness.

Ichabod Crane's concentration on gaining social status represents the uneasy brand of masculinity that was prevalent in the metropolises, where men increasingly focused on "economic gain as a means of proving something both to themselves and to other men, namely, that money was the measure not onl2y of the ability to endure risk and hardship but to defeat other men" (Pugh 26). Crane comes to Sleepy Hollow with "all his worldly effects tied up in a cotton handkerchief" (Irving 428), and, according to Sleepy Hollow tradition, "boarded and lodged at the houses of the famers whose children he instructed" (428).

Crane does not own much, and as a part of his profession he lives off other men and benefits from the men who live off the land. As such, he is a social outsider as well as a patriarchal outlier. Crane is from Connecticut, and, as he puts it, "tarried" (426) in Sleepy Hollow, implying that he does not intend to stay and that his time in Sleepy Hollow is merely a means to gain a rung on his ladder to the top. As a man without the traditional attributes of masculinity in this closed community, Crane has a difficult task ahead of him as he tries to be accepted. The teacher uses his intelligence to impress those who are open to being impressed by him, namely the women who welcome him as he moves from home to home: "he was a kind of travelling gazette, carrying the whole budget of local gossip from house to house, so that his appearance was always greeted with satisfaction" (430). Though Crane attempts to gain footing in this small society by

impressing the women, "delighting" them with tales and anecdotes, he is still an "isolate, excluded other" (Greven 86) who cannot break through into the exclusive club of masculinity in Sleepy Hollow.

Soon after Crane arrives in the valley, he finds what he believes will be his ticket to acceptance: the eventual acquisition of Old Baltus Van Tassel's bountiful property through marriage to Tassel's only child, Katrina. Though Crane seeks Katrina's hand, she is described in a mere paragraph as "famed, not merely for her beauty. . . .She was withal a little of a coquette, as might be perceived even in her dress, which was a mixture of ancient and modern fashions, as most suited to set off her charms" (Irving 433). This superficial description relegates her to the position of decoration as well as an object of eventual control; if Crane can win Katrina's hand and gain the land, she will become an accessory to what he truly covets, which is her father's land and the power it will confer.

Crane's true desire is demonstrated when, at several points in the tale, the land is described in great detail. When he sees it, his "mouth watered as he looked upon this sumptuous promise" (434), and he is described as "enraptured" (435) with the land. As Crane looks over the expanse, "his heart yearned after the damsel who was to inherit these domains" (435). This description reveals how secondary Katrina is in Crane's bid for her hand; he wants her land so he can gain status. In order to rise socially, Crane must act, and he has to woo Katrina. The young heiress becomes the "key to economic advancement" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 248) that was so important a goal for men of the nineteenth century. In an article entitled "'Gone Distracted': 'Sleepy Hollow,' Gothic Masculinity, and the Panic of 1819," David Anthony argues that Ichabod Crane is the manifestation of the crisis of masculinity that stemmed from financial changes starting in

the early nineteenth century. He argues that Crane "represents the mindset of commerce. Romantic desire for him is inextricable from economic desire and a market-oriented form of 'imagination'" (113); this analysis is plausible because Crane's desire for the land supersedes, and even causes, the desire for the lady.

Anthony argues that the Van Tassel estate is a "retreat" (126) from Federalist forces of commerce and change, but he does not take into account that Crane envisions how the land "might be readily turned into cash, and the money invested in immense tracts of wild land" (Irving 435). Rather than retreating from economic changes in coveting Van Tassel's land, Crane wants to embody economic change so that he can be rich, and become an ultimate insider in his community. As Jack Morgan points out in his article "Old Sleepy Hollow Calls Over the World: Washington Irving and Joyce's 'The Dead,'" "Katrina is a means to an end for the Connecticut-bred schoolmaster; he is condescending toward her, and sees Sleepy Hollow as a small pond in which he . . . is destined to become yet bigger" (104).

On his quest to get the girl so he can attain riches, Crane realizes he has a "host of fearful adversaries of real flesh and blood, the numerous rustic admirers, who beset every portal to her heart," but he still acts to win her, making his advances "in a quiet and gently insinuating manner" (Irving 439), and he pays "frequent visits at the farmhouse." He is so confident of his plans that, at a banquet at the Van Tassel household, he begins "chuckling with the possibility that he might one day be lord of all this scene of almost unimaginable luxury and splendor" (446), as he envisions a world in which he is insider of a patriarchal society to which he is currently an outsider. He takes Katrina's hand for granted, believing that as a woman she has no power and that he is free to use her as a

tool to rise to the top; however, in a courtship situation, "the females [men] courted did have personal power over their feelings and fate" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 112). This is particularly true for Crane, whose secure place within society hinges upon Katrina's choice.

Crane is rudely brought back to the reality and realizes that his dream of becoming a social insider cannot come true when Katrina rejects him, and he "sallied forth, after no very great interval, with an air quite desolate and chapfallen" (452). Crane's different brand of masculinity ultimately does not win the lovely and soon-to-be wealthy Katrina; instead the rough-and-tumble but genuine Brom Bones succeeds in winning the girl's heart. The perception of Crane as poseur and unmanly in Sleepy Hollow prevents him from attaining acceptance in a traditional patriarchal society; Crane's attempt to rise through marriage is rebuffed and he leaves, humiliated and alone. His attempt to increase his social status in Sleepy Hollow, and to prove his masculinity fails, both because of the town's perception of Crane as feminine, and his disingenuous approach to winning Katrina Van Tassel's hand.

Crane takes action in order to attempt to change his status; Henry Fleming, the youth in Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*, is another young man whose idea of manhood leads him to take action in order to gain status. Henry is "obsessed with pursuit of manly virtues" (Yost 252), and as such, he is anxious to enlist in the army and to fight in the Civil War, because he hopes to find his place in patriarchal society by having a career that is considered masculine and heroic. Having read battle stories such as The *Iliad,* the youth has visions of "peoples secure in the shadow of his eagle-eyed prowess" (Crane 622) in battle. However, he has no concept of the realities of war, but regards

specific wars as "crimson blotches on the pages of the past" (622); to Henry, war is an opportunity to prove masculinity. When given the chance, the youth eagerly enlists in the army because war has always been touted as the ultimate demonstration of masculinity, and he "might as well enlist in the Confederate army as the Union; all that matters is that he have the opportunity to prove himself heroic, and therefore a man" (Yost 252-253). He has an image of his own heroics in his head, but his quest to conform to ideals of masculinity is superficial, based on what others think; the day he left for war, he "believed that he must be a hero" (Crane 625) based only on the way his community treats him.

Once Henry leaves for battle, self-doubt and anxiety about his masculinity begin to creep in. As the boy is introduced to the realities of war, he worries about his ability to conform in a masculine environment; more specifically, Henry worries about running from battle: "He contemplated the lurking menaces of the future, and failed in an effort to see himself standing stoutly in the midst of them" (627-628). Henry feels as though he is not like the rest of the men, but he wants desperately to fit in and find his place. As he craves external validation of his feelings, he tests one of his fellow soldiers, asking the other man about the possibility of running, to which the other man replies "I didn't say I was the bravest man in the world . . . I said I was going to do my share of fighting--that's what I said. And I am, too" (639). No other soldier seems to have the doubts that Henry is having, making the youth feel even more isolated.

Just before his first battle, Henry has fears, and as he mixes them with serious reservations about continuing, he thinks that "he must break from the ranks and harangue his comrades. They must not all be killed like pigs, and he was sure it would come to pass

unless they were informed of these dangers" (645). Facing these realities, Henry has

serious doubts about war, but when he would have spoken up, he sees that "even if the

men were tottering with fear they would laugh at his warning. They would jeer him, and,

if practicable, pelt him with missles" (645). Conforming to the standards of masculinity

in his career and in his bearing, and not being laughed at by other men, is more important

to Henry than speaking his thoughts about war.

Once the battle begins, just as the men around him do, he becomes "not a man but

a member. . . . He was welded into a common personality which was dominated by a

single desire. For some moments he could not flee, no more than a little finger can

commit a revolution from a hand" (656). The finger-to-hand analogy shows the youth's

inability to separate himself from other men; he desperately wants to be part of this group

of men, and he does not distinguish himself as a separate being. He wants to be so much

like these other men that he shows "witless bravado" by "dissolving his humanity"

(McDermott 326), which is shown when Henry "developed the acute exasperation of a

pestered animal . . . he had a mad feeling against his rifle, which could only be used

against one life at a time. He wished to strangle with his fingers" (Crane 657). After the

first onslaught, however, the youth begins to recover from this war fever. He and his

fellow soldiers are caught off-guard when the rebels come with a second offensive. At

first, Henry does not run, even "lifting his rifle" (664) as though to engage in battle, and

he "seemed to shut his eyes and wait to be gobbled" (664). Only when the youth sees

other men run does he follow their lead: "He, too, threw down his gun and fled. There

was no shame in his face. He ran like a rabbit" (664). The youth mirrors this behavior

because that is the way he views masculinity; these other men are running, so Henry feels justified in joining them.

After he runs, Henry has no shame at his desertion, even rationalizing his actions: "He had fled, he told himself, because annihilation approached. He had done a good part in saving himself, who was a little piece of the army . . . If none of the little pieces were wise enough to save themselves from the flurry of death at such a time, why, then, where would be the army?" (669). Afterward, when Henry is among the men who had not run but who are leaving the battlefield injured, he begins to feel "letters of guilt . . . burned into his brow" (679), and he becomes concerned that everyone will be able to see his sin, that his running will mean he will be branded as a coward, as unmanly. When another soldier assumes he is injured, Henry shows a distinct lack of humanity toward the injured man, "casting glances of hatred and contempt at the tattered man" (688) and quickly escapes the man's questioning; he cannot risk being found out: "lacking a wound, Henry is afraid that this question will reveal that he is only behind the lines because he ran from the battle" (Schaefer 107), As a result, he fails at a chance to show the man some compassion.

Henry knows he cannot return to his regiment without an injury, or else someone might notice his lack of wounds and begin to question his masculinity. He envisions encountering "insolent and lingeringly cruel stares" (696). The ultimate prize of the battle is an injury, a "red badge" that proves that a soldier has fought bravely. When Henry is injured in the process of running, his peers assume it is a war wound; wanting so badly to fit in and be considered a man, Henry does not correct them, instead making up an elaborate lie to make himself seem more heroic: "Yes, Yes, I've—I've had an awful time.

I got separated from th' reg'ment. Over on th' right, I got shot. In th' head" (705). Henry

takes action to sustain his masculinity in front of the other men, and it works. The youth

has no real need to confess, although he does fear "how easily questionings could make

holes in his feelings" (717). He conceals his reality—that he was a scared boy with

serious reservations about winning the war—in order to be seen by other men as a hero

and to find his place with these other men, who are already sure about their place within

society because they have demonstrated their heroism by not running from battle.

　　The next morning, buoyed by the way others view him, the youth is an

"insufferable poseur who is at first unable to face the truth of his recent cowardice"

(McDermott 330). He is proud that he "did not shrink from an encounter with the eyes of

judges, and allowed no thoughts of his own to keep him from an attitude of manfulness"

(Crane 718). This is how Henry sees masculinity: as appearance-based, and not an

inherent quality. Later, the youth's puffed up pride prompts him to display his

masculinity by preaching to other soldiers, and he is slapped down by a fellow soldier,

who says "Mebbe yeh think yeh fit th' hull battle yesterday, Fleming" (723). After this,

"The significance of the sarcastic man's words took from him all loud moods that would

make him appear prominent" (724): the youth cannot risk being found out to be a fraud,

and he must prove himself to others.

　　For fellow soldiers to find out about his cowardly act would be to reveal his lack

of manhood, so, feeling the pressure, Henry wants to prove his bravery beyond a doubt.

When he withstands the onslaught of battle, he proudly believes that "he had been a

barbarian, a beast. He had fought like a pagan who defends his religion. . . . He had been

a tremendous figure, no doubt" (730-731). Henry again views himself through the lens of

how others might perceive him; however, he can now say that others have witnessed his bravery.

After the first onslaught of battle on the second day, when Henry performs admirably, he expresses his reservations about a callous officer's remarks to a friend, saying of the officer, "he's a lunkhead! He makes me mad. I wish he'd come along next time. We'd show 'im what—" (755), but he quickly forgets the injustice of the officer who sent them into battle but did not fight because Henry finds out that his actions in battle are admired by higher-ups, and he "speedily forgot many things. The past held no pictures of error and disappointment" (756). Henry is quick to forget his own opinions in the face of others' perceptions, especially the opinions of his superiors. The youth is the product of a patriarchal culture whose reality is that the "evaluative eyes are always upon [them], watching, judging" (Kimmel *Manhood in America* 5). He is eager to prove himself to his superiors so he can prove himself as a hero among other men, thus assuring his societal role.

Henry is part of a vicious battle in which he carries the colors and "leads the men to the enemy and a significant tactical victory" (McDermott 331). He is brave in battle in order to prove something to other people, not just to himself, and this illustrates his true motive: conforming to society's standards of masculinity within patriarchy rather than achieving individual goals in life. Because Henry is different—young, and not as naturally bloodthirsty as others—he redoubles his efforts to be perceived as both masculine and heroic. After Henry proves himself in the eyes of his fellow soldiers, he "felt a quiet manhood, nonassertive but of sturdy and strong blood" (772). Henry believes he is a man because he has withstood battle, and has been successful in hiding his true

self: the scared youth who at first ran from the face of death. He yearns to be accepted within the patriarchal community, so as a young man he learns to hide his true self and to lie in order to gain the status he wants. Henry's view of being a man is forever tinged with the need to appear masculine, and not to be honest to himself or others.

Henry's reliance on outside perception of masculinity is also evident in the character Reuben Bourne, in Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Roger Malvin's Burial." Reuben's idea of masculinity leads him to paralysis in action, rather than to the misplaced actions of Ichabod Crane, or the bravado of Henry Fleming; Reuben believes he must fulfill a promise to his father-in-law but cannot do so, resulting in his own downfall. At the beginning of the story, as "Lovell's Fight" is recounted, the "open bravery displayed by both parties was in accordance with civilized ideas of valor; and chivalry itself might not blush to record the deeds of one or two individuals" (Hawthorne 18). The phrase "civilized ideas of valor" emphasizes that society's perception that being courageous is more important than actually acting courageously in the heat of battle. Chivalry is specifically mentioned; chivalry and societal pressures are mentioned very early in the story, which indicates the strong emphasis that patriarchal society places on being seen as courageous and on living up to notions of masculinity.

When Roger Malvin is unable to continue fighting due to injuries sustained in battle, Reuben waits for Roger's direction that he continue homeward, because the young man is unable to make a decision on his own, which indicates his dependence on the views and perceptions of others. While initially unsure about leaving, with Roger's prodding, Reuben reminds himself that "there were other and less questionable duties than that of sharing the fate of a man whom his death could not benefit" (20). When

reminded of those masculine, external duties of returning to society, Reuben is quicker to accept leaving the older man.

Reuben appears to be more concerned with others' perceptions, rather than Roger himself; he speaks of how he would face Roger's daughter Dorcas, knowing that he had not been honorable: "She will ask the fate of her father, whose life I vowed to defend with my own. Must I tell her that he travelled three days' march with me from the field of battle and that then I left him to perish in the wilderness? Were it not better to lie down and die by your side than to return safe and say this to Dorcas?" (20) Reuben's inner conflict expresses a worry for Dorcas and for Roger, but it also shows that Reuben is very anxious about how he would be perceived by Dorcas and, more importantly, the community if he left her father before his death. Perception of sticking to societal codes is more important than Reuben's life itself, as evidenced by the phrase "were it not better to lie down and die by your side than to return safe."

Reuben vows to Roger that he will return to bury the older man, and afterward he "felt the full importance of the promise which he most solemnly made" (22). In the beginning, the mention of chivalry as it relates to the men in battle means that as a soldier, Reuben is bound by traditions of chivalry, which stress the "inviolability of oaths and promises" (Ashton 46). Reuben is caught between two conflicting values: the chivalric value which states that a man's word is his bond, and therefore binding the young man to do as Roger says, and the patriarchal values which pressure him always to appear to be masculine. Once he returns home, to admit that he left Roger while he was still alive would call Reuben's masculinity into question; yet, by breaking his word to the

older man, Reuben also risks breaking a sacred chivalric code. Internalizing this conflict, Reuben makes his promise to Roger and makes his way home.

Before he reaches home, Reuben seems confident that he will fulfill his promise to Roger; however, after his rescue, Reuben cannot tell the truth, and "felt it impossible to acknowledge that his selfish love of life had hurried him away before her father's fate was decided" (Hawthorne 24). Reuben lies by omission, not because of his concern for Dorcas' feelings, but because he is unwilling to live with the societal reputation of cowardice. Reuben is also uncomfortable living with his lie to the community and his unfulfilled promise to Roger: "the poor youth, tottering from his sick chamber to breathe the sunny air, experienced from every tongue the miserable and humiliating torture of unmerited praise" (24-25). Reuben is now caught in a conundrum; he cannot admit what happened, lest he be seen as not masculine or courageous by society, and yet he is aware that he is bound by his promise to return and bury Roger. Although no longer physically present in Reuben's life, Roger is a spiritual presence that weighs on Reuben's mind; Roger's dead body will "for the remainder of the narrative impinge upon the living" (Mackensie 460).

Reuben begins to follow societal expectations of male behavior, which prompts him to "worthily demand the hand of the fair maiden to whose father he had been faithful unto death" (Hawthorne 25) as reward for his acts of bravery. In "Hawthorne's *Roger Malvin's Burial:* A Postcolonial Reading," Manfred Mackensie notes that the marriage between Dorcas and Reuben "implicates a certain sacramentalism, and that their domestic union represents a greater homology, one between colonizer and colonized" (463). This comparison is apt, but there is more to it. Dorcas represents the society to which Reuben

and Roger crave to return. When Reuben bends to public demand to marry her, he separates himself emotionally from her; he is within masculine society but still an outcast, because he is compelled to stay separate by the promise he did not keep to Roger.

Although dejected and unsuccessful, Reuben settles down with Dorcas and has a son; his life then becomes a model for men who fulfill society's expectations by having authority over a family, and he does settle on land, which represents virility and power in his position. While living out this societal ideal, Roger is pulled in two different directions: by society and by the promise that he had given to Roger, which does not allow him to enjoy his status. This paradox "became like a chain binding down his spirit and like a serpent gnawing into his heart, and he was transformed into a sad and downcast yet irritable man" (25). The force of peer pressure gradually drives Reuben mad. Dueling patriarchal perceptions and chivalric promises eat at Reuben from both sides, until he has to escape from this pressure in some manner. On a vacation, Reuben kills his son in the same spot his father-in-law died, and in this action he is finally able to break the chains of society. Killing his son is payment for a sin, but the son is also a symbol and result of his lie to society and his unworthiness of his reputation as a brave, masculine man; in Reuben's mind, killing his son is a form of penance for breaking his promise to Roger. Reuben's downfall is a direct result of his need to conform to standards and appear masculine, which makes him unable to keep his chivalric promise to Roger Malvin.

Hawthorne continues to reflect on masculine anxiety about conformity, which leads to paralytic inaction, in the character of Arthur Dimmesdale in *The Scarlet Letter*. *The Scarlet Letter* was examined in Chapter One from the perspective of Roger

Chillingworth and his marriage to Hester; in order to gain a more profound perspective of

Hawthorne's perception of the pressures of masculinity, it is also essential to analyze

Dimmesdale as well. The minister is an example of a man who does not fit within

society's mold, but he must work within its value system in order to maintain status. Like

Reuben Bourne, the minister has a tremendous sin upon his conscience: adultery with

Hester Prynne. The child he had with her is evidence of his indiscretion. Dimmesdale is

already of a "nervous sensibility" and feels "quite astray and at a loss in the pathway of

human existence" (75-76), which puts him at odds with the masculine code that demands

he remain sure of himself and secure in his own being.

Ministers were different from men in other professions in that they "had less to do

with self-advancement or competitive advantage than with matters of the soul and the

heart, with emotional or spiritual nurture" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 207). Because

men often engaged in more physical or masculine jobs, and most ministerial work

involved working with and ministering to women, the nurturing work that ministers did

could be seen as feminine. Dimmesdale is able to establish power because of his status as

a minister, but he is not ridiculed for his lack of masculinity; he is even revered within his

community. In addition to this gentle profession, Dimmesdale is physically delicate;

therefore, he, more than any other, cannot afford to reveal his sin or risk losing his status

and his chosen profession. Since he cannot be physically or emotionally imposing, the

minister must remain morally pure in order to keep his station within the community; his

"self-falsifying accommodation to his social role" exposes "the inward consequences of

stifling feeling to abet a conventionally manly self-definition through work and ambition"

(Leverenz 37)—Dimmesdale cannot disclose his true self, so he works doubly hard to be seen as a leader in his community.

Dimmesdale's moral impurity with Hester burns on his soul, and the situation worsens when Chillingworth preys upon the weaker man's conscience; Dimmesdale, however, cannot break away from his situation because his need to belong holds him immobile. When he defends Hester's right to keep her daughter, Pearl, before the governor and village, he says that the child "was meant, above all things else, to keep the mother's soul alive, and to preserve her from blacker depths of sin into which Satan might else have sought to plunge her! . . . Herein is the sinful mother happier than the sinful father" (Hawthorne 126). Dimmesdale's words indicate the depths of self-torture that he is enduring for his indiscretion.

Despite the minister's tremendous guilt, he is unable to take the burden of this secret off his soul. Dimmesdale is so entrenched in the patriarchal value system that when prompted, he publicly asks Hester to reveal her lover because he is unable to confess, and he asks her, "What can that silence do for him, except it tempt him . . . to add hypocrisy to sin" (76)? It is almost as though he wants to escape the guilt, but is unable to do it himself; Hester refuses to reveal him, so the minister is free to remain a pillar of his community and can conform to patriarchal standards.

The trouble with Dimmesdale's conformity is the ethical system in which he is entrenched: "Hawthorne's Bostonians . . . believe that a sinner can only absolve himself of sin, God willing, by making a public confession" (Granger 198). On top of a public confession, sinners must continually be held accountable to society. In "Arthur Dimmesdale as Tragic Hero," Bruce Ingraham Granger argues that Dimmesdale's

adherence to law and orthodoxy, despite his hypocrisy, demonstrates the minister's

"tragically great" (202) character. However, as a man who has been "ever fearful of

venturing from the orthodox way" (199), keeping a sin silent violates his belief system,

and Dimmesdale is not staying on the Christian straight and narrow path. The reason

Dimmesdale keeps silent is greater than religion; he fears being seen as an outcast, and

this keeps him from confessing, and therefore the minister cannot be the "tragically

great" character that Granger believes him to be. Dimmesdale is trapped between his

conscience and his need to belong to society.

The minister's guilty conscience wears upon him so much that he becomes

physically ill: "his form grew emaciated . . . he was often observed, on any slight alarm

or other sudden accident, to put his hand over his heart, with first a flush and then a

paleness, indicative of pain" (131). When Chillingworth takes an interest in Dimmesdale,

because of the older man's quest to wring the life out of the younger man, the minister

becomes even more tortured, and the town begins to observe differences in him: "it grew

to be a widely diffused opinion, that the Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale . . . was haunted

either by Satan himself, or Satan's emissary, in the guise of old Roger Chillingworth"

(139-140). Dimmesdale's ill health, coupled with Chillingworth's leeching, takes a toll

on the minister both emotionally and spiritually. He does not see an escape from the

clutches of Chillingworth, but he cannot confess his sin to anyone, lest he risk losing his

authority within his community.

At a clandestine meeting, Hester raises the possibility of Dimmesdale's escaping

from both his conscience and the rigid standards of their society by moving to "our native

land . . . or, surely, in Germany, in France, in pleasant Italy,—thou wouldst be beyond his

power and knowledge" (212). As Dimmesdale leaves their secret rendezvous, the possibility of leaving "lent him unaccustomed physical energy, and hurried him townward at a rapid pace" (231). Upon arrival in town, he tells Chillingworth, "I think to need no more of your drugs" (239), and he has more energy than he has had in a long time. Being physically stronger, the minister writes a new Election Day sermon, one that displays his mental resolve, and also he acknowledges his wrongdoing when he says, "I stand upon the spot where, seven years since, I should have stood" (270), referring to the platform on which Hester and Pearl must stand in order to face public censure.

Unlike Reuben Bourne, who must live with the consequences of carrying his burden, Dimmesdale eases his conscience of the sin he committed as he confesses to the people of town, but he is unable to conceive of surviving as an outcast as Hester has done for the last seven years. Dimmesdale has been ingrained with a sense of his place within society, and cannot survive the loss of that identity. Instead of living to face the consequences of his sin, he dies, relieving himself of the responsibility of living without the societal standing he has worked to achieve. Dimmesdale's death makes him a martyr to his congregation, and in dying he is able to retain his masculine status within his community. As a minister, Dimmesdale is free to be unmanly in appearance and profession, and he is also immune from societal punishment because of the pedestal on which he stands—as long as he stays within the bounds of society's requirements of him. Breaking free of patriarchal society's restraints causes Dimmesdale's death; in a twisted irony, his demise allows the majority of the town to avoid accepting his sin. Instead, the townspeople rationalize his confession away, which allows him to continue to function as the moral example the community believe him to be.

Social pressure to attain a certain status and ability within patriarchal society and show a particular brand of masculinity prompts men to conceal themselves behind a facade of masculinity. This prompted men to strive fruitlessly for power, as seen in Ichabod Crane's unsuccessful quest to gain the Van Tassel estate. Societal expectations prompted men to appear to have qualities of masculinity when this is not reality, like Henry Fleming appearing to have courage as he pretends that an accidental injury is really a war wound. Reuben Bourne is another example of a man who conceals the truth, that he had left his father-in-law to die, in order to appear masculine to his community. Arthur Dimmesdale keeps the fact that he had an affair hidden, because his masculine status as a leader is so integral to his identity within the community. Each man hides the reality of who he is from public knowledge in order to maintain status, which results in tragedy, as with Reuben Bourne and Arthur Dimmesdale; in Henry Fleming's skewed idea of masculinity; and in Ichabod Crane's humiliation and expulsion from Sleepy Hollow. Emotion was diverted behind facades of masculinity for each of these men in order to quell their anxiety about status. Another coping mechanism men could use is disguising emotion behind physical demonstrations of masculinity, because men were "trained from boyhood to associate action with male worth" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 177). Men often found their societal worth in outright demonstrations of masculinity, and they could funnel emotions into obvious exhibitions of physical prowess.

Chapter Three: Emotion Disguised

One of the defining characteristics of the nineteenth-century male was a focus on physical strength and competition; rough play and war games were condoned, even encouraged. Cerebral men, or "dandies," were viewed as feminine, and being branded as feminine or as a "sissy" could shut a person out of success in patriarchal society all together. Virile, take-charge demeanors were idealized and encouraged because they enabled men to be seen as strong rather than weak or feminine. More than in previous times, men were "admired far more for their strength, size, and look of determination" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 41), and man's supposed primitive instincts were revered. Awareness of physical aggression meant that society paid less attention to virtues that previous generations had valued, such as intellectualism, physical self-restraint, and rationality. Andrew Jackson embodied this "anti-intellectual" movement. He was unlike United States presidents before him in that he was not born an aristocrat—although he did become an aristocrat in Tennessee before his presidency, his story was "irresistible" to the common people, who saw him as a war hero and "champion for the humble" (Sellers 178-179). Jackson, the public hero, "advocated action rather than intellectual assessment, response based on a clear notion of right and wrong" (Pugh 13).

Men were encouraged to act first and think later and were viewed as the "master animal who could draw on primitive impulse when reason would not work" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 42). This could have an unintended consequence: society was endorsing the use of impulse over use of reason. A civilization that values brawn over brains can produce awful behaviors, such as war games or bullying the weak, on the part of men who want to find their place within the social order. Patriarchy's constraints,

which encourage men to funnel emotion into destructive habits, do not facilitate the expression of emotion in men but disguise it. Irving's "Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Melville's *Billy Budd*, and Pap Finn and the Shepherdsons and Grangerfords in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain show the consequences of valuing physical strength over intelligence and emotion. "Emotion Disguised" is about men who are not taught to handle emotion properly, instead funneling their emotion into destructive habits.

In "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, Irving describes Ichabod Crane as:

Tall, but exceedingly lank, with narrow shoulders, long arms and legs, hands that dangled a mile out of his sleeves, feet that might have been served for shovels, and his whole frame most loosely hung together. . . .To see him striding along the profile of a hill on a windy day, with his clothes bagging and fluttering about him, one might have mistaken him for the genius of famine descending upon the earth.[1]

(Irving 426-427)

This is not a description of the idealized man in the nineteenth century. As noted in the previous chapter, Ichabod already fights against being an outsider within Sleepy Hollow because of his chosen profession, and his physical appearance only adds to his sense of being an outsider in Sleepy Hollow. Crane's rival for Katrina Van Tassel's affection is the "burly, roaring, roystering" (437) Abraham Van Brunt, known as "Brom Bones," who was presumably born and raised in Sleepy Hollow. In contrast to Crane, Brom is described as having a "Herculean frame and great powers of limb" (437), which is the

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[1] For visual illustration of Ichabod Crane's physique, see Appendix A. The illustration is from the facsimile edition of Irving's *The Sketch Book* and depicts Crane sitting with Katrina, poring over a book, which emphasizes his "idle, gentlemanlike personage" (Irving 429).

ideal body which nineteenth-century men endeavored to attain, and his physical strength demonstrates what is accepted and admired as masculine within patriarchal society.

Not only is Brom the physical ideal of masculinity, he is also fawned over as a "hero of the country round, which rang with his feats of strength and hardihood," and he has "four boon companions" that follow him around, which demonstrates his masculinity in his leadership of the other young men. In comparison, Crane is a schoolteacher who moves from home to home, a loner who prefers being "esteemed by the women as a man of great erudition" (430) to having a group of rough-and-tumble male friends. Crane is an example of the "isolate, the embodiment of the excluded" (Greven 104) who cannot find a foothold in the male society in which he lives, so he attempts to find a place within female society in an attempt to make do. In contrast, Brom is a masculine hero-figure; the people in Sleepy Hollow "looked upon him with a mixture of awe, admiration and good-will; and, when any madcap prank or rustic brawl occurred in the vicinity, always shook their heads, and warranted Brom Bones at the bottom of it" (Irving 438). This shows Sleepy Hollow's subtle approval of Brom's physical "pranks." Brom is the beloved insider to Crane's perpetual outsider.

In "'Gone Distracted': 'Sleepy Hollow,' Gothic Masculinity, and the Panic of 1819," David Anthony argues that Crane is expressing an anxiety that "stems from the often virulent forms of male homosocial struggle that mark negotiations over class and masculinity within Sleepy Hollow" (133). This is exhibited in Crane's attempts to overcome his physical weaknesses by using the "flourish of the rod" (Irving 428) to keep his pupils in line. However, Crane makes the mistake of wooing Katrina Van Tassel, which elicits Brom Bones' displeasure; previously, Brom's overtures toward Katrina

"were signals for rival candidates to retire, who felt no inclination to cross a lion in his amours" (438). Crane is the only one who advances in his bid for Katrina despite Brom's claim, and this locks the two in a struggle for the lady's hand.

The only method Brom has to respond to Crane's rivalry is to resort to physical threats. He funnels his dejection about Katrina into a fight with Crane, in which Brom attempts to "isolate manhood against the homosocial sphere" (Greven 88), meaning that Brom intends to alienate the other man within the small community. Rather than using intellect to outwit Crane and win Katrina back, Brom decides on a physical campaign because he knows he can reassert his dominance over the teacher using his physical strength. He promises to "double the schoolmaster up, and lay him on a shelf of his own schoolhouse" (Irving 440) and demean Crane in front of the community. Brom Bones has grown up in an environment in which the people tacitly endorse his antics, and as the narrator observes, Brom begins to "draw upon the funds of rustic waggery in his disposition, and to play off boorish practical jokes upon his rival" (440). In this manner, Brom engages in outright bullying of his opponent, with society's unspoken approval.

The struggle over a woman's affections reflects Brom's anxiety over Crane's intellectual tendency and the different notion of manhood that Crane brings to Sleepy Hollow. Brom and his gang resort to bullying Crane, and Anthony argues that "Brom's threat, emphasizing as it does his ability to dominate Ichabod . . . coupled with his various pranks, suggest that gender here is understood in terms of postures of sexuality and sexual submission" (Anthony, "'Gone Distracted'"134). None of Brom's physical threats and bullying, however, seems to bother Crane: "In this way matters went on for some time, without producing any material effect on the relative situations of the

contending powers" (Irving 441). At least at first, Crane is not cowed into submission. Crane is not troubled by Brom's physical campaign; however, Katrina is impressed by Brom's physical superiority, as shown in her rejection of Crane and his brand of masculinity in favor of the rough chivalry of Brom Bones.

Brom wins Katrina, but an emotional conquest is not enough to satisfy him. In order to reassert his standing, Brom must completely dominate the other man, so he must carry out his earlier threats to humiliate his opponent physically. For Brom to be triumphant, his opponent cannot remain within the community; he has to send Crane away, humiliated, lest his dominance be open to question. Brom accomplishes this by physically embodying a feared phantom, which aides in "exposing . . . Ichabod's gendered failures" (Greven 91). Not only does Brom chase Crane out of town by becoming the Headless Horseman, but he humiliates the man by "hurling" the so-called "head" (a pumpkin) at the other man and sending Crane tumbling "headlong into the dust" (Irving 457). This puts Crane physically beneath Brom, and thus allows Brom the physical victory he desires.

When Crane leaves, Brom is excused from consequences of physically demeaning the other man, and is even proud of his behavior. He is seen to "look exceedingly knowing whenever the story of Ichabod was related, and always burst into a hearty laugh at the mention of the pumpkin" (459). Physical brawn wins the day over intellect and the different brand of masculinity that Crane attempted to bring to Sleepy Hollow. In "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Irving reflects a growing anxiety about intellect that went "beyond the question of practicality" (Pugh 103). Masculine society in the nineteenth

century began to fear "men of manners and 'namby pamby, goody-goody gentlemen' who 'sip cold tea' and were, therefore, unmasculine" (103).

Crane's disgrace and banishment represents the growing fear of emotional and intellectual men in the nineteenth century. When Brom Bones wins, he is free to claim all three accepted attributes of patriarchy: a masculine position in his eventual inheritance of the Van Tassel estate, power over Katrina, and a virile display of masculinity when he humiliates Crane. Brom's belief that he must dominate others and prove his physical strength in order to find his place within patriarchal society results in his bullying and subsequent degradation of Crane.

Nineteenth-century society admired the physical features and virility of an ideal man, as is reflected in the opening pages of Melville's *Billy Budd*: "a stroller along the docks of any considerable seaport would occasionally have his attention arrested by a group of bronzed mariners, man-of-war men or merchant sailors in holiday attire" (Melville 779). The focus in this excerpt is on physical qualities, which reflects a growing masculine fascination with the body and physical strength. Theodore Roosevelt, born in 1858 and raised in the latter half of the century, was a product of this emphasis on the physical attributes, so studying his perspective gives insight into the mindset produced by the patriarchal expectations placed on men during the nineteenth century. Roosevelt praised "healthy men" who are "resolute to do the rough work of the world" ("The Monroe Doctrine" 235), revering the brawny, athletic man who exhibits manliness in his occupation by carrying out rough work.

Roosevelt, and many others that were raised in the nineteenth century, believed that bodily strength in men led to moral strength, and men "compulsively attempted to

develop manly physiques as a way of demonstrating that they possessed . . . interior virtues" (Kimmel, *Manhood in America* 82) of masculinity. *Billy Budd* also reflects this societal belief as Melville describes the revered Handsome Sailor: "the moral nature was seldom out of keeping with the physical make" (Melville 780). Though moral character was admired, real appreciation stemmed from a man's physical skill, as revealed in the description of the Handsome Sailor, who is "invariably a proficient in his perilous calling, he was also more or less of a mighty boxer or wrestler. It was strength and beauty. Tales of his prowess were recited . . . . A superb figure, tossed-up as by the horns of Taurus" (780). Here, the Handsome Sailor's brute strength, not moral fortitude, is celebrated.

This societal concentration on physical development attached little value to emotion, which is often essential to the development of moral character. As the culture idealized the look and action of men like the Handsome Sailor, emotion was de-emphasized. Reining in emotions coincided with an increase in focus on the physical, beginning with the emphasis on "avoidance of anger" (Stearns 78) in a man's domestic life. This led to an overall repression of emotion; in many ways, intellect was subjugated as well in favor of brute strength and a focus on action, as Rotundo observes in *American Manhood*, "male rationality was not a capacity for deep, logical reflection, but rather an absence of complex emotions—an absence which freed men to act boldly and decisively" (225).

The focus on decisive action before thought or emotional reaction had unintended consequences that are reflected in *Billy Budd*. In this novella, Billy Budd is the embodiment of the physical ideal, the Handsome Sailor who is "cast in a mold peculiar to

the finest examples" of an Anglo-Saxon—masculine—man, who fits within patriarchy's standards of physical strength. Billy is impressed into service at a young age, and thus grows up in an environment that values his physical prowess, and he is not taught and does not develop a skill for interpreting the subtle aspects of human existence: intellect, and the ability to handle most emotion, especially of the subtle kind. Billy has the "innocence of a 'Baby' who has not tasted of the knowledge of good and evil" (Noone 250). He is the nineteenth-century idealized pure man of bold and decisive action, but for Billy this has tragic consequences.

Billy's disadvantage is apparent almost immediately as he leaves his old ship— the commercial ship *Rights-of-Man*—for the military *HMS Bellipotent*. When the young man stands and salutes his former ship, his new lieutenant took the action as a "covert sally on the new recruit's part, a sly slur at impressment in general, and that of himself in especial" (Melville 786), when innocent Billy means the action merely as a fond farewell to his old vessel. Billy's lack of ability to understand emotion or subtext in this instance foreshadows what is to come.

On the *Rights-of-Man*, Billy lives a more simple life, and has no need to develop any awareness of subterfuge, which means that he is entirely innocent of it when he arrives on the *H.M.S Bellipotent*. In the wake of the Great Mutiny, Billy's new ship's captain and officers are particularly anxious, but "very little in the manner of the men and nothing obvious in the demeanor of the officers would have suggested" (798) that anything amiss had taken place recently; thus, Billy comes in completely unaware of recent events and is unable to process the undercurrents. He must make a transition from "his former and simpler sphere to the ampler and more knowing world of a great

warship" (787) in a particularly uneasy environment, which he is ill-equipped and unprepared to do. Billy is also not an intellectual, having "little or no sharpness of faculty" (789), and he is "one to whom not yet has been proffered the questionable apple of knowledge," which puts him at a distinct disadvantage against more intelligent, cunning natures. Billy is a victim of a society that focuses on physical attributes of men; because his body fits the mold of masculinity, he is impressed into service and thus never becomes literate.

As an illiterate young man, he is also innocent of the subtleties or undercurrents of life on his new ship. The Dansker, a wizened old man on the *Bellipotent,* observes this innocent nature, wondering "what might eventually befall a nature like that, dropped into a world not without some mantraps and against whose subtleties simple courage lacking experience and address, and without any touch of defensive ugliness, is of little avail" (Melville 810). Despite his concern about Billy, the Dansker keeps his silence and "censors his real thoughts" (Gilmore 502) because of the unease of the officers after the mutiny; his silence could also be attributed to the kind of competitiveness present in the nineteenth-century marketplace: "Men in the marketplace engaged in endless small competitions—for business, for advancement. . . . These constant competitive tests resulted in continuous judgments by peers that, more than anything else, determined a man's status in his profession" (Rotundo, *American Manhood* 204). The Dansker keeps silent both to preserve his own status and to allow Billy to fight his own battle, as society expected men to do.

Billy quickly finds himself caught in a large "mantrap," immediately pitted against a force of which he has no awareness and against which he has no weapon.

Innocent Billy is contrasted to the crafty intelligence of John Claggart, the master-at-arms

of the *Bellipotent*. Billy, as the epitome of physical masculinity, is the opposite of

Claggart. Claggart is "somewhat spare and tall" (Melville 804), and his "brow was of the

sort phrenologically associated with more than average intellect." Unlike Billy, Claggart

is a master of the subtle emotions, allowing him to survive and thrive in the anxious,

post-mutiny environment. The master-at-arms is also "envious and hate-ridden in his

relations with Billy, arrogant to the crew, and cruel to those who incite his displeasure"

(Noone 251).

As the unknowing object of Claggart's hate, Billy finds himself getting into "petty

trouble about such matters as the stowage of his bag or something amiss in his hammock"

(Hawthorne 809). He cannot conceive why this might be happening, because he has no

discernment. The Dansker tells Billy what is happening: "Baby Budd, *Jemmy Leggs*" –

Claggart's nickname- "is down on you" (811), yet the young man is mystified, not seeing

why or how Claggart could be "down on him." Billy's emotional deficit—his inability to

detect undercurrents—cripples him because he cannot see that he is under attack by his

superior.

Billy's illiteracy and emotional ignorance have other consequences, as seen in his

penchant to act under pressure because he is unable to articulate his emotions and

thoughts: "though in the hour of elemental uproar or peril he was everything that a sailor

should be, yet under sudden provocation of strong heart-feeling his voice . . . was apt to

develop an organic hesitancy" (791). When Billy is unable to express himself, he resorts

to what he knows best, responding "in the way males have defined manliness from

Achilles to Rambo—with violent force" (Yoder 10). When Billy is accused of a crime of

which he is innocent, he is unable to defend himself verbally or intellectually, so he uses the only avenue he knows, and "quick as the flame from a discharged cannon at night, his right arm shot out, and Claggart dropped to the deck" (844).

In "The Protagonists' Rainbow in Billy Budd: Critical Trimming of Truth's Ragged Edge," Johnathan Yoder argues that, "Billy concludes that his opponent is unrighteous; he observes that he is incapable of using his wits or his tongue to resolve the dispute; he eliminates the enemy" (Yoder 12). To an extent, this observation is correct; Billy knows that Claggart is accusing him of a crime that he did not commit. Billy seems to be incapacitated, however, when he is confronted with strong emotion, so Yoder's assertion that Billy intentionally "eliminates the enemy" goes too far. Billy has been brought up in a world in which he is revered for his physical prowess, so when he has strong emotions, such as the ones that well up when he is falsely blamed, he automatically funnels these emotions into involuntary action, and he unintentionally kills Claggart.

Billy Budd is not evil or ill-intentioned; he is, however, an example of the Jacksonian imperative to replace emotional awareness and rational thought with action. Though he is clearly not guilty of any intentional wrongdoing, Billy's actions have unintended consequences that lead to his downfall. *Billy Budd* demonstrates what can happen as a result of the masculine, anti-intellectual, physicality-driven movement; it can produce men who are unable to reason and, instead, must turn to violence in order to express themselves. Billy's predicament, his lack of intellectual ability, prescribes his only outlet, brute force. Billy Budd as a character seems to be a response to the "belief that bookishness and refinement were poor criteria by which to judge a man's ability to

meet the tough problems of a raw land" (Pugh 18). Billy's physical strength is his failing because he does not possess the "bookishness and refinement," which were not emphasized in patriarchal society, and he is unable to express and handle emotions, which were also repressed in masculine society.

An unintended product of the patriarchal focus on anti-intellectualism and physical aggressiveness are men who disdain learning and advocate violence, men such as "Pap" Finn in Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Like Billy Budd, Pap Finn is a product of an anti-intellectual culture. Unlike Billy Budd, Pap knowingly turns away from education, calling it "hifalut'n foolishness" (Twain 304). Pap exhibits a cultural suspicion of the learned man, who was thought to be an "effeminate weakling incapable of measuring up to the mythical manliness of either Jackson or Harrison . . . whose toughness was ostensibly forged on the frontier" (Pugh 28). Pap disdains learning and does not want his son to be educated; Huck narrates that his father "told me to mind about that school, because he was going to lay for me and lick me if I didn't drop that" (Twain 306).

Louis J. Budd in "The Southward Currents Under Huck Finn's Raft" maintains that Pap shows "noiseomely the meanest qualities of his class" (228) as a poor, white Southern man, but there is more to Pap's situation than being of a lower class. Although Pap is a product of this hypermasculine culture, he is also an outsider, a man who is denied the ability to enter the competition that the Industrial Revolution had provided men in the nineteenth century because "everyone who crosses his path considers [Pap] a derelict and an outcast" (Pitofsky 60). Instead of feeling emotion about his outsider status in nineteenth-century society, Pap continues to engage in self-destructive behavior,

abusing alcohol and remaining an outcast. Pap also wants to ensure that his son is not able to join this cultural race, guaranteeing that Pap will not be the only outcast in the small society in which he lives. As Rotundo notes, the "flaws of character that led to failure came either from an excess of manhood or a deficiency of it" (*American Manhood* 180); Pap is in the latter category due to his lack of wealth and livelihood. He is also like nineteenth-century defeated men who "thought the game was not worth playing" (*American Manhood* 184), who retreat to "drink, self-abasement, and failure." To have his revenge on the community of which he cannot be a part, Pap performs what are regarded as decidedly unmasculine acts such as public intoxication, thievery, and deception of the town judge in order to perpetuate the image the community already has of him as a loser.

Typical fathers who were social climbers in the nineteenth century would use "whatever influence they had to get their young men started" (*American Manhood* 27), but as an outcast, Pap does not want his son to be better than he. In order to keep Huck at his level, Pap does everything in his power to ensure that Huck does not stay in school or live with the Widow Douglas, who has sought to help the boy. Pap uses physical aggression against Huck, threatening to "lick" him in order to instill fear and obtain what Pap wants, which is mainly money so that he can continue to drink. Pap has little or no influence in the society in which he lives; what little control he does have is over Huck, and this is where he is able to exert his patriarchal authority. When the Widow Douglas warns Pap to stay away, he uses his physical domination over the boy:

> He said he would show who was Huck Finn's boss. So he watched out for me one
>
> day in the Spring, and catched me, and took me up the river about three

mile . . .there warn't no houses but an old log hut in a place where the timber was

so thick you couldn't find it if you didn't know where it was. (Twain 308-309)

This puts Huck in a place where no one other than Pap has power over him, giving Pap a

feeling of control.

  Pap uses the opportunity to "beat him with a hickory stick and lock him in the

cabin for days at a time" (Pitofsky 57). Pap has a deep influence on his son; as a result,

Huck continues to be suspicious of the Widow Douglas' attempts to "sivilize" him,

looking for escape to the West, where he need not fear being educated or civilized. This

is a direct result of the way he is raised by his father in an anti-intellectual environment.

Huck is also accustomed to violence, and even "expects—and does not particularly object

to—occasional beatings inflicted by Pap and other adults" (Pitofsky 65). As Pitofsky

observes, Huck only "decides to run away when he concludes that Pap's aggression has

become *excessive*" (65). Pap's violence also continues to trouble Huck: Pitofsky does an

extensive character study of Pap Finn in "Pap Finn's Overture: Fatherhood, Identity, and

Southwestern Culture in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*," noting that Huck is

perpetually haunted by Pap: "When Pap is present, Huck braces himself for violence and

exploitation; when he is absent, Huck expects his troubles to resume once 'the ole man'

returns" (59).

  Pap expresses frustration at his general lack of status in society by ranting against

the "govment" which "takes a man worth six thousand dollars and up'ards, and jams him

into an old trap of a cabin like this, and lets him go round in clothes that ain't fitten for a

hog" (Twain 312). This frustration is a result of Pap's feeling that he cannot control his

destiny due to an outside force—which he believes is the government—weighing down

on him. Pap's ranting is an example of a nineteenth-century man expressing his hopelessness by "claiming that factors beyond their control led to their ill fortune" and trying to "justify the disgrace of failure" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 181).

Violence and abuse of alcohol become Pap's only methods of expressing his emotions in a satisfying manner, and Huck is a handy object for the man's tendency to use force. He abuses alcohol gleefully, as Huck observes: "After supper pap took the jug, and said he had enough whisky there for two drunks and one delirium tremens . . . he drank and drank (by and by Pap got too handy with his hick'ry . . . I was all over welts)" (Twain 309). After Huck escapes, Pap is killed in a brawl, dying as a "loathsome wreck of a human being" (Pitofsky 64), which makes him a victim of the violence into which he funnels his emotions. Through Pap Finn, Twain demonstrates that when fear and hatred of education and emotion are instilled by a patriarchal society, the result can be that men, especially those outside of the middle and upper classes, use violence to express their emotion because they have no other outlet; lower-class men had little means to raise their status, and they have little recourse in expressing their frustration at not having power. Families could be affected by the frustration that these men felt, as Pap's influence on Huck shows. With Pap's abuse of his son, Twain also demonstrates that when aggression is applauded, men may automatically engage in aggression against others, especially those who are physically weaker.

Pap Finn is not the only example that Huck witnesses of the effects of this focus on anti-intellectualism and violence; later in the novel, Huck encounters the Grangerfords and Shepherdsons, two families who are locked into a Romantic Capulet and Montague-esque feud. This feud is real, violent, and has serious consequences for both sides. Each

family is in a desperate struggle to establish its dominance over the other; the only way they know to do this is to use their physical strength by engaging in a primitive war, thus demonstrating their power in feats of battle. The Shepherdson and Grangerford men exemplify men in nineteenth-century patriarchy who "[seek] to connect themselves to primitive impulse and to define their lives in terms of passionate struggle" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 232). When Huck first encounters the Grangerfords, he confronts the casual violence of the feud when he meets a young Grangerford teenager: "Buck looked about as old as me—He hadn't on anything but a shirt . . . He came in gaping and digging one fist into his eyes, and he was dragging a gun along" (Twain 392). The description suggests that this family, even its very young men, are constantly prepared to go to battle at a moment's notice. The Shepherdsons and Grangerfords are in a war in which the families are raised to hate each other but are unsure why, as evidenced in Buck's answer to Huck's question about the feud's origin: "Oh yes, Pa knows, I reckon, and some of the other old people; but they don't know now what the row was about in the first place" (Twain 406).

There is no sincere, in-depth questioning of the feud itself; for Buck, this hatred toward the Shepherdsons is a way of life, as demonstrated when Buck answers Huck's question about what the trouble was about and where it started with, "I don't know" (406). The Grangerfords and Shepherdsons hatred toward one another is certainly real; the violent fighting between the two families is the way in which they let out their emotions. Despite the feuding, the two sides attend the same church, and "the men took their guns along, so did Buck, and kept them between their knees or stood them handy against the wall" (407), studiously ignoring the intent behind the preacher's sermons

about brotherly love (406). This shows a reliance on the primitive clannish aggression and the belief that the way to prove manhood is to resort to physical violence against one's fellow man.

Huck describes Colonel Grangerford, the family patriarch, as a gentleman: "There warn't no frivolishness about him, not a bit, and he warn't ever loud. He was kind as he could be" (402). He is also quite wealthy, as Huck notes: Colonel Grangerford "owned a lot of farms and over a hundred niggers" (404). Grangerford fits a description of an upper-class man who may have been well-educated, but for whatever reason he does not question the family feud; as the patriarch, he unthinkingly continues to preside over senseless acts of violence, resulting in enormous casualties in his family. Given his title of Colonel, it is reasonable to assume that what the Grangerford patriarch values most in life relates to battle. As Rotundo notes, "the men who praised the fighting virtues equated them with [masculinity]" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 234); for those locked within the feud, masculinity is associated with war and battles and feats of physical strength rather than intellectual or moral strength.

Though Buck has never experienced battle first-hand, as he and Huck are walking along, a battle flares and he almost shoots a Shepherdson. Buck does not exhibit any real emotion when Huck questions him about the possibility of killing the other man. Instead of talking about his hatred of his opponent or other emotions traditionally attached to war, Buck does not have any deep emotion about his actions at all:

"Did you want to kill him, Buck?"

"Well, I bet I did."

"What did he do to you?"

"Him? He never done nothing to me." (Twain 405)

Buck's responses sound rather casual for a person who recently almost shot a man, indicating that Buck is not aware of the potential ramifications of shooting someone else, and that he has been trained by his family not to have emotion about violence, except perhaps for excitement about the experience of battle. Later, Col. Grangerford exhibits some emotion about Buck's near-kill: "The old gentleman's eyes blazed a minute—'twas pleasure, mainly, I judged." For this family, it is acceptable to experience emotion, but it is best expressed in relation to battle, as seen when Buck is genuinely excited as he talks about the possibility of shooting a Shepherdson and the family indulges the boy in his glee.

Though the older Grangerfords may view the feud as a serious matter and may have more of an idea of the feud's origins, they do not raise the younger generation to view the feud in this way; Buck has been used to the behavior between the families his entire life, and he pouts because "he don't get no show" (394). He is annoyed that he is not yet allowed to play the "game"— meaning fight in the battle—although he receives assurance from his elders that he will "have show enough, all in good time." These facts reveal Grangerfords' cavalier attitude about life and death matters, especially as it relates to Buck, a young teenager.

The fight between families is an enormous part of both of the families' lives, an "elaborate game with unquestioned rules" (Hoffman 36), as Buck's vague answers to Huck show. Buck and his family are so locked into their "competitive jungle struggle" (36) that no one within either family has taken the time to question the feud or make peace; doing so might threaten masculinity on the part of either family, and as Buck

observes, "there ain't a coward amongst them Shepherdsons . . . And there ain't no cowards amongst the Grangerfords either" (Twain 407). When Sophia Grangerford and Harney Shepherdson run off together, instead of allowing themselves to think or feel productively about this new bond, the two families immediately resort to battle to express their emotion, and as a Grangerford slave describes to Huck, "Buck he loaded up his gun en 'lowed he's gwyne to fetch home a Shepherdson or bust" (412). Violence is both families' answer to the turmoil, and as Buck prophetically stated earlier, "by and by everybody's killed off, and there ain't no more feud" (406).

This nonsensical attachment to an "established mode of behavior" (Hoffman 36) turns from almost a game to Buck—and to Huck as well—to one with fatal results, with only Huck to deal with the aftermath: "I crept along . . . and found the two bodies laying in the edge of the water . . . I cried a little when I was covering up Buck's face, for he was mighty good to me" (Twain 414). Buck becomes a victim of this open admiration of violence and battle. The feud between the Shepherdsons and Grangerfords and the enormous cost to both families shows what can happen when patriarchy reveres war games and violence to the extent that the main outlets for emotion are primitive struggles and feats of physical domination. In *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* Twain reveals the serious consequences of unthinking, unfeeling reliance on displays of physical strength. For the Shepherdsons and Grangerfords, the outcome is all-too-real and deadly.

Characters in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," *Billy Budd*, and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* show the deadly consequences of the, anti-intellectual, and anti-emotional culture that disguises emotion behind the patriarchal ideal of demonstrations of physical strength. Jacksonian suspicion of rationality and intellectualism had dangerous

consequences in society; men who were more cerebral and emotional could be dismissed as incapable of making real contributions to society, as Ichabod Crane is rejected in favor of Brom Bones. Society's admiration of physical strength over intellectual men resulted in communities that tacitly endorsed bullying, as the town of Sleepy Hollow does when Brom launches his campaign against Ichabod Crane. Men who were not educated or taught to express their emotions could become unable to survive in hostile emotional environments, as demonstrated by Billy Budd. Pap Finn provides an example of a man who fails to meet societal expectations but is still bound by them, making him unable to express his frustration in any other way than by abusing his son and drinking himself to death. The Shepherdson and Grangerford feud shows that men who want to establish their power through unthinking, unfeeling feats of physical strength end up engaged in nonsensical battles between families that lead to death and destruction on both sides.

Conclusion

At the end of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, when Huck returns home, Jim

has been rescued, Pap is dead, and Huck can collect the rest of his $6,000, Huck is not

happy. As he relates: "I reckon I got to light out for the territory ahead of the rest,

because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and I can't stand it. I been there before"

(Twain 616). Although it seems that all should be right in the world for him, Huck voices

a very real anxiety on the part of the victims of nineteenth-century patriarchal

masculinity. As the country began to settle, unease grew in men about how to cope with

changes in societal values in an increasingly settled environment: "The city was the

principal home of alien peoples who held strange beliefs and often violated the

behavioral codes of old stock Americans" (Rader 129), and the country and frontier were

seen as places to return to traditional ways of life and American values. Some were

concerned about the rapid social change in cities and many of those who were concerned

about these changes believed that the "country . . . furnished a wholesome, natural

environment" (130).

Though society was undergoing a fundamental shift from rural to urban, many

men continued to cling to traditional patriarchal values, "fearing civilization, its class

system . . . and moral obligations" (Pugh 16). Many men made literal and figurative

retreats to the frontier, which became a beacon for those old values, a place in which man

could express himself fully; it became a "grand symbol of freedom" (16) for those who

felt trapped by the constraints of a new civilization. This social transformation was

present in the conscious and unconscious minds of men, and the literature of the time

reflects men's unconscious need to fit into the framework of patriarchal society. In the

nineteenth century, patriarchy manifested itself in three areas: occupation as identity, control of women and other men as order, and physical strength as leadership. A study of male characters in works by Irving, Hawthorne, Melville, Twain, and Dreiser shows that a common theme in these varied writers' creations is that their male characters deny, disguise, and avoid emotion in order to live up to one or more of the three defined expressions of patriarchy.

As society moved from agrarian to metropolitan in character, men spent more time away from the home, which changed the structure of the family irrevocably; rather than being the literal heads of their families, men were now the figureheads with the main goal of being breadwinners. Men were pressured to deny and suppress familial or "feminine" emotions. Men aimed to "make themselves individual actors, differentiated and separate from all others in a middle-class workplace that was open and fluid" (Rotundo *American Manhood* 90) in order to prove their masculinity. This meant that men had to do whatever it took to make money and to maintain their status, which was of the utmost importance, especially in nineteenth-century patriarchy. Writers were subject to the same pressures because they were outside of the expectations of a society that called men to "more or less contract the ways of thinking of the manufacturing and trading classes" (de Tocqueville 738). Male writers were also anxious about their own success in the world, and engaged in "self-conscious resistance to the growing middle-class and female market for fiction and to authorship as a feminized profession" (Leverenz 14. Male writers were also fighting for their status in their profession, and for their place in a patriarchal culture that increasingly considered writing to be a feminine

profession. Awareness and anxiety about social station is so present and pervasive within the culture's subconscious that it seeps into literature of the nineteenth century.

Nervousness about status, coupled with the denial of emotion, is reflected in characters in nineteenth-century literature who attempt to establish their supremacy over other men who threaten their masculinity, which has disastrous results. Roger Chillingworth, an emotionally cold man who becomes angry about his status as a betrayed husband, seeks to restore his masculine dominance by finding and systematically destroying the man with whom his wife had a sexual liaison, causing his own collapse in the process. John Claggart, a man of little expressed emotion, is uneasy about his status as a man in a position of power who is disliked by his crew. He becomes jealous of Billy Budd, an innocent newcomer who is immediately popular on the ship. Being unused to expressing emotion, Claggart gives vent to his jealousy in his destruction of Billy in order to restore his status, resulting in Claggart's own downfall.

Denial of emotion led to men who sought to assert authority over women so that men could establish control in their own lives. Chillingworth, in his need to prove his masculinity, marries the much-younger Hester in order to dominate her. He chooses an emotionally and physically distant marriage in which he is more concerned about his status, resulting in his abandonment of Hester in favor of a destructive quest for revenge. Drouet, in his quest to appear masculine, tries to control Carrie, and when he is rebuffed, doubts his status in society. George Hurstwood, stale in his loveless marriage and unsure of his standing as a powerless figurehead, seeks to change his circumstances. He trades in his middle-aged wife for Carrie, who is unwilling to stay under his control. Hurstwood

loses grip on his identity because he is unable to conceive of a life devoid of the empty status he had treasured for so long, and he dies destitute and alone.

In the move from a family-driven and oriented culture to a marketplace civilization which was focused on outside perceptions and consumerism, societal expectations became particularly important. Men were expected to conform to certain standards; masculinity was "no longer fixed in land or small-scale property ownership or dutiful service. Success must be earned" and masculinity should be "proved—and proved constantly" (Kimmel *Manhood in America* 17). As a result, men were often not free to be themselves, diverting their true emotions and selves in order to conform to patriarchal standards of success.

The conscious and unconscious pressure for men to prove themselves is evident in the character of Ichabod Crane, whose different brand of masculinity and personality do not allow him to become an insider in Sleepy Hollow's traditional patriarchal community, so he leaves, humiliated and alone. Reuben Bourne also attempts to conform to society's expectations, but ultimately becomes caught between societal pressure and a sacred promise, resulting in Reuben's madness and the destruction of his family.

The pressure for men to conform to certain standards of masculinity is also seen in characters who build facades of disguise, such as Arthur Dimmesdale when he hides his sin behind a front of power within his community. Henry Fleming demonstrates how young men learn to conform to patriarchal society when he successfully uses a dishonest story about his injury to pass off as a war hero, thus learning that masculinity is not about honesty to oneself or others; it is about the appearance of conformity.

Anxiety about the perception of masculinity meant that the culture began to stress the physical aspects of masculinity over intelligence, disguising themselves and their emotions under a facade of physical strength. Andrew Jackson, as a leader in this anti-intellectual, physical movement, helped men to gain an identity by being "the paradigm of the rugged individual for those who believed in him . . . He advocated action rather than intellectual assessment" (Pugh 13). Emphasis on the physical is reflected in literature as well; "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" shows how placing value in the mere physical can result in bullying of men who did not fit in, evidenced in Brom Bones' mistreatment of Ichabod Crane. The downfall of the innocent "Handsome Sailor," Billy Budd, at the hands of the more intellectual John Claggart is the result of cutting men off from the intellectual and emotional world in favor of the physical aspects of nature.

Rampant anti-intellectualism could have the consequence of creating men who, unable to be a part of the middle-class "rat race," disguise their helplessness behind a fear of education and who use of physical force to exert authority, such Pap Finn does over Huck. The Shepherdsons and Grangerfords are tragic examples of people who funnel their emotion into unthinking hatred, becoming violent, Jacksonian brutes and killing each other needlessly in the process. The demands that were thrust onto men to be idealized versions of themselves resulted in enormous pressure to succeed, and as Charles Sellers points out in *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*, "where many could never attain the self-made manhood of success, middle-class masculinity pushed egotism to extremes of aggression, calculations, self-control, and unremitting effort" (Sellers 246).

As a result, men denied, diverted, and disguised the emotions that surrounded the pressure to live up to societal standards. As Huck so succinctly expresses in his urge to light out to the frontier, civilization came with pressures and confinement, on top of the anxiety about achieving success. There was an inherent fear among men of being stuck in society and unable to live up to societal standards, and Huck feels this as well, as seen early in the novel in his inner conflict when he enjoys some aspects of society yet he feels the overwhelming need to escape its constrictions. This thought was even pervasive among leaders of the late nineteenth century, especially as the frontier began to disappear: Theodore Roosevelt commented that "nothing will more quickly or more surely disqualify a man from doing good work in the world than the acquirement of that flaccid habit of mind which its possessors style cosmopolitanism" (Roosevelt "True Americanism" 20). The solution for these compounding problems was ever-present in the American subconscious: escape to the frontier.

The frontier is the "outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization" (Turner 3). The frontier could be a place where good and bad happened, because it represents "the 'ideal boundary' between two cultures, one 'civilized and cultivated,' the other 'wild and lawless.'" (Fiedler 179); men could escape to their freedom and establish their independence from the constricting society in which they lived, although on the other hand men in this place would not have the shelter of societal laws to protect them. In *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890*, Richard Slotkin undertakes a thorough study of the frontier myth in American culture in the nineteenth century. He observes that the frontier is "defined less by maps and surveys than by myths and illusions, projective fantasies, wild

anticipations, extravagant expectations" (11): Americans did not have to go physically to the West to be transported there; they could read about it and instantly have an escape as well. In American culture, particularly in the nineteenth century, men repeatedly fantasized about, or in some cases actually escaped to, the frontier when times became rough.

The frontier was a place where the "ideological underpinnings are those same 'laws' of capitalist competition, of supply and demand, of Social Darwinism 'survival of the fittest' as a rationale for social order, and of 'Manifest Destiny'" (15), except that in the dream of the frontier, men did not have to face the idea of not living up to expectations or being disappointed by failure because for the most part they were free of societal constraints. For the conscious and unconscious minds of men in America, the frontier is a place to prove their masculinity; it "represented undefiled democracy, an unfeminized and, therefore, uncivilized, nondomesticated equality that men could exercise in pursuit of wealth and autonomy" (Pugh 60). During this time, the frontier represented hope of becoming wealthy, with the Gold Rush and with huge tracts of land available for the taking; so, the frontier could be a place in which men could establish their role in society.

The frontier was also a place to dispel feminine emotion, and to escape from familial and societal pressure to be responsible and succeed; it was an escape from "the middle-class house, now a virtual feminine theme park" (Kimmel *Manhood in America* 40). The frontier was a place to fantasize about as an escape when men were stuck in lives that they did not want. This idea manifests itself in Rip Van Winkle's escape from his life; he was the "first of this fictional American archetype of the man in flight—he is

the fugitive, born to run" (*Manhood in America* 44). As observed in the Introduction, Rip finds freedom and escape from domestic pressures in his flight to and return from the frontier.

Flight to the frontier became an idealized version of being American; the "completed American was therefore one who remade his fortune and his character by an emigration, a setting forth for newer and richer lands; by isolation and regression to a more primitive manner of life" (Slotkin 35). However, the lawless, primitive frontier could not remain so for long; even those who idealized the frontier eventually realized that the rule of law has its uses within society: "the frontiersman began to realize that he could not live unrestrained; for it meant rule by the strongest. Ambition and forcefulness needed to give way to reason" (Beckman 371). In *The Prairie*, the Bush family escapes to the frontier so that they do not have to be subject to civilization's constrictions and laws. However, the clan realizes the benefits of societal restrictions as a result of a tragic circumstance. When Ishmael Bush's brother-in-law kills the Bush's oldest son, the Bush patriarch is confronted by the bounds of law and lawlessness; he realizes that the settlement offers protection that the wilderness does not, and he turns his family to the "direction of the settled country . . . their journey on the prairie was shortly to have an end" (Cooper *The Prairie* 415).

Masculine men were expected to be self-reliant and not depend on others, which encouraged dominance and control over all aspects of their lives, including their families, and even their emotions and physical strength. The frontier was seen to allow men to develop their energy and individualism, encouraging them to exert their physical strength and competitiveness. In short, the frontier not only allowed men to escape the civilization

that put enormous pressure on them, but it allowed men to achieve and enhance the qualities of patriarchy in themselves toward which they were taught from boyhood to strive. Though more often than not, men in society were not able to escape to the frontier, due to lack of survival knowledge or lack of funds (Kane 178-180), the frontier is a dream that many men continued to hold onto as the solution when societal pressures were becoming too difficult to handle; dime novel westerns, in which men could live out the ultimate cowboy fantasies, were popular both before and after the closing of the frontier (Cox x-xii). In *The Frontier in American History,* written in the early twentieth century just after the close of the West, Turner clings to the idea of the West, believing that the "Western spirit must be invoked for new and nobler achievements" (310), and he touts a spirit of international volunteerism, which would bring a return to the "pioneer conception of the obligations and opportunities of neighborliness, broadening to a national and international scope" (358).

This hope and dream of the continuance of pioneer ideals still permeates American culture. Though the frontier has been settled for over a century, Americans are still fascinated by the frontier. Westerns, with rugged, iconic men such as John Wayne and Clint Eastwood, are the quintessential symbol of what many men aspired and still aspire to be: physically commanding, authoritative, not tied down to their family, and above all, heroic, all qualities that allow men to succeed in a patriarchal society. Fascination with the frontier does not stop with the Western movie: space exploration captured the minds of Americans in the latter half of the twentieth century. *Star Trek*, with its opening line of "Space: the Final Frontier" continues to enthrall American audiences, allowing a vision of the future much like that of the Western novel or movie: a

landscape in which a crew of mostly men (with no familial responsibilities and no

pressure to conform to society's expectations) explore untouched worlds, saving the day

by feats of bravery, and moving on to the next adventure.

Appendix A

Figure 2: F.O.C Darley's *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*

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