

# Ethnohistory Field School Report 2019

## A Badge of Honour: Biography of a Fisheries Uniform

Allison Eccleston

University of Victoria

The Ethnohistory Field School is a collaboration of the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, Stó:lō Nation & Stó:lō Tribal Council, and the History Departments of the University of Victoria and University of Saskatchewan.



In the spring of 2018 the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority (LFFA) uniform once belonging to Edward Kelly was donated to the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) in Chilliwack, BC. The donated collection consists of over fifty articles of clothing including 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<sup>1</sup> and four pins. This uniform has a short but rich history; it is a window in the history of the men and women who wore the uniform and, in turn, tells part of the longer story of decolonization of control over the fishery for the greater Stó:lō community.

I am currently doing my masters degree in history at the University of Victoria. I stayed on Stó:lō territory for one month as part of the University of Saskatchewan-University of Victoria Ethnohistory Field School, 2019. During my time in Chilliwack I was immersed into Stó:lō history and culture, from staying with a Stó:lō host family to attending a traditional Stó:lō potlatch and visiting multiple family fishing spots. During my stay I had the privilege of interviewing a number of incredible Stó:lō members and elders and since my first stay I have returned a second time to conduct more interviews for this project.

My project is one framed by the “New Ethnohistory”, which has several different elements relevant to my work. For Carolyn Bertlett, a former Field School student who also did a

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the documents on the floppy disks were able to be opened. They largely contained memos internal to the LFFA and memos between the LFFA and various government officials. These floppy disks are now part of the SRRMC archives.

biography of a material item, this means discovering the *numinousity* of the object; numinous objects being ones that have “have great communal value and can contribute to a better understanding of a group’s history while evoking certain emotions within their viewers.”<sup>2</sup> Another ethnohistorical method is that of microhistory; a methodology of starting with something small and unpacking a larger history.<sup>3</sup> In the case of my project, this would mean using the uniform, something small, to ask the big questions, such as asking about the geopolitics of the LFFA and the conflict on the river between the Stó:lō and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO).<sup>4</sup> Both would be valuable projects but instead, my project will take a Geertzian approach to ethnohistory, one he describes as “thick description.”<sup>5</sup> Thick description is the process whereby the historian immerses themselves in the culture in order to deeply and richly understand its subtleties. It is explaining the biographical details of an object, but also gaining a deeper understanding of the symbols and meanings woven into the fabric of the object by engaging with those members of the community that were part of creating those symbols and memories. Moreover, my methodology is one of New Ethnohistory because this community-engaged project was identified by the Stó:lō community and presented to me as work they would like done. It is based off of 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. Rather than following a single story, what I am presenting here are the many

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<sup>2</sup> Bartlett, Carolyn. *Numinous Objects': The Ethnohistorical Complexities of a Residential School Bass Drum*. 2009, p.3.

<sup>3</sup> Matti Peltonen. “What Is Micro in Microhistory?” in *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing*, ed. Hans Renders and Binne de Haan, Vol. 7 (Boston: Brill, 2004) 106.

<sup>4</sup> My project will not be taking this approach and will not be a history of the geopolitical climate and conflict on the Fraser River during the 1990’s. This project has a lot of potential and should be pursued in the future.

<sup>5</sup> Clifford Geertz, “Thick Descriptions: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

narratives shared with my by members of the Stó:lō community in order to thickly describe the uniforms history.

In order to complete this project, I will primarily use information from the interviews I conducted while on Stó:lō territory, supplemented by newspaper articles and both published and unpublished letters and LFFA committee documents. To begin, I will give a brief introductory history of the LFFA in order to give some context for the uniform. Next, I will discuss the uniform through some themes that presented themselves throughout my interviews; this portion of the paper will use memories and stories from the members of the LFFA and Stó:lō community. Please be aware that there were many more officers who participated in this program and many more community members who were impacted by the uniform than what is presented here; this is not meant to be a generalization for how all of the officers and community members felt, but rather a snapshot into the lives and relationships of a few Stó:lō members with each other and relationships with the uniform.

### **Introduction to the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority**

The Lower Fraser Fishing Authority<sup>6</sup> was created in 1992, as part of the Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy in the wake of the Supreme Court decision in *Sparrow*. The initial agreement in 1992

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<sup>6</sup> 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.

was signed by 21 of 24 Stó:lō bands as well as Musqueam and Tsawassen<sup>7</sup>. 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 enforceable by DFO.<sup>8</sup> 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 Ken Malloway was the Chief of Tzeatchen and was part of the LFFA management committee.<sup>9</sup> 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 for the bands to sign they did not recognize it 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.<sup>10</sup> 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 years negotiations.<sup>11</sup> Around

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<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> In 1992 “The LFFA management committee includes 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.

<sup>10</sup> Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

1998/1999 the program ended and the LFFA officers' contracts were simply never re-signed. I will discuss the dissolution of the LFFA and, in particular the Guardian program, later in this paper.

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 father of one of the LFFA officers, Henry Ned<sup>12</sup>, said “we had to follow very heavy restrictions.”<sup>13</sup>

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. The officers were in charge of issuing indigenous licenses, enforcing the fisheries openings and closures, as well as the commercial fishery sales and allotments.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> The officers patrolled in sections from the Port Mann Bridge to Sawmill Creek. The sections patrolled by boat were typically divided into three regions: Port Mann to Chilliwack, Chilliwack to Hope, and Hope to Yale.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Henry Ned's legal name is Lester Ned Jr, but his preferred name, and name used throughout this paper, is Henry Ned.

<sup>13</sup> Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>15</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

## **Biography of the Uniform:**

The uniform donated to SRRMC belonged to Ed Kelly, the second Director of Enforcement of the LFFA Guardian program; Ed Kelly joined the Lower Fraser Fishing Authority in 1995. According to Ken 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.<sup>17</sup> “Sto:lo Nation made me a pretty nice offer wage wise,”<sup>18</sup> Ed explained when asked about how he became involved with the LFFA. Ed 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<sup>19</sup> signifying the end of the LFFA.

Prior to Ed Kelly’s employment with the LFFA, in 1992 Ross Gulkison was hired to be the head of the enforcement division of the LFFA. 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.<sup>20</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr. reflected 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 a Esso serviceman.”<sup>21</sup> In fact, the very first uniform the officers wore were “Shell Gas uniforms... with a patch on them,”<sup>22</sup> Ross Gulkison informed me, “I don’t know where they got them from.”<sup>23</sup> Ross quickly put together a budget, which was funded by the provincial government, to get new

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<sup>17</sup> Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>19</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>20</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

uniforms for the officers.<sup>24</sup> The new uniforms were created as traditional law enforcement uniforms; the blue shirts were chosen because “it’s [an] established colour for policing.”<sup>25</sup>

The uniform started with pants that had a black braided strip down the sides, but before long Ross Gulkison had it changed to a single red stripe. Ross recalled his reason for the change being Wayne Kelly Jr. who constantly complained: “I don’t like these pants.”<sup>26</sup> The issue for Wayne Kelly Jr. being that the braided black stripe made the pants look like dancing pants.<sup>27</sup> “I 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,” reflected Wayne Kelly Jr. about his uniform.



The first few versions of the shoulder patch used on the uniform of the LFFA officers were very similar. The artwork in the center was designed by Stó:lō artist Stan Greene.<sup>28</sup> The artwork depicts the full salmon cycle. 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. “I always liked this one here because of the fish. The whole life cycle

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<sup>24</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>28</sup> 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.

of the fish”<sup>29</sup> was the reflection of Wayne Kelly Jr. Unfortunately, I was unable to speak with Stan Greene during the course of my research and so I am unable to comment on the meaning of the artwork. This version of the shoulder patch had a number of textual components: *First Nations Canada*; *Sto:lo Justice Service*; and *Serving the Aboriginal Community* as seen in the above photo. 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.<sup>30</sup> Some of those who wore it thought that the words, *First Nations Canada* was meant as a more general representation of Indigenous people across the country. According to Ross 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> According to Ed Kelly, his “officers didn’t like the first shoulder badge anyway but

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<sup>29</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>31</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>32</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>33</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

they liked the second one. The one Henry designed.”<sup>34</sup> Ed Kelly had the LFFA Staff Sergeant, Henry Ned, create the artwork. The second design contains a salmon at the top which “represents



the Sto:lō river people.”<sup>35</sup> Below the salmon are a bear on the left and an eagle on the right. In the centre is the Sto:lō Nation logo of a man fishing. According to Ed Kelly, “the bear is for strength and courage and the eagle is for vision and wisdom.”<sup>36</sup> Henry Ned describes the bear, human, and eagle as the predators of the salmon.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, instead of *First Nation Canada*, the second 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.”<sup>38</sup>

As part of the uniform, each officer was issued a badge. Ed Kelly’s badge that was donated as part of his uniform contained a blank space where his badge number would have gone. Shannon Adams recalled fondly getting her badge number. When she and her husband, 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,””<sup>39</sup> laughed Shannon, so she became Officer #9 and James became Officer #10. While searching the

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<sup>34</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>35</sup> Ed Kelly to Bob Hull, September 23, 1996. *Re: Sto:lo Nation Enforcement Division Shoulder Badge - New Version.*

<sup>36</sup> Ed Kelly to Bob Hull, September 23, 1996. *Re: Sto:lo Nation Enforcement Division Shoulder Badge - New Version.*

<sup>37</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>38</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

uniform at SRRMC I found four pins in one of the pockets; two crown pins and two pip pins. Ross Gulkison explained that these would have been pinned on Ed Kelly's shoulder as a representation of his rank.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> It is unclear as to which rank these insignia represented for Ed Kelly since it was not revealed during my interview with him; but the pins found in Ed Kelly's uniform were all coloured gold so it is likely that some pins were simply missing from the collection and Ed Kelly's rank was either Deputy Chief Constable or Chief Constable as per the Police Act descriptions.

Each officer was also issued a tool belt with their uniform which included pepper spray, handcuffs and a baton<sup>42</sup>; though, according to Ross Gulkison his officers did not really need these things as they "were the best with their verbal judo."<sup>43</sup> The tool belts, though, lacked a firearm. The LFFA officers were later trained in the use of firearms<sup>44</sup> but were never authorized to carry firearms.<sup>45</sup> Ed Kelly laughed as he joked, "my officers and I, we had pepper spray, so if anybody was attacking us we had to ask 'em to move down wind from us."<sup>46</sup>

Wayne Kelly Jr. and Shannon Adams, two of the officers that I was able to interview, both recalled some feelings and memories of the uniform. While looking at a group photo from 1996

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<sup>40</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> British Columbia. *Police Act: Police (uniforms) Regulations*. Victoria, BC: Queen's Printer. 1976.

<sup>42</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>43</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>44</sup> The officers trained in the use of firearms after Ed Kelly became the Director of Enforcement in 1995.

<sup>45</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>46</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

Wayne Kelly Jr. pointed out that he would wear a blue t-shirt under his LFFA button down shirt when the rest of the group would wear a white t-shirt. “I think I looked a little better,”<sup>47</sup> he said with laughter pointing at himself in the photo.<sup>48</sup> Shannon Adams, shorter than the rest of her fellow officers, remembered having to have her uniform hemmed before she could wear it for the first time. Once able to wear it though, she fondly recalled that the conservation monitors on the river “would call us the blue shirts.”<sup>49</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr. remembered that they all had dress uniforms too: dress pants, dress whites, and lanyards. You 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.”<sup>50</sup> “Wayne, he’d be the one that’d be strutting,” laughed Shannon, “he’s like a little show off.”<sup>51</sup>

“It was hard to get ‘em to dress properly,” Ross Gulkison told me, “The uniform was strange for them.”<sup>52</sup> 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 Wayne Kelly Jr. would reply “well, I’m dressed aren’t I?”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>48</sup> See photo on page 12.

<sup>49</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>50</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>51</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>52</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>53</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.



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.

### **Pride, Respect and Family**

Throughout my interviews, I was able to discover a deeper history to the uniform; one that includes memories and feelings. There were many different themes that presented themselves throughout my interviews, but the most memorable were those of pride, respect and family. In what follows, I will use the stories told to me to present a deeper history of the uniform, a history that goes far beyond the uniform being a simple piece of clothing. One that shows how deeply rooted this uniform is in the Stó:lō community and that it is an important symbol for said community.

Wearing the uniform incited a lot of pride; I had the opportunity to speak with Wayne Kelly Jr., Henry Ned, and Shannon Adams, all of whom were extremely proud of the uniform they wore and the job and life that the uniform gave them. As well I was able to interview both heads of enforcement for the LFFA, Ross Gulkison and Ed Kelly who both expressed on numerous occasions throughout our conversations their pride in the uniform and in the officers who wore it. This pride in themselves and in one another was born out of the importance of the job they were doing, the difficulties the job entailed, and the impact wearing the uniform had on the Stó:lō community. Moreover, it came from the ability to earn the respect of their community, their peers and superiors. The pride felt by these officers was deeply grounded and well justified.

“I loved wearing the uniform,”<sup>54</sup> was a sentiment expressed by Wayne Kelly Jr. Wayne thought he looked quite good in uniform and he expressed these thoughts with pride in his smile. When the new patch design was created it was something of a victory for the Stó:lō and the LFFA. As mentioned earlier, the words on the patch were changed to say *Stó:lō Nation* instead of *First Nations Canada*. As Henry Ned said, “that was us.”<sup>55</sup> The new design highlighted that the LFFA was a Stó:lō force and deserved to be recognized as such. When explaining the new design in a memo Ed Kelly said, “we are quite proud of the finished product.”<sup>56</sup> The uniform itself was something to be quite proud of because it was Stó:lō, and it represented something that was created and run by Stó:lō for the Stó:lō people. The late Barb Dudley had worked for the LFFA enforcement division in an administrative position prior to becoming a fisheries officer; “she

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<sup>54</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>55</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>56</sup> Ed Kelly to Bob Hull, September 23, 1996. *Re: Sto:lo Nation Enforcement Division Shoulder Badge - New Version*.

seen me in my uniform and then she wanted to be a fishery officer,”<sup>57</sup> Shannon Adams explained. For Barb Dudley, the uniform was something that sparked pride and inspiration.

The officers who wore the uniform were proud to do so partly because of the rigorous training they had to go through in order to get to wear it. It was easy to deduce how proud the officers were of the training they went through, and also how proud many community members were from the simple fact that it was repeatedly mentioned throughout my interviews. The officers went through the Justice Institute twice, once in 1993 in Mission<sup>58</sup> and again in New Westminster in 1996.<sup>59</sup> The officers were trained in hand to hand combat for which Henry Ned remembered being consistently chosen to be part of the demonstrations.<sup>60</sup> They also participated in white water training and firearms training.<sup>61</sup> Ed Kelly remembers being told by someone from DFO that Ed had some of the best trained officers on the river; “my officers were proud of it,”<sup>62</sup> Ed Kelly noted. “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 the world they could do exactly what other police or law enforcement”<sup>63</sup> could do, explained Ross Gulkison.

“Our whole community was proud,”<sup>64</sup> Shannon Adams recounted; a sentiment continually repeated throughout most of my interviews; “let’s put it this way,” Ross Gulkison explained,

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<sup>57</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>58</sup> Robert Freeman. “‘A new beginning’ for Sto:lo bands.” *The Chilliwack Progress*. May 5th, 1993. p.A2.

<sup>59</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>60</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>61</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>62</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>63</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>64</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

“they made First Nations very proud.”<sup>65</sup> 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.”<sup>66</sup> Just as Lester Ned was proud to see his son wear the uniform, there was excitement and pride for Shannon Adams as the only woman in the LFFA when it was first created. When Shannon Adams received her badge her mother was told that “all the ladies in Ottawa are rooting for [her].”<sup>67</sup>

Beyond pride there was a deep respect for the uniform and the Stó:lō men and women who wore it. “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,”<sup>68</sup> was a sentiment expressed by Shannon Adams, and shared by the other officers on her team. It was said more than once that 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”<sup>69</sup>; “knowing the guys it kinda broke the ice a bit,”<sup>70</sup> 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.”<sup>71</sup>

Henry Ned described this kind of respect when he told me a story about catching some people fishing during a closure by Alexander Bridge. Henry Ned was out on patrol when he and his

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<sup>65</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>66</sup> Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

<sup>67</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>68</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>69</sup> Clarence Pennier, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 24, 2019.

<sup>70</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>71</sup> Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

partner found some men fishing nets during a closure so Henry explained that fishing was closed and that he would have to take their nets and the contents in them. Henry said he already knew most of the fisher 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.<sup>72</sup> To me, this story is a clear example that Henry 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 both Henry and the uniform he wore.

When Lester Ned was explaining that he at first it was difficult when 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;”<sup>73</sup> for Lester, he had to start following the rules and regulations outlined by the LFFA-DFO agreements in order to support the program and the officers. Ross 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.”<sup>74</sup>

Not surprisingly there was some push back against seeing a DFO-like uniform being worn by Stó:lō on the Fraser River. Henry Ned explained that when some of the more hard-core fishers

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<sup>72</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27th, 2019.

<sup>73</sup> Lester Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Jenna Casey, May 26, 2019.

<sup>74</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

“seen the native fishermen with uniforms on it was hard for them to accept.”<sup>75</sup> Henry Ned, like Lester, understood that some of these fishermen had been fighting with DFO their whole lives and seeing their own people on the river in uniforms said that they were supportive of DFO beliefs and rules, it was being on the side of DFO; some “native fishermen resented Stó:lō because they agreed with DFO,”<sup>76</sup> Henry Ned explained, but “once we signed an agreement... we enforced it. 90% were okay with it, 10% that were not.”<sup>77</sup> Denise Douglas was an avid fisher 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 represented colonialism penetrating into Indigenous society, using Indigenous people to dismantle, what Denise called, “the last frontier,”<sup>78</sup>; to “bodily remove”<sup>79</sup> Indigenous people from the river and from nature.

Even though some Indigenous fishers did not support the program, that was not to say they did not still a connection with the officers. Denise 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, the Indigenous officers were not bad people but they were trained to be and act a certain way which, for Denise, was seen as a tool to oppress Indigenous peoples and their rights to fish.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>76</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>77</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.

<sup>79</sup> Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.

<sup>80</sup> Denise Douglas, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 26, 2019.

Though Denise’s view of the LFFA is likely not a unique one it was also not the predominant one I heard during my time on Stó:lō. The main feeling towards the program that I got from most of my interviews were those of pride and respect. Wayne Kelly Jr. explained to me that in many cases respect could be earned, even from those that initially resented seeing the LFFA uniform on the river. He gave a good example: he knew of a few fishermen that were angry with the LFFA; one man in particular 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?”<sup>81</sup> In the end, Wayne and his partner helped to pull up the net rather than waiting and seizing it and earned the respect 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.<sup>82</sup>

The officers were also able to gain the respect of the DFO officers on the river; Ed Kelly told me that one of his officers came across a repeat offender on the river one day and radioed a DFO officer to ask his advice on how to handle the situation. When the DFO officer responded by telling the LFFA to decide what to do for themselves, Ed piped up over the radio telling his officer to seize the offenders net and give the offender a ticket; “after that we were totally part of

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<sup>81</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>82</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

the team. We gained the respect of the Federal Fisheries Officers,”<sup>83</sup> Ed said as he finished the story.

The uniform was a symbol for many things, but I learned that one of the most striking things it symbolized was family. “Everyday wasn’t a work day. 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. Though many of the stories already told clearly demonstrate how these officers felt about each other I have included below a few more stories that really solidify this relationship; stories of sibling-like antics, loss, and again, pride.

The officers had different stories to tell about each other, all of which showed just how close they were as a group. “We were a pretty tight-knit group, eh,”<sup>84</sup> said Wayne Kelly Jr. before repeating some of his favorite stories and memories. Wayne Kelly Jr. 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.<sup>85</sup> When Shannon and James, a married couple, joined the force Ross 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 his family and their

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<sup>83</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>84</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>85</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019

children.<sup>86</sup> 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. “I call him a rough driver because he likes bouncing all over the waves and just going through the rough stuff,”<sup>87</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> Meanwhile, Officer Clay Charlie was often called “slipknot” according to Wayne Kelly Jr. He acquired the nickname one day when he 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 downriver; they found it downriver by where the pipeline crosses the Fraser River.<sup>89</sup>

Another day when Clay Charlie, Wayne Kelly Jr., and James Adams stopped for lunch at Katzie, Clay Charlie, according to Wayne Kelly Jr., 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

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<sup>86</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>87</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>88</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>89</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

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.<sup>90</sup> The men both laughed at their stories and the camaraderie that occurred. Shannon Adams laughed as she recalled the only time she and her husband, James Adams, were allowed on the boat together. Ross 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.<sup>91</sup> When reminded of this story, Ross Gulkison laughed fondly at the antics of his officers.<sup>92</sup>

Like any family, this one experienced a significant amount of loss. During the duration of the LFFA the force encountered two on the job deaths. On September 28th, 1993 Officer James Adams, husband to Officer Shannon Adams, lost his life when the boat he was on with Wayne Kelly Jr. flipped over and sank in the canyon near Saddle Rock during an expedition with biologist Marvin Rosenau; his body was never recovered.<sup>93,94</sup> The following spring Officer Barb Dudley died from pneumonia after white water training.<sup>95</sup> “It was pretty tough, like, in the beginning, like, once that all happened. But I think we’re still pretty connected,”<sup>96</sup> said Shannon Adams. The impression I got from my interviewee’s was just that; the loss of their co-workers,

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<sup>90</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019

<sup>91</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>92</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>93</sup> Terry Glavin. “Internal Review: Saddle Rock Incident.” Unknown publication city: Lower Fraser Aboriginal Fisheries Commission, 1993. p.1-4.

<sup>94</sup> The loss of James was bitter-sweet in many ways. The tragic accident was difficult for the LFFA officers and the community, but it also produced some good. In light of the accident not only did life jackets become mandatory, but Navy designed life jackets were introduced which did a better job to keep the officers heads out of the water. Moreover, the waters James Adams was killed in were considered to be white water, highly dangerous, so his death helped to have the officers white water trained. Further, it highlighted the fact that the boats the LFFA were using were not the best for white water driving, so they were refurbished by the Navy Seals so they were appropriate for class 4 and 5 waters. Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019 & Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>95</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

<sup>96</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

their family, was difficult, but the group was able to stay connected and remain a family.

Shannon went on to tell me that those who are able to still try, to this day, over 20 years since the program ended, to get together every year for a bit of a reunion.<sup>97</sup> The overall sentiments of my interviews were not that of sadness or of loss, but of joyful memories and a family bond that will remain forever. “One bad memory. The rest were all good,”<sup>98</sup> as Wayne Kelly Jr. put it.

When Ed Kelly joined the LFFA he assumed the role of protector of the family. “ I didn’t care if they were gonna fire me. I was gonna protect my officers,” said Ed Kelly as he told numerous stories of his team. One year after 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. Ed 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.<sup>99</sup> Ed Kelly was so protective that upon reflection he felt he may have been the cause for the end of the program. Not only did Ed 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; in the off season the officers were equipped to focus on conservation and the environment, but the Chiefs did not approve of this. Moreover, Ed fought for fair wages and benefits for his officers and to keep them as safe as possible on the river.<sup>100</sup> “I was probably responsible for the termination of the fisheries

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<sup>97</sup> Shannon Adams, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>98</sup> Wayne Kelly Jr., interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 23, 2019.

<sup>99</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>100</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

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],”<sup>101</sup> Ed explained. “They're my family.”<sup>102</sup>

The LFFA ended around 1998-1999. Throughout my research I was unable to pin down an exact time the program was disbanded. This is partly because the program seems to have fizzled out in stages; first the officers contracts were not re-signed in 1998,<sup>103</sup> then some months later, possibly in 1999, Ed Kelly's own contract was not re-signed.<sup>104</sup> There are a number of possible reasons the LFFA program was discontinued. Ed Kelly, as explained above, felt like he was the cause; he pushed too hard for permanent year-round positions for his staff, firearms and safety, among other things.<sup>105</sup> Ken 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.<sup>106</sup> While Henry Ned “heard through some of [the DFO officers] 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 look bad.”<sup>107</sup> Ross 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.<sup>108</sup> Even though the LFFA officers have hung up their uniforms and have all moved on to new things in life, the impression I got from my

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<sup>101</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>102</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>103</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>104</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>105</sup> Ed Kelly, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Dr. John Lutz, May 29, 2019.

<sup>106</sup> Ken Malloway, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, May 23, 2019.

<sup>107</sup> Henry Ned, interviewed by Allison Eccleston and Harris Ford, May 27, 2019.

<sup>108</sup> Ross Gulkison, interviewed by Allison Eccleston, June 25, 2019.

interviews was that they remain a family and will continue to have pride in themselves and each other for years to come.

### **Concluding remarks**

This paper serves as an introduction to the ethnohistory of the LFFA uniform donated to the SRRMC; due to the constraints of time of the field school and length of the paper the stories used here, though describing a deep history, merely scratch the surface of the information and stories that can be revealed by the uniform. This paper relies on the experiences of nine Stó:lō members however, there are countless other people whose experiences and memories would only add layers of thickness of description started here; some of the Stó:lō members I was unable to interview include Ernie Crey, Tony Malloway and Todd Chapman, among several others. The donated uniform has so many more narratives to tell that will only add value to what I have started here.

This paper begins to tell the story of the LFFA uniform donated to the SRRMC which once belonged to Ed Kelly. Though the uniform was worn for only a short period of time it tells a deep and rich history; in this paper I have been able to *thickly describe* this history through the use of multiple narratives which I have gathered by engaging with the Stó:lō community. The biographical history alone connects this uniform to the Stó:lō community through the designs of the various shoulder patches while the memories I have shared primarily reveal that the uniform was, and still is, a badge of honour; it is something that the officers were proud to put on and it is

something a majority of the Stó:lō fishers respected. Even though the LFFA officers hung up their uniforms for the last time over 20 years ago they remain a family and will continue to have pride in themselves and each other for years to come.



Chief's Badge. Ross Gulkison's personal collection.



Officers Group Photo. Ross Gulkison's personal collection.



Shannon Adams and Ross Gulkison at the funeral of James Adams. Ross Gulkison's personal collection.

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