To Have and to Hold: Marriage, the Baby Boom and Social Change

Jane Pederson

Reviewer Loren N. Horton of Iowa City, Iowa, retired as the State Historical Society of Iowa's Senior Historian in 1996. Knowledgeable about a wide range of Iowa history topics, he is also a published poet.

The collecting of all poems, published and unpublished, of James Hearst was a daunting task, because some of the early examples were hidden in agricultural publications of the 1920s and 1930s, places where literary contributions were the exception. Many other poems appeared in literary magazines and poetry collections. Scott Cawelti organizes the contents by year of writing, without regard to subject, with previously unpublished poems placed at the end. This is a convenient way to present the material, and it allows readers to see change and development over Hearst's career. As the editor notes in the preface, Hearst's poems "shifted dramatically in mood and tone, and sometimes from poem to poem within the same year" (xxxvii).

People who like to read about Iowa will enjoy most of these poems, as will people who like to read about farms and farming. People who like to read about the human condition will enjoy all of these poems. Ranging from the value of family and neighbors to the decline of the family farm and the spread of urbanization, Hearst measures the thoughts and behavior of farm people. He does not neglect the isolation of rural life, nor the hard work involved in farming, but he also appreciates the beauty of the seasons and the unifying forces at work on Iowa's rural landscape. This volume is a wonderful collection of poems that speaks to all generations and backgrounds.


Reviewer Jane Pederson is professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. She is the author of Between Memory and Reality: Family and Community in Rural Wisconsin, 1870-1970 (1992).

Historians, feminists, and the general public have understood the 1950s family in similar ways. Whether one views it nostalgically through the lens focused on the charmed world of Donna Reed and June Cleaver or through the critical microscope of the "feminine mystique" provided by Betty Friedan, the picture looks about the same. Jessica Weiss's sweeping panorama of the families that produced the baby boom, To Have and to Hold, challenges both academic and popular constructions.
Weiss analyzes the experience and extraordinary life course of the parents of the baby boom generation from 1950 to 1980, tracking their evolution across the families' life course. Using a cohort approach focusing on couples marrying in the 1950s, she moves our understanding of the fifties middle-class suburban family from a snapshot to an epic moving picture that contextualizes the romanticized "traditional family" of that decade. Contrary to popular and academic wisdom, Weiss argues that this generation of women and men initiated many of the social transformations associated with the children of the baby boom. "Unquestionably an important historical generation in their own right," subsequent generations, including the rebels of the 1960s and 1970s feminists, largely adapted the transformations that boomer parents set in motion.

Weiss's bold claims depend on careful research. Her innovative longitudinal analysis relied on a long-term study done by the Institute of Human Development (IHD) at the University of California, Berkeley, that tracked one hundred California families from childhood to middle age, from the 1930s to the 1980s. Weiss's meticulous research used the interviews from that study and other sources, including magazines, films, advice literature, and academic studies. The IHD data offered a historical treasure trove that allowed Weiss to investigate the transformations of the clichéd fifties family across time. Weiss's rich sources provide entrée into the analysis of marriage patterns and attitudes, parenting ideals and practice, sexual expectations and reality, work, divorce, and retirement. The life stories and personal choices and voices of these children of the depression who grew up to become the parents of the baby boom defy venerated stereotypes of this "overlooked generation."

Historians seeking to understand the dramatic social rebellions and transformations of the 1960s and '70s usually do not look to the middle-class parents of the baby boom. However, Weiss's longitudinal approach locates that generation as the epicenter of social transformation. The young marriages, large families, and ideal of togetherness associated with middle-class families of 1950 were quite real, but those commonalities conceal the dynamic reality. In fact, baby boom mothers transformed family life by actively undermining the family ideals with which they are closely identified. Ideals of togetherness, companionate marriages grounded in sexual fulfillment, and large families supplied ample ground for contest, negotiation, and transformation. Gender constructions and social expectations produced predictable frustration in the bedroom and boardroom. Early in their marriages women pushed for more egalitarian relationships and independence and questioned and rejected "traditional" homemaker expectations.
Weiss persuasively argues that egalitarian goals and sexual equality were more common than is generally supposed. Young marriages for women signaled independence and maturity. Although the domestic ideal prevailed and men were expected to be the family providers, in fact young women often began their marriages as breadwinners; they left school to take jobs to finance their husbands' education or to make a down payment on a home. Later they would seek their own educational and employment opportunities as their children matured. Baby boom mothers contributed significantly to the steady increase in women's employment during the postwar decades. Women sought jobs for multiple reasons, including financing a more affluent life style, the sociability of the work place, and autonomy and independence. Although husbands often opposed their wives' employment, men eventually generally accepted it. Working boosted women's self-esteem and revolutionized marriage relationships. Working wives contributed to the unprecedented affluence of the middle-class family, but they also faced the burden of the "second shift." As women shared the breadwinner role, they also launched the long arduous effort of renegotiating the allocation of domestic work and parenting. Baby boom mothers took charge of actively reshaping expectations of parenting, pushing their husbands to become more involved fathers. Women relied on themselves and the authority of psychological experts to promote a new vision of fatherhood and to change parenting and household responsibilities. Although men's emotional space and responsibilities in the family expanded, the uneven sexual division of physical and emotional labor remained problematic for women.

Weiss maintains that Betty Friedan's 1963 publication of *The Feminine Mystique* did not so much revolutionize women's views as reflect what they were already doing and thinking. Young mothers of baby boomers married, moved to suburbs, raised their children in the 1950s, redefined parenthood, steadily increased their participation in the job market, and renegotiated marriages or arranged divorces. Women selectively borrowed from or disregarded the advice of family experts and feminist theorists of the 1960s and '70s to fashion their own lives and choices. Experts and ordinary couples diverged most dramatically on the topic of sexuality, another arena of contest and transformation. Sexual dissatisfaction in the age of sexual liberalism appeared to be the norm. Negotiating disappointment signaled maturity to a generation that defied experts and feminist expectations that good marriages required good sex. Contest and negotiation characterized gender relations throughout these years, and women's personal solutions and compromises shaped contemporary gender realities.
To Have and to Hold is an important contribution to our understanding of the postwar middle class and the dramatic cultural changes of those years. Weiss’s nuanced and complex picture of the families of the baby boom transcends myth, stereotype, and nostalgia to illuminate the actual experiences of the participants. She transforms our understanding of that generation and their mixed legacy of success, disappointment, and unfinished agendas that informs contemporary gender relationships.


Reviewer Wesley I. Shank, professor emeritus at Iowa State University, is an architectural historian specializing in American architecture. His latest book is Iowa’s Historic Architects: A Biographical Dictionary (1999).

Charles T. Goodsell, political scientist and professor at Virginia Tech’s Center for Public Administration and Policy, interprets a building type that is political to the core, the American statehouse. He shows us how our statehouses influence the actions of people within them, and what they express about government to those people and to society in general, and how they do it. In addition, he carries his interpretation into the history of the statehouses. What Goodsell has written will add depth to Iowans’ appreciation of the State Capitol in Des Moines and Old Capitol in Iowa City, but applies to public buildings in general. The author observed human behavior in the many statehouse environments firsthand, interviewed some 300 people about their own firsthand knowledge of them, and took more than 110 black-and-white photographs for his book.

The book is divided into four main parts. The first (chapters 1 and 2) introduces the author’s societal perspective and sets forth the common architectural characteristics of statehouses. The second part (chapters 3 and 4) is historic, dealing first with the first statehouses and the creation of the type, and secondly with statehouses built after the type emerged. The statehouses in use today are mostly in this second group (as is the U.S. Capitol). The third part (chapters 5, 6, and 7) deals with the décor, organization of spaces in the buildings, and interior features of the statehouses in use today. The fourth part (chapters 8 and 9) presents the statehouses and outdoor spaces around them as behavior settings, and the author’s interpretation of conduct in those settings. In this last section, the author summarizes the architectural evolution of