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## Essay on Sources

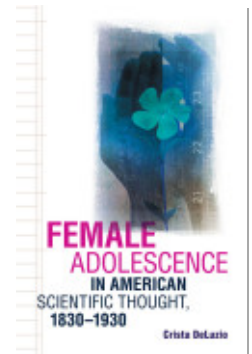
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# Essay on Sources

## PRIMARY SOURCES

The primary sources for this project consist of published writings by scientists and scientifically minded intellectuals working in the fields of medicine, biology, psychology, and anthropology from 1830 to 1930.

For John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas about development and youth, see John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education," in *John Locke on Education*, ed. Peter Gay (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964); and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education*, introduction, translation, and notes by Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

Health reformers' works discussed in the first chapter are William A. Alcott, *The Young Man's Guide to Excellence*, 14th edition (Boston, 1841); Alcott, *Familiar Letters to Young Men on Various Subjects* (Buffalo, NY, 1850); Alcott, *The Young Woman's Guide to Excellence*, 16th edition (New York, 1854); Alcott, *The Young Woman's Book of Health* (New York, 1855); Alcott, *The Physiology of Marriage* (Boston, 1856); Elizabeth Blackwell, *The Laws of Life, with Special Reference to the Physical Education of Girls* (New York, 1852); Amariah Brigham, *Remarks on the Influence of Mental Cultivation and Mental Excitement upon Health*, 2nd edition (Boston, 1833); Andrew Combe, *The Principles of Physiology Applied to the Preservation of Health and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education*, 7th edition (New York, 1849); O. S. Fowler, *Physiology, Animal and Mental: Applied to the Preservation and Restoration of Health of Body, and Power of Mind*, 6th edition (New York, 1853); Fowler, *Self-Culture and Perfection of Character including the Management of Youth* (New York, 1853); Fowler, *Sexual Science* (Chicago, 1870); Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture to Young Men* (Providence, RI, 1834); William Sweetser, *Mental Hygiene; or, an Examination of the Intellect and Passions Designed to Show How They Affect and Are Affected by the Bodily Functions, and Their Influences on Health and Physiology* (New York, 1850); Jno. Stainback Wilson, *Woman's Home Book of Health: A Work for Mothers and for Families* (Philadelphia, 1860); Samuel B. Woodward, *Hints for the Young in Relation to the Health of Body and Mind*, 4th edition (Boston, 1840).

The two works by Edward H. Clarke in which he lays out his protests against coeducation and expounds on his ideas about development are Clarke, *Sex in Education: Or, a Fair Chance for the Girls* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1873; reprint edition, Arno Press, 1972); and Clarke, *Building of a Brain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1874). The sources for Herbert Spencer's theories of evolution and development analyzed here are Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and*

*Physical* (New York: D. Appleton, 1860); Spencer, *First Principles*, 4th edition (New York: D. Appleton, 1890 [1862]); Spencer, *The Principles of Biology* 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1897 [1866]); Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics, or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed* (New York: D. Appleton, 1872); Spencer, "Psychology of the Sexes," *The Popular Science Monthly* 4 (November 1873): 30–38. See also Henry Maudsley, "Sex in Mind and in Education," *The Popular Science Monthly* 5 (June 1874): 198–215.

Mary Putnam Jacobi's counterpoint to Clarke's and Spencer's conceptions of female development are presented in: Jacobi, "Mental Action and Physical Health," in *The Education of American Girls*, ed. Anna C. Brackett (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874); Jacobi, *The Question of Rest for Women during Menstruation* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1877). See also Jacobi, "Modern Female Invalidism," in *Mary Putnam Jacobi, M.D.: A Pathfinder in Medicine*, ed. Women's Medical Association of New York City (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 478–482. Direct protests against Clarke's work were also voiced in George F. Comfort and Mrs. Anna Manning Comfort, MD, *Woman's Education and Woman's Health: Chiefly in Reply to "Sex in Education"* (Syracuse, NY: Thos. W. Durston, 1874); Eliza Bisbee Duffey, *No Sex in Education: An Equal Chance for Both Girls and Boys* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1874); Julia Ward Howe, ed. *Sex and Education: A Reply to Dr. E.H. Clarke's "Sex in Education"* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1874; reprint edition, New York: Arno Press, 1972); and Brackett, *The Education of American Girls*. Also see Duffey's *What Women Should Know: A Woman's Book about Women* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart, 1873; reprint edition, New York: Arno Press, 1974). Marion Harland incorporates conclusions from both Clarke and Jacobi in *Eve's Daughters or Common Sense for Maid, Wife, and Mother* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885). Some of the many other late-nineteenth-century doctors who weighed in on the coeducation debate and contributed to competing conceptualizations of female development include George Napheys, *The Physical Life of Woman: Advice to the Maiden, Wife, and Mother* (Philadelphia, 1872); John Harvey Kellogg, *Plain Facts for Old and Young* (Burlington, IA: I. F. Segner, 1882); Kellogg, *Ladies' Guide in Health and Disease* (Des Moines, IA: W. D. Condit, 1883); Kellogg, *The Home Handbook of Domestic Hygiene and Rational Medicine*, revised and enlarged edition (1896); Elizabeth Blackwell, *The Human Element in Sex, Being a Medical Inquiry into the Relation of Sexual Physiology to Christian Morality* (London, 1894 [1884]); Henry Lyman et al., *The Practical Home Physician* (Houston, 1885); Thomas Addis Emmet, *The Principles and Practice of Gynecology*, 3rd edition (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea's Son, 1884); William Capp, *The Daughter: Her Health, Education and Wedlock* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1891); and Anna M. Galbraith, *The Four Epochs of Woman's Life: A Study in Hygiene* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1903).

The works of G. Stanley Hall discussed in chapter three and throughout the book are Hall, "The Moral and Religious Training of Children," *Princeton Review* 9 (1882): 26–48; Hall, "Modern Methods in the Study of the Soul," *Christian Register* 75 (February 1886): 131–133; Hall and Respondents, "How Far Is the Present High-School and Early College Training Adapted to the Nature and Needs of Adolescents?" *The School Review* 9 (December 1901): 649–681; Hall, "Psychic Arrest in Adolescence," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association* (July 1903): 811–813; Hall, "Coeducation in the High School," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association* (July 1903): 446–451; Hall, "Coeducation," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association*

(June–July 1904): 538–542; Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1904); Hall, *Youth, Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene* (New York: D. Appleton, 1906); Hall, “The Needs and Methods of Educating Young People in the Hygiene of Sex,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 15 (March 1908): 82–91; Hall, “Feminization in School and Home,” *World’s Work* 16 (May 1908): 10237–10244; Hall, “From Generation to Generation: With Some Plain Language about Race Suicide and the Instruction of Children during Adolescence,” *American Magazine* (July 1908): 249–254; Hall, “The Awkward Age,” *Appleton’s Magazine* 12 (August 1908): 149–156; Hall, “The Budding Girl,” *Appleton’s Magazine* 13 (January 1909): 47–54; Hall, “Education in Sex Hygiene,” *Eugenics Review* 1 (January 1910): 242–253; Hall, “A Medium in the Bud,” *American Journal of Psychology* 29 (April 1918): 144–158; Hall, *Recreations of a Psychologist* (New York: D. Appleton, 1920); Hall, “The Dangerous Age,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 28 (September 1921): 275–294; Hall, “Flapper Americana Novissima,” *Atlantic Monthly* 126, no. 6 (June 1922), 771–780; Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (New York: D. Appleton, 1923); A. Caswell Ellis and G. Stanley Hall, “A Study of Dolls,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 4 (December 1896): 129–175; F. H. Saunders and G. Stanley Hall, “Pity,” *American Journal of Psychology* 11 (July 1900): 534–591; and G. Stanley Hall and Theodate L. Smith, “Showing Off and Bashfulness as Phases of Self-Consciousness,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 10 (June 1903): 159–199.

Six volumes of Ellis’s *Studies in the Psychology* were published between 1890 and 1910, with the last published in 1928. Those sections particularly helpful for discerning Ellis’s conception of female adolescence are “The Evolution of Modesty,” “The Phenomenon of Sexual Periodicity,” “Auto-Eroticism,” “Analysis of the Sexual Impulse,” “The Sexual Impulse in Women,” and “Sex in Relation to Society.” These are collected in Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 2 vols. (New York: Random House, 1942).

The writings by Sigmund Freud about female psychosexual development are *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905); *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920); *The Ego and the Id* (1923); “The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex” (1924); “Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Differences between the Sexes” (1925); “Female Sexuality” (1931); and “Femininity” (1933). They are collected in the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–1974).

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Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914); Hollingworth, "Variability as Related to Sex Differences in Achievement: A Critique," *American Journal of Sociology* 19 (1914): 510–530; Hollingworth, "Sex Differences in Mental Traits," *Psychological Bulletin* 13 (1916): 377–383; Hollingworth, "Social Devices Impelling Women to Bear and Rear Children," *American Journal of Sociology* 22 (July 1916): 19–29; Hollingworth, "Comparison of the Sexes in Mental Traits," *Psychological Bulletin* 15 (1918): 427–432; Hollingworth, "Comparison of the Sexes in Mental Traits," *Psychological Bulletin*, 16 (1919): 371–373; Hollingworth, "Differential Action upon the Sexes of Forces which Tend to Segregate the Feeble-Minded," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 17 (1922): 35–57; Hollingworth and Helen Montague, "The Comparative Variability of the Sexes at Birth," *American Journal of Sociology* 20 (1914): 335–370; Hollingworth and Max Schlapp, "An Economic and Social Study of Feeble-Minded Women," *Medical Record* 85 (1914): 1025–1228.

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For Lorine Pruette's writings about girls and women, see *Women and Leisure: A Study of Social Waste* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924); Pruette, "The Flapper," in *The New Generation: The Intimate Problems of Modern Parents and Children*, ed. V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen (New York: Macaulay, 1930), 572–590; Pruette, "Why Women Fail," in *Woman's Coming of Age: A Symposium*, ed. V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen (New York: Horace Liveright, 1931), 240–259. See also Pruette, "The Evolution of Disenchantment," in *These Modern Women*, 68–73.

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(November 1915): 521–550; William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent: A Text-Book of Diagnosis and Prognosis for All Concerned in Understanding Offenders* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1924 [1915]); Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1917); Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking, Studies in Two American Cities* (New York: Macmillan, 1926); Mary E. Moxcey, *Girlhood and Character* (New York: Abington Press, 1916); Moxcey, *Leadership of Girls' Activities* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919); Moxcey, *The Psychology of Middle Adolescence* (New York: Claxton Press, 1925); H. L. Hollingworth, *Vocational Psychology: Its Problems and Methods* (New York: D. Appleton, 1916); Hollingworth, *Mental Growth and Decline: A Survey of Developmental Psychology* (New York: D. Appleton, 1927); Jessie Taft, "Mental Hygiene Problems of Normal Adolescence," *Mental Hygiene* 5 (1921): 741–751; Henry H. Goddard, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1923); William I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1923); Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its Problems* (New York: Macmillan, 1923); Winifred Richmond, *The Adolescent Girl: A Book for Parents and Teachers* (New York: Macmillan, 1925); *Concerning Parents: A Symposium on Modern Parenthood*, reprint edition (New York: New Republic, 1926); Douglas A. Thom, *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (New York: D. Appleton, 1928); John B. Watson, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1928); V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen, eds. *Sex in Civilization* (New York: Macaulay, 1929); Calverton and Schmalhausen, eds., *The New Generation: The Intimate Problems of Modern Parents and Children* (New York: Macaulay, 1930); Calverton and Schmalhausen, eds., *Woman's Coming of Age: A Symposium* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1931); Grace Loucks Elliott, *Understanding the Adolescent Girl* (New York: Woman's Press, 1930); Gerald H. Pearson, "What the Adolescent Girl Needs in Her Home," *Mental Hygiene* (January 1930): 40–53; Carl Murchison, ed., *A Handbook of Child Psychology* (Worcester, MA: Clark University Press, 1931 and 1933 editions); Ruth Shonle Cavan and Jordan True Cavan, *Building a Girl's Personality: A Social Psychology of Later Girlhood* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1932).

For Franz Boas's writings about children's growth, see "Anthropological Investigations in Schools," *Science* 17 (June 1891): 351–352; Boas, "The Growth of Children," *Science* 14 (May 1892): 256–257; Boas, "The Growth of Children—II," *Science* 14 (May 1892): 281–282; "The Growth of Children," *Science* 20 (December 1892): 351–352; Boas, "On Dr. William Townsend Porter's Investigation of the Growth of the School Children of St. Louis," *Science*, n.s., 1 (March 1895): 225–230; Boas, "The Growth of First-Born Children," *Science*, n.s., 1 (March 1895): 402–404; Boas, "The Growth of Children," *Science*, n.s., 5 (April 1897): 570–573; and Boas, "The Growth of Children," *Science*, n.s., 36 (December 1912): 815–818; Franz Boas and C. Wissler, "Statistics of Growth" in *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education—for 1904, 1906* (Washington, DC: U.S. Commissioner of Education 1904, 1906), 25–32.

Margaret Mead's writings about childhood and adolescence in cross-cultural perspective include Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization*, with a foreword by Franz Boas (New York: Morrow, 1928); Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea: A Comparative Study of Primitive Education*, reprint, with a new preface by Mead (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1975 [1930]); Mead, "Adolescence in Primitive and Modern Society," in *The New Generation: The Intimate Problems of Modern Parents and Children*, ed. V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen (New York: Macaulay, 1930); Mead, "The Primi-

tive Child," in *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, ed. Carl Murchison (Worcester, MA: Clark University Press, 1931); Mead, *From the South Seas: Studies of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies* (New York: William Morrow, 1939); Margaret Mead and Frances Cooke Macgregor, *Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Childhood* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951); Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, eds., *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). See also, Mead, *Blackberry Winter, My Earlier Years* (New York: William Morrow, 1972).

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136–166; Lawrence Kohlberg, “The Development of Children’s Orientations toward a Moral Order. I. Sequence in the Development of Moral Thought,” *Vita Humana* 6 (1963): 11–33; Kohlberg, “Moral Development and Identification,” in *Child Psychology: 62nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, ed. Harold W. Stevenson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); Albert Bandura, “The Stormy Decade: Fact or Fiction?” *Psychology in the School* 1 (1964): 224–231; Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, *The Adolescent Experience* (New York: Wiley, 1966); and Daniel Offer, *The Psychological World of the Teen-Ager: A Study of Normal Adolescent Boys* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

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For contemporary works on male development, see Michael Gurian, *The Wonder of Boys: What Parents, Mentors, and Educators Can Do to Shape Boys into Exceptional Men* (New York: Tarcher-Penguin Putnam, 1998); Dan Kindlon and Michael Thompson, *Raising Cain: Protecting the Emotional Life of Boys* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999); Eli H. Newberger, *The Men They Will Become: The Nature and Nurture of Male Character* (Reading, MA: Perseus Books, 1999); William S. Pollack, *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons from the Myths of Boyhood* (New York: Random House, 1998); William S. Pollack, *Real Boys’ Voices: Boys Speak Out about Drugs, Sex, Violence, Bullying, Sports, School, Parents, and So Much More* (New York: Random House, 2000); Christina Hoff Sommers, *The War against Boys: How Misguided Feminism is Harming Our Young Men* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### Introduction

The most important works on the history of youth and adolescence from the Colonial period through the third decade of the twentieth century in the United States that informed



my analysis throughout this study include John and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," in *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, ed. Michael Gordon (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 209–221; Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790–the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); John Demos, *Past, Present and Personal: The Family and the Life Course in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Roger Thompson, "Adolescent Culture in Colonial America," *Journal of Family History* 9 (Summer 1984): 131–141; Ross W. Beales Jr., "In Search of the Historical Child: Miniature Adulthood and Youth in Colonial New England," in *Growing Up in America: Children in Historical Perspective*, ed. N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 17–24; John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Judith Graham, *Puritan Family Life: The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000); and Rodney Hessinger, *Seduced, Abandoned, and Reborn: Visions of Youth in Middle-Class America, 1780–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

On girlhood and female adolescence, see also James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre–World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals," *Journal of American History* 55, no. 2 (September 1968): 315–333; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "From Puberty to Menopause: The Cycle of Femininity in Nineteenth Century America," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, ed. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 23–37; Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 53–76; Joseph M. Hawes, "The Strange History of Female Adolescence in the United States," *Journal of Psychohistory* 13, no. 1 (Summer 1985): 51–63; Joan Jacobs Brumberg, "Chlorotic Girls, 1870–1920: A Historical Perspective on Female Adolescence," in *Women and Health in America*, ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 186–195; Brumberg, "'Ruined' Girls: Community Responses to Illegitimacy in Upstate New York, 1890–1920," *Journal of Social History* 18 (Winter 1984): 247–272; Brumberg, *Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Brumberg, *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls* (New York: Random House, 1997); Anne M. Boylan, "Growing Up Female in Young America, 1800–1860," in *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook*, ed. Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 153–184; Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989); Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Ruth M. Alexander, *The Girl Problem: Female Sexual Delinquency in New York, 1900–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Caroline Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Melanie Dawson, "The Miniaturizing of Girlhood: Nineteenth-Century Playtime and Gendered Theories of Development," in *The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader*, ed.

Caroline F. Levander and Carol J. Singley (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003); Kelly Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girl Culture, 1920–1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

For studies of youth and adolescence in medieval and early modern Europe, see Steven R. Smith, “The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents,” *Past and Present* 61 (1973); Smith, “Religion and Conception of Youth in Seventeenth-Century England,” *History of Childhood Quarterly* 2 (1974): 493–516; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977); Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bind: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Hanawalt, “‘The Child of Bristowe’ and the Making of Middle-Class Adolescence,” in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 155–178; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150–1650* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002); Helen King, *The Disease of Virgins: Green Sickness, Chlorosis and the Problems of Puberty* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Works about girls and boys growing up and the concept of adolescence in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries include John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770–Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls’ Culture in England, 1880–1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

For other general works and surveys in the history of children and childhood in the United States, see Harvey J. Graff, *Conflicting Paths: Growing Up in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jacqueline S. Reinier, *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775–1850* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996); Priscilla Ferguson Clement, *Growing Pains: Children in the Industrial Age, 1850–1890* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997); David I. Macleod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890–1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998); Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice about Children* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); and Steven Mintz, *Huck’s Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

Useful reference works on the range of topics covered in this study are Richard M. Lerner, Anne C. Petersen, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, eds. *Encyclopedia of Adolescence*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991); Jacqueline V. Lerner, Richard M. Lerner, and Jordan Finkelstein, eds. *Adolescence in America: An Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2001); Priscilla Ferguson Clement and Jacqueline S. Reinier, eds., *Boyhood in America: An Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2001); Miriam Forman-Brunell, ed., *Girlhood in America: An Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2001); Joseph M. Hawes and Elizabeth F. Shores, eds., *The Family in America: An Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2001); and Paula S. Fass, ed., *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society*, 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan Reference, 2004).

Sources by contemporary developmental psychologists that were particularly helpful for this study are William Kessen, "The American Child and Other Cultural Inventions," *American Psychologist* 34, no. 10 (October 1979): 815–820; Kessen, *The Rise and Fall of Development* (Worcester, MA: Clark University Press, 1990); Richard M. Lerner, ed. *Developmental Psychology: Historical and Philosophical Perspectives* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1983); Lerner, *Concepts and Theories of Human Development*, 2nd edition (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997); Frank S. Kessel and Alexander W. Siegel, eds., *The Child and Other Cultural Inventions* (New York: Praeger, 1983); Julian Henriques et al., *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation, and Subjectivity* (London: Methuen, 1984); Georg Eckardt, Wolfgang G. Bringmann, and Lothar Sprung, eds., *Contributions to a History of Developmental Psychology* (Berlin: Moulton Publishers, 1985); Urie Brofenbrenner, Frank Kessel, William Kessen, and Sheldon White, "Toward a Critical Social History of Developmental Psychology: A Propaedeutic Discussion," *American Psychologist* 41, no. 11 (November 1986): 1218–1230; John M. Broughton, ed., *Critical Theories of Psychological Development* (New York: Plenum Press, 1987); John R. Morss, *The Biologising of Childhood: Developmental Psychology and the Darwinian Myth* (Hove and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990); Morss, "Making Waves: Deconstruction and Developmental Psychology," *Theory & Psychology* 2, no. 4 (1992): 445–465; Marc H. Bornstein and Michael E. Lamb, eds., *Developmental Psychology: An Advanced Textbook*, 3rd edition (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1992); Valerie Walkerdine, "Beyond Developmentalism?" *Theory & Psychology* 3, no. 4 (1993): 451–469; Ross D. Parke, Peter A. Ornstein, John J. Rieser, and Carolyn Zahn-Waxler, eds., *A Century of Developmental Psychology* (Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994); Erica Burman, "Feminism and Discourse in Developmental Psychology: Power, Subjectivity and Interpretation," *Feminism and Psychology* 2 (1992): 45–60; Burman, *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology* (London: Routledge, 1994); Sheila Greene, *The Psychological Development of Girls and Women: Rethinking Change in Time* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Scholarship in the area of cultural studies that shaped my thinking about the construction of the concept of adolescence includes Angela McRobbie and Mica Nava, eds., *Gender and Generation* (London: Macmillan, 1984); Sue Lees, *Sugar and Spice: Sexuality and Adolescent Girls* (London: Penguin Books, 1993); Nancy Lesko, *Act Your Age: A Cultural Construction of Adolescence* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Claudia Castañeda, *Figurations: Child, Bodies, Worlds* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Catherine Driscoll, *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Carol F. Levander and Carol J. Singley, eds., *The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

### Chapter One. "Laws of Life"

For an exploration of age as a salient category of social meaning and experience in the American context, see Howard P. Chudacoff, *How Old Are You? Age Consciousness in American Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989). In addition to the sources on youth and adolescence, C. Dallett Hemphill's *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) is particularly helpful for thinking about the changing status and meaning of youth from the Colonial era through the antebellum period.

For sources on girls' and young women's experiences at work and in school up to 1860, in addition to the studies of girlhood and female adolescence listed above, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Dublin, *Farm to Factory: Women's Letters, 1830–1860*, 2nd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986); and Catherine E. Kelly, *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

Nancy F. Cott explains the emergence of separate spheres in *The Bonds of Womanhood*. Barbara Welter describes the characteristics of the ideal woman in this ideology in "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151–174. Linda K. Kerber offers a useful look at the way the trope of separate spheres has been used by women's historians in "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 9–39. For two excellent studies that complicate the relationship between home and work and public and private, and the shape these relationships took in women's lives during the early nineteenth century, see Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Kelly, *In the New England Fashion*.

For studies focusing on social reform efforts directed at neglected and troublesome children and youth, see Barbara M. Brenzel, *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856–1905* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983); and Joseph M. Hawes, *The Children's Rights Movement: A History of Advocacy and Protection* (Boston: Twayne, 1991).

The experiences of girls and boys growing up in slavery in the nineteenth century are explored in Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985); Wilma King, *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); and Marie Jenkins Schwartz, *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Studies that focus on girls' and young women's religious experiences in this period include Nancy F. Cott, "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening," *American Quarterly* 3 (1975): 15–29; Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *Mission for Life: The Story of the Family of Adoniram Judson, the Dramatic Events of the First American Foreign Mission, and the Course of Evangelical Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Free Press, 1980); Susan M. Juster, "'In a Different Voice': Male and Female Narratives of Religious Conversion in Post-Revolutionary America," *American Quarterly* 41 (1989): 34–62; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); and Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America 1740–1845* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

For middle-class girls' literary culture in the nineteenth-century Anglo American con-

text, see Sheila Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Claudia Nelson and Lynne Vallone, eds., *The Girl's Own, Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl, 1830–1915* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); and Lynne Vallone, *Disciplines of Virtue: Girls' Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Sarah Bilston, *The Awkward Age in Women's Popular Fiction, 1850–1900: Girls and the Transition to Womanhood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); Hunter, *How Young Ladies became Girls*; and Mitchell, *The New Girl*.

For changes in family life in this period, see Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," *Feminist Studies* 1, nos. 3–4 (1973): 40–57; Robert V. Wells, "Family History and Demographic Transition," *Journal of Social History* 9 (Fall 1975): 1–19; Ruth H. Bloch, "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815," *Feminist Studies* 4 (June 1978): 101–126; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1983); Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600–1900* (London: Verso, 1988); Nancy M. Theriot, *The Biosocial Construction of Femininity: Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Jan Lewis, "Mother's Love: The Construction of an Emotion in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness: Some Interdisciplinary Connections*, ed. Andrew E. Barnes and Peter N. Stearns (New York: New York University Press, 1989), 209–229; Robert L. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Shawn Johansen, *Family Men: Middle-Class Fatherhood in Early Industrializing America* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

Along with the sources on youth and adolescence, historical studies of masculinity that include examinations of boys and boyhood in this period are Peter N. Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society*, 2nd edition (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1990); Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996); and Anne S. Lombard, *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). See also W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

In addition to the works from developmental psychology and cultural studies listed above, for exploration of the history of ideas about development and evolution, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936); Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944); Stephen Jay Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977); Peter J. Bowler, *The Eclipse of Darwinism: Anti-Darwinian Evolution Theories in the Decades around 1900*

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Bowler, *Evolution: The History of An Idea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Bowler, *Theories of Human Evolution: A Century of Debate 1844–1944* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Bowler, *The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Scholars' readings of the works of Locke and Rousseau that were especially helpful for my purposes in this chapter are Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Jane Roland Martin, *Reclaiming a Conversation: The Ideal of the Educated Woman* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Julia Grant, *Raising Baby by the Book: The Education of American Mothers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Ernest Freeberg, *The Education of Laura Bridgman: First Deaf and Blind Person to Learn Language* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Reinier, *From Virtue to Character*; Hemphill, *Bowing to Necessities*; and Hessinger, *Seduced, Abandoned, and Reborn*.

On antebellum health reform, see John Blake, "Health Reform," in *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. E. S. Gaustad (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 30–49; Stephen Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Jayme A. Sokolow, *Eros and Modernization: Sylvester Graham, Health Reform, and the Origins of Victorian Sexuality* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983); Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Martha H. Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Margaret Puskar-Pasewicz, "'For the Good of the Whole': Vegetarianism in 19th-Century America," Indiana University Dissertation, 2003. On phrenology, see Stephen Tomlinson, *Head Masters: Phrenology, Secular Education, and Nineteenth-Century Social Thought* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).

#### Chapter Two. "Persistence" versus "Periodicity"

Scholarship on the history of girls' and women's education and on the late-nineteenth-century debate incited by Clarke's work includes Mary Roth Walsh, *"Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835–1975* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1990); David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (New Haven,

CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875–1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); and Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*.

Works on ideas about women and gender in late-Victorian science that helped with my exploration of conceptualizations of female adolescent development in the coeducation debate include Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Woman and her Role in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 60, no. 2 (September 1973): 332–356; John S. Haller Jr. and Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974); Roland O. Valdisseri, "Menstruation and Medical Theory: An Historical Overview," *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association* 38, no. 3 (May/June 1983): 66–70; Louise Michele Newman, ed., *Men's Ideas/Women's Realities: Popular Science, 1870–1915* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985); Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Ornella Moscucci, *The Science of Woman: Gynecology and Gender in England, 1800–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ann E. Walker, *The Menstrual Cycle* (London: Routledge, 1997); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Puberty to Menopause"; Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*; Laqueur, *Making Sex*; Newman, *White Women's Rights*; Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*. The most thorough treatment of Mary Putnam Jacobi's life and work is by Carla Jean Bittel, "The Science of Women's Rights: The Medical and Political Worlds of Mary Putnam Jacobi," Cornell University Dissertation, 2003.

### Chapter Three. From "Budding Girl" to "Flapper Americana Novissima"

Indispensable to any exploration of the work of G. Stanley Hall is Dorothy Ross's biography, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972). Other scholars' treatments of Hall and his work in the context of his times that are especially helpful include Robert E. Grinder and Charles Strickland, "G. Stanley Hall and the Social Significance of Adolescence," *Teacher's College Record* 64, no. 5 (February 1963): 390–399; Robert E. Grinder, "The Concept of Adolescence in the Genetic Psychology of G. Stanley Hall," *Child Development* 40, no. 2 (June 1969): 355–369; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, Pantheon, 1981); Ernest R. Hilgard, *Psychology in America: A Historical Survey* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 529–534; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Heather Munro Prescott, *A Doctor of Their Own: The History of Adolescent Medicine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Jeffrey P. Moran, *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the 20th Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Kenneth B. Kidd, *Making American Boys: Boyology and the Feral Tale* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Julia Grant, "A Real Boy and Not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood and Masculinity, 1890–1940," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 829–851; Kett, *Rites of Passage*; Gillis, *Youth and History*; Lesko, *Act Your Age!*; Sheldon H. White, "G. Stanley Hall: From Philosophy to Developmental Psychology," in *A Century of*

*Developmental Psychology*, 103–125; Driscoll, *Girls*; Dyehouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*; Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*; Russett, *Sexual Science*; Rotundo, *American Manhood*.

In addition to this body of scholarship, my analysis in this chapter and Chapter 5 of the category of race in relation to Hall's thinking about adolescence is informed by John S. Haller Jr., *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971); George W. Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Carl N. Degler, *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and Castañeda, *Figurations: Child, Bodies, Worlds*.

The following works helped with my discussions in this chapter and the next two on the meanings and experiences of adolescent sexuality during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Nathan G. Hale Jr., *Freud and the Americans: The Beginning of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876–1917* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Carl N. Degler, "What Ought to Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 79 (1974): 1467–90; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley, vol. 1, *An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Nancy F. Cott, "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850," *Signs* 4, no. 2 (Winter 1978): 219–236; Peter Gay, *Education of the Senses*, vol. 1, *The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Carol Zisowitz Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, "Victorian Sexuality: Can Historians Do It Better?" *Journal of Social History* 18 (Summer 1985): 625–634; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Steven Seidman, "Sexual Attitudes of Victorian and Post-Victorian Women: Another Look at the Mosher Survey," *Journal of American Studies* 23 (1989): 68–72; Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters, and Virginia Johnson* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Christina Simmons, "Modern Sexuality and the Myth of Victorian Repression," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 157–177; Janice M. Irvine, *Disorders of Desire: Sex and Gender in Modern American Sexology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Constance A. Nathanson, *Dangerous Passage: The Social Control of Sexuality in Women's Adolescence* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Pamela S. Haag, "In Search of 'the Real Thing': Ideologies of Love, Modern Romance, and Women's Sexual Subjectivity in the United States, 1920–1940," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 4 (1992): 547–577; Mary Jo Buhle, *Feminism and Its Discontents: A Century of Struggle with Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Carol Groneman, *Nymphomania: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000); Jane F. Gerhard, *Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought 1920–1982* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); John Spurlock, "From Reassurance to Irrelevance: Adolescent Psychology and Homosexuality in America," *History of Psychology* 5, no. 1 (February 2002): 38–51; Laqueur, *Making Sex*; Moran, *Teaching Sex*; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*; Odem, *Delinquent Daughters*; Brumberg, *The Body Project*; Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox*.



## Chapter Four. "New Girls for Old"

The most important works on female adolescence in the Progressive era and the 1920s are listed in the paragraph on girlhood and female adolescence under the sources for the "Introduction."

Helpful syntheses of the major developments in child welfare and the child sciences during this period include Hamilton Cravens, "Child-Saving in the Age of Professionalism, 1915–1930," in *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook*, ed. Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); Joseph M. Hawes, *Children between the Wars: American Childhood, 1920–1940* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997); Hawes, *The Children's Rights Movement*; and Macleod, *The Age of the Child*. Also important for understanding the research about and treatment of children in this period is Hamilton Cravens, *Before Head Start: The Iowa Station and America's Children* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). On the emergence and development of the child guidance movement from the Progressive era through the 1920s, see Margo Horn, *Before It's Too Late: The Child Guidance Movement in the United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); Theresa Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989); and Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance, and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). On the range of expert advice produced about childhood in this period, see Hulbert, *Raising America*. For more on the dissemination of such advice and its reception by mothers, see Grant's book on parent education, *Raising Baby by the Book*.

On the history of eugenics, see Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995 [1985]); and Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

For the various roles of the "new woman" in American society in these periods, see Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980); Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987); Robin Muncy, *Creating a Female Domain in Progressive Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Lois Rudnick, "The New Woman" in 1915: *The Cultural Moment: The New Politics, the New Woman, the New Psychology, the New Art, and the New Theatre in America*, ed. Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America* (Chicago: Iran R. Dee, 2003); Newman, *White Women's Rights*. Christine Stansell's *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000) helped with situating the new woman in the context of the larger changes of the decades surrounding the turn of the century. Lynn Dumenil's *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995) did the same for the period of the 1920s.

For the (gendered) history of the social and psychological sciences and women's contributions to them during the early twentieth century, especially the contributions of the three

feminist psychologists explored in this chapter, see Harry L. Hollingworth, *Leta Stetter Hollingworth: A Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1943); Stephen J. Gould, *Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981); Lela B. Costing, *Two Sisters for Social Justice: A Biography of Grace and Edith Abbott* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Miriam Lewin, ed. *In the Shadow of the Past: Psychology Portrays the Sexes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892–1918* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1990); Linda Kreger Silverman, “Leta Stetter Hollingworth: Champion of the Psychology of Women and Gifted Children,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 84, no. 1 (1992): 20–27; Leonard Wilcox, *V. F. Calverton: Radical in the American Grain* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender and Power in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Leila Zenderland, *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Helen Silverberg, ed., *Gender and American Social Science: The Formative Years* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*; Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*; Russett, *Sexual Science*; Buhle, *Feminism and Its Discontents*.

On the history of endocrinology, see Nelly Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body: An Archeology of Sex Hormones* (London: Routledge, 1994); and Margaret Marsh and Wanda Ronner, *The Empty Cradle: Infertility in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

#### Chapter Five. Adolescent Girlhood Comes of Age?

My understanding of the intellectual tenets of Victorian anthropology and of the meanings given and uses made of the concept of culture in early-twentieth-century anthropology is informed by George W. Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968); Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*; Stocking, ed., *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Elizabeth Fee, “The Sexual Politics of Victorian Social Anthropology,” in *Clio’s Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, ed. Mary S. Hart and Lois Banner (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 86–102; Hamilton Cravens, *The Triumph of Evolution: American Scientists and the Heredity-Environment Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); Joan Jacobs Brumberg, “Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870–1910,” *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2 (1982): 347–371; Michael Cole, *Cultural Psychology: A Once and Future Discipline* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996); Susan Hegeman, *Patterns for America: Modernism and the Concept of Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Margaret D. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures 1879–1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*; Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*; Silverberg, *Gender and American Social Science*.

On Margaret Mead’s life and work, see Jane Howard, *Margaret Mead: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984); Lois W. Banner, *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict,*

and *Their Circle* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); Newman, *White Women's Rights*; and Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*. For the recent scholarly critique of Mead as a cultural determinist and of the limits of "Boasian Culturalism," see Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), especially Chapters 5–7; and Freeman, *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead: A Historical Analysis of Her Samoan Research* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), especially Chapter 14. For responses to Freeman and reassessments of Mead's work in light of his critique, see Ray A. Rappaport, "Desecrating the Holy Woman: Derek Freeman's Attack on Margaret Mead," *American Scholar* 55 (Summer 1986): 313–347; Lowell E. Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa: The Mead/Freeman Controversy and Beyond* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1987); Stephen O. Murray, "Problematic Aspects of Freeman's Account of Boasian Culture," *Current Anthropology* 31.4 (August–October 1990): 401–407; Murray, "On Boasians and Margaret Mead: Reply to Freeman," *Current Anthropology* 32, no. 4 (August–October 1991): 448–452; and Banner, 235–239.

Franz Boas's contributions to the emergence of cultural anthropology are explored in Walter Goldschmidt, ed., *The Anthropology of Franz Boas, Essays on the Centennial of His Birth* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1959); Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*; Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*; and Hegeman, *Patterns for America*.

On Elsie Clews Parsons, see Peter H. Hare, *A Woman's Quest for Science: Portrait of Anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1985); Ute Gacs et al., eds., *Women Anthropologists: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 282–290; Louise Lamphere, "Feminist Anthropology: The Legacy of Elsie Clews Parsons," *American Ethnologist* 16 (August 1989): 519–520; Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion: Elsie Clews Parsons, Anthropologist and Folklorist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Delsey Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*; Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*.

On Miriam Van Waters, see Estelle B. Freedman, *Maternal Justice: Miriam Van Waters and the Female Reform Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and Odem, *Delinquent Daughters*.

The most important work on the history of scientific treatment of adolescence from the mid-twentieth century to the present is Heather Munro Prescott's *A Doctor of Their Own: The History of Adolescent Medicine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998). See also Prescott, "'I was a Teenage Dwarf': The Social Construction of 'Normal' Adolescent Growth and Development in the United States," in *Formative Years: Children's Health in the United States, 1880–2000*, ed. Alexandra Minna Stern and Howard Markel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 153–182.