The Uniform of the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority:

Case Study of a Material Artifact.

By

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We acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

This thesis uses the uniform of the Stó:lō First Nation's Lower Fraser Fishing Authority as a cultural, material item to inform and discuss Indigenous-Crown relationships, the history of the community the object belongs to, and the meaning that the object holds for that community. I use the uniform to argue that a single object can hold complex and contradictory meanings that can inform cultural history and relationships. This thesis adds to the historiography of the use of artifacts as an object of study, the history of the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority, and also larger discussions of Indigenous-Crown relationships in Canada.

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Introduction

In 2019, while in a field school offered through the University of Victoria and the University of Saskatchewan History Departments, I engaged in an oral history research project set out for me by the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) which completely changed my life and my perspective of both Indigenous-settler relations, and academic historical research and writing.

I am a non-Indigenous, or *Xwelìtem,*[1] woman living on the unceded lands of the Lekwungen-speaking peoples. I am currently working on my Master of Arts (MA) degree in the Department of History at the University of Victoria. I grew up on Vancouver Island, British Columbia in the Cowichan Valley. Though I was friends with a few of my Indigenous classmates in grade school, I did not learn about their culture or history. I did not become interested in Indigenous culture or Indigenous-settler relations until I was in my 20's. Starting my degree on Stó:lō territory and getting to know the community while doing research pushed this interest into high gear. I was tasked with doing a "biography" of a uniform that had been donated to the SRRMC the previous year. I lived with a local family and got to know and interviewed several community members. Since doing that research, I have maintained strong relationships with several members of the Stó:lō community, and have also become increasingly interested in the uniform and the history it represents.

After becoming enthralled by Stó:lō culture and history, I began focusing my coursework around Indigenous-settler relations. This included doing a broad survey over several months and multiple courses studying the historiography of ethnohistory and Indigenous-settler relations;

[1] *Xwelìtem* is the *Halq'eméylem* word meaning "hungry people." It is often used to refer to non-Indigenous persons.

primarily in Canada, and focused on Stó:lō where possible. This thesis is a reflection of that research and engagement with the uniform from various perspectives.

In this thesis, I will be discussing a uniform worn by members of the Stó:lō fisheries enforcement officers between 1992-1998/99. More particularly, my focus will be on a specific uniform now in the collection of the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre. This uniform, like so many others, carries much historical significance and meaning. It has politics woven into its fabric and as a result can inform us about Indigenous-Crown relationships. The uniform can be *thickly described*[2] from various perspectives; those who wore it, those who interacted with it, those it policed, those it is modeled after and more. Borrowing from Caroline Bennett, this uniform is a *numinous* object; meaning an object that "ha[s] great communal value and can contribute to a better understanding of a group's history while evoking certain emotions within their viewers."[3] The uniform is full of meaning, and I argue, every bit of the meaning exists within the uniform itself and will continue to live on in this historical artefact long after the original wearers have passed. There is more than just the meaning that society has assigned to it as a uniform of enforcement.

My methodology draws from anthropologist Clifford Geertz's notion of "thick description" as well as on microhistory. Thick description is the process whereby the researcher attempts to progressively understand and describe below-the-surface levels of meaning of an artifact or action, metaphorically peeling away surface levels of meaning to better understand its subtleties. Rather than following a single story, many stories that were shared with me by members of the Stó:lō community will be used in order to thickly describe the uniform's history. I will also draw on

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[2] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), chapter one.
[3] Carolyn Bartlett, "Numinous Objects': The Ethnohistorical Complexities of a Residential School Bass Drum," (2009): 3.

microhistory; the historical methodology using something small, namely the uniform, as a window to discuss much larger topics, one of which, in this case, is the broader pattern of Indigenous-Crown relations. To help unpack the meaning of an artifact I will draw both on McClung Fleming's methodology for analyzing material objects and the literature on semiotics. Finally, I will approach the topic through the lens of the "New Ethnohistory" which calls for engagement with the community of study. This project was initially identified and proposed for me to do by the Stó:lō community. It is based on a long-standing, respectful relationship of over 20 years between the Stó:lō community and the Field School, and I am lucky enough to be part of that relationship. Through this relationship with the community, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the symbols and meanings woven into the fabric of the object through the words of those members of the community that were part of creating those symbols and memories.

Throughout this thesis I rely heavily on the interviews I conducted in May 2019 with members of the Stó:lō community. Several of these interviews were with officers of the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority who wore a uniform like the one donated to the SRRMC the previous year. I conducted a total of nine interviews over the period of two months while staying on Stó:lō territory. These interviews are both the inspiration and research base of this thesis.

This thesis will use a cultural material item to inform and discuss Indigenous-Crown relationships, the history of the community the object belongs to, and the meaning that the object holds for that community. This thesis will add to the historiography of the use of artifacts as an object of study, the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority, and will also add to the larger discussions of Indigenous-Crown relationships in Canada. This thesis demonstrates how useful material artifacts are as objects of historical study; to demonstrate how much they can tell us about a culture, about relationships, and history in general. I use the uniform to argue that a single object can hold

complex and contradictory meaning that can help us better understand cultural history and even contemporary relationships. Ultimately, this thesis makes clear that there is no one single meaning communicated by material artifacts. A detailed unpacking of the meanings, thoughts and feelings embedded in this one uniform clearly demonstrates that Indigenous-Crown relationships are deeply complex, and the experiences people have within those relationships are complicated and sometimes contradictory.

Chapter One

The Study of Clothing as an Artifact

The way we dress can say a lot about who we are: our hobbies, our interests, our socio-economic background, our religion, cultural heritage, our beliefs, our values, and so much more. Terence Turner notes that clothing is a universal concern; every society has had, and will continue to have, an invested interest in clothing and their accordance with social norms.[4] Even though clothing has been historically significant to all societies, its use as an object of study has been relatively minimal by both historians and social scientists.[5] This chapter will give a brief background on the use of material artifacts as objects of study. Then it will focus on clothing in general, looking primarily at the usefulness of clothing as an object of study. I will discuss semiotics as the dominant approach used in the study of material objects and will outline some broader models that will also be used in the analysis of clothing in this thesis. Though this chapter will start with the broad category of material objects, it will narrow as we move along in the discussions to clothing, and then more specifically to uniforms.

Background

I am going to start with a brief nod to the concept of the "invention of tradition" as outlined by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. According to Hobsbawm and Ranger, an invented tradition is "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual

[4] Terence Turner, "The Social Skin," *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2, No. 2 (2012): 486.
[5] McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio* 9 (1974): 154.

or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[6] Traditions are often invented when there is a need for nationalism, according to Hobsbawm and Ranger.[7] I will make the usefulness of this point more clear later, but for now I will say that this analysis of tradition is informative when we look at settler-colonial societies such as Canada, that have historically attempted to assimilate colonized people into a different culture. In Canada, for example, the colonizers of this land have historically worked hard to push "Canadian" nationalism with both the settlers and the First Nations people who were already inhabiting the land before the colonizers arrived. Again, the point of this discussion will be made clearer later.

Though clothing is an integral part of every society the academic study of clothing did not really begin until the 1920's. During these early years of interest, scholars focused on the motivations of people wearing different styles of clothing including the preservation of modesty and protection from environmental elements.[8] The psychological and social implications began to gain traction in the 1960's; the asking of how and why there was meaning in clothes.[9] It was not until the 1980's that scholars began to research the ability of clothing to convey cultural meaning.[10] Jane Schneider and Annette Weiner argued in 1986 that cloth traditions were just as important as agricultural production to social theory.[11]

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[6] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* (Cambridge, 1983), 1.
[7] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 5.
[8] Yuet See Monica Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations," *Social Semiotics,* 19 No. 2 (2009): 193.
[9] Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations," 193.
[10] S.B. Kasier, *The Social Psychology of Clothing* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1998), 25. According to Fleming, *culture* can be defined as "that complex whole which includes artifacts, beliefs, art, all the other habits acquired by man as a member of society, and all products of human activity as determined by these habits." See Fleming, *Artifact Study*, 153, footnote 1.
[11] Jane Schneider and Annette Weiner, "Cloth and the Organization of Human Experience," *Current Anthropology* 27, No. 2 (1986): 178.

Clothing refers to any covering for the human body; first and foremost, clothing protects humans from environmental elements and is necessary to human survival.[12] Beyond its role as protection, cloth and clothing have become meaningful in identifying social status and hierarchical social structures, beliefs, gender and more. It is important in religious rituals, at births, deaths, and marriages. It has been used in diplomacy, as currency, and as a source of wealth.[13] Clothing performs so many roles as a cultural medium, it is no wonder that it has also become a useful focus of analysis.

Fashion was defined by Sproles and Burns as a "style of dress that is temporarily adopted by a discernible proportion of members of a social group because that chosen style is perceived to be socially appropriate for the time and situation."[14] It is really within this concept of fashion that we can discern cultural meaning, uncover identity and gain in-depth insight into an individual or group of individuals through the material artifacts worn. Later I will go into more detail about one particular fashion of clothing, namely that of western enforcement uniforms. At this point, however, I will introduce the analytic concept of semiotics and ways in which I will structure my analysis of a particular item of clothing later in this thesis.

Semiotics

[12] G.B Sproles and L.D. Burns, *Changing appearances: Understanding Dress in Contemporary Society,* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1994), 2.
[13] Several authors make these claims. See authors such as Schneider and Weiner, "Cloth and the Organization of Human Experience"; Turner, "The Social Skin"; Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations"; Fleming, "Artifact Study"; Rubinstein, R.P. *Dress Codes*; and more. These are commonly agreed throughout the academic community concerned with cloth and clothing as objects of study.
[14] Sproles and Burns, *Changing Appearance,* 2.

Semiotics is one of the dominant approaches used in the study of communication and particularly in the study of language. According to Frank Palmer, quoted in Owyong, semiotics is "the theory of signs, or of signaling systems."[15] A sign being anything that communicates meaning, and a signal being a cognitive link between things.[16] For example, language is often seen as the most obvious sign, as language is necessarily used to communicate meaning from one being to another. A signal can be as simple as the link between the colour red and action of stopping. Meaning is communicated properly when both parties understand the sign or signal to have the same meaning; for example, the rules of driving, the signals provided at stop lights successfully convey meaning when all individuals who participate in the system understand and accept the same meaning from the signals - i.e., red means stop, and green means go.

Semiotic systems, then, can differ from place to place and between groups of people. For example, the meaning derived from the signal of making a fist with only the thumb pointing out (a thumbs-up) differs. In North America it means something is good or could indicate a person looking for a ride, while in some Islamic countries this gesture is obscene and indicates contempt. Meaning of signs and signals is generally learned through experience, and therefore depends on one's culture.

There is a third part to semiotics: symbols. "A symbol is a more complex and abstract sign that conveys information about values, beliefs and emotions."[17] There is certainly overlap between simple signs, signals, and symbols. I argue that while signs and signals can be verbal and nonverbal, symbols tend to be nonverbal. Also, what might be a symbol to one person, may be a sign to another given a difference in context.

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[15] Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations," 192.
[16] Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing,* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 9.
[17] Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms,* 9.

While language tends to be the primary focus of semiotics material artifacts, and clothing in particular, also clearly fit into this theory of communication. Humans often actively choose what clothes and fashions to cover their body with, with the intention of conveying certain meanings; therefore, scholars can use clothing as an object of study to uncover said meanings, and ultimately, say something about the identity of the individual and culture they are part of.

According to Daniel Miller, however, semiotics may not be the best foundation for such investigation. Miller argues that if we accept semiotics, then we accept that material objects, particularly clothing, are signs and symbols that *represent* us.[18] In Miller's own words: "the problem with semiotics is that it makes the clothes into mere servants whose task it is to represent…"[19] with no meaning in and of themselves. Miller argues that the origin of a semiotic approach rests on the ontological belief of the deep self; the deep self being the idea that our soul or true self exists somewhere deep inside our bodies.[20] If one has the ontological belief of the deep self, then they may accept the semiotic theory that clothing is a sign or symbol that represents the deep self. Miller argues, however, that there is no such thing as a *deep self*. He argues that when a person is cut open, a soul or deep self is not revealed, and therefore, this ontological theory is nonsense.[21]

Now, this opposition to semiotics, while perhaps intriguing, has some problems of its own. First, without getting too deep into the philosophical and metaphysical arguments of "the self," when people hold the ontological belief that there is a soul or a true self, it is not a belief that suggests this soul is physical, but rather, that the soul exists in a nonphysical and abstract sense: the soul is a part of the individual, but not a physical part. So, just because a soul, or true self,

[18] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press 2010), 12.
[19] Miller, *Stuff*, 13.
[20] Miller, *Stuff*, 16.
[21] Miller, *Stuff*, 17.

cannot be physically found inside a human body does not mean we should reject the notion that it exists and therefore the rejection of semiotics based on this argument loses strength.[22] Again, without turning this discussion into a full-blown philosophical debate, I point this out merely to suggest that Miller's premise for rejecting semiotics may not be as well reasoned as it first appears.

Moreover, I would argue that even if clothing acts as a representation and not as something with meaning in and of itself, this does not disqualify clothing as an object of study. Whether an item of clothing holds meaning in itself, or merely represents meaning, it is clear that clothing items are still meaning-full. The distinction between material items having meaning in themselves and being symbols or representation of meaning, to me, is a distinction with little to no consequence on how we use those items to discern meaning.

Finally, if we did accept Miller, it may result in the consequence that clothing loses some of its usefulness as an object of study. If clothing is not a representation of something, then we end up with the consequence that we cannot talk about clothing as misrepresenting. By this, I mean, for example, if clothing is actually who we are, then a person wearing a prisoner uniform is just that, a prisoner. But on Halloween, people purposely mis-represent who they are by wearing costumes, like a prisoner uniform. When the latter occurs, we do not believe that that person is actually a prisoner but representing a prisoner; the outfit symbolizes a prisoner. Unfortunately, Miller's argument does not consider these acts of intentional misrepresentation, not to mention acts of *unintentional* misrepresentation.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will take a semiotic approach to talk about clothing. I recognize that this may position all arguments into certain ontological beliefs that may be

[22] I will not go into detail about these arguments or how they are constructed or justified. If you are interested in these types of debates, I encourage the reading of Plato's *Phaedo* and *Republic,* Aristotle's *De Anima*, and other works by Thomas Aquinas, Immanuel Kant, and Rene Descartes. This particular school of thought on the concept of the soul is that of dualism.

philosophically contentious.[23] However, I believe that accepting semiotics, and the concept that clothing and material objects are signs and symbols that represent, allows for a more open and interesting discussion of meaning, be it intentional, unintentional, from the standpoint of the viewer or the standpoint of the wearer.

A.P Baldry and P.J Thibault coined the "meaning-compression principle" which concerns the "effect of the interaction of smaller-scale semiotic resources on higher-scale levels where meaning is observed and interpreted."[24] When related to the communication of clothing, this means that more is being communicated than people may be aware.[25] In other words, when a person is wearing, say, a soccer uniform, a viewer may be immediately and consciously aware of the meaning being conveyed that that person is a soccer player. However, the viewer may be unaware of the other potential meanings being conveyed by the soccer clothes, such as the team they play for, the position they play, the construction of the uniform itself, the history of the league and sport itself, and so much more.

Studying Material Objects

In the 1980's Roland Barthes proposed a three-pronged system for studying the semiotics of clothing. According to Barthes, for every piece of clothing there exists three interrelated, but distinct structures: technological, iconic, and verbal structures.[26] The technological structure is characterized as the physical item of clothing itself, the iconic structure as the pictorial depiction,

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[23] Ontological beliefs such as mind-body dualism. See footnote 21 for more information of these debates.
[24] A.P. Baldry and P.J. Thibault, *Multimodal transcription and text analysis: A multimedia toolkit and coursebook* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2006), 19.
[25] Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations," 195.
[26] Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang 1983), 5.

and the verbal structure as the description using words. Clothing can communicate meaning not simply through the physical or technological structure, but also through their iconic and verbal structures.[27]

In the 1990's, Michael O'Toole also proposed a three-pronged system for studying the semiotics of clothing. In this system, each piece of clothing has three key metafunctions: the experimental function, the interpersonal function, and the textual function.[28] The experimental function is described as conveying information about reality, the interpersonal function as engaging attention and interest, and the textual function as structuring "these into coherent textual form."[29]

More recently, Owyong has combined Barthes and O'Toole's theories and proposed three categories of their own: representational, modal, and compositional. Representational describing things such as the functionality of the item, modal describing things such as the colour, the fit, design and so forth, and compositional describing the material, the complexity, the texture and so on.[30]

Though defined slightly differently by each author, all three authors essentially agree that clothing has a physical aspect that exists in reality, it has a visible aspect or a graphic representational aspect that draws attention and is able to be described through text and language. I point out these authors to show the continuity through recent decades of proposed semiotic systems of clothing.

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[27] Barthes, *The Fashion System,* 5; Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations," 194.
[28] Michael O'Toole, *The Language of Displayed Art* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 5.
[29] O'Toole, *The Language of Displayed Art,* 5.
[30] Owyong, "Clothing Semiotics and the Social Construction of Power Relations," 197.

Although these are all useful, I also argue that there is more meaning that can be conveyed than these three general categories can encapsulate. To expand on this, I will focus on the work of McClung Fleming. Fleming published an article called "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," in 1974, and although older than the other authors mentioned in this and previous sections, Fleming's model allows more ways in which we can analyze clothing and pull meaning from its fibers.

Fleming argues that all material artifacts have five basic properties: history, material, construction, design, and function.[31] For each of these five properties, he suggests that four separate operations be performed: identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation.[32] I have included below a copy of his proposed model as a visual aid:

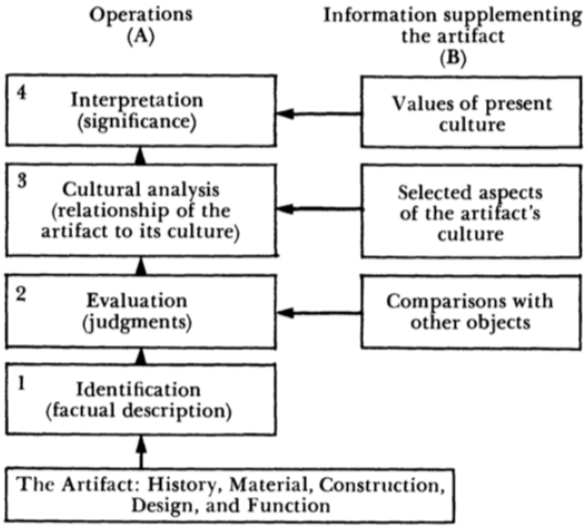

FIG. 1. Diagram of a model of artifact study.

Figure 1: Fleming, "Artifact Study," 154.

The five properties that artifacts have according to this model are fairly straightforward, but to avoid any confusion I will give a brief description of them here. The history of an artifact

[31] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 156.
[32] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 156-157.

includes information such as when and where the artifact was made, who made it, why it was made, who owned it and so on. The material is simply what the artifact is made of while the construction of the artifact includes the workmanship and techniques of creation and how the physical parts are organized. The design is concerned with the structure, form or style of the artifact and the function refers to the uses of the artifact including the intended and unintended functions.[33]

Fleming's operation of identification includes a description of the properties, including the biographical details about the maker and the owner, the place of origin, the history of its function and so on. This operation, according to Fleming, also includes the authentication of the artifact.[34] The evaluation of the artifact's properties encompasses the judgements made about the object. One may conduct such an evaluation through comparison to similar objects, or to different objects that were made by the same craftsman. Fleming suggests that some of these evaluations may include the appropriateness of the material for the function, the skill of the craftsman, the rarity of the artifact, and so on.[35]

The third operation Fleming suggests is cultural analysis. For Fleming, this means examining the interrelationships between the artifact and its contemporary culture. This may include the function of the artifact within its own culture and which socio-economic group the artifact was typically used or owned by. The cultural analysis overlaps with the function of the artifact; both are interested in the intended and unintended uses of the object.[36]

Finally, each of the five properties must go through the operation of interpretation. Interpretation being the meaning and significance of the object in relation to its culture. This could include information about the values and beliefs of the contemporary culture in question learned

[33] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 156.
[34] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 156-157.
[35] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 156-157.
[36] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 157-158.

through the artifact. These meanings may be self-evident or may come through *synthetic intuition*; Fleming uses this term to encapsulate significance or meaning that is gained through imagination that is beyond the physical object itself.[37] In other words, the researcher may be able to assume certain values or beliefs of a culture based on the properties of the item and the operations performed, usually combined with other contextual knowledge of that culture.

This proposed model for artifact study is certainly admiral and thorough. However, it also assumes that the researcher has the time and space to explore every single aspect of an artifact to gain an understanding of the artifact and properly analyze it. Unfortunately, this may not be pragmatic for many researchers. Rather, researchers may be able to focus on one or two of the artifact properties in order to focus on fulfilling all of the operations to a satisfactory extent or may be able to focus on all of the properties but only one or two of the operations. I argue that engaging with one or two aspects of this model deeply can be just as valuable, if not more valuable, than scratching the surface of each category.

In this thesis, I omit the property of construction from my analysis of a clothing item. Although the construction of my chosen item may certainly be interesting and has the potential to unlock much information about the objects contemporary culture, it is not necessary for the overall task of this thesis, and given the restrictions of time and space, would unfortunately take away from the depth of the rest of the analysis which I have placed a higher importance on.[38]

The reader will see the properties of history, design, and function and the operations of identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation in this thesis. Moreover, the analysis

[37] Fleming, "Artifact Study," 156, 161.

[38] The so-called properties and operations that I focus on in this thesis are a product of oral interviews I conducted with members of the Stó:lō community. I primarily focus on the cultural importance of the object of study in this thesis as that was what my informants focused on in their interviews.

and interpretation the reader can expect will not be limited to a single culture, but to two distinct cultures: Stó:lō culture, British/Euro-American culture, and the relationship between the two.

Although I do not focus on all the examined categories offered in this thesis, they are all clearly outlined to highlight the other avenues of study that are possible for all material objects. More specifically, to highlight the amount of valuable study that, although cannot be done within the confines of this project, ought to be undertaken in the future regarding the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority uniform. This uniform can and should be analyzed further using these other suggested categories to fully explore its history and meaning.

Chapter Two

Uniforms: History and Psychology

The process of "uniformization" according to Jude Fokwang is "the ways in which uniforms have become ubiquitous not just as a cultural trend, but, more importantly, as social artefacts that lend themselves to a variety of interpretive schemes."[39] Uniforms are a particularly interesting item of clothing because they convey meaning that not only applies to an individual, but to a collective. As well, they apply meaning to the individual about the collective, whether the wearer means to convey the collective meaning or not. Simply by putting on a uniform, by choice or otherwise, certain values and beliefs are conveyed.

All material artifacts shed light on the historical values of a given time based on how that item is treated. For example, Lizou Fenyvesi wrote an article in 2006 discussing the history and meaning behind the striped uniforms worn by prisoners of Nazi concentration camps. Fenyvesi reminds the reader that although these uniforms are taken as important cultural artifacts now, they have not always been. We are reminded that the Holocaust did not pique public interest immediately after the war, and so many of these uniforms were cleaned and patched rather than preserved as they were found.[40] It really was not until the 1980's that interest in the Holocaust began to rise and the uniforms started to be treated as historical artifacts worth studying. So, the current condition of these available uniforms does not simply reflect the wartime history, but also the attitudes toward the Holocaust in the postwar period.[41]

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[39] Jude Fokwang, "Fabrics of Identity: Uniforms, Gender, and Associations in the Cameroon Grassfields," *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 85, No. 4 (2015): 679.
[40] Lizou Fenyvesi, "Reading Prisoner Uniforms: The Concentration Camp Prisoner Uniform as a Primary Source for Historical Research," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* (2006): 355.
[41] Fenyvesi, "Reading Prisoner Uniforms," 355.

What is interesting about this analysis is its reminder to the reader that people living do not always consider the fact that what is occurring for them 'at the moment,' immediately becomes history and may one day be of interest to historians and other researchers. Naturally, immediately after the war, the Holocaust was not an area of historical research, because it was not yet considered *historical*; it was something that people were still living with. In the same regard, enforcement uniforms are particularly interesting because of their continued use over time and across cultures—it is unclear when a uniform becomes an historical artifact because they regularly undergo minor changes in style but are not generally outright retired from use.

As I move forward with my own analysis of a particular uniform in later chapters, this point becomes evident as the interviewees were very much part of the history that is being discussed. I remember being asked why my questions about a uniform that was only worn three decades earlier were important, and had people question me when I called the uniform a historical object. Again, what this highlights is that the object can inform about the period it is from, and can also help to reflect on the post-period attitudes as well.

History of military and enforcement uniforms

Standardized uniforms have been used for centuries in Western/European cultures, particularly for military and other enforcement organizations. Prior to their implementation certain *dress codes* were followed by military forces; primarily, in order to distinguish who were friends and who were enemies while in battle.[42] For example, though military men might all have different styles of clothing on, the dress code would require that all British soldiers wear red, while all

[42] Kjeld Galster & Marie-Louise Nosch, "Textile History and the Military: An Introduction," *Textile History* 41, No. 1 (2010): 2.

French soldiers wore blue, in order to distinguish on the battlefield which soldiers belonged to which country.

It wasn't until the 18th century that standardized uniforms were widely introduced thanks to the capabilities of industrialization and modern mass production.[43] Prior to the introduction of mass production the practicality of having a standardized uniform simply did not exist. Once mass production was introduced, however, not only was the use of a standardized uniform easy to attain, but the cost was also significantly reduced. Moreover, the use of a standardized uniform represented a cohesion of military power and authority on behalf of the monarchs.[44]

Although the 18th century saw the introduction of standardized military uniforms, it was not until the 19th century that uniforms became a particularly important part of public life.[45] Moving into the 19th century, the world really begins to see an increase in colonial empires and the solidification of colonial spheres of influence by European powers. Standardized military uniforms were useful for distinguishing military groups that displayed discipline, power, and authority over others.[46] Moreover, the use of uniforms for the military, and also the police starting during the 19th century, reinforced feelings of nationalism, state control, and stable centralized governments. Military men in standardized uniforms became important to the rampant nation-building of this period and maintaining control over populations.[47]

It is also in the 19th century that we see the first (and subsequent) adoption of a standardized uniform by a modern police force. In 1829 the London Metropolitan Police became

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[43] Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression* (Berg: Oxford, 2005), 26.
[44] Craik, *Uniforms Exposed,* 26.
[45] Tynan and Godson, *Uniform,* 1.
[46] See discussions by Tynan and Godson, *Uniform*, introduction.
[47] See Tynan and Godson, *Uniform*; and Craik, *Uniforms Exposed.*

the first to develop and wear a standardized uniform.[48] These paramilitary-style uniforms were dark blue, according to Richard Johnson, in order to be easily distinguished by the public from the uniforms worn by the British military (red and white).[49] Jane Tynan and Lisa Godson argue that the adoption of standardized and distinguishable uniforms by police during the 19th century was key to enable state surveillance as Western governments placed increasing importance on regulation: "uniform [is] a category of dress that has enabled distinct forms of social organization."[50]

The London Metropolitan Police set the stage for the adoption of standardized police uniforms world-wide. Within only a couple of decades, New York had established its own police force, and adopted a dark blue paramilitary style uniform modelled from the London Metropolitan Police.[51] This was soon standard practice in America as cities like Philadelphia, Boston, and Detroit quickly followed suit.[52]

Military uniforms have gone through a series of changes. Prior to the Napoleonic wars, military dress was largely a spectacle: uniforms were concerned with being visible, and oftentimes, flashy.[53] The British army wore a bright red uniform until the late 19th century, when they were worn for the last time in 1882, in Egypt.[54] However, as the world modernized, so did the style of warfare, and as such, military uniforms needed to adjust in accordance. Military uniforms have become plainer, many countries adopting khaki and camouflage, and prioritizing invisibility,

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[48] Richard Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 70 No. 3 (2001): 27.
[49] Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," 27.
[50] Jane Tynan and Lisa Godson, *Uniform: Clothing and Discipline in the Modern World* (Bloomsbury Visual Arts: Great Britain, 2019), 2, 6.
[51] The New York City Police were established in 1845 and adopted the dark blue uniform in 1853. Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," 27.
[52] Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," 27.
[53] Tynan and Godson, *Uniform,* 10.
[54] Galster and Nosch, "Textile History and the Military," 3.

comfort and temperature regulation over the spectacle aesthetic often creating separate "dress" uniforms for use in spectacles.[55]

Police uniforms have changed in style over the years to reflect the changes in military uniforms, but the colour of police uniforms has largely remained. While some police forces have adopted khaki uniforms for similar reasons as the military, like temperature control in deserts, most western police forces continue using darker colours: black, green, and particularly dark blue.[56] For example, and particularly relevant to the uniform in question later in this thesis, is the uniform worn by British Columbia police. The most recent *Police Act* in British Columbia was put into effect in 1976, and the required uniform is clearly laid out. In British Columbia, police officers are required to wear a uniform that is dark navy blue in colour. This includes local police established by cities, as well as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in BC.

Part of the reason for the colour continuity, perhaps, is the lack of change in the policing environment. By this I mean, given that military dress has largely transformed due to the changes in the type of warfare (moving from horses and swords to trench and guerilla warfare), the lack of police uniform change may be in part due to the fact that there has been little to no change in the type of police work. Police in Western societies regulate civilian behavior in accordance with the laws set out by the government. To do so, police uniforms remain distinguishable through their colour and style, rather than attempting to camouflage into their natural environment like military uniforms. In the next section, I will address some of the psychological reasons that also may explain the continuity of colour in western police force uniforms.

The Psychology of (Police) Uniforms

[55] Galster and Nosch, "Textile History and the Military," 2.
[56] Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," 28.

Uniforms are used in a variety of settings today—including work, school, and play. As previously mentioned, when one puts on certain clothing, it communicates something to the observer. Uniforms, as mentioned above, are interesting as they hold collective meaning, not just individual meaning.

Philosopher Michael Foucault has argued that the body, particularly the surface of the body, is significant for the *disciplinary* society.[57] At the same time, Turner argues "that the surface of the body seems everywhere to be treated, not only as the boundary of the individual as a biological and psychological entity but as the frontier of the social self as well."[58] Combining these two notions, it is clear that clothing, and uniforms in particular, are key in both the creation and maintenance of a disciplinary society. In other words, uniforms help to bring order to societies, to enforce rules and regulations put in place by the very person or group who introduced the uniform. In this section, I will explore some of the psychological theory, combined with some of the aforementioned history of uniforms that helps to explain how and why they are useful governments and centralized authorities in the establishment and maintenance of societies.

The claims referred to and made in this section are largely based on psychological studies done in the United States of America. The parallels made to the Canadian context will apply predominantly to the white settler populations and are much less likely to be the sentiments found in Indigenous and other minority communities in North America.

Richard Johnson summarized several psychological surveys and studies regarding the psychological impact of police uniforms from the 1970's through the early 2000's in his paper "Police Uniform Color and Citizen Impression Formation." He found a common theme that

[57] Tynan and Godson, *Uniform*, 12.
[58] Turner, "The Social Skin," 486.

"police officer's uniform conveyed impressions of safety, competence, reliability, and intelligence."[59] He notes one particular example where a research assistant wearing a police style uniform was giving commands to strangers on the street. The study showed that even though the research assistant did not have a badge or a gun, because they were simply dressed in a similar style of clothing as police officers, people followed their commands.[60] Interestingly, Joseph highlights the use of militaristic-style uniforms being adopted by the Salvation Army, suggesting that they did not adopt these because they were a militaristic group, but because of the "store of goodwill towards the army and its symbolism."[61] In other words, the military is generally thought highly of, and therefore using a uniform of similar style would make the Salvation Army highly thought of.

As highlighted previously, clothing is a system of signs, and upon seeing certain types of clothing, certain types of meaning are communicated. To convey impressions such as reliability, safety and others, the uniform must first have a history or tradition of being associated with these feelings. It should be clear from previous discussions that since the introduction of standardized military and police uniforms, one of the key components of those uniforms was their association with law and order. These uniforms encouraged and reflected desires for nationalism, personal safety, and a hierarchical society, whereby police acted on the behalf of the nation's leadership establishing their control over the population. Uniformed police established a visible image of the law and safety.[62]

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[59] Richard Johnson, "Police Uniform Colour and Citizen Impression Formation," *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 20, No. 2 (2005): 58.
[60] Johnson, "Police Uniform Colour and Citizen Impression Formation," 58.
[61] Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, 33.
[62] Tynan and Godson, *Uniform*, 14.

Uniforms are intended to regulate the expected behavior of the men and women who are part of the policed society. Rules and regulations, and therefore behaviors, are learned and accepted through the use of punishments enforced by the uniformed officers. For example, the use of speeding tickets is intended to result in drivers abiding by the speed limit. Of course, people still receive speeding tickets, so it is clear that the acceptance of laws does not always result in the behavior of abiding by them. People tend to bend or break the rules when it is perceived that there is little or no risk in doing so, i.e., when a uniformed officer is not in the immediate vicinity. When a uniformed police officer is visible, behavior tends to be more regulated as we see when people speeding see a police car ahead and hit their brakes to slow down to the speed limit to avoid getting a ticket.

But the uniforms did not just discipline the civilian population, they also discipline the wearer. Often, uniforms are introduced to regulate the behavior of the wearer,[63] and this is true of police uniforms. Police uniforms convey values of law and order, beliefs in a policed society, social norms and more. Those wearing the uniform are expected to convey these while in uniform. When a uniformed officer does not abide by the values established by the agency, they stand to be reprimanded; the uniform acts as a way for the agency to regulate the behaviors of the wearers. The uniform, in that sense, creates uniformity and communicates this uniformity to the world.

So, ultimately, the reason many people feel safe around uniformed officers, see uniformed officers as conveying messages of reliability, uniformity, a hierarchical structure as well as law and order, is through the association of these cultural values and beliefs continuously over time with the police style uniform. So far, this discussion has been concerned with the well-known

[63] Craik, *Uniforms Exposed,* 13. It is worth noting that in many states the behavior expected by police organizations may include corruption, and condone violence against civilians.

paramilitary-style of the uniform worn by police. I will now turn to a brief discussion regarding the colour of police uniforms and how the colour can change the messages being conveyed.

One of Johnson's main concerns is the impact that colour has on the impression of police uniforms. Johnson looks at four colour combinations used in various places in America to determine which were considered the most favourable in the eyes of civilians. The combinations tested were light blue shirt with navy pants, a white shirt with black pants, a black shirt with black pants, and a full khaki uniform. The least friendly uniform, according to this study, is one that is all black, while the light blue shirt with navy pants came out as being the most favourable overall.[64]

Colour has been examined around the world and it has been found that certain colours tend to elicit certain feelings and are associated with certain moods. Red, for example, is typically associated with excitement and stimulation, while black is often associated with evil.[65] Blue, on the other hand, has been most closely associated with security and comfort.[66] It is unclear which came first, the associations of security and comfort with the colour blue thus leading to the London Metropolitan Police having a blue uniform or vice versa (a classic conundrum of the chicken and the egg), but it is clear that there is a longstanding association, and therefore, it is completely understandable that so many police agencies continue to use blue uniforms over other colours.

Up to this point, we have gone through the many positive emotions and meanings that are communicated through police uniforms. Now, let's discuss the negative meanings that may be conveyed. In a hierarchical system, where there are feelings of safety and positivity for some, there are necessarily also feelings of fear and negativity for others. Joseph reminds us that, "as with any symbol, the perception of the uniform depends upon its audience."[67] As previously mentioned,

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[64] Johnson, "Police Uniform Color and Citizen Impression Formation," 60.
[65] Johnson, "Police Uniform Color and Citizen Impression Formation," 59.
[66] Johnson, "Police Uniform Color and Citizen Impression Formation," 59.
[67] Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms,* 66.

uniforms are part of the colonial legacy. Uniforms, police, military and otherwise, were, and continue to be used in order to establish authority over colonized peoples.[68] Therefore, people who have experienced colonization firsthand, or live with a legacy of colonized peoples, may not view one of these western police uniforms as particularly comforting, but are likely to view it with animosity, disdain, and even fear.

Many minority groups are also likely to associate police uniforms with negative thoughts, feelings and memories. For example, African American people have lived through high rates of police brutality in the United States of America for hundreds of years and continue to be subjected by the police today; including several high-profile cases of unarmed African Americans being killed by the police in 2020. Therefore, a police uniform is more likely to convey meanings of hate, fear, and extreme force and control to an African American person than any positive connotations. Joseph even notes that many African American police officers are not treated like human beings "in their own communities by their neighbours."[69] The negative relationship between a historically white police force and the African American communities in America runs so deep that many African Americans view the wearing of the uniform as being a traitorous act.

Any person may experience negative feelings toward the police and associate the police uniform with fear and other negative emotions. Craik says that although uniforms are meant to symbolize discipline and obedience by those to wear them (through the exhibiting of these behaviors), they may also create feelings of power and control, and may lead to licentious behavior, like the use of excessive force, rape, torture and murder.[70] Johnson notes that the background of a person may alter the emotions a person may feel at the sight of a police uniform.[71] Moreover, the

[68] Tynan and Godson, *Uniform*, 12.
[69] Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms,* 66.
[70] Craik, *Uniforms Exposed,* 39.
[71] Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," 28.

experiences people have with uniformed people (not necessarily police, but any uniformed person), or the stories they have heard may impact the messages received from a police uniform.

Conclusion

All clothing conveys meaning. Police uniforms, through a history of association with certain values and beliefs are intended to convey certain messages relating to social hierarchy, law and order, social obedience, safety, and reliability. However, it is clear that the same uniform may send messages of fear, anger, colonialism and other negative associations. Ultimately, the messages we receive from uniforms are highly dependent on our backgrounds and experiences. It can certainly be the case that the messages a uniformed officer is intending to convey are not the same messages being received.

Moving forward in this thesis, I will continue to explore the relationship between uniforms, the uniform wearer, and the uniform observer. From this point forward, the focus will largely be on the relationship between a colonized people, namely the Stó:lō, and a western, paramilitary, police style uniform. In the next chapter, I will introduce the Stó:lō, give a brief overview of Stó:lō history, including a more detailed history of their relationship to cloth and clothing, and then introduce the particular uniform that will be the focus of chapter five.

Chapter Three

The People of the Lower Fraser River

Up to this point, the focus of this thesis has been on general history and psychology of clothing and enforcement uniforms. We now turn a brief history of the Stó:lō people to provide context and background for the later analysis of the uniform.

The term Stó:lō originates from the *halq'eméylem* word *Sta'lu* meaning "river" so the Stó:lō are known as the *River People*.[72] The Stó:lō are composed of, what are now, 24 individual bands located in the Lower Fraser Valley. They are part of the larger cultural group on the Northwest Coast known as the *Coast Salish*. Though the *Salish* peoples traditionally spoke 23 different languages, these languages were considered similar enough by outsiders to classify them as a single group.[73] The various bands of Stó:lō were also linguistically and culturally distinct, according to Wilson Duff.[74] The historical distinctions between First Nations are certainly important to take note of. That being said, in this and following chapters I will be using the name *Stó:lō* to refer collectively to the aforementioned 24 bands whose unceded territory is the Lower Fraser River area of the Northwest Coast. I will do this for a few reasons: First, several of the customs and traditions that were practiced by these First Nations groups were, and continue to be, similar in many respects. Although some of the particulars may differ between bands, the overall aspects of culture focused on in this thesis, namely of clothing, are generally the same.

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[72] Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia,* (Victoria, B.C: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1952), 11.
[73] Paula Gustafson, *Salish Weaving,* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1980), 17-18.
[74] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia,* 12. According to Duff, both the language and the culture change from band to band as you move along the river.

Second, after colonial settlement of these areas and the implementation of several assimilationist policies by the Crown government, much of the culture and language of these groups was suppressed. In more recent years the Stó:lō have been working to reawaken their traditional cultures and languages, they are also working to assert their traditional title and rights. In doing so, some of the former distinctions between the groups are of less priority and the focus is more on the collective establishment and assertion of culture and rights as the collective provides a stronger force than the individual bands.

Finally, The Stó:lō, in particular, have come together as a political entity in multiple capacities over the last several decades.[75] Currently, the Stó:lō have two political groups, *Stó:lō Nation*, and *Stó:lō Tribal Council*. Although the Stó:lō have not always worked as a collective whole, there have been periods in recent decades where these two groups have joined together under a single name, and other times where they have remained separate but worked together in other capacities. Ultimately, the First Nations of the Lower Fraser River now identify collectively as Stó:lō, and therefore I will use this collective identification for the purpose of this study.

Stó:lō History: Origins

According to anthropological findings, there is evidence that people have inhabited the Lower Fraser Valley for roughly 9,000 - 10,000 years.[76] Linguistic evidence suggests a migration of people south along the Fraser River as the origin of the groups now known as the Coast Salish,

[75] For more information on the Stó:lō political groupings, visit: https://www.stolonation.bc.ca/history.
[76] Keith Carlson and Albert Jules McHalsie. *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish historical Atlas* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), 16; Keith Carlson and Stó:lō Heritage Trust, *You are Asked to Witness: The Stó:Lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History* (Chilliwack, B.C: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 2000), 55.

Interior Salish, and the Bella Coola.[77] The traditional territories of the Stó:lō can be described as a triangular area from the northern end of the Fraser Canyon to Vancouver Island, to Aberdeen, Washington.[78] Today the Stó:lō bands have reserve lands that amount to only a small fraction of this territory.

Contrary to the linguistic and archaeological evidence, Stó:lō Elders say that the Stó:lō First Nation peoples have been on these lands since time immemorial and that many of the resources are Stó:lō ancestors.[79] When the world was young, according to Stó:lō stories, *Xexà:ls* (transformers) came and made order of the world.[80] *Xexà:ls* turned good and useful people into equally good and useful resources. It is said that one Stó:lō ancestor was turned into the great cedar tree by a *Xexà:ls* because he was always helping others and being a cedar tree would allow him to continue. As Stó:lō cultural advisor Sonny McHalsie says, "our resources are more than just resources, they are our extended family."[81]

While anthropologists and archaeologists use physical evidence to suggest the migration patterns of the First Nations as a means of explaining how the various Nations ended up where they did, Stó:lō and other Coast Salish bands tell the story of the Great Flood to account for this. Old Pierre of Katzie told the flood story to ethnographer Diamond Jenness:

> *The Lord Above looked down and saw how they crowded upon the land, and one summer, after the Indians had dried their salmon, He sent the rain. It rained and rained without ceasing until the rivers overflowed their banks, the plains flooded and the people fled for shelter to the mountains, where they anchored their canoes to the summits with long ropes of twisted cedar-boughs. Still it rained until every mountain-top was covered except Mount Golden-Ears, on which the Indians of the*

[77] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 17.
[78] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving,* 17.
[79] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness,* 55.
[80] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness,* 56.
[81] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness*, 55.

> *Lower Fraser had taken refuge, and even on this mountain many Indians drowned when their canoes crashed into one another and upset. Higher up the Fraser River, Mount Cheam also rose above the flood and sheltered many Indians on its summit, while on Vancouver Island Mount Tzuhalem, near Cowichan, floated upward on the rising waters.*
>
> *The Lower Fraser Indians riding the flood on Mount Golden-Ears lived on their stores of dried salmon until water subsided. Several canoes, however, broke away and were carried by the swiftly flowing current to the southward. The Kwikwitlam Indians in Washington are descendants of the Coquitlam Indians who drifted away from Golden-Ears, the Nooksack are descendants of Squamish Indians, and the Cowlitz are some Cowichan natives who were swept away from Mount Cowichan.*
>
> \- Old Pierre, February 1936[82]

According to the story, the flood reshaped the lands, and relocated people across the lands. I highlight this and the origin of the cedar tree to remind the reader that the stories passed from generation to generation of First Nations also account for the histories that lead to the present day; that the stories and meaning gathered from oral accounts can be contrasted with western academic accounts in order to provide a fuller picture.

Stó:lō History: General Overview

The Stó:lō traditionally had a three-tiered class structure. At the top of the tier were the *smelà:lh* meaning the *worthy people*. People were considered worthy people when they knew their family history.[83] Knowing one's history is necessary to gain access to hereditary sites for fishing

[82] Keith Carlson and Sonny McHalsie, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 79; quoted from Diamond Jenness, *Faith of a Coast Salish Indian,* W. Duff, ed, Victoria: BCPM, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No.3, 1955. I have used this quote, also used in its entirety by historians and anthropologists before me, because it is not my place to retell or synthesize this story in my own words when it has been kindly made available by the teller.

[83] Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness*, 89.

and berry picking; without knowledge of one's family history, they could not claim hereditary rights. To be considered worthy, people must also have knowledge of surrounding resources, like plants and animals, and have relationships with spirits and their ancestors.[84]

The second tier consisted of *s'téxem*, meaning the worthless people.[85] Being the opposite of the *smelà:lh,* these people did not know their family or hereditary history and therefore lacked access to hereditary food sites. On the lowest tier existed *skw'iyéth*, the slaves. Slaves may have been acquired during raids of other villages, through trade with other bands, as gifts at potlatch, or could be born into their position if their parents were slaves.[86]

According to former Chief Frank Malloway, the Stó:lō did not traditionally have chiefs as designated leaders.[87] Rather, the Stó:lō had *Sí:yá:m*, or highly respected people. These people were not elected or appointed, and this was not a political position, but they tended to take on a role of leadership insofar as "people simply respected their opinion, and tended to accept their advice and follow their lead."[88] Generally, if there was a dispute or issue that concerned the entire village, the problem would be discussed until resolved; this would sometimes take days, or if unable to reach an agreement, it simply remained unresolved.[89] The *Sí:yá:m* would be useful in these situations and their guidance taken sincerely.

When European traders came to the Northwest coast, they came from a country with already deeply embedded social and political hierarchies. These hierarchies provided the British with a centralized government and therefore authority.[90] So, when the traders first began to

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[84] Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness*, 89.
[85] Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness,* 90.
[86] Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness,* 90.
[87] Carlson, *You Are Asked to Witness*, 13.
[88] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness*, 91.
[89] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness*, 91.
[90] A.J. Ray and D.B. Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure: An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 10.

encounter and interact with the Indigenous people of the Northwest coast, these societies seemed immature as they appeared to lack a centralized government and authority. While these communities lacked a centralized authority like that found in Britain, it is clear from the above paragraphs that they did have a social class structure, a means of governance and systems of law and justice.

It was briefly mentioned that access to fisheries was determined by hereditary lineage. This system regulated access to Stó:lō fisheries and determined the rights of access to certain physical locations. Even though Stó:lō did not maintain standardized police forces, they did, in fact, have regulated systems of law and order. When people were disruptive to the village, they were often exiled from the village and in some cases a person may have even been killed for their actions.[91]

Stó:lō History: Cloth

Coast Salish communities have a history of weaving that dates back thousands of years before contact. It has been noted by many historians and anthropologists that the most common materials used by the Salish people for weaving prior to contact with Europeans were cedar and mountain goat wool.[92] There has also been debate about the use of dog fur as well; a conversation I will come back to shortly.

Cedar bark was a common material used by the Salish First Nations for weaving. Cedar is considered sacred by the Salish, having been given to them during the period of transformation, as noted earlier. Cedar is also a material of which there is abundance on the Northwest Coast, and therefore is only natural that it would be a primary resource of the people living in the area.

[91] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia*, 89.
[92] See authors such as Paula Gustafson, Wilson Duff, Leslie Tepper et al., Nicholette Prince and others.

According to Paula Gustafson, materials woven from cedar were good for wearing because they were "warm, soft, water-resistant and attractive."[93] Being warm and water-resistant would have been particularly important given the wet climate of the Northwest Coast. Traditionally, Salish people, both men and women, would wear a blanket or cape-like garments draped around their shoulders and pinned together in the front, and an apron-like garment around their waists.[94]

Mountain goat hair was typically used to make wool for blankets.[95] Blankets are culturally significant to the Stó:lō and have always had a wide range of purposes. Traditionally, blankets were a common gift to be given away at potlatch.[96] They were worn as clothing in colder weather, draped over the shoulders much like the cedar garments.[97] According to Oliver Wells, they were used as bed covers by the *smelà:lh* or upper class.[98]

Several authors, particularly the early ethnohistorians working in the Salish territories, like Wilson Duff, and Oliver Wells make note that dog hair was used in the making of blankets. According to Oliver Wells, wooly dogs, described to be like a Pomeranian dog, were specifically bred by Salish peoples for the purpose of plucking their fur and using it to weave.[99] Several accounts by Europeans in the early days suggest this to be true. However, in more recent studies, the water has become murky on this topic. It has been noted by Leslie Tepper, Chief Janice George and Willard Joseph, that dog hair was actually only used sometimes and only as a supplement to the mountain goat wool.[100]

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[93] Gustafson, *Salish Waving*, 27.
[94] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians,* 53; Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 27; Nicholette Prince, "Influence of the Hudson's Bay Company on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress, 1830-1850," *Material Culture Review* 38 No. 1 (1993): 17.
[95] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians,* 53.
[96] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians,* 57.
[97] Wells, *Salish Weaving, Primitive and Modern,* np.
[98] Oliver Wells, *Salish Weaving, Primitive and Modern: As Practiced by the Salish Indians of South West British Columbia* (Sardis, BC: Oliver Wells, 1969), no page numbers.
[99] Wells, *Salish Weaving, Primitive and Modern,* np.
[100] Leslie H. Tepper, Janice George, and Willard Joseph, *Salish Blankets: Robes of Protection and Transformation, Symbols of Wealth*, Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2017: 6-7

Paula Gustafson did a study of Northwest Coast blankets and was only able to find a single blanket that contained dog hair; a blanket found in the Makah Village in 1893.[101] During the same study, Gustafson found that fibres from a blanket from 1838 were more likely to be coyote hair than dog hair.[102] Gustafson also suggests that dog hair would not be a good fibre for spinning into wool, and therefore, if it was used at all it would have been used as a supplement, not to make an entire blanket.[103] So, it is possible that the use of dog hair ceased at the time, or shortly after contact. It is also plausible to suggest that these so-called dogs could have been a different species entirely, namely coyotes.

Recently, new archaeological discoveries have been brought forward that confirm the existence of *canids* (a class of animals including coyotes, wolves, and dogs) in villages along the Northwest coast. More significantly, the testing of these canid remains have confirmed the abundance of small-sized dogs that were likely domestic. Though much remains unknown about these dogs, it is clear to scientists that they were likely extinct by 1858, and therefore no longer used in blankets, which might explain the lack of fibres in the blankets available today.[104]

According to the Salish worldview, woven garments exist in the spirit world before they exist in the human world, and it is therefore, the weaver who brings them over.[105] In this sense, woven garments traditionally have deep spiritual connections and importance to Salish peoples. According to Chief Janice George of Squamish, woven garments, like blankets, "are alive because they exist in the spirit world."[106] Not different from the earlier examination of clothing and

[101] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 79.
[102] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving,* 83.
[103] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 83.
[104] Virginia Morrell, "The Dogs That Grew Wool and the People Who Love Them," *Hakai Magazine: Coastal Science and Societies*, February 23, 2021, no page numbers.
[105] Tepper et al., *Salish Blankets,* 3.
[106] Tepper, George and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*, xiii.

uniforms in general, but woven garments in Salish history also communicate "the responsibilities of the weaver and obligations of the wearer."[107] From this, we can gather that woven garments, often worn as clothing, have been traditionally very meaningful and spiritual. The colour and designs of these woven blankets hold and convey meaning.

Any colours that were used prior to the arrival of Europeans were made naturally out of the resources available in the area, like berries and plants. Greens, browns, greys, reds, blues, yellows and whites were the most common and these colours were generally dull rather than vibrant compared to dyes used in India and Britain.[108] Black could be made from boiling hemlock or birch bark with mud that contained iron, red would come from boiling alder, and other colours like blues and yellows would be made by boiling organic materials of similar colours, like flowers and lichen.[109]

As with the colour of western clothing noted in previous sections, colours for Indigenous peoples along the Northwest Coast also held meaning.[110] According to Leslie Tepper et al., red was considered to be a positive colour, one that was life affirming, while black was representative of evil and death.[111] Red has also been described as symbolizing the blood connection between mankind and all other living things.[112] At the same time, the colour blue has been described as symbolizing the universe that Indigenous peoples are a part of.[113] For some Native American First

[107] Tepper, George, and Joseph, *Salish Blankets*, 1-2.
[108] Tepper et al., *Salish Blankets,* 84-85.
[109] Wells, *Salish Weaving, Primitive and Modern*, 8.
[110] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 68.
[111] Tepper et al., *Salish Blankets,* 86.
[112] No author, "Our Nation's Story," *Indian World* Vol.3 (3), 1980: 33.
[113] No author, "Our Nation's Story," 33.

Nations, like the Hopi Tribes in the Northern Arizona region, white is symbolic of fertility[114], while for others white is a symbol of purity.[115]

What seem like simple designs to the untrained eye have deep cultural meaning to the Salish peoples. Some First Nations prized plain blankets over blankets with any design at all, which tells us that the plain design likely carries a deep meaning in itself, be it purity, fertility or something else.[116] One common design is that of the zig-zag pattern, which is likely to symbolize a snake and all of the concepts Salish people hold of snakes; including the latent power of snakes linked to lightening.[117]

Traditional clothing and other textiles of Salish peoples hold and convey meaning, both to the weaver, and the wearer; a sentiment that was made clear early during the discussions of western clothing, and uniforms in particular. Weavers would spend weeks, months, or even years making a single blanket, and as demonstrated above, every aspect of the blanket held meaning from the materials used, the colour chosen, and the designs woven. Paula Gustafson tells us that "if we accept the design motifs as having a depth of symbolic meaning, augmented by the addition of contrasting colours, it is reasonable to suppose that the entire blanket was intended to convey a concept to both the weaver and the recipient."[118]

First Nation communities had established systems of trade with other communities prior to contact. So, when the Europeans arrived on the Northwest Coast, the concept of trade was not new; they only introduced new types of goods to the existing trade networks. So it should be no surprise that the peoples of the Northwest Coast were skilled traders from the start of trade with the

[114] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 65.
[115] No author, "Our Nation's Story," 33.
[116] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 65.
[117] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving,* 67.
[118] Gustafson, *Salish Weaving*, 68.

Europeans. It should also be remembered that the peoples of the Northwest Coast also already had mature social structures and self-sufficient lifestyles. Therefore, when the Europeans arrived, the goods they brought for trade were more novel than necessary.

Given that the European trade goods were not necessary, it allowed the peoples of the Northwest Coast, to a certain degree, to control the trade with the Europeans. Nicholette Prince did a study of sales at trading posts between 1830-1850, Fort Langley in the Northwest in particular, and found that, in general, new items would be extremely popular for trade but generally only for a short time.[119] This is likely the case because many of the items were novelty, and so the novelty of the item might wear off, or the market would quickly become saturated and so the need to get these items at the trading post disappeared.

The Coast Salish peoples largely traded salmon with the Europeans. At the beginning of the trade relationship, the Europeans had expected the Salish to adjust their ways of life to trap furs for trade.[120] But since the trade goods were not necessary for the Salish communities, they saw no reason to adjust their lifestyles to suit the Europeans desires. So, it was ultimately the European traders that had to adjust to the First Nations lifestyle. Moreover, for the same reasons, when the First Nations did not like the price of trade, the quality of goods, or simply the type of goods available, they would simply take their own items to other traders or not trade their goods at all.[121] Ultimately, if the First Nations decided not to trade for any reason the impact on their life was minimal, meanwhile, the Europeans would be forced to trade their goods at a loss or return home having not traded. So, early trade along the Northwest Coast was largely dictated by the First Nations peoples and not the European traders.

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[119] Prince, "Influence of the Hudson's Bay Company on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress, 1830-1850," 22-23.
[120] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness*, 51.
[121] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness,* 43.

European trade did have its benefits for the First Nations people, however. The Europeans brought new tools that were more efficient to use than some of the traditional tools.[122] Prince noted that the most important trade items, based on numbers traded, were blankets, wool goods, and shirts.[123] Other items that became accessible through trade with the HBC include bolts of fabric, ribbon, beads, silver jewelry, and other decorative items.[124] Anderson interestingly noted that thimbles were in high demand by First Nations for a period of time, but not for their European use of sewing, but rather to be used as decorative additions to blankets and robes.[125] In 1827, one HBC trade blanket could be traded for roughly 60 fresh salmon.[126] A trade blanket, which could easily be unwoven and rewoven in a traditional style, meant that First Nations no longer needed to spend time sheering animals and spinning wool. These efficiencies allowed many First Nations peoples extra leisure time to work on things like art. During the early years of the fur trade, the output of art by the First Nations increased dramatically.

Between 1830 and 1850, Salish peoples certainly incorporated European trade goods into their lives, however, many of these goods did not significantly change their lifestyles, cultures and daily routines. What it did do, was allow First Nations to increase their artistic output rather than focusing on the gathering of materials.

Dress, for Salish communities, was intimately tied to culture. As mentioned earlier, woven items existed both in the spirit world and in the human world, and therefore the style of woven materials holds deep importance to Salish culture. Prince argued that because of this cultural

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[122] B. J. Anderson, "Culture Change as Reflected in Dress and Accessories of the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest," Master's Thesis: *Oregon State University: Portland, Oregon,* (1964): 45.
[123] Prince, "Influence of the Hudson's Bay Company on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress. 1830-1850," 22-23.
[124] Tepper, *Salish Blankets,* 38; B.L. Feather and L.R. Shibley, "Overlooked Pages of North American Clothing," *Dress* 5 (1978): 67.
[125] Anderson, "Culture Change as Reflected in Dress and Accessories of the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest," 81.
[126] Wells, *Salish Weaving*, np.

connection, there was little change in style of dress until at least the 1850's when settlement began to impose changes to the First Nations cultures themselves.[127] Though many Indigenous peoples adopted some European clothing, for example wearing European clothing to European churches, and wearing European clothes that had been gifted to chiefs, there were many reasons for the people of the Northwest coast not to readily adopt western clothing.[128]

The style of dress between the Salish and the Europeans differed greatly. The Salish wore draped garments that were easily removed when they entered a pit house or longhouse—particularly if they were wet—while Europeans wore fitted clothing that required several items (e.g. pants, shirt, shoes, jacket, hat). Moreover, Salish peoples were not knowledgeable about making European style clothing, and therefore it was much easier for them to use HBC trade goods and continue to make clothing in their traditional styles.[129]

The relationship between weaving and Salish culture and the spirit world means that the weaving of blankets and other items was likely just as important as the wearing of these items. As previously mentioned, woven items convey responsibilities of both the weaver and the wearer. So, it seems only natural the Salish peoples would maintain their style of woven items while accepting the European materials to provide more ease in the making of these items, and why the change from traditional dress to European dress did not occur until the increase in settlement, introduction of assimilationist policies, and the attempted destruction of Indigenous culture.

Stó:lō History: Fisheries

[127] Prince, "Influence of the Hudson's Bay Company on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress, 1830-1850," 24.
[128] Anderson, "Culture Change as Reflected in Dress and Accessories of the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest," 86.
[129] Prince, "Influence of the Hudson's Bay Company on Carrier and Coast Salish Dress, 1830-1850," 24.

> *We know what food is. We're not too sure what social is. And we know what ceremonial is.*
>
> - Ken Malloway[130]

One of the main staples in both Stó:lō diet and economy is salmon. According to hereditary chief of the Chilliwack Tribe, Ken Malloway, the creator populated the Fraser River with salmon so the Stó:lō would have food to eat that did not weigh them down like meat. According to the story, the salmon people of the ocean send their children to Fraser River for the Stó:lō people. Proper respect must be shown, including ceremonies like the *First Salmon Ceremony*, otherwise the salmon people will stop sending their children.[131] As such, the harvesting of "salmon has always carried with it moral and spiritual imperatives of stewardship and conservation, whether...harvested for social, ceremonial, or economic reasons."[132]

Stó:lō fishers traditionally fished salmon using dip nets,[133] or *kəma'stəl*; a hoop made from maple vine attached to a long pole-handle made from second-growth fir, with net made from a plant called *methelh* (dogbane) that was spun into twine.[134] The net was attached to rings that was made from bone that slid around the hoop.[135] The net went into the water while being held open with a line that the fisherman held along with the long handle. When a fish entered the net, the fisherman would release the line allowing the net to close around the fish.[136]

Another common fishing apparatus along tributaries was fish weirs. On tributaries weirs were built stretching from one side of the river to the other. Weirs could be open or closed; when

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[130] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.
[131] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness,* 3-4.
[132] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness,* 142.
[133] Many Stó:lō fisher-people continue to use dip nets, but many now use other forms of fishing ranging from other styles of netting to pole fishing.
[134] Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre, *Upper Stó:lō Fishing: Fraser Valley* (Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre, 2006), 22; Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians*, 63.
[135] Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre, *Upper Stó:lō Fishing,* 22; Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians*, 63.
[136] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians*, 63.

closed they would block the fish allowing access for catching, and when enough fish were caught the weir could be opened to let the remaining fish through.[137] This method has been identified as a highly sustainable method as it allows the fisher people to take only what is needed and to be aware of how many fish are being caught versus being let through. It enables the fishers to let through fish of a certain size, ensuring that only certain types of fish are caught at certain times. Moreover, weirs were made entirely with organic materials, like cedar bark and hemp, and remained in the river year-round, only being closed during periods of fishing. When the weir is eventually washed away, the organic materials simply degrade back into the ecosystem.

Before contact, Stó:lō peoples had full access to the river and its resources. Salmon was a main source of food and item of trade with other Indigenous communities. Salmon were eaten fresh but were also preserved for the winter months by smoking it or drying.[138] As previously mentioned, individuals did not own or have exclusive rights to fishing spots, but rather access to fishing spots was regulated through hereditary right.[139] In other words, people would gain access to fishing spots through marriage and being able to prove a familial link to a certain spot. It has been said that the traditional management of the salmon enabled the Northwest Coast First Nations communities to "support higher population densities than most non-agricultural peoples throughout the world."[140]

During the early years of the fur trade, traders relied on the surrounding Indigenous communities for foodstuffs. The Stó:lō were known to trade more salmon than fur with the Hudson's Bay Company. In the early years of the fur trade the First Nations and their traditional ways of life, such as fishing and hunting, were generally unencumbered by the Europeans. On

[137] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians*, 67.
[138] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians,* 62-67.
[139] Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians,* 77.
[140] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness*, 142-143.

Vancouver Island, in the 1850s, 14 local treaties guaranteed Indigenous fishing rights but these guarantees were soon forgotten and replaced with colonial policies that restricted these rights and encouraged assimilation of First Nations peoples. When gold miners flooded British Columbia in 1858, some of the first conflicts along the river began as many of the most productive spots for mining overlapped with Indigenous fishing spots.[141] In 1871, when BC joined the Canadian confederation, the control over the fisheries was given to the dominion government.[142] Access to fishing spots was blocked by the assumption that any "unused" land was not needed by the First Nations and therefore were not included in reserves.[143] Related policies restricted First Nations to small reserve lands, sent First Nations children to residential schools, and discouraged traditional lifestyles and ceremony.

In 1877 the federal government extended the *Fisheries Act and Regulations* to British Columbia. This placed restrictions on who could fish and how fish were caught which restricted the Indigenous fishing industry and constricted their fishing rights.[144] By 1879 the fisheries department also began keeping track of the number of fish taken by the First Nations.[145] Soon thereafter the use of canning in order to preserve fish was introduced, and European interest in the Fraser River fisheries spiked as fish could now be easily exported back to Europe.[146] From this point on, Indigenous fishers became labourers for the European cannery operations.[147]

Ernie Crey stated that "from 1888 onward, the great tribal fisheries of the Fraser River watershed were under attack. Fisheries officers were sent throughout the interior to tear down our

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[141] Keith Carlson and Sonny McHalsie, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010: 164.
[142] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 14.
[143] Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness*, 71-73.
[144] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 9, 27.
[145] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 25.
[146] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 9.
[147] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 9.

fishing weirs, to dismantle our traps, and to keep us away from the river."[148] Moreover, by 1894, the dominion government required Indigenous peoples to seek permission to fish, including to fish for food.[149] It was also in 1894 that the first Indigenous person was charged for not following the dominion rules related to fishing.[150] Even though the trade of fish was a cornerstone to the economy of the Salish even prior to contact, heavy restrictions were placed on the Indigenous sale of fish. Starting in 1888, commercial licenses were required for Indigenous fishers who wanted to sell their fish, and then in many places, like for the Stó:lō, the outright ban of Indigenous commercial fisheries.[151]

Throughout the 20th century, further restrictions have been placed on Stó:lō fishers; the consequences have resulted in strained and even lost relationships between Stó:lō people and the river as well as with their culture. Malloway told me that he had always been a fisherman, taught by his father, and recalled that as a teenager he had to mark any fish that he caught by cutting off the nose and a fin of each fish. He said: "Indians were the only ones that had to do that. Recreational fisheries did not mark their fish. And commercial fishermen didn't mark their fish."[152] Former Sumas Chief Lester Ned recalled fishing as a young man and only being allowed to fish from 6pm on Thursdays to 6pm on Sundays.[153] He also recalled being restricted to the number of fish Indigenous fishermen were allowed to catch, saying it was perhaps 3% or 5% of the total fishery, and once they caught their allotted quota, they had to stop fishing.[154]

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[148] Quoted in Carlson, *You Are Asked To Witness,* 145.
[149] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 9.
[150] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 9-10.
[151] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism,* 67.
[152] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019. When this was repealed, according to Ken Malloway, it was replaced with a system of tagging fish instead. First Nations had to tag their fish with green tags, commercial fishers used blue tags, and recreational fishers used brown tags, but this system only lasted for about a year.
[153] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.
[154] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

Conclusion

The Stó:lō stories tell us that they have inhabited the Lower Fraser River since time immemorial. The Stó:lō had an established way of life including mature systems of economics, commerce, law and justice. Moreover, the Stó:lō had a deep and rich culture that included language, art and ceremony long before the arrival of the white man. Yet, when the colonial government established itself in British Columbia, the newcomers viewed the Indigenous cultures as primitive. With it, European settlement brought decades of assimilation policy towards Indigenous peoples and communities, as well as outright oppression of culture and other traditional economic and political systems. In more recent decades, the Stó:lō have worked to revitalize their traditional culture and establish their traditional rights and title within the colonial government. In the next chapter, I will discuss some of the events in the 1980's and the 1990's that demonstrate the Stó:lō attempting to take back control of their traditional territories and assert their title and rights.

Chapter Four

The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority

...If this isn't worth dying for, what is? Our fishing is our life.
-Ken Malloway[155]

Top, Left to Right: Gayle Florence, Darryl Francis, Shannon Adams.
Bottom Left to Right: Ed Kelly, Henry Ned, Tony Malloway, Wayne Kelly Jr., Clay Charlie.
1996.

Malloway told me that the Stó:lō have been fighting for their fishing rights since at least 1864, saying: "they were already trying to stop us from fishing."[156] As a young fisherman in the

[155] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.
[156] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

1980's, Malloway recalled that "people were literally fighting in their boats...[Stó:lō against Department of Fisheries officers] clubbing each other and beating each other up on the river."[157] During this time, Indigenous fishermen would put their boats and nets in the river and Department of Oceans and Fisheries (DFO) officers would immediately attempt to seize them. When Malloway noted that the DFO officers did not carry guns in the 1980's, he seemed to be reflecting that he was thankful nobody was carrying guns, or the injuries from the fights could have been significantly worse.

Chief Clarence 'Kat' Pennier also told stories like those of Malloway. Pennier recalled a protest at Gill Bay, saying the DFO were at the protest in full force. He was in a boat with Chief Sam Douglas who told him to "get down." After Pennier hit the floor, Douglas swung his ore at a fishery officer who was trying to get their net.[158] Pennier told me about another demonstration down at Sumas where Lester Ned was threatened by a helicopter.[159] According to Lester Ned, the demonstration occurred in 1986 or 1987, and he ended up being charged for endangering the life of a helicopter pilot. Initially, he went to court and was fined somewhere between $3,000 and $5,000, but the DFO appealed the decision, and in the end Ned paid over $12,000 for lawyers, fines and all of the other costs associated.[160] Ned told me that even though he was found guilty initially and fined, he thought DFO appealed the decision simply to prolong the battle, and as a way to use him as an example to the rest of the Indigenous peoples on the river fighting for their rights.[161] While DFO may have wanted to make an example of Ned, in my discussions with others

[157] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.
[158] Clarence Pennier, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 24, 2019.
[159] Clarence Pennier, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 24, 2019.
[160] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.
[161] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

who were part of these demonstrations, like Pennier, they ended up making Ned more of a martyr for the cause.

In 1990, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in *R. v. Sparrow*, that First Nations have the right to fish for food, social and ceremonial purposes. As noted by Malloway in the quote at the start of this section, the Stó:lō know what food and ceremonial purposes are, but "social" purposes remain unclear. Even after this supreme court ruling, there were several protests at Chawathil, Cheam and elsewhere. The purpose was to get the attention of the government because they "weren't willing to discuss issues with us related to the Supreme Court of Canada Case."[162]

As a response to the *Sparrow Decision*, the Canadian Government created the *Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy* (AFS) which was to create negotiated agreements with First Nations regarding fisheries management as well as to negotiate economic access to fisheries for Indigenous communities that lacked it.[163] As part of the AFS, the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority[164] (LFFA) was created by the Stó:lō in conjunction with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) and the Canadian government.

The initial agreement in 1992 was signed by 21 of 24 Stó:lō bands as well as Musqueam and Tsawwassen.[165] Yale, Union Bar and Peters bands did not sign the agreement and so were not under the authority of the LFFA enforcement, but were still bound by DFO regulations which were

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[162] Clarence Pennier, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 24, 2019.
[163] The First Nation Panel on Fisheries, "Our Place at the Table: First Nations in the B.C. Fishery," *Fisheries, Natural Resources,* 2004: 14.
[164] The name for the LFFA changed several times and went by several unofficial names. It was changed in 1993 to the Stó:lō Justice Service (SJS), but was frequently referred to as the Aboriginal Fisheries Authority (AFS) or the Stó:lō Fisheries Authority; the enforcement officers were often referred to as Aboriginal Fisheries Officers (AFO's), or Guardians. For the purposes of consistency throughout this paper I will continue to refer to the program as the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority (LFFA). Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019, Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.
[165] Crisca Bierwert, George Campo, Ernie Crey, Suzanne Fournier, Vincent Harper, and Clarence Pennier. *The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority: Working with you to harvest and conserve.* Mission, BC. Unknown date of publication, p.1.

enforceable by DFO.[166] The LFFA had many components: a management committee, a pilot project for commercial fishing, monitors who were part of a conservation effort, and the guardian program which was used to enforce the LFFA-DFO agreements.

In 1992 Malloway was the Chief of Tzeatchen and was part of the LFFA management committee.[167] He recalled that the agreements were signed on a year-to-year basis. The committee thought they had negotiated an acceptable agreement with DFO in 1991, but when it was typed up and sent over to the committee to sign several changes had been made without the approval of the Stó:lō, to the point that they did not recognize the agreement as one they had negotiated and refused to sign it. In 1992, the LFFA and DFO, along with the Deputy Minister of Canada, resumed negotiations and were able to reach an agreement acceptable to the LFFA committee and DFO.[168] Every year the LFFA committee would push to create a multi-year agreement, as DFO had signed with other Indigenous communities with similar programs such as the Nuu-Chah-Nulth, but each year this discussion would be postponed to the following year's negotiations.[169] Around 1998/1999 the program ended and the LFFA officers' contracts were simply never re-signed.

The agreement gave the Stó:lō the right to a commercial fishery as a pilot project which was renegotiated on a yearly basis. This project allowed the Stó:lō to legally sell their fish for the first time. That being said, there were lots of regulations involved with the sale of fish namely, where fish could be sold and to whom they could be sold. Lester Ned, an avid fisherman and the

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[166] Crisca Bierwert, George Campo, Ernie Crey, Suzanne Fournier, Vincent Harper, and Clarence Pennier. *The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority: Working with you to harvest and conserve.* Mission, BC. Unknown date of publication, p.1 & 6.

[167] In 1992 "The LFFA management committee included Cheam Chief Sam Douglas, head of the Fisheries Portfolio for the Sto:lo Tribal Council; Scowlitz Chief Clarence Pennier, Chairman of the Sto:lo Tribal Council; Tzeatchen Chief Ken Malloway and Lakahahmen Chief George Campo, both of the Sto:lo Nation Canada; and Musqueam Fisheries Coordinator Joe Becker." Crisca Bierwert, George Campo, Ernie Crey, Suzanne Fournier, Vincent Harper, and Clarence Pennier. *The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority: Working with you to harvest and conserve.* Mission, BC. Unknown date of publication, p.2.

[168] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

[169] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

father of one of the LFFA officers, Henry Ned[170], said "we had to follow very heavy restrictions."[171] Moreover, the commercial fishery pilot program only lasted for a year. Though the Stó:lō commercial fishing pilot program only lasted a short time, other pilot programs in BC continued to run for several more years. 2003 brought the cancellation of these other programs when it was ruled in *R vs. Kapp* that the Indigenous sale of fish through the pilot program was discriminatory against non-Indigenous fishers.[172]

The Guardian program was another component of the LFFA. The Guardian program employed Stó:lō men and women to enforce the agreed upon terms of the LFFA-DFO agreements. These terms were only enforceable on the members of the 21 Stó:lō bands that signed the agreement. The officers oversaw issuing Indigenous licenses, enforced the fisheries openings and closures, as well as the commercial fishery sales and allotments.[173] For the officers, checking mesh size to ensure the proper species of fish were being targeted and enforcing fishing closings was about conservation of the fish.[174] The officers patrolled in three sections from the Port Mann Bridge to Port Mann to Chilliwack, Chilliwack to Hope, and Hope to Sawmill Creek above Yale.[175]

Ross Gulkison was hired to be the head of the enforcement division of the LFFA in 1992 and was replaced by Ed Kelly in 1995. Prior to joining the LFFA, Gulkison had been a police chief and according to Malloway, one of those responsible for the hiring of Ed, he was chosen because he had previously been with the RCMP and had lots of enforcement training.[176] "Stó:lō Nation

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[170] Henry Ned's legal name is Lester Ned Jr, but his preferred name, and name used throughout this paper, is Henry Ned.
[171] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.
[172] The First Nation Panel On Fisheries, "Our Place at the Table: First Nations in the B.C. Fishery," 14.
[173] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.
[174] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[175] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.
[176] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019. Ken Malloway noted that Ed Kelly had been the first Indigenous person in Canada to serve with the RCMP.

made me a pretty nice offer wage wise,"[177] Ed explained when asked about how he became involved with the LFFA. Kelly wore the uniform from 1995 when he was hired, year-round, until 1999 when he was laid off and his contract was not re-signed[178] signifying the end of the LFFA.

The program seems to have disbanded in stages; first the officers contracts were not re-signed in 1998,[179] and then some months later, possibly in 1999, Ed Kelly's own contract was not re-signed.[180] Although it is unclear why the program ended, some explanations have been offered by members of the Stó:lō community. Kelly felt like he was the cause, saying he pushed too hard for permanent year-round positions for his staff, for the right to carry firearms and for more safety regulations, among other things.[181] Malloway was told, off the record, that the DFO officers had threatened to go on strike if the Indigenous officers remained on the river, though no reason was given why. [182] Henry Ned said: "we were doing a better job than they were, so they figured, you know, we gotta get rid of these guys 'cause they're making us [DFO] look bad."[183] Gulkison felt that the program started to lose stability in 1995 before he left as there became more and more political involvement from various Stó:lō chiefs which interfered with the officers ability to continue policing.[184]

Nearly two decades later in 2018, the uniform worn by the second head of enforcement, Ed Kelly, was donated to the Stó:lō Research and Resource and Management Centre (SRRMC). I will use the donated uniform to speak more in-depth about the program itself, the Stó:lō-Crown relationship, and the meaning that is communicated by the uniform.

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[177] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[178] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[179] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[180] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[181] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[182] Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.
[183] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[184] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

The Uniform

I loved wearing the uniform.
- Wayne Kelly Jr.[185]

In 2018 a collection donated consists of over fifty articles of clothing was donated by Ernie Crey, a member of the Cheam Band to the SRRMC. Crey had previously served in the SRRMC administration in the fisheries portfolio. Included was the uniform donated worn by the second head of enforcement, Ed Kelly.[186] When I first approached Kelly about talking to him about the uniform and the program, he was surprised to learn that his uniform had been donated to the SRRMC. The donated uniform collection included both short sleeve and long sleeve shirts with the agency's shoulder patches, of two distinct designs, jackets, pants and even body armour. There are also unused memo books, the badge of the officer who once wore the uniform, and a hat. In the pockets of the uniform a cheque stub for travel reimbursements was found along with two floppy disks and four pins.

Ross Gulkison was the first head of enforcement of the LFFA and when he first arrived, the LFFA committee had already hired a handful of officers and they had already been issued their first set of uniforms.[187] Officer Wayne Kelly Jr. reflected during our conversation about the first memories he had of wearing the uniform: "Our first set of uniforms weren't the greatest, eh … One of my uncles says we looked like Esso servicemen."[188] In fact, the very first uniform the

[185] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.
[186] When I was first conducting interviews, and on previous visits, Ernie Crey was unfortunately unavailable for an interview or comment as to why he had the uniform of Ed Kelly in the first place, and why he donated it to the SRRMC.
[187] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[188] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

officers wore were "Shell Gas uniforms… with a patch on them,"[189] Gulkison informed me, "I don't know where they got them from."[190] Ross quickly put together a budget, which was funded by the provincial government, to get new uniforms for the officers.[191]

The new and official uniforms of the LFFA followed the long-standing tradition of enforcement uniforms that started in Britain centuries earlier. One only needs to look at the uniform to see that it had the same paramilitary style as other police agencies in Canada, the United States, and Britain, with only few differences. Gulkison himself admitted that the colour of the uniform, namely blue, was chosen because "it's [an] established colour for policing."[192] The uniform started with pants that had a black braided strip down the sides, but Wayne Kelly Jr. constantly complained: "I don't like these pants."[193] The issue for Wayne Kelly Jr. being that the braided black stripe made the pants look like dancing pants.[194] Before long Gulkison had it changed to a single red stripe.

While searching the uniform at SRRMC I found four pins in one of the pockets: two Crown pins and two pip pins. Gulkison explained that these would have been pinned on Ed Kelly's shoulder as a representation of his rank.[195] According to the Police Act, one Crown with one silver pip represents the rank of Superintendent, one Crown with two gold pips represents a Deputy Chief Constable, and one Crown with three gold pips represents a Chief Constable.[196] It is unclear as to which rank these insignia represented for Kelly since it was not revealed during my interview with

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[189] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[190] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[191] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[192] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[193] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[194] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[195] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019. Ross Gulkison also had Crown pins and pips on his uniform because he held the same rank as Ed Kelly. I did not have access to any other uniforms worn and therefore cannot comment on the pins and pips that may have been worn by the other officers.
[196] British Columbia. *Police Act: Police (uniforms) Regulations.* Victoria, BC: Queen's Printer. 1976.

him; but the pins found in Kelly's uniform were all coloured gold so it is likely that some pins were simply missing from the collection and Kelly's rank was either Deputy Chief Constable or Chief Constable as per the *Police Act* descriptions.

As part of the uniform, each officer was issued a badge. Ed Kelly's badge, donated as part of his uniform contained a blank space where his badge number would have gone. LFFA Officer Shannon Adams recalled fondly getting her badge number. When she and her husband, Officer James Adams, were issued their badges she said that James was going to be Officer #9 and she was supposed to be Officer #10. "I was going to take 10 but then Ross [Gulkison] said that "ladies are first,""[197] laughed Shannon, so she became Officer #9 and James became Officer #10.

Shoulder patches on police uniforms are used as a way to identify which agency the uniform belongs to. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), for example, have a shoulder patch that typically reads "RCMP GRC" at the top, and "Police" at the bottom, with an image of a royal Crown at the top, and a bison head in the middle, surrounded by the phrase *Maintiens Le Droit*, which is the official motto of the RCMP, meaning *Uphold the Right*.[198] The LFFA uniform being modeled off or mimicking other police agencies in style and design, also had a shoulder patch that identified the organization. The first shoulder patch was used from 1992-1996, and the second shoulder patch design was brought in in 1996 and used until the end of the program.

[197] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[198] The details can be found here: https://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project-pic.asp?lang=e&ProjectID=2101&ProjectElementID=7159

The first shoulder patch used on the LFFA officers' uniform underwent some minor changes, but ultimately can be discussed as one design. The artwork in the center was designed by Stó:lō artist Stan Greene and depicted the full salmon cycle.[199] In the very centre there is an egg, directly above and below the egg one can see the fry stage, and the spawning salmon are depicted on the outside of the design on the left and right side. Wayne Kelly Jr reflected, "I always liked this one here because of the fish. The whole life cycle of the fish"[200] . Unfortunately, I was unable to speak with Stan Greene during my research and so I am unable to comment on the meaning of

[199] Crisca Bierwert, George Campo, Ernie Crey, Suzanne Fournier, Vincent Harper, and Clarence Pennier. *The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority: Working with you to harvest and conserve.* Mission, BC. Unknown date of publication, p.9.
[200] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

the artwork from the perspective of the artist. A Canadian flag was also depicted on the patch at the very bottom.

The shoulder patch had several textual components, initially: *First Nations Canada* could be found at the very top of the patch, and the words *Serving the Aboriginal Community* surrounded the salmon cycle design. Surrounding those words, was the phrase *Sto:lo Justice Service* found in red. The very first design of this patch included the name of the organization *Lower Fraser Fishing Authority* around the edges of the patch; this was removed when the name of the organization was changed to Stó:lō Justice Service.[201] Officer Henry Ned thought that the words, *First Nations Canada,* were meant as a more general representation of Indigenous people across the country.[202]

According to Gulkison the use of "First Nations Canada" and the depiction of the Canadian Flag at the bottom of the patch was representative of the fact that the LFFA officers were federal officers. [203] Moreover, *Stó:lō Justice Service: Serving the Aboriginal Community* was a very important slogan to have on the patch because the LFFA were serving the Indigenous community and only the Indigenous community; it served as a reminder that the LFFA officers did not have any authority over the non-Indigenous community but were on the river to serve Indigenous communities only.[204]

The second design was brought in under the direction of Ed Kelly in 1996. According to some of the officers the design was changed because the original patch design was difficult to see from a distance.[205] According to Kelly, his "officers didn't like the first shoulder badge anyway,

[201] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019. It was unclear through my interviews and research when this change was made, but since the change appeared on the first version of the shoulder patch, it was made between 1992-1996.
[202] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.
[203] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[204] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[205] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

but they liked the second one. The one Henry designed."[206] Kelly had the LFFA Staff Sergeant, Henry Ned, create the artwork. The second design contains a salmon at the top which "represents the Stó:lō river people."[207] Below the salmon are a bear on the left and an eagle on the right. In the centre is the Stó:lō Nation logo of a man fishing. According to Kelly, "the bear is for strength and courage and the eagle is for vision and wisdom."[208] Henry Ned describes the bear, human, and

eagle as the predators of the salmon.[209] Moreover, instead of *First Nation Canada,* the second

[206] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[207] Ed Kelly to Bob Hull, September 23, 1996. *Re: Sto:lo Nation Enforcement Division Shoulder Badge - New Version.*
[208] Ed Kelly to Bob Hull, September 23, 1996. *Re: Sto:lo Nation Enforcement Division Shoulder Badge - New Version.*
[209] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

patch is headed with *Sto:lo Nation*. According to Henry Ned this switch was because, "Stó:lō Nation was us. That's who we were."[210]

The LFFA uniform mimicked uniforms of other established police agencies. From here, we can dig into the meanings and messages communicated by this uniform. We can use the uniform to explore the impacts a standardized western police uniform had on its intended audience, namely the Stó:lō, who have typically had a negative relationship with colonial enforcement. The meanings and messages communicated by the LFFA uniform are deep, complicated, and multifaceted.

[210] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

Chapter Five

Meaning of a Fisheries Uniform

During my time on Stó:lō territory I was able to interview a number of community members who all had different relationships with fisheries, enforcement, the LFFA and the uniform. While the uniform conveyed meanings of pride and respect for some, it communicated colonial oppression to others, and for some the uniform conveyed both at the same time. This can largely be tied back to the experiences of the individuals and the collective history of the Stó:lō and their relationship with the Crown. I primarily interviewed members of the Stó:lō community and will focus largely on their interpretations of the meaning of the uniform as the Stó:lō were the most directly impacted by it, unlike settlers who were not governed by nor interacted with this uniform.

The Many Meanings of Blue

The LFFA uniform was blue; officers wore navy blue pants and outer layers, and light blue shirts. Apparently, the officers were supposed to wear a white t-shirt under their light blue duty uniform shirt but Officer Wayne Kelly Jr. told me he would wear a blue t-shirt under his LFFA button down shirt saying, "I think I looked a little better."[211] Ultimately, however, Kelly reflected that he thought "the last set of uniforms we got were the nicest. We got the red stripe on the leg and we had the Vancouver city cop shirt … We looked pretty good."[212] Kelly remembered that

[211] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.
[212] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

they all had dress uniforms, too: dress pants, dress whites, and lanyards. I could see joy in his face when he explained that "they'd dress us up, bring us to all these big meetings … just to show us off."[213] "Wayne, he'd be the one that'd be strutting," laughed Shannon, "he's like a little show off."[214] In talking with Kelly it became clear that he noticed and understood the connections with other police agency uniforms, and that that was not his main concern when wearing the uniform, rather, one of his main concerns was simply looking good.

At the same time, Adams fondly recalled that the conservation monitors on the river "would call us the blue shirts."[215] Prior to the LFFA, the Fraser River enforcement was undertaken by the DFO and continued to a lesser extent during the LFFA jurisdiction. It is important for the reader to note that DFO officers wore, and continue to wear, a uniform that is green in colour. Moreover, Shannon recalled that the late Barb Dudley, who had worked for the LFFA enforcement division in an administrative position prior to becoming a fisheries officer, had "seen me in my uniform and then she wanted to be a fishery officer."[216]

My conversations with Wayne Kelly Jr. and Adams told me that the colour and style of the uniform was important. Kelly clearly admired the image of the Vancouver City Police and was excited to have a uniform that mimicked that look. But at the same time, Shannon's memory of being the "blue shirts" seemed to have less to do with the connection to other police agencies as it did with being distinct from the DFO officers on the river. So, in some ways, the blue, paramilitary style uniform adopted by the LFFA both made the officers similar to other policing agencies, but also, and importantly, allowed them a distinct image on the river—one separate from the DFO. Given the turmoil in the years leading up to the creation of the LFFA, some of which was outlined

[213] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.
[214] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[215] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[216] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

by Malloway, Lester Ned and Pennier in the previous chapter, the importance of this distinction is clear, and one might argue that insofar as these two agencies are closely related with the river rather than the land, this distinction of uniform colour was more important than the similarity highlighted by Kelly.

The Psychology of the LFFA Uniform

It was argued by Nathan Joseph that those who make alterations to the uniforms they wear may do so as a sign of disrespect, or as a sign that their values do not completely align with the values of the uniform.[217] "It was hard to get 'em to dress properly," Gulkison told me, "The uniform was strange for them."[218] He laughed as he told me about Wayne Kelly Jr. who would complain about the uniform in the summertime; Wayne wanted to wear his white dress shirt out on patrol during the summer in order to reflect the sunlight rather than his blue patrol shirt. Ross would tell him that the white shirt was his dress shirt so he wasn't allowed to wear it on patrol, to which Kelly would reply "well, I'm dressed aren't I?"[219]

While these examples do not demonstrate an outright, conscious, rejection of the ideals of the LFFA uniform and its associated western values, it does show, potentially, a different understanding of the uniform. This may not be a conscious rejection, but rather, the behaviour of a person who simply did not grow up within a culture that has an overabundance of respect for law and order. Moreover, it is possible that the mis-wearing of the uniform was an unconscious act of

[217] Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, 2.
[218] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[219] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

resistance. By making these slight modifications, officers may have been inherently rejecting the values western police uniforms hold.

Further to that, Fenyvesi noted in their research, alteration may also be made simply so that the uniform fits the wearer better or is more comfortable.[220] Uniforms come in standard sizes and therefore do not suit all body types appropriately. Adams was the first female officer to join the LFFA, and being quite short, when she was issued her uniform, it did not immediately fit her. She recalled to me that she had to wait to get her uniform altered before she could really wear it for the first time.[221] So, again, it seems that not all alterations were signs of disrespect, but, in some cases, alterations were more out of practicality.

Not surprisingly, there was some push back against seeing a western style enforcement uniform being worn by Stó:lō on the Fraser River. Henry Ned explained that when some of the more hard-core fishers "seen the native fishermen with uniforms on it was hard for them to accept."[222] Some of these fishermen had been fighting with DFO their whole lives and to many, seeing their own people on the river in uniforms was being on the side of DFO. Some "native fishermen resented Stó:lō [LFFA] because they agreed with DFO,"[223] He explained, but "once we signed an agreement… we enforced it. 90% were okay with it, 10% that were not."[224]

Denise Douglas was an avid fisherman when the LFFA patrolled the river. She expressed these types of feelings to me while at her family fishing spot at Yale. For Denise, the LFFA and its western uniform represented colonialism penetrating Indigenous society and using Indigenous

[220] Fenyvesi, "Reading Prisoner Uniforms," 354.
[221] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[222] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[223] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[224] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

people to dismantle, what Denise called, "the last frontier,"[225]; to "bodily remove"[226] Indigenous people from the river and from nature. She explained to me that the "white man" first took Indigenous lands and then he got "the Indigenous body behind it."[227] For Denise, the wearing of the LFFA uniform was an example of the Indigenous body being both physically and symbolically removed from nature and tradition.[228] Accordingly, once peoples have been displaced, they are easier to control. Denise even told me she believed that the Canadian Government supported the LFFA and the recruiting of Indigenous men and women as officers because they knew the river and the bank of the river, and were better able to chase Stó:lō fishers to bodily remove them from the river and confiscate their fish, unlike the DFO officers who were simply unfamiliar with the terrain.[229]

Since uniforms are typically used with the intention of getting the wearers to behave in certain ways, it is easy to see Denise's point of view. In the case of the LFFA officers, they were expected to enforce fisheries regulations that were, in large part, dictated by the Government of Canada and the DFO, rather than regulating the fisheries based on traditional knowledge and custom. On the face of it, the LFFA officers were, in fact, accepting the DFO rules and regulations, and wearing the uniform communicated this acceptance to those around them.

What reinforces this line of thinking, is that, as mentioned previously, it was Gulkison who initially issued the blue, paramilitary style uniform. This is interesting insofar as Gulkison is non-Indigenous and had a history working with western law enforcement, acting as a police chief, prior to joining the LFFA as their commanding officer. Given his history, it seems evident that Gulkison

[225] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.
[226] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.
[227] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.
[228] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.
[229] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.

fully understood and accepted the beliefs and values that are typically associated with police uniforms by non-Indigenous people, and that was the basis for issuing the uniforms he did. It would not be a stretch to think that he did so, like the Salvation Army, in order to take advantage of the general respect and obedience shown toward such a uniform in Canada. Given Henry Ned's estimation that 90% of Stó:lō people on the river were okay with the LFFA and the regulations they were in forcing, it seems that Gulkison's assumption largely paid off.

However, it is also clear by the backlash demonstrated that the uniform was a double-edged sword. Douglas noted that many people in her community at the time had grown up going to residential schools and the Government of Canada taught from the beginning of their lives how to not respect their elders and traditions, and were instead taught to follow instructions from the 'white man' and not to argue with authority—by which she was referring to, again, the 'white man' and the Canadian Government.[230]

From Malloway, Lester Ned and Pennier recalling stories of their literal fights with the DFO,[231] to Henry Ned expressing his understanding of why some people on the river rejected the LFFA, the conflicting meanings of the LFFA uniform were apparent in my interviews. Lester Ned explained that "it was kind of tough to accept before, because you fought with DFO all your life…[but] we fully supported all the boys in there… we were proud of them, they were working for us."[232] Douglas spoke about the late Wayne Bob, one of the LFFA officers, and she expressed that Wayne Bob thought he was doing a good thing, working in a good job, working towards self-government; Denise said he was a really good boy and that she loved him. In Denise's experience,

[230] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.
[231] Told in the previous chapter.
[232] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

the Indigenous officers were not bad people, but they were trained to be and act a certain way which was seen as a tool to oppress Indigenous peoples and their rights to fish.[233]

Adams recalled "Policing in our own communities could be a little tough… but the respect was there. They knew us as people and then also on the job."[234] The other officers on her team shared her sentiment. The fishers on the river respected the LFFA officers, and often preferred dealing with them instead of the DFO officers. For Shannon, this respect came because there was more connection with the community, the interactions were more "personable"[235]; "knowing the guys it kinda broke the ice a bit,"[236] was how Henry Ned put it. Lester Ned explained that because the Stó:lō had their own uniform on the river "there was a better understanding on the river."[237]

There was even a certain amount of respect for the uniform on the river, even by those who did not always follow the rules until they were caught. Henry Ned described to me a story about catching some people fishing during a closure by Alexander Bridge. Ned was out on patrol when he and his partner found some men fishing nets during a closure so he explained that fishing was closed and that he would have to take their nets and the contents in them. Ned said he already knew most of the fishermen and when it came time to pack up the fish, the men offered to pack them up for the officers so that they did not have to get their uniforms dirty doing it.[238] These stories are clear examples that Ned and his fellow officers already had a pre-established respectful relationship with the fishers on the river, that the respect was mutual and therefore, the interactions were generally peaceful; the fishers clearly had respect for the uniform.

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[233] Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.
[234] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[235] Clarence Pennier, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 24, 2019.
[236] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.
[237] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.
[238] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

When Lester Ned was explaining that at first it was difficult when his son Henry joined the LFFA because of his previous negative experiences with DFO, he also spoke about the changes he made once the LFFA was created. "Once we took over our own fishing … I had to sort of change my habits;"[239] for Lester, he had to start following the rules and regulations outlined by the LFFA-DFO agreements to support the program and the officers. Gulkison summed these sentiments nicely when he said, "they were all community people, right? They were all from the reserves… they knew everybody, and everybody knew them and there was never any kind of issue where somebody wouldn't do what they were asked to do by one of the officers."[240]

Wayne Kelly Jr. told stories of a few fishermen that were angry with the LFFA but came around eventually. One man had even threatened to shoot Wayne in the past if Wayne ever touched his net. One day Wayne was out doing a patrol during a closing when he came across this particular man. Wayne explained that the fishery was closed, and he needed to pull up his net or it would have to be seized, but the man's net was caught on something and could not be pulled up by himself. He asked Wayne and his partner to help pull up the net so that he would not have to forfeit it to seizure. Wayne was sure to ask, "you're not gonna shoot us are ya?"[241] In the end, Wayne and his partner helped to pull up the net rather than waiting and seizing it and earned the respect and trust of the fisherman. Wayne said the two men even became friends after that. For Wayne, earning the respect from the fishermen on the river was about spending time getting to know them.[242]

The uniform saw both appreciation and respect, but it also saw animosity and resentment. For many along the river, the uniform represented a combination of these meanings and feelings. The blue, paramilitary, western-mimicking uniform worn by the LFFA officers is rich in story,

[239] Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.
[240] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[241] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.
[242] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

and even today communicates a plethora of meanings and complex relationships. The tool belt, the items it contained, and more importantly, the items it did not contain, is also rich with complexity of meaning. The complexities of the tool belt speak strongly to the Stó:lō-Crown relationship, and therefore I will postpone this discussion until the next chapter.

Uniformity and Uniqueness

Uniforms are often used in order to distinguish certain groups of people from others. They tend to make clear, fairly immediately, what group a person or persons belong too through visual cues.[243] On the surface, enforcement uniforms communicate meanings of sameness, regulation, law and order, discipline; they suppress individuality.[244] Jennifer Craik, however, tells us that: "Often, anecdotes about uniforms involve formative moments of self-hood, especially associated with breaking out or away from normative codes, rebellion or subversion, about individual interpretation or difference in sameness."[245] This is certainly true of the officers of the LFFA.

On one hand, the uniform certainly did as it was meant to, it created a cohesive group and bound together individuals under the guise of sameness through the uniform. "Every day wasn't a workday. It was family time," was how Ed Kelly felt about his time wearing the uniform and hearing the many stories from all five officers I interviewed I got the very deep impression that they were not merely co-workers, but that for them, wearing the uniform and being part of the LFFA was being part of a family. The final section of this chapter includes stories from the officers

[243] Tynan and Godson, *Uniform*, 2.
[244] Johnson, "The Psychological Influence of the Police Uniform," 28.
[245] Craik, *Uniforms Exposed*, 5.

that indicate both their closeness as a cohesive group but also highlight the uniqueness of each of the officers despite their wearing of a uniform.

The officers had different stories to tell about each other, all of which showed just how close they were as a group, but also the unique personalities that existed beneath the uniform. "We were a pretty tight-knit group, eh,"[246] said Wayne Kelly Jr. before repeating some of his favorite stories and memories. Kelly did not grow up on the river, in fact, he had little to no experience on the river at all, driving boats or fishing, when he joined the LFFA but, upon his employment, fellow Officer Tony Malloway taught him how to drive the boat and taught him the river.[247] When Shannon and James, a married couple, joined the force, Gulkison would not let them be on the same patrol in the same boat, according to Shannon; the two had small children at home and Ross wanted to protect their family and their children.[248] It is clear that this group felt a deep sense of responsibility for one another, just like a family.

There were a few nicknames that were common throughout the group which demonstrates just how close the officers became. "I call him a rough driver because he likes bouncing all over the waves and just going through the rough stuff,"[249] Henry Ned described Wayne Kelly Jr. as he told me about a few experiences of Wayne driving the boat. One time Wayne and Henry had a reporter on the boat with them and Wayne was originally driving. When they pulled ashore for a break she leaned over to Henry and told him that she did not want Wayne to drive anymore because he was scaring her, so Henry had to take over the driving.[250] Meanwhile, Officer Clay Charlie was often called "slipknot" according to Wayne Kelly Jr. He acquired the nickname one day when he

[246] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.
[247] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019
[248] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[249] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[250] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

and Wayne stopped at Hope for lunch while on shift; Clay Charlie tied the boat at the launch and off they headed for lunch. After lunch the two headed back down to the launch to get back in their boat and finish their patrol only to find that the boat was missing. As it turns out, the knot Clay Charlie had tied was not very secure and the boat had floated away; they found it downriver by where the pipeline crosses the Fraser River.[251]

Another day when Clay Charlie, Wayne Kelly Jr., and James Adams stopped for lunch at Katzie, Charlie, according to Kelly, forgot to put the cork in the boat's bung hole so when they returned from lunch the boat had almost sunk in the river. James Adams did his best to pump out the boat, but it still took the group nearly two hours to kick the boat to the nearest boat launch which was at the Port Mann Bridge.[252] The men both laughed at their stories and the camaraderie that occurred. Adams laughed as she recalled the only time she and her husband, James Adams, were allowed on the boat together. Gulkison was standing on the shore talking on his brick cell phone when James tore up the side of the river and completely soaked him.[253] When reminded of this story, Gulkison laughed fondly at the antics of his officers.[254]

In wearing the uniform, Ed Kelly agreed to be part of a hierarchy. Although he was certainly in charge of his officers, he still had to answer to the board as well as the DFO and Canadian government who funded the program. However, wearing the uniform did not always force Kelly into line with the policies of his superiors. When Kelly joined the LFFA he assumed the role of protector of his officers, his family. "I didn't care if they were gonna fire me. I was gonna protect my officers," said Kelly as he told numerous stories of his team.[255] One year after

[251] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.
[252] Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019
[253] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.
[254] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[255] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

the LFFA-DFO agreement had been signed some of the Stó:lō Chiefs wanted to see the officers out on the river the next day. Kelly, to protect his family and make sure his officers were going to be safe, refused to put them on the river before all the boats and equipment were properly water-tested on Cultus Lake and serviced.[256]

Upon reflection, Ed Kelly felt like he may have pushed back against his superiors too much and was the cause for the end of the program. Not only did Kelly push for his officers to complete firearms training and fight, though unsuccessfully, to have his officers carry firearms, he also fought to keep his officers employed year-round rather than just having seasonal contracts. The officers were equipped to focus on conservation and the environment and could have easily focused on this in the off season, but the Chiefs did not approve of this. Moreover, Kelly fought for fair wages and benefits for his officers and to keep them as safe as possible on the river.[257] "I was probably responsible for the termination of the fisheries enforcement program, which I'm not proud of in one respect, but I am in another because I gained a lot of good [for my officers],"[258] he explained. "They're my family."[259]

While uniforms are generally used to make the wearers behave in certain ways, and project certain values and beliefs, it is clear from these stories that the individual personalities of the officers were not suppressed by the uniform. Though the uniform certainly worked to create a cohesive group that was uniquely identifiable on the river, and provided certain authority over others, it did not dictate the personalities of the officers or take away their individuality.

[256] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[257] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[258] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[259] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

Chapter Six

Empowerment and Colonial Reification

In the last chapter I analyzed and discussed the uniform worn by the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority in terms of the general meaning it communicated to those who wore it and to other members of the Stó:lō community who interacted with it. In this chapter, I will turn to the Stó:lō-Crown relationship and use the uniform and the program as a means of understanding that relationship and the position of the Stó:lō within it. To start, I will outline Langdon Winner's argument that material artifacts can have politics in order to demonstrate some of the political consequences of the uniform and its impact on the Stó:lō-Crown relationship. Moreover, I will use the uniform as a starting point from which I will discuss the ways in which it led to both the empowerment of the Stó:lō and also their colonial reification.

Material Artifacts have Politics

Langdon Winner asserts that material artifacts have politics. To start, Winner describes *politics* as "arrangements of power and authority in human association as well as the activities that take place within those arrangements."[260] He argues that some artifacts are "inherently political technologies, man-made systems that appear to require, or to be strongly compatible with, particular kinds of political relationships."[261] I argue that the uniform worn by the Stó:lō officers

[260] Langdon Winner, "Do Artifacts have Politics?" *Daedalus* 109 No. 1 (1990), 123.
[261] Winner, "Do Artifacts have Politics?" 123.

of the LFFA is an example of one such political artifact insofar as it was the cornerstone object within the inherently political Stó:lō-Crown fisheries co-management relationship in the 1990's. The uniform is used here to explore this political relationship and define the power and authority held by both parties within the relationship.

On the surface, the uniform can be seen simply as clothing used to identify a certain group of people and ensure their bodily protection while wearing the uniform. If we are only concerned with the immediate and surface use of the uniform, it appears to be a harmless artifact that would have had little to no consequence on the lives of those surrounding it. However, Winner reminds us that artifacts can, and often do, encompass purposes that go far beyond their immediate, and perhaps intended use, and are often used as a means of asserting power in a relationship.[262] We saw in the previous chapter, the beginnings of this narrative through Douglas and other Stó:lō fishermen who resented the uniform as it was viewed as a means of colonial oppression and assimilation.

Winner argues that artifacts that are inherently political when the adoption of that artifact unavoidably brings with it conditions for human relationships that are distinctively political.[263] Recall that standardized uniforms were first introduced in military agencies and soon thereafter in police agencies as a means of establishing cohesive power for monarchs.[264] Standardized military and police uniforms have been used as a means of assertions and establishing power locally as well as in the colonial setting since their introduction.[265] As with other military and police uniforms in the past, the uniform worn by the LFFA officers can also be said to be an example of this same assertion of power by one group over another. In the case of the LFFA uniform, the Stó:lō officers

[262] Winner, "Do Artifacts have Politics?" 125.
[263] Winner, "Do Artifacts have Politics?" 128.
[264] Craik, *Uniforms Exposed,* 26.
[265] See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

asserted power over their own community as was discussed in the previous chapter, but the uniform also represents the colonial power asserted by the Crown over the Stó:lō.

Colonial Reification through Uniform

Paul Nadasdy notes that Indigenous-Crown relationships of co-management of natural resources, as well as land claims and self-government, are meant to be a means through which Indigenous communities are able to improve their position within Canada.[266] However, Nadasdy argues that for Indigenous communities engaging in these relationships, there is actually a risk of reifying their colonized position rather than bringing about real empowerment.[267] Nadasdy goes as far to say that land claims and co-management, in their current state, are contributing "first and foremost an exercise in legitimation...of an unacceptable domination."[268]

The key to Nadasdy's arguments is the concept of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), referring to the knowledge that is "acquired over thousands of years of direct human contact with the environment."[269] It is often described as local knowledge and is often associated with Indigenous communities who have passed on their environmental knowledge over thousands of years through oral traditions. According to one member of the Kluane First Nation (KFN), TEK is "not really 'knowledge' at all; it's more a way of life."[270] It is from this notion that Nadasdy is able to make his claims that engaging in co-management relationships is a double-edged sword.

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[266] Paul Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon,* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003)*,* 1.
[267] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* 9.
[268] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* 4.
[269] Michiel Van Eijck and Wolff-Michael Roth, "Keeping the Local Local: Recalibrating the Status of Science and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) in Education," *Science Education* 91, no. 6 (2007), 928.
[270] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 63.

On one hand, engaging in these relationships looks as though First Nations are active players in the management of natural resources and are able to use their experience to help guide preservation of those resources. Nadasdy argues, however, that engaging in those relationships undermines the very premise they are based on—the TEK. For the KFN, given that TEK is a way of life, to maintain it they must continue to live in certain ways; for example, hunting and simply being on the land. However, for KFN to engage in co-management relationships with the state they must learn the language of state ecological management as well as state bureaucracy and then must work within those languages to interact with the state.[271] According to Nadasdy, most KFN people are forced to spend their days working in an office as bureaucratic counterparts to the state employees. This means that they are necessarily being removed from nature and the vital TEK ways of life.[272]

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu, Nadasdy explains that for a person to be able to engage in and produce discourse in any given field, they must first understand and be able to use the forms and formalities of that field.[273] In other words, they must learn the language, the rhetoric and jargon, of that field in order to engage with others in that field. For example, with Indigenous communities who have, or are working toward having, co-management relationships with the state, they must first understand the language the government uses and the discourse within the government in relation to resource management. For Nadasdy, this leads to self-censorship as the speaker modifies the language they use in order for their utterances to be received as expected by the other members in the field.[274] By this, Nadasdy means that Indigenous communities that

[271] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* 2.
[272] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* 2.
[273] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* 4-5. For more on this, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
[274] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats,* 5.

engage in co-management relationships with the state must first learn an entirely new language, that of the state, and in doing so, learn to censor their own traditional methods of speaking, in order to be understood by the state and accepted into the field of discourse. For example, Indigenous communities will stop speaking in terms of traditional knowledge, like using language that suggests the animation of natural features. Instead, they will begin speaking as the colonial state does, speaking of natural features only in terms of resource extraction, economics, and use for humans.

The LFFA uniform, in many ways, supports this argument by Nadasdy. The uniform replicates the image of the colonial enforcement: blue (the established colour of policing in Canada), Canada flag on the shoulder patch, Crown pins to express rank, and very western in style with its long sleeve shirt and slacks, to name just a few features. In these ways, the uniform itself is a representation of the Stó:lō community *learning a new language* of enforcement, a western language, with their adoption of a western style uniform.

Further, the LFFA officers underwent the same training as other enforcement officers. The officers went through the Justice Institute twice, once in 1993 in Mission[275] and again in New Westminster in 1996.[276] The officers were trained in hand to hand combat for which Henry Ned remembered being consistently chosen to be part of the demonstrations.[277] They also participated in white water training and firearms training.[278] Ed Kelly remembers being told by someone from DFO that he had some of the best trained officers on the river.[279] "I was very proud of them because … they were very keen to work hard, right. They're very keen and determined to show the rest of

[275] Robert Freeman, "'A new beginning' for Sto:lo bands," The Chilliwack Progress, May 5th, 1993. A2.
[276] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.
[277] Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.
[278] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.
[279] Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

the world they could do exactly what other police or law enforcement"[280] could do, explained Gulkison.

The acceptance of a colonial style uniform, and undergoing colonial style enforcement training can be seen as Stó:lō learning a new language and a new way of life and in turn giving up their traditional ways of life. Putting on such a uniform puts the Stó:lō in a position of learning the state's language of enforcement and advancing that language and method over tradition. Therefore, by putting on the uniform, Stó:lō were actually reifying their colonial oppression and undermining the culture the community had been hoping to protect.[281]

Another interesting aspect of the LFFA uniform that supports Nadasdy's theory is the prohibition of firearms being issued to the LFFA officers by the colonial government. Even though these officers underwent the same training as other enforcement officers in Canada, including the DFO who carried firearms, the LFFA officers were consistently prohibited from carrying a firearm. The lack of firearms demonstrates that while the uniform mimicked other offices of authority, it did only that, mimicked. This demonstrates that the LFFA uniform provided a presumed equal authority as their so-called DFO counterparts, but in reality, the uniform left them intentionally at a disadvantage. The incomplete uniform tells us that the LFFA was not viewed as being equal to other enforcement agencies including the DFO. In other words, the LFFA uniform provided an illusion of equality in the co-management relationship while colonial power and hierarchy were being asserted, preventing the Stó:lō from true parity. Homi Bhabha discusses this "almost the same, *but not quite*" challenge in the colonial/colonized relationship and argues that the

[280] Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.
[281] Nadasdy, *Hunters and Bureaucrats*, 26.

"*ambivalence* of mimicry…fixes the colonial subject as a "partial" presence."[282] Bhabha argues that partial presence of the colonialized "is dependent for its representation upon some strategic limitation or prohibition *within* the authoritative discourse itself."[283] On one hand, the mimicry of the standardized uniform may be used to visualize or eliminate the authority of the other established enforcement agencies, but on the other hand it adheres to domination of the colonial power.

What is interesting about the above point is that the blue paramilitary uniform was actively adopted by the Stó:lō rather than being enforced by the Crown. Therefore, it is less that the government was overtly asserting its colonial power over the Stó:lō, but perhaps more that the government took advantage of the chance to assert or maintain power when it was given. Moreover, the uniform was chosen by Gulkison, as mentioned in previous chapters, a non-Indigenous man with a history of being a police chief, but also someone with sympathies for the Indigenous populations. This puts the uniform in an extremely conflicting position. It could be argued that all of the above negative consequences and colonial reification was an unfortunate by-product of the uniform being introduced, while Ross' intention behind the uniform was to legitimize the Stó:lō enforcement agency and empower them within the Stó:lō-Crown co-management relationship. In any case, the LFFA uniform is a clear demonstration of the complexity of mimicry.

Empowerment through Uniform

[282] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, (California: University of California Press, 1997), 153-154.
[283] Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 154.

When the uniform was first introduced by Gulkison, it was likely done to empower the LFFA officers and legitimize their authority. Megan Harvey notes that using 'Indigenous-Crown relations' as an object of study in the first place, suggests that Indigenous people cannot also be a part of the state, or that those working for the state (Indigenous or otherwise) are incapable of working against the state's institutional cultures and frameworks that oppress and subjugate Indigenous peoples.[284] G. Eades treads the same line as Harvey when he argues that one of the ways to resist inscriptions of power is actually through the adoption of the tools of the dominant culture.[285] In other words, one way to fight back and change the oppressive system is by working from within that system and using its own tools against it, which can lead to the empowerment and improvement of position for the previously oppressed group.

In many ways LFFA officers were able to use the power the uniform gave them to attempt to decolonize fisheries enforcement from the inside, rather than fight it from the outside. Take, for example, the shoulder patch of the uniform. The original patch had a Canadian flag, and read: *First Nations Canada: Stó:lō Justice Service, Serving the Aboriginal Community*. The aspects highlighted here are indeed very western in nature. The Canadian flag shows the allegiance to the Crown, as well as the terminology "First Nations Canada." The use of the term "Justice Service" can also be seen as colonial, in that it is enforcing the idea that western policing is the only means of justice, since the LFFA largely enforced western rules and regulations. That being said, the artwork on the original patch was designed by Stó:lō artist Stan Green and depicted the full salmon cycle.[286] The use of Indigenous artwork, and the use of the important cultural symbol of the salmon, is a clear indication that the Stó:lō were ensuring their culture was being visually included.

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[284] Harvey, "Living Well Through Story," 13.
[285] Gwilym Eades, *Maps and Memes: Redrawing Culture, Place, and Identity in Indigenous Communities,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 10.
[286] Bierwert, Campo, Crey, Fournier, Harper, and Pennier, *The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority,* 9.

In 1996 when a new patch was designed and issued. The new patch design brought more empowerment by replacing colonial symbols with more Stó:lō symbols. For example, the new patch did not include a Canadian flag, rather, it depicted the Stó:lō Nation logo surrounded by a salmon, a bear and an eagle. The language also changed to say: *Sto:lo Nation Enforcement Division: British Columbia*. The patch no longer tied the LFFA directly to the Canadian Crown. For Henry Ned, the change in design was an important step to clarify that the LFFA was a Stó:lō authority, not a Crown authority.

It is also important to note that although the uniform mimicked a colonial style, on the river it was viewed by many as distinctly Stó:lō. Being blue, the LFFA uniform was visually distinct from the DFO whose uniform was (and remains) green. The Stó:lō have a history of fighting and struggle with the DFO, as was demonstrated in earlier stories. Therefore, the green uniform of the DFO symbolized these struggles and communicated negative memories. The blue LFFA uniform, on the other hand, symbolized more understanding, respect and Stó:lō men and women working for Stó:lō.[287] This clearly speaks to the animosity found in the Stó:lō-Crown relationship. Moreover, the fact that the Crown agreed to a co-management relationship of this kind shows that the pressure put on the Crown by Indigenous populations for self-government, land claims, Aboriginal Rights and Title, and stewardship of natural resources, was being felt and the Crown was forced to relinquish some of its power. Even though this only lasted, in the case of the LFFA, for a short time, it is clear that the Crown does not hold all of the cards, and that Indigenous peoples have some power to assert back.

Even though the system of enforcement of the LFFA looked decidedly more colonial, the idea of sustainable fisheries and conservation were not new to the Stó:lō people. Rather, the use

[287] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

of more western styles might instead be seen as an adaptation of their culture, rather than a rejection of it. In order for the Stó:lō voice to be heard, there was necessarily give and take, and adaptation to a new system. Harvey directly speaks to Nadasdy's work in her dissertation. She points to his arguments that Indigenous people may be losing touch with their traditional cultures as a result of engaging in these relationships with the state where the Indigenous group is forced to learn the state's language. But, she argues back, culture changes can occur. Harvey is clear when she points to literacy and wage labour, saying that oral histories were not replaced by literacy, nor was Indigenous culture made obsolete with the introduction of wage-labour; rather, Indigenous cultures evolved and adapted to new circumstances.[288] In other words, culture is dynamic, not static. It is completely possible, and in fact necessary, for cultures to change over time to adapt to new circumstances. Harvey also points out that although it is good to recognize the oppressive forces of the state, that it is also important to recognize the endurance of Indigenous collective culture in the face of these forces.[289]

In the same vein, Eades argues that the distinction between modernity and tradition has mostly been created by outsiders.[290] Modern amenities, like power boats, modern houses and so on, are often more convenient and practical for Indigenous communities, but having these does not diminish the links to their traditions, like being in touch with nature. Eades speaks specifically about GPS as an example of this. GPS is a western technology that many Indigenous communities have adopted. While some may argue this technology removes Indigenous peoples from nature and their traditional placenames, Eades argues that when GPS is used in conjunction with traditional methods it can enhance Indigenous culture.[291] In other words, GPS, for example, can

[288] Harvey, "Living Well Through Story," 25.
[289] Harvey, "Living Well Through Story," 26.
[290] Eades, *Maps and Memes,* 4.
[291] Eades, *Maps and Memes,* 17.

empower traditional culture and knowledge when it is used as a means of denoting place names and the stories that go with those place names. Many Indigenous people who now live in cities can benefit from this technology because it can allow them to understand the locations and importance of the place names even if they must be removed from those lands.

There are limitations to this type of argument as presented by Eades, however. On one hand, the adoption of modern technologies, like power boats, create new realities that not everyone can maintain. For example, while traditional fisheries were maintained through TEK, power boats require a far different kind of knowledge to maintain that few people possess. Moreover, it also creates a different kind of relationship with the land than would be considered traditional. For example, Wayne Kelly Jr., who did not have a relationship with the river growing up, created his relationship through the wearing of the LFFA uniform. However, this relationship did not include a hereditary fishing spot, or a dip net, but rather included a powerboat and regulating those that were fishing. But again, culture is dynamic and so these types of changes should not always be viewed in a negative light.

The uniform fits well into the line of thought presented by Eades and Harvey. As was mentioned above, culture is not static. In order to survive, cultures must be able to change and adapt to new circumstances. It could be argued that the uniform was one way in which the Stó:lō were trying to grow and adapt. By the 1990's, the colonial government was in a long established place of power, and the Stó:lō community was figuring out how to exist within the colonial structure. By wearing the uniform and adopting western style enforcement methods, the officers were able to take back control of the river in a small way. Many of the officers have told stories of how there were fewer conflicts on the river because the Stó:lō fishers had more respect for the LFFA officers than they did the DFO. Moreover, the LFFA officers understood the cultural

customs of the fishers and were more sympathetic to their situations and therefore fewer confrontations occurred between the two groups.[292] Although Douglas suggested the LFFA was a way to bodily remove Indigenous people from the river, having Indigenous officers on the river, rather than just DFO, may have been more encouraging. The Stó:lō fishers were likely to be harassed more by the DFO than the LFFA thereby producing fewer fishermen on the river or forcing the fishing to occur in secret. Having the Indigenous officers on the river brought less fear to many Stó:lō fishers. In that sense, the use of the LFFA uniform can be seen as a cultural adaptation that allowed the Stó:lō to strengthen their position within their relationship with the Crown.

The uniform has also advanced another aspect of Indigenous culture; that of storytelling. Oral traditions run deep in the Stó:lō culture, and the uniform acts as a medium through which stories are shared. During my time in the Stó:lō community, the uniform opened an avenue for storytelling. I heard stories about the LFFA, stories about the uniform itself, and it allowed a space for stories of a more historic nature to be told; stories of pre-contact and more recent fisheries, and stories of what the river and the salmon mean to the Stó:lō people. Given the deep significance and importance of storytelling to the Stó:lō people, this can be seen as a very empowering consequence of the uniform, although perhaps not the most obvious to the untrained eye. The uniform creating a space for story not only empowers Stó:lō culture in itself, but also legitimizes Stó:lō culture and story within the Indigenous-Crown relationship.

[292] Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has explored the history and many meanings communicated by a material artifact. Using a material object as a starting point for historical research offers the researcher a plethora of avenues to explore. This thesis has focused on the history, design, and function of a uniform worn by men and women of the Lower Fraser Fishing authority, While the uniform of focus in this thesis belonged to and was worn by only one man, Ed Kelly, it was used as a starting point through which I was able to explore the meaning of the uniform from the perspective of Kelly, the wearer, other officers of the LFFA who wore uniforms of the same design, members of the Stó:lō community who took part in the administrative side of the program, and other members of the Stó:lō community who interacted with the uniform in other ways.

The uniform worn by the Stó:lō men and women of the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority is a powerful artifact that communicates history, meaning, and provides insights into the complex relationship between the Stó:lō and the Crown, as well as the equally complex internal relationship of the Stó:lō community itself. The uniform holds a mixture of meaning from resentment to pride, from colonial reification to empowerment and tells a story of the complex nature of the Stó:lō-Crown relationship in the 1990's, as well as the complicated relationship the Stó:lō have with their own culture and cultural change. The uniform does not communicate any one message, but rather, the message being communicated is heavily dependent on the person who is receiving the message. Moreover, the uniform may not communicate a single meaning to a single person, but that a person might be presented with several and contradictory communications.

There are many avenues of investigation that have been opened by the uniform that ought to be explored in the future. First of all, the interviews reflected in this thesis comprise only a very

small number of people who had interaction with the uniform, and primarily focus on the wearers of the uniform. A valuable avenue to follow in the future will be to create relationships and interview more members of the Stó:lō community that were not directly part of the LFFA but who had interaction with its officers. Moreover, an interesting avenue to follow might involve interviewing DFO officers and other government officials and settler community members that may have interacted with the uniform or the program. As mentioned in the first chapter, another area of research that this uniform opens is that relating to the creation of the physical uniform itself.

Although touched on in this thesis, there is certainly room for more analysis of the artwork and design found on the shoulder patches of the uniform. This analysis might include more comparison to shoulder patch designs of other enforcement agencies, Western, Eastern, or otherwise. It might also include an analysis of the artwork through the telling of story—stories of the Stó:lō people that identify each of the characters in the designs and their origins and/or importance to the Stó:lō community.[293]

This thesis is only the beginning of the research possibilities presented by the LFFA uniform held by the *Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre*. This project has analyzed a material object. This analysis informs the historiography of the use of artifacts as objects of study and semiotics. It also offers insights into Stó:lō history and culture through the meaning woven into the fabric of the uniform. Finally, it offers insights into the broader Indigenous-Crown relationship and highlights some of the opportunities of empowerment that exist within that relationship for Indigenous people, but also some of the challenges of that relationship.

[293] There are many other areas of study that could be investigated by researchers in the future. This section only includes a handful of options and should not be taken as a comprehensive list.

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