Notes

1. Introduction


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.


7. For a spirited defense of the basic emotions concept, and an attack on constructivism, 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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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).


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.


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).


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27. Alcott, *Young Husband*, 41; *Peterson’s* 47, no. 6 (June 1865).


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.


visions 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.


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).


52. Buckley's Ethiopian Melodies.


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


61. Frank, "'Rendering Aid and Comfort.'"


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


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.


78. Birney, Childhood.
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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.


6. Phillipe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York, 1981); David Edward Stannard,
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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).


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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.”


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).


34. Carpenter v. Carpenter, 30 Kansas Reports 744 (1883); other decisions picked up on this interpretation: Avery v. Avery, 5 Pacific Reporter 418–22 (Kans, 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).


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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46. Linda W. Rosenzweig, “‘The Anchor of My Life’: Middle-Class American Mothers and College-Educated Daughters, 1880–1920,” *Journal of Social History* 25 (1991): 5–25. See, for example, Dummer Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, letters to Katharine Dummer Fisher, box 45, folder 925; letter to “Happy” (Ethel) Dummer Mintzer, July 8, 1920, box 10, folder 163; letters from Katharine Dummer Fisher, box 45, folder 895; letters from Frances Dummer Logan, box 12, folder 815; and letters from “Happy” (Ethel) Dummer Mintzer, box 10, folder 162.


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 1852, cited in Rotundo, “Romantic Friendships.”

Mary Hallock (Foote) to Richard Gilder, 14 December 1873, cited in Smith Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct, 56.


Paul C. Rosenblatt, Bitter, Bitter Tears: Nineteenth-Century Diarists and Twentieth-Century Grief Theories (Minneapolis, Minn., 1983), 21, 38, 93 and passim; Diary of Nellie Wetherbee, unpublished manuscript, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1860.

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.


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63. Rotundo, “Romantic Friendship”; Smith Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct, 53–76; Mary Hallock (Foote) to Helen Gilder, 23 September 1873, cited in Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct.

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; Aries, Hour of Our Death.


66. Stearns and Stearns, Anger, chap. 5; Jed Dannenbaum, Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washington Revival to the WCTU (Urbana, Ill., 1984).

67. Kasson, Rudeness and Civility, chap. 5; Thomas Embley Osmun [Alfred Ayres], The Mentor: A Little Book for the Guidance of Such Men and Boys as Would Appear to the Advantage in the Society of Persons of the Better Sort (New York, 1884); [Delano, Mortimer, and Reginald Harvey Arnold], Simplex Munditiis (New York, 1891); Bad Breaks in Good Form (New York, 1897).


4. From Vigor to Ventilation


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.


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, *The Child from One to Twelve*; and E. R. Groves and G. H. Groves, *Wholesome Childhood* (New York, 1931).


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.


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36. Lindsay and Evans, *Companionate Marriage*, 72.


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.


58. A. A. Schnare, From One to Twelve, 93; John Anderson, Happy Childhood: The Development and Guidance of Children and Youth (New York, 1933), 101; Emily Post, Children Are People (New York, 1940), 259.


61. Schwarz and Ruggieri, Parent-Child Tensions, 89.

62. Esther Lloyd-Jones and Ruth Fedder, Coming of Age (New York, 1941), 55; Baruch, New Ways; William C. Menninger, ed., How to Be a Successful Teenager (New York, 1954), 141.

63. Anderson, Children in the Family, 106.

64. Baruch, New Ways, 7, 45, 61; De Kok, Guiding Your Child, 78ff.; Teich, Your Child, 142; Marion J. Radke, The Relation of Parental Authority to Children's Behavior and Attitudes (Minneapolis, Minn., 1946), 11-12; Metcalf, Bringing Up Children; Sidonie Gruenberg, The Parents' Guide to Everyday Problems of Boys and Girls (New York, 1958), 94.

65. Martin Bax and Judy Bermal, Your Child's First Five Years (New York, 1974); Irma S. Black, Off to a Good Start (New York, 1946), 140; Anna W. M. Wolf and Suzanne Szasz, Helping Your Child's Emotional Growth (New York, 1954); Grace Langdon and J. W. Staub, The Discipline of Well-Adapted Children (New York, 1952). Langdon had earlier written in the channeling mode (Home Guidance for Young Children [New York, 1931]); her conversion to greater rigor, like Dr. Spock's a bit later, is particularly interesting.


67. Lurie Nicholson and Laura Torbet, How to Fight Fair with Your Kids ... and Win! (New York, 1980), 139; see also 18, 22, 32-33, 130-31, 287, 296.


69. Stearns, “Gender and Emotion.”


72. Baruch, New Ways.


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4. Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Gruenberg, Our Children (New York, 1932), 119, 177; Renz and Renz, Big Problems, 86.


7. Renz and Renz, Big Problems, 84.


9. Robert Watson, Psychology, 460; Renz and Renz, Big Problems, 84.


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57. Mrs. Havelock Ellis, The New Horizon in Love and Life (London, 1921), 27; see also Bertrand Russell, Marriage and Morals (New York, 1929); Mikhail Artzybasheff, Jealousy (New York, 1923); Ben B. Lindsay and Wainwright Evans, The Companionate Marriage (New York, 1927), 72–73.

58. Steven Seidman (Romantic Longings: Love in America, 1830–1980 [New York, 1991]) describes the whole debate opening up around 1900; see also Nancy Cott, Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven, Conn., 1987). On Lindsay, Lindsay and Evans, Companionate Marriage, 65; Margaret Sanger, Happiness in Marriage (New York, 1926).


64. Alfred Adler, “Love Is a Recent Invention,” Esquire, May 1936, 56.


71. Burgess, Proposal for Marriage Study, 16.

72. Data from Lewis M. Terman, Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness (New York, 1938), 142–66, quoted in Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, Building a Successful Marriage (New York, 1948), 90–91. This scale also was reproduced, in part, in the Woman’s Home Companion as a “quiz” on “popular fallacies” now debunked by sociologists, statisticians, educators, and psychologists. Judith Chase Churchill, “What Do You Know about Marriage?” Woman’s Home Companion, Sept. 1950, 42.

73. Theodore Van de Velde, Ideal Marriage: Its Physiognomy and Technique (1930;
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6. Reprise


7. "Impersonal, but Friendly"


7. "Impersonal, but Friendly"


15. Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1985); Stearns and Haggerty, “Role of Fear”; as we have seen, the first explicit invocation of science for new cautions on fear was Mrs. Theodore [Alice McLellan] Birney, *Childhood* (New York, 1904).


19. I am grateful to Steven Schlossman for suggestions about the impact of World War I. On World War II and aggression concerns, see Robert A. Baron, *Human Aggression* (New York, 1977); William C. Menninger, ed., *How to Be a Successful Teen-ager* (New York, 1954), 141; R. J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality* (New York, 1949); Arnold Gesell, et al., *Youth: The Years from Ten to


27. Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotion."


36. Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity,


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Management and Labor (1915; repr., New York, 1966); Frederick W. Taylor, Shop Management (New York, 1911), and The Principles of Scientific Management (New York, 1911); William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York, 1956), 140, 276 ff.


50. Baritz, Servants of Power.

51. Hochschild, Managed Heart; see esp. de Swaan, "Politics of Agoraphobia."

52. Benson, Counter Cultures; Edward Kilduff, The Private Secretary (New York, 1915), 50, 57 (see also later editions to 1933); William H. Leffingwell and Edward M. Robinson, Textbook of Office Management (New York, 1950), 386 ff; Hugo Münsterberg, Psychology and Industrial Efficiency (Boston, 1913), 128, 205; Mary Smith, Handbook of Industrial Psychology (New York, 1944); Stanley M. Herman, The People Specialists (New York, 1968), 245 ff.


54. Mayo, Human Problems, 84.

55. De Swaan, "Politics of Agoraphobia."


63. Stearns and Stearns, Anger, chap. 3; Seidman, Romantic Longings.


68. “A Physician’s Indictment of Mental Healing,” Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 1908, 81. On jealousy as a physical ailment see “Jealousy as a Curable Disease and as an Admirable Attribute,” North American Review 187 (February 1908): 317–19; see also William S. Sadler, M.D., “Can We Really Stop Worrying?” Ladies Home Journal 28 (September 1911): 21–22. Note that this surge of interest oscillated between seeing emotions as a cause of illness and seeing somatic changes as causing emotions that
then caused illness. The distinction probably mattered far less than the warning signals both views now pinned on intense emotions.


8. The Impact of the New Standards


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19. Dr. James R. Higgins, private interview at North Hills School District, Pittsburgh,
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19. 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.


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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).


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.


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."


50. Ruth Sapin, "Helping Children to Overcome Fear," *Parents' Magazine* 8 (1 May
8. The Impact of the New Standards


52. Stearns, Jealousy, chap. 6.


57. Jacob, Silent Revolution.


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.”


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
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


7. I am greatly indebted to Professor Rom Harré for suggestions in this area.


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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).
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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.


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


10. Pre-Conclusion


11. Conclusion


against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America (New York, 1991).


16. For the argument that the twentieth-century family resembles its preindustrial counterpart, with Victorianism being the oddity, see Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *The Symmetrical Family* (London, 1973).