#### Response to Dianne Newell's Review of Indians at Work

ROLF KNIGHT, Burnaby, BC

ianne Newell's review (BC Studies 117 [Spring 1998]: 75-8) of Indians at Work (1996 edition) finds it to be undocumented and strewn with hidden innuendoes. While it was formerly "provocative" it is now merely "disappointing," primarily because it does not serve to advance current Aboriginal claims, as does her own Tangled Webs of History.

Despite Newell's warning about "sharp opinions" "tucked into the text and endnotes" of the new edition, the core of Indians at Work, which deals with the scope of Native wage labour and commodity production in British Columbia from 1858 to 1930, is fundamentally unchanged from the original. New material was added to the comparative sections about Ontario and the Prairie regions, and some recent work was incorporated into the chapters dealing with the ethno-historical background and the early phases of European settlement of British Columbia. The text is explicit about what the book does and doesn't address; Aboriginal land and resource claims are only one of many topics lest undiscussed. Researchers dealing with these facets of Native history may hold that every study must deal with their specialties to be considered valid. But apparently no one feels that we should consider the general labour and economic context in which Native workers operated.

Professor Newell holds that "Indians at Work is a polemic, a hastily produced synthesis written to counter Fisher's then recently published history of White-Indian relations in British Columbia" (77). This statement is somewhat acerbic. Robin Fisher's Contact and Conflict (1977) was only of minor concern to me, and it is ludicrous to suggest that Indians at Work (1978) could have been churned out in the brief interval between the two publications.

Newell goes on to say that *Indians* at Work "was a cheap product of a struggling local leftist press that possessed limited marketing ability. The pages and binding disintegrated at a touch. The illustrations were a mess. The essential documentation for statements of fact and conclusions was hitand miss" (77). It is quite true that the original edition was utilitarian and not graced by the imprint of a university publishing house, but as for documentation, it contains circa 750 citations drawn from more than 300 sources.

As to the charge that *Indians at Work* has been subtly altered to counter Aboriginal claims, one might think that when Newell discusses my alleged views, given in quotation marks, these would be words I had actually written. But that is not so. When denouncing my final comments she says that I "rant against the 'Native Agenda' of ethnic-

based claims" (78). There is no such phrase as "Native Agenda" in my book. Nor am I "neutral" about the determination of historical truth through the courts. Regardless of who the interested parties are, using judicial processes to establish historical fact is both untrustworthy and utterly repugnant.

I am not concerned with what advocate scholarship holds to be permissible or impermissible. But I do strongly object to one of Newell's personal slurs. She says: "He criticizes or trivializes the work of such scholars as Wavne Suttles, who have been influential in promoting Native people in the courts, and boosts the expertise of researchers such as Duncan Stacy, who work on behalf of the Crown against Native interests" (78). I cite Stacey (among many others) in the chapter on fishing because he is conversant with the multifoliate specifics and past realities of that industry. Possibly I should have taken greater note of Newell's own work in this area.

In regard to Wayne Suttles, any honest reading of Indians at Work will discover that Newell's charge is a calculated untruth, which my frequent citations and appreciative quotes from Suttles's work bear out. Wayne Suttles is someone I have known for forty years, someone whose work I have always taken seriously: he is an admirable scholar, without the keening ambition of some academics. That remains so regardless of whatever position he has taken on current Aboriginal claims.

Indians at Work does not deal with Aboriginal land claims during the period discussed; however, I do have grave concerns about where the current Aboriginal claims and sovereignty processes are taking us. This and other heretical views are expressed in the final three pages of the epilogue and should be taken as much as questions as conclusions. Readers may consider or dismiss them, as they see fit.

#### The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas Vol. 1: North America, parts 1 and 2

Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, Editors

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 564 and 500 pp. Illus., maps. ussioo cloth.

#### By Paige Raibmon, Duke University

his is Volume 1 in what will be the first comprehensive history of Native peoples of the Americas. As the editors recognize, it goes against the current of recent Native American historiography in

more than one sense. First, it attempts to halt the stream of specialized monographs long enough to draw a generalized picture. Finding scholars willing to write sweeping syntheses on a regional or even continental level was more difficult, the editors confess, than finding specialists on Cherokee warfare, Hopi ritual, or seventeenth-century Huron history. Second, this collection of Native North American history was written by Euro-Americans and Euro-Canadians at a time when Native North Americans' assertions of the right to tell their stories themselves are increasingly prominent. Those familiar with political and historiographical debates in British Columbia are well aware of the issues of proprietorship and voice to which the editors allude. The editors anticipate that this book may mark the end of an era when North American Native history could be conceived without Native collaboration. They urge scholars and Native people alike to dissolve the distinction between professional anthropologists and historians on the one hand and Native people on the other, and to inaugurate new degrees of interaction and collegiality between the different groups.

The editors have organized some chapters thematically and others regionally. Although this organizational scheme makes the work less symmetrical, it allows for a balance between continental perspectives and regional detail. Each chapter concludes with a detailed bibliographical essay that scholars will find especially useful.

The first two chapters survey Native historiography: Chapter 1 considers Native American alternatives to Western academic notions of what history is and how to write about it, while Chapter 2 traces Euro-American historiography about Native peoples. Chapters 3 to 5 draw on archaeological data to examine pre-contact developments in Native North America. The chapters cover the emergence of huntergatherers, the development of indig-

enous agriculture, and the formation of the Mississippi Valley chiefdoms. The remaining chapters of the volume (Chapters 4 to 15) deal with Native North America after the arrival of Europeans. Chapter 6 provides a continental overview of contact in the sixteenth century. Chapters 7 to 11 provide regional coverage through to the 1880s: eastern North America in Chapters 7 and 8, the Great Plains in Chapter 9, the Southwest and California in Chapter 10, and the Northwest in Chapter 11. These regional distinctions are collapsed again for Chapter 12, which takes a continental perspective on "the reservation period" from 1880 to 1960. The Northern Interior and the Arctic are treated separately in Chapters 13 and 14, respectively, from the period of earliest contact to modern times. The final chapter optimistically frames a wide range of developments since 1960, from politicaleconomic to literary-artistic, in terms of a "Native American renaissance."

British Columbia is treated within the context of the Northwest Coast and Plateau regions. Dean Snow discusses this region prior to European contact in his chapter on the differentiation of hunter-gatherer cultures. Robin Fisher offers much more detail on British Columbia in his contribution on the Northwest, encompassing Oregon through to Alaska, from the beginning of trade with Europeans to the 1880s. Fisher sketches out the cultural variations across the region and then provides an interpretive overview of the region's history that readers familiar with his other work will recognize readily. His synthesis weaves the diversity of the region's Native cultures together with the impact of Spanish, British, Russian, American, and Canadian colonial powers.

The most valuable aspect of Fisher's chapter is its joint consideration of the Canadian and American Northwests. Fisher's analysis moves back and forth across what is now the international boundary, de-emphasizing differences between the British/Canadian and American Northwests. Looming much larger for him are the distinctions first between the maritime and land-based fur trades and then between the fur trade and settlement periods. National differences are subsumed within this thematic frame. The Northwest exception to Fisher's thematic rule is Russian America (Alaska), which he depicts as standing apart from the processes that characterize the rest of the region. Focusing British Columbia within the same analytic lens as Oregon, Washington, and Alaska is an apt and effective reminder that the meaning of political boundaries is never a given.

Following British Columbia past 1880 requires turning to Frederick

Hoxie's continental-scale chapter on the reservation period. Unlike Fisher, Hoxie's examples from British Columbia suggest that colonialism took a different shape in the Canadian province than in its counterpart American states. Whether this results from increasing national differentiation over time or simply from interpretive differences, the juxtaposition of US and Canadian Indian policies remains suggestive. It encourages further consideration of how national politics and policy played out in specific locales.

Overall, this volume is a promising start to the new Cambridge history series of Native Peoples of the Americas. (Forthcoming volumes will deal with MesoAmerica [Volume 2] and South America [Volume 3].) The series will provide readers accustomed to monographic studies with a valuable "big picture" and should prove an important reference tool for a wide readership.

# Seeing the Ocean Through the Trees: A Conservation-Based Development Strategy for Clayoquot Sound

Vancouver: Ecotrust Canada, 1997. 105 pp. Illus., maps. \$20.00 paper.

#### By Bruce Braun University of California, Berkeley

Perhaps no other region in British Columbia has received as much attention from environmental activists, resource planners, journalists, and scholars as Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island. Indeed, since the early 1980s, when members of Nuu-chah-nulth communities and other local residents first protested the extension of industrial forestry into the region, Clayoquot Sound has come to be staged as emblematic of resource and environmental conflicts in the province as a whole. It should come as no surprise, then, that one of the first efforts to imagine alternative

forms of economic development to industrial forestry should take Clayoquot Sound as its test case. Seeing the Ocean Through the Trees – a volume co-authored by members of an Oregon-based conservation NGO (Ecotrust), together with three BC-based writers (Ian Gill, David Greer, and Katrina Kucey) – does precisely this, wading into the fierce debates over the socio-ecological future of Clayoquot Sound with a strategy for what its authors call "conservation-based development."

What sets this volume apart from the many books and pamphlets produced by other environmental groups is that it represents an important attempt to move beyond a singular "anti-logging" focus to envision a "new economy" that includes the use, rather than simply the preservation, of natural resources. This does not mean that the environmental critique of industrial forestry has been abandoned. On the contrary, in setting out the need for alternatives, the authors reiterate what is now a virtual consensus among Greens and many on the "Lest": that instead of bringing "prosperity" and "stability," industrial forestry – with its singular emphasis on timber extraction has brought only cycles of resource depletion, ecosystem destruction, and declining employment. It is precisely in response to its failures that the authors argue for a "new economy" based on the use of multiple resources (what they call an "economy of abundance") and built on a new definition of "prosperity" (centred on the needs of local communities and the assumption that healthy ecosystems are necessary for healthy economies). Ideally, the authors contend, such a new economy would be regulated through decentralized planning processes and would be more attuned to how the prosperity of local communities is interwoven with the health of the surrounding environment. Just as important, the authors argue, for such an "economy of abundance" to be sustained, local residents and resource planners would necessarily need to attend to the intricate interconnections between terrestrial and marine environments, a set of relations virtually ignored in the existing regime of industrial forestry.

Readers will find these principles sketched in the opening pages of this short volume. How they might work out "on the ground" becomes the subject for the remainder of the volume. Initial chapters provide background, summarizing the ecological character and historical context of the Sound, providing a sketch of Nuu-chah-nulth understandings of the land and its resources, and outlining the major fault lines in contemporary struggles over how development should proceed in the region. Subsequent chapters introduce and evaluate a range of forest- and non-forest-based economic opportunities that might co-exist in the region, from limited value-added wood processing and nature-based tourism to aquaculture and the development of an array of educational institutions.

Together these chapters present an important and long-awaited vision of an economy built on, rather than against, ecological and cultural diversity. It will be read with interest by resource managers, planners, and environmentalists alike. But the volume is notable for other reasons too. Although the volume purports to outline the basis for a "new" economy for Clayoquot Sound, its central focus arguably remains burying the "old." The centrepiece of the volume, for instance, is a series of maps by which the authors seek to determine "the

ultimate effect that implementing the [Clayoquot Sound Scientific] Panel's recommendations will have on the volume of timber that can be removed from the forests of Clayoquot Sound" (29). This merits further attention for it raises a number of important, even troubling, questions. The Scientific Panel - as is widely known - called for forestry to be reorganized around the principle of sustainable ecosystems rather than sustainable yield, and it set out a series of recommendations to this end. Not unexpectedly, the authors accept these without comment - such is the "authority" of science - and through a method called "constraint mapping" set out to identify all the regions in the Sound where forestry should, on the basis of these recommendations, be ruled out. Constraint mapping, in this case, consists of superimposing a series of maps that, individually, introduce additional "filters" (the panel's recommendations) and, thereby, add incrementally to the area "off limits" to forestry. Thus, to an initial map that identifies areas where recommended rates of cut for the past decade have been exceeded, the authors add additional "filters" like "sensitive and highly valued hydroriparian ecosystems," "protection required for unstable slopes," reserves to protect "late successional forest" conditions, "important cultural areas," areas with "high scenic and recreational values," and so on until a final map is achieved that combines all of the above.

Few would deny that the final map provides powerful support to the authors' contention that forestry should play only a very limited role in the region's economy. But along the way, it becomes easy to forget that, despite the great power of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to combine

an immense amount of data into a single, coherent picture, GIS remains a material practice and not a "disinterested" representation of the "truth" of the matter. Haunting the margins of these maps, then, are a number of questions that the realist conventions of the "map" encourage us to overlook: How are the Scientific Panel's recommendations being interpreted? What assumptions are the authors making? Should the panel's recommendations be taken as general principles that inform planning? As laws that govern practice? Or as guidelines open to interpretation? Does it make sense to map, cumulatively, successive recommendations? Or does it make more sense to understand the panel's recommendations within some hierarchy, whereby some are more important than others? My point is not that the panel's recommendations are unimportant but, rather, that bow they are interpreted and combined matters greatly. By rigidly interpreting and applying the panel's recommendations, for instance, the authors conclude that or per cent of the Sound is covered by constraints that rule out forestry. This is a profound conclusion, with enormous consequences for different social groups in the region. Moreover, the authors go on to criticize the panel for not also recommending the protection of all "intact" or "pristine" watersheds and, thus, add as a final "filter" the principle that there should be no development in pristine areas. By adding this last "filter" the authors produce a final map of "constraints" that covers fully 95.8 per cent of the territory and conclude that sustainable forestry in the region could potentially harvest no more than 20,000 cubic metres of timber annually (down from the 600,000 cubic metres first forecast by the province after the release of the Clayoquot Land Use Plan in 1993 and the 900,000 cubic metres that the industry had previously been harvesting).

Such a conclusion – and the maps on which they are based - must be closely examined, in part because Ecotrust's call for a "new economy" turns on the reader accepting them as valid. There are immense political and economic stakes involved in how the recommendations of the Scientific Panel are interpreted and mapped. And it becomes especially clear with the introduction of the last "filter" - preservation of the "pristine" - that such interpretation and mapping can never be an entirely disinterested practice. Indeed, this last case is particularly curious and verges on embodying a serious contradiction: if carefully following the panel's recommendations is assumed to lead to "sustainable ecosystems" - as the authors of the volume themselves accept - then the preservation of "intact" and "pristine" watersheds is entirely unnecessary!

This suggests a wider set of questions that the authors of the volume fail to raise: Whose "interests" are served by this mapping? Which social groups in Clayoquot Sound would benefit most from the "new economy" outlined in the volume? Ultimately, whose vision of "conservation-based development" is this? It has become popular to appeal to "local residents" or to the "community" as the relevant unit of analysis, such that anything that devolves authority to these levels is taken as a "good." This is understandable, given that existing state and corporate planning processes have often marginalized those closest to the landscapes under question. Yet, it is not enough to simply use these terms uncritically. Although at points the authors attend to the many different

social and cultural groups that hold stakes in the future of Clayoquot Sound, too little attention is paid to how the costs of the draconian reductions in timber harvest that they recommend, and the benefits of the alternatives they suggest, may be distributed unevenly. The "local" is never homogenous but involves interwoven dynamics of class, race, and gender. In Clayoquot Sound, just like everywhere else, this is crucial. It is no small irony, for instance, that just when First Nations land claims are being taken seriously in legal and political arenas – and thus just when Native communities stand poised to benefit from industrial forestry - Clayoquot Sound's forests are deemed "out of bounds." Likewise, the "alternatives" suggested - aquaculture, ecotravel, and so on - may open opportunities for women but may not address other structural inequalities in the region around race and class. Indeed, without careful attention to the legacies of colonialism and uneven development in the region, these could exacerbate rather than resolve existing economic and social inequalities. Are Nuuchah-nulth communities the ones "reinventing" the Sound as a series of "kayak routes," as in the map that opens the volume? Certainly, educational institutions would bring muchneeded capital into the region and could do so without degrading local environments. But is it Nuu-chah-nulth communities or, for that matter, former forestry workers who would share the benefits? In Canada, not only education, but *employment* in higher education, remains the privilege of non-Natives rather than Natives, and professionals rather than wage labourers.

Similar questions could – and should – be raised at every turn. None of this diminishes the need to reinvent

"prosperity" in ways that integrate ecology and economy. There is a pressing need for this on Canada's West Coast, and in Seeing the Ocean Through the Trees, Ecotrust shows itself to be at the forefront of those engaged in the task. But as important as this volume is, it also usefully alerts us to the need to remain vigilant about whose "vision" and whose "voices" are heard in these efforts. Like the Ministry of Forest's management plans did only a decade ago, our solutions despite their laudable intentions – may just as problematically "disembed"

the environment from its local relations, such that distant experts are given more authority than those whose lives are most closely linked to the environments in question. Likewise, our language of "community" and the "local" may render us unable to think in terms of the complex "tangles" of difference found in British Columbia's forest communities. Both through what it accomplishes and what it leaves out, Seeing the Ocean Through the Trees provides a valuable forum for debating the future of British Columbia's coastal communities.

#### Echoes of Empire: Victoria and Its Remarkable Buildings Robin Ward

Madeira Park: Harbour, 1996. 362 pp. Illus. \$32.95 paper.

# Exploring Victoria's Architecture Martin Segger and Douglas Franklin 336 pp. Illus., maps. \$31.95 paper.

By Terry Reksten, Victoria

obin Ward is best known for his weekly column in the ►Vancouver Sun, in which he explores Vancouver's urban design. In Echoes of Empire, he turns his attention to Victoria, a city he describes as having the "most cohesive and best preserved" collection of nineteenthcentury architecture in Canada.

Perhaps Ward intended, initially, to produce an architectural history of the city, tracing its different stages of development by examining and discussing surviving buildings. If so, he was diverted by the richness of the material he encountered. "What a past - what people!" he exclaims.

Almost seventy buildings and sites are included, but they are used not as an opportunity to discuss changing styles and tastes but as a framework on which to construct a history of the city. And in spite of wildly shifting timelines and with biographical tidbits revealed over widely spaced sections, Ward has managed to produce an entertaining story of Victoria's past and present.

However, Echoes of Empire disappoints on two levels. Based solely on previously published works (with the possible exception of something vaguely described as "source material at the British Columbia Archives and Records Service and the Vancouver Public Library"), the book contains nothing new. In addition, Echoes of Empire seems to have been written to a deadline so tight that it allowed no time for proofreading, copyediting, or fact-checking. How else to explain the curious insistence on spelling bachelor as "batchelor," even going so far as to alter the original and correct spelling in quoted material. And how else to account for a sentence such as, "[Moody] went down with the steamer Pacific in 1906 off Cape Flattery in 1875."?

Then there are the puzzling inconsistencies. At one point, Amelia Douglas is described as "half-Cree, half-Irish" and then, four pages later, as "part Cree, part Jewish." The historical background included as part of the introduction demonstrates that Ward understands mainland British Columbia's evolution from separate colony in 1858, to union with Vancouver Island in 1866, to province of Canada in 1871. But the text takes liberties with the established chronology, describing the colonies as "united" in 1858 and referring to New Westminster in 1859 as "the provincial capital."

Further evidence of lack of care can be found in the illustrations. The image of the Empress Hotel is described as showing "the original 1908 elevation." That's true enough, but it also shows the additions of 1910 and 1912. According to another caption, the new Parliament Buildings "rose like a mirage of progress and prosperity," but the photograph shows the building

tipped at so alarming an angle it seems about to plunge below the turf of the legislative lawn.

Individually, none of the errors that bob up throughout the text is particularly grave. They suggest a certain breezy lack of attention to detail rather than a serious attempt to challenge the accepted historical record. But their effect is cumulative and, in the end, their presence becomes distracting.

Echoes of Empire does not add significantly to the historiography of British Columbia. But then, there is no suggestion that that was something Robin Ward set out to do. He seems to have had a very good time writing this book, and many readers will find his enthusiasm infectious, especially those readers for whom Echoes of Empire is an introduction to Victoria's history.

Victoria's buildings, both historic and modern, are the focus of Exploring Victoria's Architecture by Martin Segger and Douglas Franklin. The same team (Franklin takes the photographs; Segger writes the text) produced Victoria: A Primer for Regional History in Architecture (New York, American Life Foundation, 1979). While some of the material has been recycled, Exploring Victoria's Architecture is more than a re-working of the earlier book.

The original work described 100 buildings, most of which were built in the nineteenth century; Exploring Victoria's Architecture includes over 500 and also advances the time-frame to the 1990s. The biographical section has been extended from thirty, mostly Victorian-era, architects to include more than sixty, many of whom are still practising today.

An adjunct professor of Art History at the University of Victoria, and re-

cognized as an expert on Victoria's built heritage, Segger can be trusted with the physical description of buildings, and he has taken care to include a glossary in which architectural terms are defined. However, his attention lapses when it come to bothersome factual details. The John Tod house, well known in Victoria as the city's oldest residence, appears as the John "Todd" house, allowing for confusion with the Todd family, whose homes are also included in the volume. The date of Francis Rattenbury's death is given as 1937, two years after his murder. An architect by the name of J.B. Pearse

appears in the biographical section, but the biography belongs to Benjamin William Pearse. An addition to the Empress is dated 1913, but one of the rooms it contains is said to have been added to the hotel a year earlier. Beach Drive appears as both Beach Drive and Marine Drive. And so on.

Exploring Victoria's Architecture has a serious purpose and seems destined to become a standard work of reference, as did Segger and Franklin's earlier book. It is, at its core, a collection of facts, and, like Echoes of Empire, its value is diminished by evidence that so many "facts" are open to question.

## Bridges of Light: Otto Landauer of Leonard Frank Photos, 1945-1980

Cyril E. Leonoff

Vancouver: Talon, 1997. 208 pp. Illus. \$39.95 cloth.

### Working Light: The Wandering Life of Photographer Edith S. Watson

Frances Rooney

Ottawa/Malvern, UK: Carlton University Press and Images Publishing, 1996. 123 pp. Illus. \$35.95 paper.

# By Duff Sutherland Kwantlen University College and Capilano College

Jorking Light and Bridges of Light illustrate and illuminate the superb work of two pioneers of professional photography, Edith Watson and Otto Landauer. Taken together, they provide a visual sense of how the lives and work of Canadians have changed over the twentieth century. In Working Light, Frances Rooney examines the remarkable career of Edith S. Watson,

a New Englander and "new woman" of the turn of the century, who, beginning in the 1890s, undertook many trips over a period of thirty years to photograph the working people of Newfoundland and Canada. Watson and her long-time partner, the writer Victoria Hayward, came to earn their entire income from the photographs and accompanying stories they sold mostly to Canadian "literaries" and

American newspapers and glossy magazines. Watson focused on those "romantic" themes of late nineteenthand early twentieth-century Newfoundland and Canada likely to interest the American and Canadian reading public: the fishing folk of Newfoundland, the farming people of Quebec and Ontario, the new immigrant communities of the Canadian west, and the "vanishing" Native. The highlight of Watson's work on British Columbia in Working Light - which includes several photographs of Native peoples and a few of the Japanese and Chinese communities – is a series of photographs of Doukhobor women and children hard at work at the community village at Brilliant. Indeed, throughout Working Light, Watson's work vividly reminds us not only how much work women and children performed in the early staple industries of Canada and Newfoundland, but how much of it was painful "stooped" labour on fishing flakes and in fields and orchards.

In Bridges of Light, we move forward to the post-Second World War industrial photography of Otto Landauer. In a fascinating introduction, Cyril E. Leonoff describes Landauer's life as a middle-class German Jew in Bavaria who was forced to flee Nazi persecution in the late 1930s. Landauer was eventually able to join relatives in Oregon in 1941 and then moved to Vancouver, where he purchased the famous Leonard Frank Photos after the war. Over the next thirty years, as a meticulous crastsman with good connections, Landauer was hired to photograph many of the major construction and industrial projects that continued the twentiethcentury transformation of Vancouver and the Lower Mainland. In over 300 black-and-white photographs, Bridges of Light provides a remarkable documentation of post-war change. Landauer's photographs reveal not only the heyday of modernism in Vancouver building styles, but also the city's continued rise as the financial and commercial centre of an expanding resource-based economy. Thus, there are photographs of newly minted and distinctive corporate headquarters such as the British Columbia Electric (Hydro) Head Office, the MacMillan Bloedel Building, the Toronto Dominion Tower - and of many other modernist office buildings and main branches of banks. There are also constructionprogress pictures of the infrastructure built to support the post-war boom in Vancouver: the many bridges, the Cleveland Dam, the General Post Office, and the Alberta Wheat Pool Terminal. Landauer's beautifully composed photographs of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, the new Dueck automobile showroom on Kingsway, Volkswagen Beetles being unloaded on the waterfront, service stations, a Super-Valu in Chilliwack, the Riverdale Park subdivision in Richmond, and Christmas decorations at the Park Royal Shopping Centre leave a strong impression of what a Fordist post-war economy offered some lucky British Columbians.

Watson and Landauer continued to photograph the world around them to the end of their lives. In turn, their work has been well documented by Rooney and Leonoff in well-produced books with useful introductions.