

ing of argument no less important than the place they occupy in the design and building of any made object. Their absence—as we see here—may not be wholly destructive; it can, however, much diminish the worth and value of an otherwise estimable undertaking.

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**Konrad H. Jarausch.** *The Unfree Professions: German Lawyers, Teachers, and Engineers, 1900-1950.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Pp. xv, 352. \$77.00.

Jarausch, a leading scholar in modern German history, has written a book that is as much a study of the appeal and impact of Naziism as an examination of the history of three German professions during the first half of the twentieth century. Stressing the centrality of the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, Jarausch insists, "Like it or not, the *Machtergreifung* [seizure of power] is the most important question of German history in the twentieth century" (p. 79). Setting out from the observation that "perhaps the most dramatic corruption of professionalism in the twentieth century was the evolution of German professionals from internationally respected experts to accessories to Nazi crimes" (p. vii), he poses as his major question, "How could competent, individually decent

university graduates fall collectively for the Austrian corporal?" (p. 4).

In endeavouring to address this question, however, Jarausch ranges even more broadly than the title of the book suggests, providing a history of the struggles for professionalization by German lawyers, secondary teachers, and engineers from the 1870s until the 1950s. With a thorough knowledge of recent literature on the sociology of professions and of empirical studies of individual professions in Germany and elsewhere, Jarausch places his study in both a theoretical and a comparative framework. The number and variety of sources used is very impressive, ranging from government archives to journals and conference proceedings of professional organizations to a substantial amount of statistical data, some borrowed from existing publications but much of it created through sampling of archival material. This data is reported in sixteen tables integrated into the text and eighteen more included in an appendix, which report information about the growth in the numbers of professionals as well as their social origins, levels of income and unemployment, and "Nazi proclivity."

By extending his investigation over several political regimes, Jarausch is able to discover both continuities and discontinuities in the fate of German professionals. Especially important are his discussions of the various setbacks these groups suffered, which he labels "deprofessionalization." This phenomenon took many forms: loss of autonomy during World War I and the Third

Reich; loss of control over access to a profession, such as when the government overrode the views of the Lawyers' Association and admitted women to the bar in 1922; erosion of earnings during the runaway inflation of the early 1920s and again during the Depression; a variety of problems related to an oversupply of candidates coming from the universities; loss of status in comparison to party, military, and industrial elites during the Third Reich; and even the denazification proceedings imposed by the occupying powers after 1945. The impression left by Jarausch's study is that for lawyers and secondary teachers, though not perhaps for engineers who prospered during World War I and the Third Reich, the years before 1914 truly were "die gute alte Zeit."

Throughout the book, Jarausch constantly stresses the variety of views on both professional and political issues held by members of the three occupations he has investigated. With regard to the relationship of these professions to Naziism, he insists, "the dichotomy between apologists of 'forced' cooperation and critics of 'voluntary' compliance oversimplifies the complexity of choices and accommodations" (p. 216). He differentiates between a legal profession whose membership was 25% Jewish and an engineering profession where the figure was about 1%, or between teachers interested in limiting or eliminating competition from women and engineers who had no such concerns. In an interesting section on the struggle to maintain autonomous professional organizations after 1933, he contrasts the survival of the Engineers' Association

with the ultimate absorption of the Secondary Teachers' League (*Philologenverband*) into the National Socialist Teachers' League.

Despite its many strengths, *The Unfree Professions* is open to criticism in several areas. Most important are questions about the basic premise on which much of the book rests, the validity of tracing, or at least linking, an individual's political activities and affiliations to the concerns of her or his profession. Jarausch touches on this issue only briefly in the preface, where he asserts, "Especially important for male self-consciousness, professional identity links cultural attitudes and material interests to politics" (p. vii). Yet even this statement suggests that gender may override occupation as a determinant of political behaviour, and Jarausch is much too good an historian not to be sensitive to the effects of age cohort, regional origins, religion, and other factors on political choices—although *The Unfree Professions* devotes little attention to Catholics and even less to the appeal Nazi military and foreign policies may have had on professionals. At one point, Jarausch goes so far as to imply the primacy of politics, admitting that some prominent leaders of the Nazi organizations were "more National Socialists than they were professionals" (p. 197). Yet the overall focus of the book implies the primacy of professional concerns.

Closely tied to this difficulty is a second one relating to Jarausch's central question: his research shows that members of the three professions in fact did not "fall collectively for the Austrian corporal." He even suggests

that "to a surprising extent, the professions ignored the rise of the Nazis" (p. 78). Before Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933, Nazi leagues for professionals had attracted only about 5% of lawyers, 4% of secondary teachers, and 3.5% of engineers (p. 109). Jarausich does point out that "NS league membership was bigger than the following of any other political professional affiliate, including the left" (p. 110), but he does not indicate if this level of affiliation was higher than for other, non-professional middle-class groups. That 47.8% of professionals who joined the Nazi party before 1933 were born between 1901 and 1910, with an additional 10.9% born after 1911, suggests that age cohort rather than profession may have been the decisive factor for those lawyers, educators, and engineers attracted by the "Austrian corporal" (p. 253).

Ambiguities also arise in Jarausich's discussion of the situation of those professionals able to retain their jobs after 1933. He suggests at one point that "compared to the crisis-ridden 1920s, German practitioners did feel a sense of material improvement and psychological recovery that made them willing to pay the price of the plebian and disagreeable aspects of Nazi rule" (p. 169). He speaks elsewhere, however, of "the illusion of reprofessionalization" (p. 115) and argues that what really happened under the Nazis was "a creeping 'deprofessionalization,' beginning in 1933, but accelerating after 1939" (p. 172). Yet for even an illusion of reprofessionalization under Hitler, there must have been—as Jarausich in fact shows

there was—significant deprofessionalization *before 1933*.

Several other contradictions or mistakes must be noted. Jarausich indicates that a "reduction of poor-law fees by 10% diminished [lawyers'] income from Prussian legal expenditures from 20.3 to 14.3 million marks between 1930 and 1932," which implies a decline in cases as well as fees; but he notes on the same page that during the Depression "more and more cases had to be transacted under poor-law provisions" (p. 84). The 113 female attorneys practising as of January 1933 become at another point a "couple of hundred distaff attorneys" (pp. 81, 105). Table 3.2, "Professionals in the Reichstag, 1867-1933," treats parties that ceased to exist during the revolution of 1918-19 as continuing throughout the Weimar Republic (p. 70). Not only the head of the Lawyers' Association but also leaders of teachers' and engineers' organizations are cited as calling during the early years of the Third Reich for preservation of a "healthy, self-governing legal profession" (p. 197). In at least one case, district courts are confused with superior or appellate courts (p. 222).

Jarausich's heavy reliance on carefully gathered and analyzed statistical information is designed to avoid the dangers of "impressionistic" sources such as autobiographies. Yet he seems to have been unwilling to depersonalize completely the confrontation between professional ideals and Naziism, for he uses numerous examples to illustrate the points his aggregate data make. Yet most of the individuals mentioned are identified only by name and occupation and are

never heard of again. The index reveals over 150 names referred to only once in the text, excluding the dozens of scholars and political leaders who also make single appearances. Even the experiences of professionals who appear several times, such as Konrad and Bruno Jarausch—to whom the book is dedicated but who are identified as the author's father and uncle, respectively, only in the index—do not come alive for the reader.

Inclusion of a few case studies, especially of professionals who were neither fanatical Nazis nor die-hard opponents, would have done much to enliven a book that puts heavy demands on the reader. Closely printed pages; the use of endnotes rather than footnotes; the inclusion of multiple references in single notes, which makes it difficult to trace the source of specific quotations; excessive reliance on parentheses; a plethora of abbreviations; numerous comparisons in which only one of the items being compared is clearly stated; inconsistent italicization; and unusual use of exclamation points are among the many stylistic features that make Jarausch's valuable findings difficult to digest.

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**Katherine Arnup, Andrée Levesque, and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds.** *Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in*

*the 19th and 20th Centuries.* London and New York: Routledge, 1990. Pp. 322. \$29.95 cloth.

This is a collection of fourteen essays, seven of which have been previously published. The questions which come to mind on seeing the book are: why a British publisher and why in hardcover? With the exception of the first chapter by Jane Lewis, which is an overview of some of the major issues in the field, and Ruth Pierson's piece on Ellen Key and her philosophy of maternalism, all the contributions focus on Canada, and I would assume that a Canadian publisher would have had a better distribution network to offer the authors. And the hardcover aspect simply compounds the accessibility problem by making the cost prohibitive for many readers. The above would not have been of great concern except for the fact that this is a fine collection and it is frustrating to think that its readership will be limited.

The book raises many issues in examining the ideologies surrounding motherhood. Underlying much of the content is the assumption that motherhood is a social construct, the interpretation of which changes over time. Motherhood is also based on a relationship since without a child one cannot be a mother (or at least not in the way in which the authors are defining motherhood). Yet children do not appear very central in any of the essays. In some respects neither do the voices of women, or at least not the women who were the mothers. What emerges from the various ideologies is