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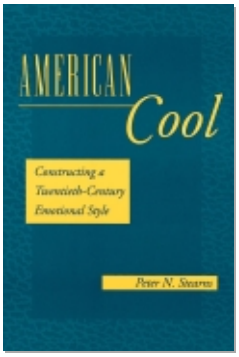

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Notes

1. Introduction

1. Arlie R. Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1979): 551–75. On cool, see "The Executive Life," *New York Times,* 28 Feb. 1993.
2. Peter N. Stearns and Deborah C. Stearns, "Historical Issues in Emotions Research: Causation and Timing," *Social Perspectives on Emotion* 2 (1994), forthcoming.
3. Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories," in Dominick LaCapra and Steven Kaplan, eds., *Modern European Intellectual History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 13–46; Robert Darnton, "Intellectual and Cultural History," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past before Us* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 327–54; James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," *American Historical Review* 84 (1979): 1293–1333; Patrick H. Hutton, "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History," *History and Theory* 20 (1981): 237–59.
4. "Emotionology" is a term developed to provide a convenient label, convertible to adjectival form, for emotional culture or feeling rules. It has won a certain audience, though is here used interchangeably with the other terms preferred by some. See Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813–36.
5. Robert L. Griswold, *Family and Divorce in California, 1850–1890: Victorian Illusions and Everyday Realities* (Albany, N.Y., 1982); Robert M. Ireland, "Insanity and the Unwritten Law," *American Journal of Legal History* 32 (1988): 157–72; and "The Libertine Must Die: Sexual Dishonor and the Unwritten Law in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Journal of Social History* 23 (1989): 27–44.
6. M. C. Clark and A. M. Isen, "Toward Understanding the Relationship between Feeling States and Social Behavior," in A. H. Hastorf and A. M. Isen, eds., *Cognitive Social Psychology* (Elsevier/North Holland, 1982), 73–108.
7. For a spirited defense of the basic emotions concept, and an attack on constructionism, see several articles in Theodore Kemper, ed., *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions* (Albany, N.Y., 1990), particularly the essay by the editor. See also

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Carroll E. Izard, "Emotions in Personality and Culture," *Ethos* 11 (1983): 305–12; and Theodore D. Kemper, "Social Constructionist and Positivist Approaches to the Sociology of Emotions," *American Journal of Sociology* 87 (1981): 336–62.

8. Claire Armon-Jones, "The Thesis of Constructionism," in Rom Harré, ed., *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford, 1986), 32–56, and "The Social Function of Emotion," in ibid., 57–83; Rom Harré, "An Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint," in ibid., 2–14; Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "Culture, Scarcity, and Maternal Thinking: Maternal Detachment and Infant Survival in a Brazilian Shantytown," *Ethos* 13 (1985): 291–317; Catherine Lutz and G. White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 405–36; Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago, 1988); Owen Lynch, "The Social Construction of Emotion in India," in Owen Lynch, ed., *Divine Passions: The Social Construction of Emotion in India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990).
9. Harré, "Outline;" Errol Bradford, "Emotions and Statements about Them," in Harré, *Social Construction of Emotions*, 15–31; Lutz and White, "Anthropology;" Kemper, *Research Agendas*.
10. Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York, 1993), chaps. 3 and 4; Gilbert Barnes and Dwight Dummond, eds., *Letters of Theodore D. Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sara Grimke, 1822–1844* (New York, 1934), 600; Peter N. Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 36–74.
11. For background on the modern middle class, see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (New York, 1989); on cultural hegemony, in addition to the classic work by Antonio Gramsci (*Selections from the Prison Notebooks* [New York, 1971]), John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power, and Culture* (New York, 1986).
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13. Stanley Coben, *Rebellion against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America* (New York, 1991); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985); Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1978); Steven Seidman, *Romantic Longings: Love in America, 1830–1980* (New York, 1991); Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1985); Leonard J. Moore, "Historical Interpretations of the 1920s Klan: The Traditional View and the Populist Revision," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1990): 341–58; and *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921–1928* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991).
14. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in American History* (Chicago, 1986); Peter N. Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York, 1989); Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, "The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950," *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 63–94.
15. Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989); Jan Lewis, "Mother's Love: The Construction

of an Emotion in Nineteenth-Century America," in Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness* (New York, 1989): 209–29; Seidman, *Romantic Longings*.

16. Francesca M. Cancian and Steven Gordon, "Changing Emotion Norms in Marriage: Love and Anger in U.S. Women's Magazines since 1900," *Gender and Society* 2 (1988): 303–42.
17. Lynn Lofland, "The Social Shaping of Emotion: The Case of Grief," *Symbolic Interaction* 8 (1985): 171–90; Phillipe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981). Ariès's survey of death practices has massive implications for a history of grief, as do other studies of changes in funerals and monuments; interestingly, however, an explicit history of grief, beyond general survey level, has not been attempted. See Paul C. Rosenblatt, *Bitter, Bitter Tears: Nineteenth-Century Diarists and Twentieth-Century Grief Theories* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1983) for an interesting, but in my view flawed effort in that direction.
18. Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978); John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990); Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); Arthur Mitzman, "The Civilizing Offensive: Mentalities, High Culture, and Individual Psyches," *Journal of Social History* 20 (1987): 663–88; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (New York, 1982); Stearns and Haggerty, "Fear;" Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident, XIVe–XVIIe siècles: Une cité assiégée* (Paris, 1978), and *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, Thirteenth–Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York, 1990); Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*; Roger Wertheimer, "Understanding Retribution," *Criminal Justice Ethics* 2 (1983): 19–38.
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20. David Riesman, with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn., 1961); Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York, 1979).
21. Gordon Clanton and Lynn G. Smith, eds., *Jealousy* (Lanham, Md., 1987); for a summary of the modernization argument, see Cancian and Gordon, "Changing Emotion Norms in Marriage"; Arlie R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), and, with Anne Machung, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (New York, 1989); Francesca M. Cancian, *Love in America: Gender and Self-Development* (New York, 1987).
22. Jürgen Gerhards, "The Changing Culture of Emotions in Modern Society," *Social Science Information* 28 (1989): 737–54; Cas Wouters, "Developments in the Behavioral Codes between the Sexes: The Formalization of Informalization in the Netherlands, 1930–85," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 4 (1987): 405–27, and "On Status Competition and Emotion Management," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 699–717; Abram de Swaan, "The Politics of Agoraphobia: On Changes in Emotional and Relational Management," *Theory and Society* 10 (1981): 359–85; see also Mitz-

man, "The Civilizing Offensive," for a related historical argument about the recrudescence of spontaneity.

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25. R. Gordon Kelly, *Mother Was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals, 1865–1890* (Westport, Conn., 1974); Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic: The Dawn of Modern Child Nurture* (Philadelphia, 1968); Philip J. Greven, Jr., ed., *Childrearing Concepts, 1628–1861* (Itasca, Ill., 1973). Evaluation of the history of childrearing advice on anger, in this and subsequent chapters, is based on a combination of studies of advice—often quite good, though not directed to the subject of emotion—and primary materials. Inquiry into nineteenth-century approaches is facilitated by several excellent histories of childrearing in general, such as those cited above. These studies help establish the representativeness of the primary materials consulted. For the twentieth century, secondary treatments have focused primarily on infant care and on Dr. Spock (see Leone Kell and Jean Aldous, "Trends in Child Care over Three Generations," *Marriage and Family Living* 22 [1960]: 176–77; Jay Mechling, "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," *Journal of Social History* 9 [1977]: 44 ff.; Celia B. Stendler, "Sixty Years of Child Training Practices," *Journal of Pediatrics* 36 [1950]: 122–34; Thomas Gordon, *Parent Effectiveness Training* [New York, 1970]; Martha Wolfenstein, "Trends in Infant Care," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 23 [1953]: 120–30; and Stephanie A. Shields and Beth A. Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Child Rearing Manuals, 1915–1980," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 52 [1989]: 44–55). Here I have undertaken wider reading, testing for representativeness by picking up major examples of "schools" such as the Watsonians and by using materials issued from major parent-guidance groups and publications, including the journal *Parents' Magazine*. Representativeness is also tested through analysis of internal consistency on key points within each period and through juxtaposition with some children's literature and school advice. There is no denying the fact that a study of childrearing literature that goes beyond mere summary to claims of changes in tone and of some connection with wider social values exceeds the most rigorous standards of evidence. This limitation imposes caution on both the researcher and the reader. It is at least partially compensated for by the importance of advancing a richer historical context for the understanding of emotional life.
26. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1957–1968). On selecting etiquette books, Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*.
27. Choice of magazines was made by using Frank Luther Mott's assessment of what was most popular (*A History of American Magazines*). *Godey's Ladies Book* was used from 1840 to 1855 (see Mott, 1:581). *Peterson's Magazine* was used for 1860–1895 (see Mott, 1:593, 2:309–11). The *Ladies Home Journal* was used for the twentieth century (see Mott, 4:540 ff.). Lest it be objected that these magazines were consumed by women only, Mott has demonstrated that they were widely read by men, too, the *Ladies Home Journal*, in fact, being the magazine third most in demand by soldiers during World War I (1:590, 4:550).
28. Peter N. Stearns, "Anger and American Work: A Twentieth-Century Turning Point,"

in Stearns and Stearns, eds., *Emotion and Social Change,* 123–50; Lystra, *Searching the Heart*; Linda W. Rosenzweig, " 'The Anchor of My Life': Middle-Class American Mothers and College-Educated Daughters, 1880–1920," *Journal of Social History* 25 (1991): 5–26; Arthur T. Jersild, et al., *Joys and Problems of Child Rearing* (New York, 1949); Daniel Miller and Guy Swanson, *The Changing American Parent* (New York, 1958).

29. Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (New York, 1987).
30. This is a point made by Steven Gordon in "The Socialization of Children's Emotion: Emotional Culture, Competence, and Exposure," in Carolyn Saarni and Paul Harris, eds., *Children's Understanding of Emotion* (New York, 1989), 319–49; George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (New York, 1964). For a recent version of the rationalist social history of protest, see Charles Tilly, *Contentious French* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); other researchers have granted some role for emotional display in the protest process. See Michelle Perot, *Les ouvriers en grève: France, 1871–1890,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1974). On emotion and cognition, see Clark and Isen, "Toward Understanding the Relationship between Feeling States and Social Behavior"; Izard, "Emotions in Personality and Culture."
31. Riesman, *Lonely Crowd;* Robert Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985).

2. *The Victorian Style*

1. Cas Wouters, "On Status Competition and Emotion Management," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 699–717, and "Developments in the Behavioral Codes between the Sexes: The Formalization of Informalization in the Netherlands, 1930–85," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 4, nos. 2–3 (1987): 405–27; John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990); D. H. Thom, *Guiding the Adolescent* (Washington D.C., 1935), and *Child Management* (Washington, D.C., 1925); Gordon Clanton, "Jealousy in American Culture, 1945–1985: Reflections from Popular Culture," in David Franks and E. D. McCarthy, eds., *The Sociology of Emotions* (Greenwich, Conn., 1989).
2. Catharine Sedgwick, *Home* (Boston, 1834); Felix Adler, *The Moral Instruction of Children* (New York, 1901); Peter N. Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York, 1989), 49–58.
3. Jean Strouse, *Alice James: A Biography* (New York, 1980); Arthur Mitzman, "The Civilizing Offensive: Mentalities, High Culture, and Individual Psyches," in Peter N. Stearns, ed., *Expanding the Past: A Reader in Social History* (New York, 1989); Lloyd DeMause, ed., *History of Childhood* (New York, 1974); William G. McLoughlin, "Evangelical Child-Rearing in the Age of Jackson: Francis Wayland's View on When and How to Subdue the Willfulness of Children," *Journal of Social History* 9 (1975): 234.
4. Bernard I. Mursten, *Sex and Marriage through the Ages* (New York, 1974); R. P. Neuman, "Masturbation, Madness, and the Modern Concepts of Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Social History,* 1975, 1–27.
5. Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (Pittsburgh, 1975); Peter Gay, *Education of the Senses,* vol. 1, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud* (New York, 1984); Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family*

in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York, 1980); Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, "Victorian Sexuality: Can Historians Do It Better?" *Journal of Social History* 18 (1985): 625–34.

6. Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989); Steven Seidman, "The Power of Desire and the Danger of Pleasure: Victorian Sexuality Reconsidered," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1990): 47–68. For a larger comparison with sexuality, applying some of the same ideas of dominant discourse I direct to emotionology, see Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality,* vol. 2 (New York, 1990).
7. *Presbyterian Banner,* 14 July 1880. My thanks to Charles Hachten for the reference; Anne C. Rose, *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement* (New Haven, Conn., 1986).
8. Anne L. Kuhn, *The Mother's Role in Childhood Education: New England Concepts, 1830–1860* (New Haven, Conn., 1947); Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge, Mass, 1981).
9. Sedgwick, *Home.*
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11. Reverend John Todd, "Address to Mothers," *Mother's Magazine,* Nov. 1839, 219; E. L., "The Mother's Affections," *American Ladies' Magazine,* July 1833, 320; Lydia H. Sigourney, *Letters to Mothers* (Hartford, Conn., 1838), 47; "Family Government Essential to Material Property," *Mother's Monthly Journal,* 1833, 36.
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Child, *The Mother's Book,* 37; Louisa Hoare, *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline* (Salem, Mass., 1826), 70–71; Helen Lathrop to Amy Aldis Bradley, 15 Feb. 1894, Bradley Family Papers, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College. See also John S. C. Abbott, *The Mother at Home* (London, 1834), 68–69.

17. William B. Moore and Stephen C. Davies, "Rosa Is an Angel Now," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 58 (1975): 221, 226, 336.
18. Hoare, *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education,* 67–70.
19. Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986), chap. 3.
20. *Godey's* 34 (1846): 5–7; William Alcott, *The Young Husband* (Boston, 1840), 231; Orson S. Fowler, *Fowler on Matrimony* (New York, 1842), 105; Wise, *Bridal Greetings,* 23.
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31. Hall, "Anger," 638; American Institute of Child Life, *Problem of Temper,* 10–11.

32. Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture,* 253–55; Arthur, *Mother's Rule,* 288.
33. Oliver Optic [William Taylor Adams], *Now or Never* (Boston, 1856); Harry Castlemon, *George at the Wheel; or, Life in the Pilot-House* (Philadelphia, 1881), and *Frank on the Lower Mississippi* (Boston, 1868), 74–76.
34. "The Boy of Chancellorville," *Carleton* 1 (1865): 601–2; "Winning His Way," *Carleton* 1 (1865): 159; Edmund Kirkpatrick, "The Little Prisoner," *Our Young Folks,* 1885, 35; on the mother theme, see Jan Lewis, "Mother's Love: The Construction of an Emotion in Nineteenth-Century America," in Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness* (New York, 1989), 207–29.
35. Stearns and Haggerty, "Role of Fear," 70–74.
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37. Felix Adler, *The Moral Instruction of Children* (New York, 1901), 194–95.
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40. Reverend E. H. Chapin, "A Mother's Love," *Mother's Assistant and Young Lady's Friend,* July 1845, 9; Frederick, "Maternal Affection," *Casket,* April 1827, 134; "Extracts from Reports of Maternal Associations," *Mothers' Magazine,* Feb. 1841, 46; McIntosh, *Woman in America,* 25; Fanny Fern [Sarah P. Parton], *Ruth Hall and Other Writings,* Joyce W. Warren, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 24; Abbott, *The Mother at Home,* 6.
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42. Fanny Fern [Sarah P. Parton], "A Mother's Influence," in *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Port-Folio,* 2d ser. (Auburn and Buffalo, N.Y., 1854), 252, 256; Eliza Duffey, *The Relations of the Sexes* (New York, 1876), 91; Henry Chavasse, *Physical Life of Man and Woman* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1871), 39; Orson Fowler, *Love and Parentage* (New York, 1856), 68.
43. Duffey, *Relations of the Sexes,* 219.
44. Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989), 35–43; Peter N. Stearns and Mark Knapp, "Men and Romantic Love: Pinpointing a Twentieth-Century Change," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1993): 769–96; Richard Henry Davey, *The Idle Man* (New York, 1822), 22; Frederick Saunders, *About Women, Love, and Marriage* (New York, 1868), 105, 143, and passim; Paoli Montegazza, *The Art of Taking a Wife* (New York, 1896), 217; Arthur, *Advice to Young Ladies,* 131, 164, and *Advice to Young Men*; see also T. S. Arthur, *The Young Husband* (Boston, 1841), for parallel sentiments addressed specifically to men.
45. "Two Lovers," *Presbyterian Banner,* 17 June 1875.
46. Paul C. Rosenblatt, *Bitter, Bitter Tears: Nineteenth-Century Diarists and Twentieth-Century Grief Theories* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1983). The Civil War brought expres-

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sions of a more controlled approach to grief, with northern soldiers writing of the need for restraint on their part and that of the families back home. "Do not grieve too much," Michael Barton, *Good Men: The Character of Civil War Soldiers* (University Park, Pa., 1981). This theme, echoed also in World Wars I and II (see below, chap. 5), suggests an interesting emotional impact of war; but, in contrast to the twentieth-century experiences, it did not produce a lasting impulse toward control; Victorian culture reasserted itself in subsequent decades.

47. Nathaniel Hawthorne to Sarah Peabody, 15 March 1840, Hawthorne Collection, Harvard University; Lystra, *Searching the Heart,* 50; Reverend J. R. Miller, *Home-Making* (Philadelphia, 1882), 299.
48. Daniel Fiore, "Grandma's Through: Children and the Death Experience from the Eighteenth Century to the Present," unpublished honors paper, Carnegie Mellon University, 1992.
49. *McGuffey's Fourth Eclectic Reader* (1866); Richard Evans, "The Golden Stein," *Analytical Fourth Reader,* 1888; Martha Finley, *Elsie's Girlhood* (New York, 1872), 156; Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women* (New York, 1868), 472, 488.
50. Words by George P. Morris, music adapted from "Long Time Ago," a "blackface" song by Charles E. Horn (who also wrote "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep"), in William R. Ward, ed., *The American Bicentennial Songbook* (New York, 1975), 2:155. In addition to songs and schoolbook references, a vast amount of popular art, including school paintings and samplers, was devoted to mourning themes between 1820 and the late nineteenth century. See Teresa M. Flanagan, *Mourning on the Pejepscot* (Lanham, Md., 1992).
51. Nicholas E. Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlour Song in America, 1790–1860* (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1980), 134; "Literary publications developed a near obsession with the grave," writes Lewis O. Saum in "The Popular Mood of Pre–Civil War America," *Contributions in American Studies,* no. 46 (Westport, Conn., 1980), 90. L. Covey, in *The American Pilgrimage: The Roots of American History, Religion, and Culture* (New York, 1961), quotes a poem written by Abraham Lincoln in 1846, "My Childhood Home I See Again," which ends: "Till every sound appears a knell, / And every spot a grave." See also David Stannard, *Death in America* (Philadelphia, 1975); Charles Jackson, ed., *Passing: The Vision of Death in America* (Westport, Conn., 1977); *Christy's Plantation Melodies #2* (Philadelphia, 1858); *Buckley's Ethiopian Melodies* (New York, 1853–1857).
52. *Buckley's Ethiopian Melodies.*
53. Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse* (New York, 1991); John Spurlock, "The Free Love Network in America, 1850 to 1860," *Journal of Social History* 21 (1988): 765–80, and *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825–1866* (New York, 1989).
54. Lystra, *Searching the Heart;* Judith Ann Dulberger, "Refuge or Repressor: The Role of the Orphan Asylum in the Lives of Poor Children and Their Families in Late-Nineteenth-Century Urban America," Doctor of Arts diss., Carnegie Mellon University, 1989.
55. Jan Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia* (New York, 1983); Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York, 1984).
56. Steven Stowe, in *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), deals explicitly with the "deep, tense rivalry among

men" (2), though without treating jealousy directly. See also Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor* (New York, 1982), especially chaps. 8 and 12; Dickson Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, Tex., 1979), 67–89; Daniel Blake Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 61–76; and, on the growing stress on romantic love, Lewis, *The Pursuit of Happiness*.

57. Michael Barton, *Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers* (University Park, Pa., 1981).
58. But see Stephen Frank, " 'Rendering Aid and Comfort': Images of Fatherhood in the Letters of Civil War Soldiers from Massachusetts and Michigan," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1992): 5–32.
59. Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Kenneth Lockridge, *On the Sources of Patriarchial Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering of Power in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1992); see also Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Childrearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York, 1977) on regional differences in the colonial period.
60. Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South*; Jay Mechling, "National Character and Adult Personality Consequents of American Child-Rearing Practices, 1794–1830: The Southern Subset," unpublished paper, 1968. I am grateful to Professor Mechling for sharing this paper.
61. Frank, " 'Rendering Aid and Comfort.' "
62. Peter N. Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," *Journal of American History* (1993): 36–74; Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. 1, passim; Howard R. Garis, *Uncle Wiggily's Story Book* (New York, 1921), 4 (I am grateful to Clio Stearns, who called this passage to my attention); *Ladies Home Journal*, Sept. 1905, 40; *Ladies Home Journal*, March 1905, 10; *Ladies Home Journal*, Feb. 1910, 30.
63. Arthur, *Mother's Rule*, 168–71; Arthur, *Advice to Young Ladies*; Jay Mechling, "Courage and Heroism in Everyday American Life, 1890–1930," paper presented to American Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Nov. 1990. Note that women's courage was cited in dealing with misfortune. The *New York Times* in 1801 talked about women's superior "courage and patience" as a reason they committed suicide less often than men. *New York Times*, 17 Jan. 1861, 2:1; see Howard Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Medical and Social Thought," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1993).
64. Lydia Sigourney, *Girl's Reading Book* (Newburgh, N.Y., 1847), 217; Alcott, *Little Women* (1868; repr., New York, 1984), 318–27; Jacob Abbott, *Rollo at Play* (New York, 1860). For general discussion of the Rollo series, see Wishy, *Child and the Republic*, 47.
65. Robert M. Ireland, "Insanity and the Unwritten Law," *American Journal of Legal History* 32 (1988): 157–72, and "The Libertine Must Die: Sexual Dishonor and the Unwritten Law in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Journal of Social History* 23 (1989).
66. Lewis, "Mother's Love," 217–19; *Mother's Magazine*, 1833, 23–24; "Report of the Philadelphia Union Maternal Association," *Mothers' Monthly Journal*, June 1837, 93; "The Satin Pelisse," *American Ladies' Magazine*, Dec. 1830, 540; Abbott, *Mother*, 66.
67. John Starrett Hughes, "The Madness of Separate Spheres: Insanity and Masculinity in Victorian Alabama," in Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Man-*

hood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America (Chicago, 1990), 67–78; Fern, *Ruth Hall,* 24.

68. Stearns and Knapp, "Men and Romantic Love"; Saunders, *About Women, Love, and Marriage*; T. S. Arthur, *Advice to Young Men.*
69. Demos, "Shame and Guilt in Early New England," 69–86.
70. Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven,* 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1867–1868), 2:136; *Essay Court Records* 8:303; J. K. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1908), 1:283.
71. Sedgwick, *Home.*
72. A good example of this plot line can be found in the immensely popular story by T. S. Arthur, *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* (1854; repr., Donald A. Koch, ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1974); solitary confinement quotation from David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston, 1971), 83.
73. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility,* 114; Elias, *Civilizing Process* (New York, 1978), makes the same point about "civilization's" expansion of embarrassment—as behavioral rules increased, so did opportunities for feeling shamed or embarrassed in certain settings. See Susan Miller, *The Shame Experience* (New York, 1985); David Ausubel, "Relationships between Shame and Guilt in the Socializing Process," *Psychological Review* 62 (1955): 378–90; Janice Lindsay-Hartz, "Contrasting Experiences of Shame and Guilt," *American Behavioral Scientist* 24 (1984).
74. Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France* (New York, 1991).
75. Amariah Brigham, "Statistics of Suicides," *American Journal of Insanity* 4 (1848): 2437. See Kushner, "Suicide, Gender, and the Fear of Modernity"; Thomas Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origin of Humanitarian Sensibility," *American Historical Review* 90 (1980): 339–61, 517–60; William Ellery Channing, "The Demands of the Age in the Ministry" (1838), in *Works* (Boston, 1848), 3:147. The importance of intensity in Victorian culture is a key theme in Peter Gay's recent book, *The Civilization of Hatred* (New York, 1993).
76. Wishy, *Child and the Republic*; Kelly, *Mother Was a Lady.* For the various sources of adult standards for socialization in the nineteenth century and how they could move in complementary, even when not identical, directions, see Daniel T. Rodgers, "Socializing Middle-Class Children: Institutions, Fables, and Work Values in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Social History* 13 (1980): 354–67; Gillian Avery, "Two Patterns of Childhood: American and English," *Hornbook Magazine* 60 (1984): 794–807. See also R. Gordon Kelly, "American Children's Literature: A Historiographical Review," *American Literary Realism* 6 (1975): 89–107; and "Literature and the Historian," *American Quarterly* 26 (1974): 141–59; Patrick Dunae, "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime," *Victorian Studies* 22 (1978): 133–50; and Gillian Avery, *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heros and Heroines of Childhood Fiction, 1770–1950* (London, 1975). On choice of magazines and childrearing manuals, see chap. 1, n. 25 and 26 above.
77. Hall, *Adolescence,* passim; see also G. Stanley Hall, "A Study of Anger," *American Journal of Psychology* 10 (1899): 615–91, and "A Study of Fear," *American Journal of Psychology* 8 (1897): 147–249; Carl Degler, "Darwinians Confront Gender," in D. L. Rhode, ed., *Theoretical Perspectives on Sexual Differences* (New York, 1990), 33–35; and Karen Offen, "Feminism and Sexual Difference in Historical Perspective," in ibid., 13–20.
78. Birney, *Childhood.*

79. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*, 34–146; *Handbook of the Man of Fashion*, 83; Hartley, *Gentlemen's Books*, passim.
80. Only women needed outlets that circumvented the emotional culture to some degree, because of the greater repression required of them. Illness might respond to limitations on anger and sexuality alike. Fierce commitment to reform movements, often based on public manipulation of the maternal and domestic role, allowed many women after 1870 to express anger, including anger at men as drunkards or sexual reprobates. But this outlet, though contrary to gender rules, simply transposed to reform-minded adult women some of the same targeting urged on men; to this extent even maverick women could fit into the larger culture of intensity. The fact remains that the need for approved releases from most normal emotional rules was much less great than that required for the physical and sexual restrictions—and much less than would develop in the twentieth century in response to a very different emotionology.

3. *Evaluating the Victorian Emotional Style*

1. Arthur Mitzman, "The Civilizing Offensive: Mentalities, High Culture, and Individual Psyches," *Journal of Social History* 20 (1987): 663–88. One important complication needs attention, though it is peripheral to the present analysis. Nineteenth-century middle-class culture was not the same throughout the Western world, though it contained some similar ingredients. French culture, for example, never developed the angel-in-the-house view of women. Continental European emotionology may have been more formal and repressive than American, just as chaperonage and other restrictions were more common in crucial personal relationships. Excessive generalization about Victorianism creates part of the misleading simplification of the nineteenth-century pattern in any particular Western society.
2. Peter N. Stearns and Deborah C. Stearns, "Historical Issues in Emotions Research: Causation and Timing," *Social Perspectives on Emotion* 2 (1994), forthcoming; Claire Armon-Jones, "The Thesis of Constructionism," in Rom Harré, ed., *The Social Construction of Emotions* (New York, 1986), 32–56, and "The Social Functions of Emotion," in *Social Construction of Emotions*, 57–83; Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1979): 551–75.
3. Stearns and Stearns, "Historical Issues in Emotions Research"; James R. Averill, "A Constructivist View of Emotion," in R. Plutchick and H. Kellermar, eds., *Theories of Emotion*, vol. 1, *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience* (New York, 1980), 305–39. Hochschild, "Emotion Work," 551–75.
4. Stearns and Stearns, "Historical Issues in Emotions Research"; Robert V. Wells, "Family Size and Fertility Control in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Quaker Families," *Population Studies* 25 (1971): 73–82; Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, "The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (1991): 63–94.
5. Lynn Lofland, "The Social Shaping of Emotion: The Case of Grief," *Symbolic Interaction* 8, no. 2 (1985): 171–90; Steven Seidman, *Romantic Longings: Love in America, 1830–1980* (New York, 1991); Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); E. Anthony Rotundo, "Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800–1900," *Journal of Social History* 23 (1989): 1–25.
6. Phillipe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York, 1981); David Edward Stannard,

The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975).

7. Jan Lewis, "Mother's Love: The Construction of an Emotion in Nineteenth-Century America," in Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness* (New York, 1989), 209–29; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151–74.
8. Benjamin N. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury, from Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Motherhood* (Princeton, N.J., 1949); Edmund Leites, *The Puritan Conscience and Modern Sexuality* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), and "The Duty to Desire: Love, Friendship, and Sexuality in Some Puritan Theories of Marriage," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1982): 383–407; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Philip J. Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York, 1977).
9. Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).
10. Daniel T. Rodgers, "Socializing Middle-Class Children: Institutions, Fables, and Work Values in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Social History* 13 (1980): 354–67.
11. Richard L. Bushman and Claudia L. Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America," *Journal of American History* 74 (1991): 1213–38; John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990).
12. Oliver Optic [William Taylor Adams], *On the Staff* (Boston, 1896), 398–400. The changing response of boys and boys' literature to the Civil War has been commented on by Sam Pickering in "A Boy's Own War," *New England Quarterly* 48 (1975): 362–77; see also Oliver Optic, *On the Blockade* (Boston, 1890), and *The Soldier Boy* (Boston, 1863).
13. Robert L. Griswold, "The Evolution of the Doctrine of Mental Cruelty in Victorian American Divorce, 1790–1900," *Journal of Social History* 20 (1986): 127–48.
14. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*; Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*.
15. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility*.
16. Peter N. Stearns, *Be A Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York, 1991); Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, 1990).
17. Robert C. Solomon, *About Love: Reinventing Romance for Our Times* (Tampa, Fla., 1989). Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1978); William J. Goode, "The Theoretical Importance of Love," *American Sociological Review* 24 (1959): 38–47; W. J. Walter, "The Jealous Lover," *Godey's Lady's Book*, Nov. 1841, 193; Mary Rosemund, "Amiability vs. Jealousy," *Godey's Lady's Book*, Aug. 1876, 156, 146–56.
18. Barbara Duder, "Medicine and the Healing of the Body," in J. Lachmund and Gunna Stollberg, eds., *The Social Contruction of Illness* (Stuttgart, 1992), 39–53. See also Roger Smith, *Inhibition: History and Meaning in the Sciences of Mind and Brain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), chap. 2. At the scientific level, new beliefs in the mind regulating a bodily machine encouraged study of inhibition—including the introduction of the word itself in 1858. Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds., *The*

Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century (Berkeley, Calif., 1987).

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20. Lewis, "Mother's Love"; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1978); Philip G. Slater, *Children in the New England Mind* (Hamden, Conn., 1977); Paul Charles Hachten, "From Wicked Philosopher to Moralist Poet: Pittsburgh's Presbyterian Mentality and the Rise of Pleasure-Seeking," undergraduate honors thesis, Carnegie Mellon University, 1991.
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22. Lewis, "Mother's Love"; Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989); Steven Seidman, "The Power of Desire and the Danger of Pleasure: Victorian Sexuality Reconsidered," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1990): 47–68; Byron Caldwell Smith, *The Love-Life of Byron Caldwell Smith* (New York, 1930); Gilbert Barnes and Dwight Dumon, eds., *Letters of Theodore D. Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke* (New York, 1934), 588, 625.
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28. Steven Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), deals best with the "deep, tense rivalry among men" (21), though without treating jealousy directly. See also Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor* (New York, 1982), esp. chaps. 8 and 12; Dickson Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, Tex., 1979), 67–89.
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30. Ireland, "The Libertine Must Die."
31. Lawrence M. Friedman and Robert V. Percival, "Who Sues For Divorce? From Fault through Fiction to Freedom," *Journal of Legal Studies* 104 (1982): 79; Griswold, "Evolution of the Doctrine of Mental Cruelty," 127–48.
32. Sheffield v. Sheffield, 3 Texas Reports 87 (1848). Some judges even went so far as to insist that a guarantee of virtual marital indissolubility not only brought moral order but also promoted personal happiness. Drawing once again from Lord Stowell's 1790 decision, an Ohio court in 1859 and a Massachusetts court in 1867 quoted approvingly the English jurist's assumption "that the general happiness of the married life is secured by its indissolubility. When people understand that they must live together, except for a very few reasons known to the law they learn to soften by mutual accommodation, that yoke which they know they cannot shake off. They become good husbands, and good wives, for necessity is a powerful master in teaching the duties which it imposes." See Duhme v. Duhme, 3 Ohio Decisions 99–100 (1859); and Bailey v. Bailey, 97 Massachusetts Reports 381–81 (1867).
33. Bailey v. Bailey, 97 Massachusetts Reports 381–81 (1867).
34. Carpenter v. Carpenter, 30 Kansas Reports 744 (1883); other decisions picked up on this interpretation: Avery v. Avery, 5 Pacific Reporter 418–22 (Kansas, 1885); Lyle v. Lyle, 86 Tennessee Reports 372–76 (1887); and Mason v. Mason, 131 Pennsylvania State Reports 161–65 (1890).
35. Barnes v. Barnes, 30 Pacific Reporter 299 (California, 1892).
36. Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (New York, 1985); Vivian Fox and Marten Quilt, *Loving, Parenting, and Dying: The Family Cycle in England and America* (New York, 1980).
37. Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *Death, Ritual, and Bereavement* (Boston, 1989). On the importance of ritual in handling and expressing grief, Robert V. Wells, "Taming the 'King of Terrors': Ritual and Death in Schenectady, New York, 1844–1860," *Journal of Social History* 27 (1994), forthcoming; Maris Vinovskis, "Angels' Heads and Weeping Willows: Death in Early America," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings* 86 (1976): 273–302.
38. Lewis O. Saum, "Death in the Popular Mind of Pre–Civil War America," in David E. Stannard, ed., *Death in America* (Pittsburgh, 1975), 33, 38; David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1976), 247–55, 258; Stanley B. Burns, M.D., *Sleeping Beauty: Memorial Photography in America* (Altadena, Calif., 1990), 107; Kenneth L. Ames, "Ideologies in Stone Meanings in Victorian Gravestones," *Journal of Popular Culture* 14 (1981): 641.
39. Henry Adams, *Democracy: An American Novel* (New York, 1952), 144.
40. Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Edward Shorter, "Paralysis: The Rise and Fall of A 'Hysterical' Symptom," in Peter N. Stearns, ed., *Expanding the Past: A Reader in Social History* (New York, 1988), 215–48.
41. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), 250–51; Elizabeth Parsons-Channing, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1907); Lydia Howard Sigourney, *Lucy Howard's Journal* (New York, 1858), 6–7; Lloyd DeMause, ed., *History of Childhood* (New York,

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1974); Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (Pittsburgh, 1975), 95–113; Margaret Elizabeth Sangster, *An Autobiography* (New York, 1909), 143 ff. For a modern statement that anger not expressed causes self-alienation, see Jean Baker Miller, "The Construction of Anger in Women and Men," Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies, Work in Progress, no. 83-01 (Wellesley, Mass., 1983). Charlotte Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron* (New York, 1852), 296–98. See also Stearns and Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986), chaps. 3 and 4; Ethan Smith, ed., *Memoirs of Mrs. Abigail Bailey* (1815; repr., New York, 1980), 14 ff., 17.

42. Winnifred Babcock, *Me: A Book of Remembrance* (New York, 1915), 231, 276, 349–50; Michael P. Weber and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *The Spencers of Amberson Avenue* (Pittsburgh, 1983), 121–24.
43. David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York, 1987); Daniel E. Sutherland, *Americans and Their Servants: Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981); Catherine E. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841; repr., New York, 1970), 134, 122, 139–40.
44. C. B. Zachary, *Personality Adjustments in School Children* (New York, 1929); John W. M. Whiting and Irwin L. Child, *Child Training and Personality* (New Haven, Conn., 1953); James R. Averill, *Anger and Aggression; An Essay on Emotion* (New York, 1982); M. R. Yarrow, J. D. Campbell, and R. V. Burton, *Child-Rearing: An Inquiry into Research Methods* (San Francisco, 1968), 80. Jerome Kagan and H. A. Moss (*Birth to Maturity: A Study of Psychological Development* [New York, 1962]) argue that unpredictability is particularly salient for girls, whose anger is most fully repressed in childhood but who may turn out to be quite aggressive later in life.
45. Weber and Stearns, *Spencers*, 121–22.
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49. Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985); Sarah Butler Wistar, London, to Jeannie Field Musgrove, New York, 18 June. See also 3 August 1870, all cited in Smith Rosenberg; Mary Hallock (Foote) to Helena Dekay, 23 September 1873, cited in Smith Rosenberg, 56; Mary Grew, Providence, R.I., to Isabel Howland, Sherwood, N.Y., 27 April 1892, Howland Correspondence, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
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1986), 207–9; James Barnard Blake, Diary, 10 July 1851; see also Blake's entry for 13 July 1851, cited in Rotundo, "Romantic Friendships."

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54. Wells, "Taming the 'King of Terrors.' " It is of course important not to exaggerate differences in nineteenth-century *private* reactions from earlier grief expressions, but the volume and relative openness of expression point to some common distinctions.
55. E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood* (Chicago, 1990), 15–36; Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977).
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64. *The Art of Pleasing; or, The American Lady and Gentleman's Book of Etiquette* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1855); Wells, "Taming the 'King of Terrors' "; *The Handbook of the Man of Fashion* (Philadelphia, 1847), 85; Cecil B. Hartley, *The Gentleman's Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness* (Boston, 1873), 80; Rosenblatt, *Bitter, Bitter Tears*; Ariès, *Hour of Our Death.*
65. Carol Z. Stearns, "Sadness," in Jeanette Haviland and Michael Lewis, ed., *Handbook of Emotions* (New York, 1993).
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4. *From Vigor to Ventilation*

1. Stephanie A. Shields and Beth A. Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Childrearing Manuals, 1915–1980," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 52 (1989): 44–55; William Byron Forbush, *The Character-Training of Children* (New York, 1919), 2:179–87.
2. Oliver Optic [William Taylor Adams], *On the Staff* (Boston, 1896), 389–400. The changing response of boys and boys' literature to the Civil War has been commented on by Sam Pickering in "A Boy's Own War," *New England Quarterly* 48 (1975): 362–77; see also Oliver Optic, *On the Blockade* (Boston, 1890), and *The Soldier Boy* (Boston, 1863); Felix Adler, *The Moral Instruction of Children* (New York, 1901), 72; Mrs. Theodore [Alice McLellan] Birney, *Childhood* (New York, 1904), 24–29.
3. Forbush, *Character-Training,* 2:157–66, 162–63.
4. Adler, *Moral Instruction,* 213–14.
5. G. Stanley Hall, "A Study of Fear," *American Journal of Psychology* 8 (1897): 147–248; Birney, *Childhood,* 24–29. The present section is not intended as a systematic inquiry into the evolution of formal psychological or psychiatric theories of fear

over the past century. This might be a useful additional project. Hall's article on fear, though less theoretical than is his wont, accumulated a hodgepodge of data on childish fears and sparked interest among both scholars and popularizers. See *American Journal of Psychology* 8–18 (1897–1917). The concentration on fear specified children, with occasional excursions into adult phobia. French work on the frequency of infant fears was also widely cited: thus the *American Journal of Psychology* reported Binet's study on infant fear (*Année psychologique,* 1895, 223) in *American Journal of Psychology* 7 (1896): 577. In all this, the emphasis was highly empirical, with little attention to causation.

6. Ben B. Lindsay and Wainwright Evans, *The Companionate Marriage* (New York, 1927), 72, 73, 86, 90.
7. Harold Anderson, *Children in the Family* (New York, 1937), 76.
8. Allan Fromme, *The Parents Handbook* (New York, 1956), 101; Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, "The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950," *American Historical Review* (Feb. 1991); Ada Hart Arlitt, *The Child from One to Twelve* (New York, 1931), 113; Mary A. Boucquet, "Baby Fears," *Parents' Magazine* 21 (June 1946): 96; Gladys Groves, *Marriage and Family Life* (New York, 1942), 69.
9. Groves, *Marriage,* 69; John B. Watson, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (New York, 1928), 45; Forbush, *Character-Training,* 2:163.
10. Winnifred De Kok, *Guiding Your Child through the Formative Years* (New York, 1935), 76, 58–77. For a slightly more academic statement urging revision of parental reactions to children's fears, see Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Gruenberg, *Our Children: A Handbook for Parents* (New York, 1932), 134–37.
11. U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, *Are You Training Your Child to Be Happy?* (Washington, D.C., 1930), 32.
12. D. H. Thom, *Child Management* (Washington, D.C., 1925), 12–15.
13. De Kok, *Guiding Your Child,* 76; Sidonie Gruenberg, ed., *Encyclopedia of Child Care and Guidance* (New York, 1952), 845–52.
14. Watson, *Psychological Care,* 45–68, 54, 68; see also M. C. Jones, "The Elimination of Children's Fears," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 7 (1924): 382–90. Uses of Watsonianism permitted some interesting Victorian throwbacks. If children could be entirely manipulated, they might be taught mild versions of fear as the basis for forming subsequent courage; people did need to face risks. One popularizer boldly offered a subheading to her article, arguing that the new methods of teaching fear control should produce "a generation of young people braver than their elders." In other words, even as newly explicit attention was given to young children and to manipulative strategies, an ultimate goal of courage—including the use of the word itself—might persist, even though this was not characteristic of most statements of the 1930s. See Fisher and Gruenberg, *Our Children,* 137; Ruth Sapin, "Helping Children to Overcome Fear," *Parents' Magazine* 8 (1 May 1933): 14–16. The 1930s manuals that used Watsonian ideas without expressing a larger goal of courage (as opposed to a more limited, ad hoc prevention of fear) include D. Russel, *Children: Why Do We Have Them?* (New York, 1933); Arlitt, *Child from One to Twelve*; and E. R. Groves and G. H. Groves, *Wholesome Childhood* (New York, 1931).
15. "What to Do When Your Child Is Afraid," *Parents' Magazine* 2 (March 1927): 25–27. Helen L. Schulz, "Mother's Conquest of Fear," *Parents' Magazine* 10 (April 1935): 29–31; Boucquet, "Baby's Fears," 94–96; Lois Greenwood Howard, "What

to Do about Fear," *Parents' Magazine* 22 (March 1947): 175–77; Groves, *Marriage*, 69–72, reproduces Watsonian advice on fear almost literally.

16. Benjamin Spock, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (New York, 1945), 196–97, 283–97, 284, 295.
17. Fromme, *Parents Handbook*, 102–8. For a more representative statement, see Gruenberg, *Encyclopedia*, 845; Norma Cutts and Nicholas Moseley, *Better Home Discipline* (New York, 1952); V. von Valler Gilmer, *How to Help Your Child Develop Successfully* (New York, 1951). For *Parents' Magazine*'s adjustment to the new, more complex parental strategies, see Martin W. Piers, "Who's Afraid?" *Parents' Magazine* 24 (June 1949): 6, 95–99.
18. Arthur T. Jersild, et al., *Joys and Problems of Childrearing* (New York, 1949), 215 and passim; note that parental concerns were heightened through World War II's impact on children, although Jersild and his colleagues allowed for directly war-inspired fears in a separate category.
19. "Childhood Problems" section in *Parents' Magazine* 21 (March 1946): 34; 21 (May 1946): 46; 22 (October 1947): 35; 23 (May 1948): 34; 23 (July 1948): 42; and "Now This Is What I'd Do," *Parents' Magazine* 4 (January 1929): 24. See also Children's Welfare Federation of New York City, *Child Care Questions and Answers* (New York, 1948), 103–7, for a series of common parental concerns and appropriately anxious supportive strategies.
20. Arnold Gesell, Francis Ilg, and Laura Ames, *Youth: The Ages from Ten to Sixteen* (New York, 1956), 51, 65, 192.
21. Rupert Wilkinson, *American Tough: The Tough-Boy Tradition and American Character* (Westport, Conn., 1984).
22. Available studies on American children's fiction support the idea of a shift in tone during the 1920s, including a decline in heroic idealizations, but they have not developed a full characterization—partly because of a tendency to focus on literary quality and adult appreciation more than popularity and children's reactions. Still, a helpful guide is Sally McNall, "American Children's Literature, 1880–Present," in Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, eds., *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook* (Westport, Conn., 1988), 377–411, esp. 391–92. See also Deirdre Johnson, *Stratemeyer Pseudonyms and Series Books* (Westport, Conn., 1982). Although it focuses on England, Kristen Drotner's *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751–1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), aids in evaluating American patterns in the absence of a definitive study; see also Gillian Avery, *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Childhood Fiction, 1770–1950* (London, 1975), passim.
23. Franklin W. Dixon, *The Secret of the Lost Tunnel* (New York, 1950), 183, 206, and *The Mystery of Cabin Island* (New York, 1929), 198.
24. Paul Fussell, "The Real War, 1939–45," *Atlantic Monthly* 264, no. 2 (August 1989): 33–40. For a provocative discussion of fear in World War II, see Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York, 1989); D. L. Kirkpatrick, "How to Select Foremen," *Personnel Journal* 47 (1968): 262–70; Silas Warner, "Spotting the Neurotic—Helping the Maladjusted," *Personnel Journal* 36 (1957): 136–39. For the evolution of recommendations on job interview atmosphere, see *Personnel Journal*, 1940–1970. A lag of a few decades in institutionalization of new emotional standards is historically normal.
25. Sybil Foster, "A Study of the Personality Makeup and Social Setting of Fifty Jealous Children," *Mental Hygiene* 11 (1927): 533–71; Mabel Sewall, "Some Causes of

Jealousy in Young Children," *Smith College Studies in Social Work* 1 (1930–31): 6–22; Ruth E. Smalley, "The Influence of Differences in Age, Sex, and Intelligence in Determining the Attitudes of Siblings toward Each Other," *Smith College Studies in Social Work* 1 (1930–31): 23–44; D. M. Levy, "Studies in Sibling Rivalry," *American Orthopsychiatry Research Monograph,* no. 2 (1937); D. M. Levy "Rivalry between Children of the Same Family," *Child Study* 22 (1934): 233–61; A. Adler, "Characteristics of the First, Second, and Third Child," *Children* 3, no. 5 (1938): 14–39. Only one of these studies, but an interesting one, ran counter to the pessimistic findings about jealousy, noting the diversity of reactions among children and the frequency of intense affection: M. B. MacFarland, "Relationship between Young Sisters as Revealed in Their Overt Responses," *Journal of Experimental Education* 6 (1937): 73–79. But MacFarland's conclusions were ignored among the welter of findings that jealousy was a major problem and that its resolution depended on careful parental policy—almost certainly an exaggerated perception of a common (though decidedly not uniform) childhood response. See Judy Dunn and Carl Kendrick, *Siblings: Love, Envy, and Understanding* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), passim.

26. Gordon Clanton, "Jealousy in American Culture, 1945–1985: Reflections from Popular Literature," in D. Franks and E. D. McCarthy, eds., *The Sociology of Emotions* (Greenwich, Conn., 1989), 179–93.
27. Beverly Cleary, *Ramona Forever* (New York, 1984), 176, 182. I am grateful to Clio Stearns and Julie Wiener for guidance in this literature; Peter N. Stearns, "Gender and Emotion: A Twentieth-Century Transition," in David D. Franks, ed., *Social Perspectives on Emotion* (Greenwich, Conn., 1992), 127–60.
28. Dorothy W. Baruch, *New Ways in Discipline: You and Your Child Today* (New York, 1949), 123; John C. Montgomery and Margaret Suydam, *America's Baby Book* (New York, 1951), 123; Spock, *Common Sense,* 2d ed. (1957); see also Brian Sutton-Smith and B. G. Rosenberg, *The Sibling* (New York, 1979), 260; David Black, "The Jealous Lover," *Mademoiselle* 89 (1983): 116; Margery Wilson, *How to Make the Most of a Wife* (Philadelphia, 1947), 131; Dorry Metcalf, *Bringing Up Children* (New York, 1947), 105; Bibi Wein, "Dealing with Jealousy," *Harper's Bazaar,* 1983, 207.
29. Thom, *Child Management,* 9–12; Children's Bureau, *Training Your Child,* 31; Child Study Association of America, *Guidance of Childhood and Youth* (New York, 1926), 100–101. This approach was repeated verbatim in a number of other manuals, though without attribution, perhaps because other, uncited authors might be jealous. Arlitt, *Child from One to Twelve*; Gruenberg, *Encyclopedia*; B. Harlock, *Child Development* (New York, 1954); Herman Vollmer, "Jealousy in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 16 (1946): 187.
30. Fromme, *Parents Handbook,* 93; Sidonie Gruenberg, *We the Parents* (New York, 1939), 90; Baruch, *New Ways,* 124, and *Understanding Young Children* (New York, 1949), 41; Montgomery and Suydam, *Baby Book,* 123; Daniel M. Levy, *Maternal Overprotection* (New York, 1943), 22–23; Haim Ginnott, *Between Parent and Child* (New York, 1965); Luella Cole and John J. B. Morgan, *Psychology of Childhood and Adolescence* (New York, 1947); Edmund Zilmer, *Jealousy in Children: A Guide for Parents* (New York, 1949); Mary M. Thomson, *Talk It Out with Your Child* (New York, 1953), 112; Foster, "Personality Makeup of Jealous Children," 53–77; Ruth Fedder, *You: The Person You Want to Be* (New York, 1957), 69.
31. De Kok, *Guiding Your Child,* 176.
32. Zilmer, *Jealousy in Children,* 85; Baruch, *New Ways,* 122–23; Joseph Teich, *Your Child and His Problems* (Boston, 1953), 101.

33. Montgomery and Suydam, *Baby Book,* 123–25; Spock, *Common Sense,* 272–79; Fromme, *Parents Handbook,* 251.
34. Teich, *Your Child,* 98; Margaret McFarland, *Relationships between Young Sisters* (New York, 1938), 67; "Family Clinic," *Parents' Magazine,* June 1955, 26; *Parents' Magazine,* 1954–59; Jersild, et al., *Joys and Problems,* 28–30, 87, 94; Gesell, Ilg, and Ames, *Youth,* passim.
35. Frank Caplan and Theresa Caplan, *The Second Twelve Months of Life* (New York, 1977); Carole Calladine and Andrew Calladine, *Raising Siblings* (New York, 1979), 31 and passim.
36. Lindsay and Evans, *Companionate Marriage,* 72.
37. Gordon Clanton and Lynn G. Smith, eds., *Jealousy* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1977), 126; P. A. Sorokin, ed., *Explorations in Altruistic Love Behavior* (Boston, 1970), 18; Kingsley Davis, "Jealousy and Sexual Property," *Social Forces* 14 (1936): 395–405; Theodore Reik, *A Psychologist Looks at Love* (New York, 1944); Peter N. Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York and London, 1989).
38. Edmund S. Conklin, *Principles of Adolescent Psychology* (New York, 1935), 254; see also Jerome M. Seidman, ed., *The Adolescent* (New York, 1953), 755–61; Francis S. Miller and Helen Laitern, *Personal Problems of the High School Girl* (New York, 1945), 72; Elizabeth B. Hurlock, *Adolescent Development* (New York, 1949).
39. Evelyn Duvall, *Facts of Life and Love for Teenagers* (New York, 1950), 210, 231.
40. Alexander Magoun, *Love and Marriage* (New York, 1956), 301, 304, 306; see also Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *A Successful Marriage* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1958), 82; Evelyn M. Duvall and Dora S. Lewis, *Family Living* (New York, 1955), 19; Paul Popenoe, *Marriage Is What You Make It* (New York, 1950), 17 and passim; Paul Popenoe, *Marriage: Before and After* (New York, 1943), passim; Lear J. Saul, *Fidelity and Infidelity, and What Makes or Breaks a Marriage* (Philadelphia, 1961), 73; John Levy and Ruth Monroe, *The Happy Family* (New York, 1962), 89.
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47. Ordway Teal, *Human Nature and Managers* (New York, 1933), 40; Hepner, *Human Relations,* 96; Nathaniel Cantor, *Employee Counseling: A New Viewpoint in Industrial Psychology* (New York, 1945), 64; Garrett, *Counseling Methods,* 71; see also Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American History* (Middletown, Conn., 1960); C. S. Slowcombe, "Good Technique in Negotiating," *Personnel Journal* 14 (1935): 49; see also Lester Tarnopol, "Personality Differences between Leaders and Non-Leaders," *Personnel Journal* 37 (1958): 57–64; John B. Miner, *Personnel Psychology* (New York, 1969), 194; Erwin H. Schell, *The Techniques of Executive Control* (New York, 1934), 101.
48. Edward Kilduff, *The Private Secretary* (New York, 1915), 50, 57; see also later editions to 1935; see also Margery W. Davies, *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870–1930* (Philadelphia, 1982), 95. The routinization of claims of emotional control as part of professional competence in industrial psychology can be traced through standard textbooks (Hepner, *Human Relations*) and journals.
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8. *The Impact of the New Standards*

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17. Jai Ghorpade and R. J. Lackrits, "Influences behind Neutral Responses in Subordinate Ratings of Supervisors," *Personnel Psychology* 34 (1981): 511–22; P. J. Andersini and M. B. Shapiro, "Women's Attitudes toward Their Jobs," *Personnel Psychology* 31 (1978): 23; Charles W. Walker and Robert H. Guest, *The Man and the Assembly Line* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 92 ff., 143; Leonard Goodwin, "Occupational Goals and Satisfaction of the American Work Force," *Personnel Psychology* 22 (1969): 313–25; see also the 1941–1980 vols. of *Analysis of Work Stoppages,* which is published annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor (Washington, D.C.); and the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Strikes in the United States, 1880–1936* (Washington, D.C., 1937). A full analysis of strike trends would require integration of anger control with more familiar factors such as political climate, unemployment rates, and pay trends; but the probability of an emotional factor is high. See Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago and London, 1986), chap. 5.
18. Charles C. Smith, *The Foreman's Place in Management* (New York, 1946), 119; Studs Terkel, *Working* (New York, 1974), 32, 81, 260, 285 ff., 547, and passim.
19. Dr. James R. Higgins, private interview at North Hills School District, Pittsburgh,

Pennsylvania, 20 October 1983. (Dr. Higgins is a counselor education specialist and director of pupil personnel services at North Hills. Additionally, he has been active in both the national and the state Pupil Personnel Movement since its inception, coauthoring both the original and the 1983 Pennsylvania State Pupil Personnel Guidelines. He is currently president of the Pennsylvania Association of Pupil Personnel Administrators.) See also Robert W. Stroughton, James McKenna, and Richard P. Cook, "Pupil Personnel Services: A Position Statement," mimeograph, Washington, D.C., April 1969; "Pupil Personnel Services in Pennsylvania: A Position Statement," mimeograph, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1983; Victor Lipman, "Mr. Glasser's Gentle Rod," *American Education* 14 (1978): 28–31; Haim Ginnot, "I Am Angry, I Am Appalled, I Am Furious," *Today's Education* 61 (1972): 23; Helen Sobehart, "Toward a History of Anger in the Schools," seminar paper, Carnegie-Mellon University, December 1983.

20. Lillian Breslow Rubin, *Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family* (New York, 1976), 76–78, 115–16, and passim; John D. Baldwin, *Marriage without B.S.* (New York, 1979), 143; Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage* (New York, 1953), 292 ff.; George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935–1971* (New York, 1972), 1028.
21. Sommers, "Adults Evaluating Their Emotions"; on the concealment theme more generally, Antoine Prost and Gérard Vincent, eds., *A History of Private Life,* vol. 5, *Riddles of Identity in Modern Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).
22. "Perspective," *Fundamentalist Journal,* May 1988, 12; Philip Greven, *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse* (New York, 1991).
23. F. J. Roethisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), 349; Terkel, *Working*; Sar A. Levitan and William B. Johnson, *Work Is Here to Stay, Alas* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1973), 66.
24. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1988), 37, 38.
25. Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York, 1977), 260; August Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York, 1949); for a fuller exploration, see Bailey, *Front Porch to Back Seat*; Terman, *Psychological Factors,* 86, 137, 336; Peter N. Stearns and Mark Knapp, "Men and Romantic Love: Pinpointing a Twentieth-Century Change," *Journal of Social History* 26 (Summer 1993): 769–96.
26. Allan Bloom, "The Death of Eros: Did Romeo and Juliet Have a Relationship?" *New York Times Magazine,* May 23, 1993, 26–27. On Gladys Bell, see John C. Spurlock and Cynthia A. Magistro, " 'Dreams Never to Be Realized': Emotional Culture and the Phenomenology of Emotion," *Journal of Social History* (1994); theirs is a more extensive interpretation. This analysis of changes in love also parallels Barbara Ehrenreich's discussion of the decline of commitment, even to the extent of noting the reassessment of health as a factor generating change. I differ on timing, however, and to an extent on gender-specificity, and I see the shift as part of a larger change in American emotional culture than Ehrenreich tackles. Ehrenreich, *Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York, 1984).
27. Lillian Rubin, *Just Friends: The Role of Friendship in Our Lives* (New York, 1985); George Chauncey, Jr., "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era," in Peter N. Stearns, ed., *Expanding the Past: A Reader in Social History* (New York and London, 1988); E. Anthony Rotundo, "Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and

Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800–1900," *Journal of Social History* 23 (1989).

28. Linda Rosenzweig, *The Anchor of My Life: Middle-Class American Mothers and Daughters, 1880–1920* (New York, 1993).
29. The quotations are from letters dated 23 July 1933 and 5 June 1928, Adele Siegel Rosenfeld Papers, unprocessed collection, Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, Mass. The second letter is also dated "(July 1928)," and the notation concerning the form of address appears in turquoise ink. See also a letter dated 13 July 1930 that illustrates the same casual tone, cited in Rosenzweig, *Anchor of My Life,* chap. 8; Jane Emmet Drake to her mother Helen Pratt Emmet, n.d., 1938, folder 1, box 5, unprocessed collection, Alan Summersby Emmet Papers, Schlesinger Library; 4 March 1945, Adele Mongan Fasick Diary, Schlesinger Library.
30. Nancy Friday, *My Mother, Myself: The Daughter's Search for Identity* (New York, 1977).
31. Joseph Veroff, Elizabeth Douvan, and Richard A. Kulka, *The Inner American: A Self-Portrait from 1957 to 1976* (New York, 1981). Thus parents dropped happiness-with-children ratings by over 60 percent, while comparably increasing nuisance ratings. See R. D. Parke and P. N. Stearns, "Fathers and Child Rearing," in Glen Elder, John Modell, and Ross Parke, eds., *Children in Time and Place* (New York, 1992), 167.
32. Paul Popenoe, *Marriage Is What You Make It* (New York, 1950), 17; Terman, *Psychological Factors*; Robert Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York, 1929).
33. On student sensitivity to teacher anger, Fritz Redl, "Aggression in the Classroom," *Today's Education* 58 (September 1969): 30; Levitan and Johnston, *Work Is Here,* 67–68; Theodore V. Purcell, *The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 188–230; Walker and Guest, *Man and the Assembly Line,* 99; E. L. Miller, "Job Attitudes of National Union Officials," *Personnel Psychology* 19 (1966): 395–410; A. H. Cochran, "Management Tigers and Pussycats," *Personnel Journal* 50 (1971): 524–26; Thomas Greening, "Sensitivity Training: Cult or Contribution?" *Personnel* 41 (1964): 18–25; C. J. Lilley, "Supervisors Don't Criticize Enough," *Personnel Journal* 31 (1952): 209–12.
34. Burt Scanlan, "Sensitivity Training: Clarification, Issues, Insights," *Personnel Journal* 50 (1970): 549; Chris Argyris, *Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness* (Homewood, Ill., 1962), 174 ff.; Stearns and Stearns, *Anger,* 134–38.
35. Amy Vanderbilt, *New Complete Book of Etiquette* (New York, 1954), 127; Anne Shannon Moore, "Golden Sorrow," *Good Housekeeping* 80 (April 1925): 176; Phillipe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York, 1981); Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, ed., *Death: The Final Stage of Growth* (New York, 1975).
36. Moore, "Golden Sorrow," 181; Brice, "Maternal Mourning." On therapists' debates over the appropriate approach to grief, see Stroebe, Gergen, Gergen, and Stroebe, "Broken Hearts."
37. Robert N. Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (New York, 1983); P. Shaver, J. Schwartz, D. Kirson, and C. O'Connor, "Emotion Knowledge: Further Exploration of a Prototype Approach," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 52 (1987): 1060–86.
38. Peter N. Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotion: Redefinitions and Historical Change," *Journal of American History* 90 (1993): 36–74; Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer, eds., *Men and Masculinity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980); David Buss, "Conflict between the Sexes: Strategic Interference in the Evocation of Anger and Upset," *Journal of*

Personality and Social Psychology 56 (1989); Barbara Eichenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York, 1983).

39. Francesca M. Cancian and Steven L. Gordon, "Changing Emotion Norms in Marriage: Love and Anger in U.S. Women's Magazines since 1900," *Gender and Society* 2 (1988); Frances Cancian, *Love in America: Gender and Self-Development* (Cambridge, 1987); Willard Gaylin, *Feelings: Our Vital Signs* (New York, 1988). On emotional contagion, with some evidence of growing aversion to the process, Elaine Hatfield, J. T. Cacioppo, and R. C. Rapson, "Primitive Emotional Contagion," *Review of Personality* (1992): 151–77; Gerhards, "Changing Culture." Patients often seek therapists who will share their emotional experiences; see Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson, "Contagion," 166–67.
40. *Oxford English Dictionary,* 2d ed. (Oxford, 1989); William and Mary Morris, *Dictionary of Contemporary Usage* (New York, 1958), 201. A fuller study of empathy, historically and philosophically, is, happily, being undertaken by the philosopher Viviane Rosenberg. Interestingly, heightened "empathy" was one of the touted results of hallucinogenic drugs widely used by middle-class youth in the 1960s, again suggesting an important but now difficult emotional goal. See John C. Burnham, *Bad Habits: Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History* (New York, 1992).
41. Carol Z. Stearns, "Sadness," in Jeanette Haviland and Michael Lewis, eds., *Handbook of Emotion* (New York, 1993); N. L. Stein and J. L. Jewett, "A Conceptual Analysis of the Meaning of Negative Emotions: Implications for a Theory of Development," in C. Izard and P. B. Read, eds., *Measuring Emotions in Infants and Children,* vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). The rise in rates of depression, beyond increased diagnosis, has been widely noted but not explained. Probable links to changes in emotional standards deserve more historical-psychological research.
42. Stearns and Stearns, *Anger,* chap. 7. On using closets to "vent hostility," see Popenoe, *Marriage Is What You Make It,* 205. Possibly the later twentieth century will be as noted for people walking into closets as for those coming out.
43. Wendy Wiener, "Setting the Record Straight: An Exploration of the Meaning of Diary Keeping," *Narrative Study of Lives* 1 (1993): 30–58.
44. Sara Keisler and Lee Sproull, "Group Decision Making and Communication Technology," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 52 (1992): 96–123.
45. The confusion between twentieth-century individualism, which undeniably gained ground, and emotional spontaneity, which really did not, needs reemphasis; see Arthur Mitzman, "The Civilizing Offensive: Mentalities, High Culture, and Individual Psyches," *Journal of Social History* 20 (1986): 663–88; Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions.*
46. Stearns and Stearns, *Anger,* chap. 5.
47. Stearns and Haggerty, "Fear."
48. Anthony Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago, 1969); Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977); E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood* (Chicago, 1990); David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870–1920* (Madison, Wis., 1983).
49. Robert Coles, *Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear,* 3 vols. (Boston, 1967–71), esp. vol. 3.
50. Ruth Sapin, "Helping Children to Overcome Fear," *Parents' Magazine* 8 (1 May

1933): 40; Brian Melendez, "Honor Code Study," *Harvard University Report,* September 1985.

51. Walter B. Kolesnick, *Educational Psychology* (New York, 1963), 458; Robert Geiser, "What to Do If You Can't Stand That Kid," *Teacher* 91 (1973): 14–16, 19; David Reisman with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn., 1973); John R. Ban, "A Lesson Plan Approach for Dealing with School Discipline," *Clearinghouse* 55, no. 8 (April 1982): 345.
52. Stearns, *Jealousy,* chap. 6.
53. Ben B. Lindsay and Wainwright Evans, *The Companionate Marriage* (New York, 1927), 86, 72–73; Arnold Gesell, "Jealousy," *American Journal of Psychology* 17 (1905): 484; Emory S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York, 1928), 44; Stearns, *Jealousy,* chap. 5.
54. Francis S. Miller and Helen Laitern, *Personal Problems of the High School Girl* (New York, 1945), 72; Elizabeth B. Hurlock, *Adolescent Development* (New York, 1949); Evelyn Duvall, *Facts of Life and Love for Teenagers* (New York, 1950), 210, 231; Ruth Fedder, *A Girl Grows Up* (New York, 1937), 180; see also Oliver M. Butterfield, *Love Problems of Adolescence* (New York, 1941), 77–89; Ruth Fedder, *You: The Person You Want to Be!* (New York, 1957), 63.
55. Lawrence M. Friedman and Robert V. Percival, "Who Sues for Divorce? From Fault through Fiction to Freedom," *Journal of Legal Studies,* 1981, 80–81.
56. Herbert Jacob, *Silent Revolution: The Transformation of Divorce Law in the United States* (Chicago, 1988), 45; Glenda Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (New York, 1951), 163–64.
57. Jacob, *Silent Revolution.*
58. Austin Sarat, "Alternatives in Dispute Processing: Litigation in a Small Claims Court," *Law and Society Review* (Spring 1976): 342, 344, 346; Laura Nader, ed., *No Access to Law: Alternatives to the American Judicial System* (San Diego, Calif., 1980), xvii; Stanley J. Lieberman, "A No-Lose Proposition," *Newsweek,* 21 Feb. 1984, 14; Sarat, "Dispute Processing," 353.
59. James Reston, *Deadline: A Memoir* (New York, 1991), 270.
60. Modell, *Into One's Own;* Andrew Cherlin, *Marriage, Divorce, Remarriage* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Veroff, Douvan, and Kulka, *Inner American.*
61. Stearns, *Jealousy,* chaps. 2, 4. On the relationship between sibling closeness and later male friendship style in the nineteenth century, see Rotundo, "Romantic Friendship."
62. Stearns, *Jealousy,* 161; Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotion." Cancian and Gordon, "Changing Emotion Norms"; Cancian, *Love in America*; Stearns and Knapp, "Men and Romantic Love"; Buss, "Conflict between the Sexes."
63. The need for further study of embarrassment again relates both to historical and to contemporary perspectives. Changing social relations are often productive of new forms of embarrassment, as Goffman has pointed out in suggesting that more democratic contacts on the job created new potential embarrassments by the 1950s. I am more impressed with the new, suppressive use of embarrassment, which gives the emotion a decided new twist, deepening its personal and social impact and the discomfort it causes and linking it to feelings less of status inferiority than of infantilization. Parallel to this, it seems to me, has been an effort to ease more minor, conventional forms of embarrassment by making interview situations less stiff, insisting on less punctilious sexual decorum, and so on. One subordinate theme worth pursuing involves the history of blushing and reactions to it. Blushing, rather charming

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in Victorian context when embarrassment had few heavy duties, recedes in notice in our own age, when embarrassment is more central and its invocation more uniform than random individual proclivity to blushing can express. Again, the strong suggestion is that embarrassment itself has an important modern history. But the nature, causes, and uses of embarrassment clearly deserve much more exploration than they have received in any kind of emotions research. See E. Goffman, "Embarrassment and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology* 62 (1956).

9. *The Need for Outlets*

1. Jean L. Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); Edwin I. Megargee and Jack E. Hokanson, eds., *The Dynamics of Aggression: Individual, Group, and International Analyses* (New York, 1970), passim.
2. Cas Wouters, "Social Stratification and Informalization in Global Perspective," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 7 (1990): 69–90; Cas Wouters, "Formalization and Informalization: Changing Tension Balances in Civilizing Processes," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 3, no. 2 (1986): 1–18.
3. The role of emotional standards in diplomacy is not a well-researched area. For a general theory, see the forthcoming book by Thomas Sheff, *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War* (Boulder, Colo., 1994); Allan Winkler, *The Atom and American Life* (New York, 1993); Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York, 1986).
4. E. L. Miller, "Job Attitudes of National Union Officials," *Personnel Psychology* 19 (1966): 395–410; A. H. Cochran, "Management Tigers and Pussycats," *Personnel Journal* 50 (1971): 524–26; Thomas Greening, "Sensitivity Training: Cult or Contribution?" *Personnel* 41 (1964): 18–25; C. J. Lilley, "Supervisors Don't Criticize Enough," *Personnel Journal* 31 (1952): 209–12.
5. C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York, 1953), 184; William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York, 1956), 152.
6. *New York Times,* 25 June 1992; editors of the *New Republic, Bushisms* (New York, 1992).
7. I am greatly indebted to Professor Rom Harré for suggestions in this area.
8. "Synanon House: Where Drug Addicts Go to Salvage Their Lives," *Life* 52 (9 March 1962): 52–65; G. Samuels, "Where Junkies Learn to Hang Tough," *New York Times Magazine,* 9 May 1965; Daniel Casriel, M.D., *So Fair a House: The Story of Synanon* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963).
9. John H. Scanzoni, *Opportunity and the Family* (New York, 1970), 139; Howard Clinebell and Charlotte Clinebell, *The Intimate Marriage* (New York, 1970), 98; Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage* (New York, 1953), 264; *Ladies Home Journal,* April 1970: 145; Janet Sayers, *Sexual Contradictions: Psychology, Psychoanalysis, and Feminism* (London, 1986), 151; Lillian Breslow Rubin, *Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family* (New York, 1976), 76–78, 115–16, and passim.
10. Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, 1987); Sayers, *Sexual Contradictions,* 126, 151.
11. Gillian Avery, *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Childhood Fiction, 1770–1950* (London, 1975); Kristen Drotner, *English Children and Their*

Magazines, 1751–1945 (New Haven, Conn., 1988); Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic* (Philadelphia, 1968); for an important theory on modern leisure and excitement, see Norbert Elias, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford and New York, 1986).

12. John C. Burnham, *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History* (New York, 1992); Arthur Mitzman, "The Civilizing Offensive: Mentalities, High Culture, and Individual Psyches," in Peter N. Stearns, ed., *Expanding the Past: A Reader in Social History* (New York and London, 1988). Burnham's study, fascinating in its links among various twentieth-century degeneracies (and probably overdoing implied Victorian purity), breaks down somewhat, in my opinion, on the causation issue.
13. The continued limits on leisure in American reality are revealed in the relatively modest gains in leisure time since the 1950s (in contrast to Western Europe). Juanita Kreps, "Lifetime Allocation of Work and Leisure," *Social Security Research Report,* no. 22 (1969).
14. Steven Seidman, *Romantic Longings: Love in America, 1830–1980* (New York, 1991); Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York, 1993).
15. Burnham, *Bad Habits*; Timothy Jay, *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards, and on the Streets* (Philadelphia, 1992); Cas Wouters, "On Status Competition and Emotion Management," *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 699–717.
16. Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (London, 1989); Richard W. Fox and Jackson T. Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1860–1960* (New York, 1983).
17. Patricia O'Brien, "The Kleptomania Diagnosis: Bourgeois Women and Theft in Late-Nineteenth-Century France," in Stearns, ed., *Expanding the Past*; Helga Dittmar, *The Social Psychology of Material Posessions: To Have Is to Be* (New York, 1992).
18. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985); Ellen Furlough, "Selling the American Way in Interwar France: *Prix Uniques* and the Salons des Arts Ménagers," *Journal of Social History* (Spring 1993): 491–519.
19. Benjamin Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1983).
20. K. C. Constantine, *The Man Who Liked Slow Tomatoes* (New York, 1983), 85–86.
21. Allen Guttmann, *Sports Spectators* (New York, 1986), 149 ff. Professional wrestling also took on vast symbolic function, though not primarily for the middle class. See Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York, 1989), for a superb analysis.
22. Guttmann, *Spectators,* 149 ff.; Claude S. Fischer, "Change in Leisure Activity, 1890–1940," *Journal of Social History* 27 (1994), forthcoming; Steven Pope, "Negotiating the Folk Highway of American Sport," *Journal of Social History* 27 (1994), forthcoming; W. A. Crasgie and J. R. Hulbert, eds., *A Dictionary of American English* (Chicago, 1942), 2:93a.
23. *Pittsburgh Post Gazette,* 3 Dec. 1990.
24. For a more gender-based analysis, for example, see Elizabeth G. Traube, *Dreaming Identities: Class, Gender, and Generation in 1980s Hollywood Movies* (Boulder, Colo., 1992).

25. Tania Modleska, *Loving with a Vengeance: Mass-Produced Fantasies for Women* (Hamden, Conn., 1982), 82, 86; Sandy Rouma, "Soap Operas and Anger," *Washington Post,* 5 May 1991.
26. Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1980).
27. Otto Friedrich, "Up, Up, and Awaaay," *Time,* 14 March 1988, 66; Elizabeth Mogul, "Superman and American Masculinity," unpublished paper, Carnegie-Mellon University, April 1991.
28. Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, Thirteenth–Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1990); Drotner, *English Children,* argues that youth media gained in importance as youth were increasingly cut off from adults, making emotional signals all the more revealing and, to a degree, formative. Edna Barth, *Witches, Pumpkins, and Grinning Ghosts* (New York, 1981). This point relates to other judgments about the experience of movie audiences: see May, *Screening Out the Past;* and for Europe, Charles Rearick, "Song and Society in Turn-of-the-Century France," *Journal of Social History* 22 (1988): 59–63. The adjustment obviously requires comparison with nineteenth-century recreational experiences.
29. Charles Gillett, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll* (New York, 1970).
30. "A New Esthetic Called Cheese," *New York Times,* 7 Aug. 1992, B1; Burnham, *Bad Habits.*
31. Wouters, "Formalization and Informalization"; Wouters, "On Status Competition."
32. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, 1958); Henry Gates, ed., *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago, 1986); Peter N. Stearns, "Suppressing Unpleasant Emotions: The Development of a Twentieth-Century American Style," in Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness: Some Interdisciplinary Connections* (New York and London, 1989).
33. Peter N. Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York and London, 1989), chap. 6; Richard H. Smith, Sung Hee Kim, and W. Gerrod Parrott, "Envy and Jealousy: Semantic Problems and Experimental Distinctions," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 14 (1988): 401–9; for an older view, R. B. Hupka, et al., "Romantic Jealousy and Romantic Envy," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 16 (1985): 423–46; and M. Silver and J. Sabini, "The Social Construction of Envy," *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior* 8 (1978): 313–31; and especially P. M. Spielman, "Envy and Jealousy: An Attempt at Clarification," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 40 (1971): 59–82; Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Beseiged* (New York, 1977).
34. Researchers widely assume that envy has increased, but there has been no real historical study. Helmut Shoeck, *Envy: A Theory of Social Behavior* (New York, 1966), is poor. See J. Sabini and M. Silver "Envy," in Rom Harré, ed., *The Social Construction of Emotion* (Oxford, 1986), 167–83. Peter Salovey, ed., *The Psychology of Jealousy and Envy* (New York, 1991), 23–25.
35. The redefinition of disgust has been vigorously sketched for the nineteenth century as a zesty Victorian emotion with implications for bodily hygiene and social division. See Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). But the subsequent history of disgust in the twentieth century amid the new emotionology of restraint has yet to be traced; for youth, at least, disgust may have been an outlet.
36. C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures: And a Second Look* (New York, 1963); Peter N.

Stearns, *Life and Society in the West: The Modern Centuries* (San Diego, 1988), 311–47.

10. Pre-Conclusion

1. Peter N. Stearns and Deborah C. Stearns, "Historical Issues in Emotions Research: Causation and Timing," *Sociological Perspectives on Emotion* 2 (1994), forthcoming; Celia B. Stendler, "Sixty Years of Child Training Practices," *Journal of Pediatrics* 36 (1950).
2. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, ed., *Death: The Final Stage of Growth* (New York, 1975); Margaret Stroebe, et al., "Broken Hearts in Broken Bonds," *American Psychologist* 47 (1992): 1205–12. For important new work on legal recognition of grief in homicide cases and in monetary damage suits in claims over wrongful death see Mark T. Knapp, "Bereavement and the Law," unpublished paper, Carnegie Mellon University, 1992.
3. Carole Tavris, *Anger: The Misunderstood Emotion* (New York, 1982); "The Sixth Deadly Sin," *New York Times,* 16 March 1983.
4. Robyn Dawes, *House of Cards: Psychotherapy and Professional Opinion without Science* (New York, 1994); James R. Kincaid, *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (New York, 1993).
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11. Conclusion

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