Rendon's poem as I read alongside Ellen and Sean and recalled my own memories of the summer of 1990. My grandmothers, aunties, and fellow land defenders *do* have names, and Indigenous women such as the late Mohawk writer Beth Brant worked to right the dominant historical record. By extending a rich Haudenosaunee literary tradition, *When the Pine Needles Fall* is a gift that honours women's roles on the front lines and ensures these stories are not erased.

As I am writing this review thirty-five years after the siege and a decade after the release of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, I want to circle back to Ellen's reminder: "The story should have been about the land and our people, the multigenerational cry for justice, and the centuries of resistance and resilience of our community" (69). *When the Pine Needles Fall: Indigenous Acts of Resistance* offers a road map for a renewed history curriculum that is needed if Canada is to take seriously the task of Reconciliation Education. Ellen and Sean offer a compelling and refreshing take on historical truths that are often silenced or distorted by media representation and dominant narratives. In fact, the entire book can be adapted into an advanced graduate seminar or massive online open course interrogating Canada's violent history of land dispossession through doctrines and dogmas that weaponize religion to justify violence against Indigenous peoples. Today this history is repackaged and the violence on the front lines in contemporary land struggles continues to make way for land theft, resource extraction, economic expansion, and development. *When the Pine Needles Fall* ensures this history and the contemporary lessons of Haudenosaunee land struggles will not be erased. The stories and legacies of Indigenous women on the front lines will circle forward planting seeds of renewal for what we as Haudenosaunee refer to as the coming faces.

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Katharine Rollwagen

The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar: Creating the Youth Market in Mid-Century Canada

UBC Press, 2025. 224 pp.

As Katharine Rollwagen explains in this examination of how consumer culture and a nascent teenage culture intersected from the late 1930s through the 1950s, the "teenager" scarcely existed before the Second World War. While there were other sociocultural factors at play, it is no coincidence that the rise of modern advertising techniques and technologies saw the early stirrings of a youth market. Within a few decades, this reconceptualization of adolescents as teenagers made them a cultural phenomenon of significant market value. Teenagers were "imagined," to use her own evocative term, by the "market players" in advertising and retail (3–4). As the latter's public influence grew with the expansion of corporate retail and mass media, so did

their ability to shape Canadian tastes and buying habits. While acknowledging that this was an American-led trend, and certainly a force in other countries, she rightly argues for the importance of attending to regional and cultural differences. Canadian shoppers may have had spending habits similar to those of their American counterparts, but, despite the "blurring" effects of consumerism, popular culture, and proximity, geographic and historical distinctions remained.

The title is borrowed from a 1957 article in the venerable *Maclean's Magazine*, the "family magazine" of choice in many middle-class and professional households. Its author spoke with a mixture of awe and dismay about the "100 million [dollars] a year or more" that teens were allegedly spending in an environment of fairly consistent prosperity.[2] Writer John Clare tied the age-defined buying surge to their rising sociocultural impact. Teenagers were now a critical market force. The notion of "serious shoppers" correlated to economic maturity, or adulthood. He wondered whether these young people were ready for this responsibility when, ostensibly, most of them still lived with their parents.

Rollwagen contends that the main issue for contemporaries was not the "newness" of teenage spending but its nature and extent, how it was shaped, and how it was becoming a major market influence. Her focus is "the corporate rhetorical and visual strategies of the market actors," defined as those employed by retailers, advertisers and popular magazines (7). She argues that "Not only did the desire to appeal to teenagers as a specific type of consumer alter retailing and advertising practices… but segmentation of the consumer marketplace by age—and related intersecting identities—connected teenage identity more closely to consumer capitalism" than ever before (3). By mid-century, this cultural construction of modern teenagers was integral to the evolution of modern consumer culture. The market players developed selling points about teenagers that were somewhat contradictory, but entirely suited their purposes. Teenagers were old enough to make their own purchasing decisions, but young enough to warrant a slew of "new and improved" products marketed specifically to their age group. Moreover, if they proclaimed themselves "too old" to consult their parents, they were too young (and naïve) to do so without the guidance of retail experts.

The author also discusses how the on-going age-segmentation of the market made life-stage a major sales determinant. By the end of this period, there were newborn and toddler markets, as well as those for school children, teenagers, and adults. As high school became a more common (though not universal) experience, a "co-ed" style based on student likes and needs became "teenage style." But these market segments were not entirely based on age and life stage either. The teenaged consumer was unfailingly depicted as white and middle class. Considering persistent gender ideals, much of the "buy" message was aimed at girls, who were socialized early to look on shopping as a feminine duty but also increasingly as a leisure activity. As department stores and specialty shops proliferated, and every new postwar suburb had

2 John Clare, "The Scramble for the Teenage Dollar," *Macleans Magazine,* September 14, 1957, 18, 19, 112. Cited in Rollwagen, 3.

its commercial plaza, here was a market that "just grew up." In fact, it was a market that was actively being grown.

Like all historians of children and young people, Rollwagen had only records created by the market actors, and not their market. Her archival material consists largely of the relevant records of the T. Eaton Company, the largest and most "iconic" of Canadian retailers, and the most invested in youth marketing. Its catalogue, wildly popular in isolated communities, ostensibly opened the buying experience to all family members. She also examines a number of Canadian-produced women's and family magazines, *Chatelaine*, *Canadian Home Journal* and *Mayfair*, all of which were replete with ads and even columns about clothing, accessories, pastimes, hobbies, etc. relevant to teenagers. The two nationally distributed dailies, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Daily Star*, covered teen issues more consistently by the 1940s, especially local (Toronto) high school news, fashion, "fads," and popular culture. The richest sources are the records concerning Eaton's efforts to establish what are now called "focus groups," the first of which was set up in Toronto in 1939, then in major cities. These were gender-segregated, with a "Junior Council" group for girls and a Junior Executive group for boys; the names confirm contemporary expectations that women would take auxiliary roles while men would lead. Few teenaged voices come through, not only for the usual reasons that their views were seldom recorded and rarely self-produced, but also because the point of keeping such records was to find out what worked — from the corporate angle — to encourage teens to buy. These records have not previously been examined so carefully and critically, and provide some fascinating insights about the workings of age, gender, class, and race in modern consumerism. These teenagers were effectively precursors of today's ubiquitous influencers, already sought out in the 1940s as important marketing channels. I would have liked to see some further consideration of the absences in these records, which she does note but does not pursue. How did specific reinforcement of certain middle-class traits through shopping indicate prejudice and not just acknowledgment of economic challenges preventing some kids from buying? Why did they correlate culture and class with indifference to shopping? What about teens outside the idealized group who came from otherwise affluent families, or who had part-time jobs whose wages were not necessarily turned over to the household budget? If they thought these did not exist, doesn't that suggest the power of embedded settler attitudes and aspirations?

Despite the book's brevity, Rollwagen covers a lot of ground and capably supports her interpretations. Katharine Rollwagen's study contributes much to the still relatively undeveloped historical study of age and generation, especially as these intertwine with ideas about modern Canada and modern consumerism. This is both an admirable scholarly work and also an accessible and readable one.

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