

dicates that young jazz enthusiasts were less politically motivated than antipathetic toward the regimentation of life in the Third Reich. Broadly speaking, Kater therefore follows Detlef Peukert in designating jazz a symbol of social and political nonconformism. At the same time he examines its flip-side, namely, the lure and danger of collaboration. Since the regime cynically co-opted leading musicians for propaganda and entertainment purposes, even while persecuting those who indulged a lifestyle associated with jazz, players faced political choices. Membership in Charlie and His Orchestra, an ensemble created to support propaganda broadcasts to enemy countries, meant collaboration in the anti-Semitic and xenophobic agendas of the Nazis. It also offered generous emoluments and protection from service on the eastern front. In a manner which epitomizes the insidious character of the Third Reich, Nazi policy therefore entailed persecution and deprivation for some and supplied relative comfort and immunity for others.

Under these circumstances, the "final victory" of jazz in 1945 is partially belied by the interdependence of jazz and National Socialism. By the author's own admission, jazz vaguely represented freedom and individualism but failed to provide political or moral guidance for its adherents. Since it was politicized by persecution, itself inconsistent, rather than by any coherent vision, its survival testifies not only to the tenacity of the jazz faithful, but also to the failure of National Socialism to achieve totalitarian control, to resolve

its internal contradictions and, above all, to create a viable cultural alternative. Here lies the final ironic twist on Goebbels' denigration of American culture as artificial and derivative by contrast to the authenticity and rootedness of Nazi culture.

Thomas J. Saunders  
University of Victoria

**John T. Saywell.** *"Just Call Me Mitch": The Life of Mitchell F. Hepburn.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. Pp. xii, 637, illus. \$50.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

York University historian John T. Saywell has produced a very long political and personal biography of one of Canada's most colourful politicians. The published product, the latest entry in the Ontario Historical Studies Series on the lives and careers of Ontario Premiers, has been reduced from an even more lengthy manuscript now deposited in the York University Archives. One way or another, Saywell has been working on Hepburn for over 30 years. "This book has been far too long in the writing" (p. xi) by his own admission; the elapsed years, however, have allowed Saywell and his students to examine many sources that have become available comparatively recently.

Set against the vibrant, if often tragic, back-drop of Canadian federal and provincial politics during The Great Depression and World War II,

Hepburn's family history, charismatic personality and political skills, frustrating about-faces, charm and back concession road savvy, devastating and self-destructive lack of personal or political self-discipline are presented and assessed critically in great detail. Hepburn's chronic ill health, incessant drinking, inability to distance himself personally from political issues or the sometimes ill-conceived advice of those close to him, and his purported abuse of power to build his own wealth are dealt with candidly yet with appropriate discretion.

"*Just Call Me Mitch*" is a prodigious work of scholarship. Historians, political scientists, students, and seriously committed political buffs will find it fascinating—a book destined to become the standard reference on Hepburn for decades to come. Less committed, merely interested readers, however, will undoubtedly find highly selective reading a useful tool to satisfy their curiosity. The next work on Hepburn is likely to be theatrical, perhaps a play or a musical or even a motion picture. His entire life and career were a complex but compelling, fast-paced mixture of comedy and tragedy cut short at a time that is the prime of life for many public figures. Mitch energetically embodied the stuff of genuine drama in both the numerous small issues that testify to his sincere advocacy of ordinary people and the larger political concerns which were played out on local, provincial, Dominion, and sometimes international stages. Overall, the story line is full of grand issues and larger-than-life characters engaged passionately in

deception, plots—real and rumoured, manipulation of public opinion, religious passions, patronage, vacillating, loyalties, strange, short-lived political alliances, genuine attempts to improve peoples' lives, and ultimately too many mistakes which made personal, political oblivion inevitable for Mitch. Saywell's extensive research has allowed him to describe Hepburn's memorable and better-forgotten moments vividly.

The biography is organized chronologically beginning with family history, Hepburn's pre-political youth, and his roots as a respected Elgin County farmer. This foundation led to his early federal electoral victory in 1926, his boredom as a backbencher in Ottawa chafing under Mackenzie King's stuffy party discipline, and growing recognition of his audience-winning speaking talent and stumping style. Chronicled *seriatim* are his winning the leadership of the defunct Ontario Liberal Party in 1930, the next four years of relentlessly promoting liberalism tinged with a touch of independent radicalism, Tory-bashing, and electoral victory in 1934, making Mitch the first Liberal Premier of Ontario since 1905.

Then the real fun of governance began. The flamboyant and mercurial Hepburn is front and centre dealing with party organization and finances, northern development, patronage, the complex issues of bringing Ontario Hydro into line, regulating public beer and liquor consumption, the well-meant but ill-fated attempt to provide more equitable funding for Roman Catholic Separate Schools, cabinet squabbles, the well-known problems

created by the depression, and doing battle with the Communist-infiltrated American CIO during the General Motors (Oshawa) strike in 1937, holding court in his suite at Toronto's King Edward Hotel, as well as the deteriorating relationships with the federal government and the crafty, increasingly paranoid Mackenzie King. The blooming of his close personal friendship and alliance with Maurice Duplessis, periodic, rather frequent rumours of Hepburn's wish to retire from public life, his flawed economic views, strange flirtations with the C.C.F. and the Conservatives, consideration of a new national coalition to take over federal leadership, and his vocal, ill-considered break with King over Canada's less-than-total prosecution of the war, to the point of Mitch's resignation as Premier in 1942—all emerge as the issues occurred in their interwoven context. The next three years saw political decline, climaxed eventually by personal defeat at the polls in his home riding in 1945 where too many once fiercely loyal supporters had become disillusioned by the antics of their boyish hero of yesteryear. Mitch went into self-imposed exile on his farm; his health broken by years of hard campaigning and excess, he died in his sleep on January 5, 1953, at the age of 56.

In his final chapter, entitled "'If only...'," Saywell presents a summary assessment of Hepburn's career achievements which is often more generous than one might have expected. In two respects, however, the conclusion is flawed. Hepburn was not "an enigma" (p. 530). As Saywell's extensive research suggests

clearly, Mitch was a complex mix of infuriating paradoxes. He certainly was not a riddle to many who knew him well. Very early on in the story, Mackenzie King assessed Mitchell F. Hepburn with more insight than he probably realized at the time. While Hepburn was being considered for the leadership of the Ontario Liberal Party, "King privately doubted 'if he is sufficiently broad gauged'" (p. 49). In the years that followed, King never wavered privately from his view that Hepburn just didn't have what it took to be a stable political leader, and others joined the chorus. Saywell's last comment betrays a hint of bravado that Hepburn might have enjoyed. "Mitch was not one to look back and wonder if only..." (p. 534). Perhaps, but Hepburn had an intensely sensitive and very human side that no doubt gave him pause to at least wonder "why" after he was defeated in 1945 by people he regarded as his friends and not merely constituents. It is entirely possible that he may have pondered the "if onlys" of his life quite a lot while he spent his last days on the farm "listening to the grass grow" (p. 527).

In a work so richly distinguished by extensive research and attention to detail, one puzzling oversight remains. Saywell thanks many colleagues and former students including Larry Zolf "who might have written this book" (p. 623). Yet no mention is made of the former student, Father Neil McKenty S.J., who did write a ground-breaking political biography entitled *Mitch Hepburn* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967) as a project subsidized modestly by the Centennial

Commission. Now 25 years old and written when many of the sources used by Saywell were unavailable, McKenty's work of 307 pages has stood the test of time very well. On major issues the two books do not differ substantively; their organization is similar; even two photographs are the same in each volume. To my knowledge, Saywell mentions the McKenty book only once, uncritically, in a rather obscure footnote (note 41, p. 616). Father McKenty's eminently readable early work deserves better recognition.

Hugh A. Stevenson  
London, Ontario

**Paul J. Bailey.** *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990. Pp. x, 296. \$49.95.

For those researchers and political activists who came of age during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Mao Zedong's revolution provided one of the most radical and exciting inspirations for a belief that educational reform can provide a basis for remaking society. However, first-hand knowledge of Chinese conditions, and subsequent events, inevitably demonstrated that Chinese developments had more to do with Chinese concerns than with any desire to live

up to the models of Western theorists. A similar pattern is apparent in earlier attempts at reforming Chinese society. By firmly establishing the Chinese roots of educational innovations in China during the early twentieth century, Paul J. Bailey's *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China* makes an important contribution to our understanding of the origins of twentieth-century Chinese reform movements.

*Reform the People* surveys intellectual and official discourse about education in China from the attempts of the self-strengthening movement at the end of the nineteenth century to train military and civil experts in western technology to the work-study movement in France at the close of the First World War. As such, it fills an important gap in Chinese intellectual history. Instead of seeing the intellectual and political foment of the 1919 May Fourth Movement as completely unprecedented, it establishes a continuity between traditional Confucian notions of moral indoctrination through education, and later iconoclasm. Indeed, many of the intellectuals who emerged during the May Fourth era were either educational activists or participants in the fledgling state school system. Mao, for example, first achieved prominence as an advocate of physical education and for many years Lu Xun worked for the Beijing government's Ministry of Education. The list of young participants in the work-study movement reads like a who's who of the future leadership of the People's Republic and of Nationalist China, including the