Anarchism and the Archaeology of Anarchic Societies

Resistance to Centralization in the Coast Salish Region of the Pacific Northwest Coast

by Bill Angelbeck and Colin Grier

Throughout human history, people have lived in societies without formalized government. We argue that the theory of anarchism presents a productive framework for analyzing decentralized societies. Anarchism encompasses a broad array of interrelated principles for organizing societies without the centralization of authority. Moreover, its theory of history emphasizes an ongoing and active resistance to concentrations of power. We present an anarchist analysis of the development of social power, authority, and status within the Coast Salish region of the Northwest Coast. Coast Salish peoples exhibited complex displays of chiefly authority and class stratification but without centralized political organization. Ethnographically, their sociopolitical formation is unique in allowing a majority of "high-class" people and a minority of commoners and slaves, or what Wayne Suttles described as an "inverted-pear" society. We present the development of this sociopolitical structure through an analysis of cranial deformation from burial data and assess it in relation to periods of warfare. We determine that many aspects of Coast Salish culture include practices that resist concentrations of power. Our central point is that anarchism is useful for understanding decentralized (or anarchic) networks—those that allow for complex intergroup relations while staving off the establishment of centralized political authority.

It is said that the history of peoples who have a history is the history of class struggle. It might also be said, with at least as much truthfulness, that the history of peoples without history is the history of their struggle against the State. (Pierre Clastres 1987:218)

Archaeologists and anthropologists have had difficulty characterizing Northwest Coast cultures because these societies were socially complex but lacked centralized authorities. Many have presented Northwest Coast societies as examples of chiefdoms because of the presence of chiefs. While these leaders were often dressed in the trappings of high authority, they were not the chiefs of the classic anthropological chiefdom model, which posits figures with consolidated authority over large territories. Rather, the power of Northwest Coast chiefs was quite limited in spatial and social scale. Ames (1995) and Grier (2006*b*) described the nature of chiefly power as "power to" organize those who willingly followed rather than "power over" large, spatially extensive organizations. As such, descriptions of chiefdoms found in the classic evolutionary models of Sahlins and Service (1960; see also Fried 1967; Sahlins 1963) do not aptly characterize the Northwest Coast situation. Conversely, egalitarian models do not effectively capture the high degree of social differentiation and inequality that existed in Northwest Coast societies. Their social structure—containing classes of nobles and chiefs, commoners, and slaves—formed the basis for a highly structured system for ownership of resources and social prerogatives (Donald 1997; Drucker 1965; Elmendorf 1992 [1960]; Suttles 1987*a* [1960], 1987*b* [1958]). Elite families carried hereditary claims to titles and territories, and they owned productive resource locations, such as berry-harvesting areas, salmon-fishing locations, and clam beds. Northwest Coast chiefs led elite families and households, achieving their elevated position among peers through active self-promotion. The potlatch, the most renowned of Northwest Coast ceremonies, exemplifies the degree to which chiefs promoted and exercised their status. Through the competitive displays of potlatches, chiefs seemingly worked in direct opposition to the leveling mechanisms that anthropologists highlight as fundamental to the maintenance of egalitarianism in hunter-gatherer societies.

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Matson and Coupland (1995) summarized the Northwest Coast conundrum succinctly, describing societies that "exhibit high social complexity, but low political complexity" (29). However, an explanation of how such a system operates and the principles under which it can function have yet to be adequately articulated. In this paper, we argue that the Northwest Coast conundrum stems from the lack of a theoretical framework that can effectively convey the organizational principles of this complexity. As Roscoe (1993) has discussed, most political evolutionary models assume an inevitable progression toward the state and its dynamic of political centralization. In state-focused approaches, political complexity is an outgrowth of increasing socioeconomic complexity. Such models hold egalitarianism as a foil, usually defined by a lack of political complexity. Even Marxism, despite its ideal of communism, is structured quite explicitly in the paradigm of states, with its ultimate accomplishment achieved through the manifold evolution of various stages of states—ultimately seeing the state itself "wither away" (Engels 1966 [1894]). It remains difficult to situate Northwest Coast cultures in such frameworks.

Anarchism provides a body of theory for an alternative framework, one that we submit can be used to resolve many of the apparent contradictions engendered by state-focused models of social hierarchy and complexity. The societies of the Northwest Coast constitute a problem—that is, these societies represent an exception to extant typologies—precisely because they are an elaboration of complex society in a decentralized form rather than a centralized one. Principles based in theories of anarchism, we argue, provide a framework for understanding these decentralized complex societies on their own terms, without reference to the highly centralized chiefdom and state. We show how anarchist dynamics can be implemented to analyze the archaeological and ethnographic records of small-scale societies. Anarchism also moves beyond the limitations of egalitarian characterizations by positing a theory of history where social actors accept those authorities that are deemed legitimate and resist those authorities that are considered unwarranted.

We begin with a brief background on the history of anarchism and then discuss the limitations of egalitarianism as a concept. We then describe some fundamental principles of anarchism and its theory of history. We follow with a case study of how an anarchist framework can be used to interpret past societies on the Pacific coast of North America, focusing on the later precontact history of the Gulf of Georgia region of southern coastal British Columbia, Canada, and Washington State, United States. Our main point is that the canon of theory that comprises anarchism has a broad historical and social science foundation that provides significant explanatory power for interpreting a range of small-scale societies of the past, particularly in relation to how groups self-organize, resist, and revolt against those who attempt to centralize and institutionalize sociopolitical inequalities.

Background on Anarchism

The origins of anarchist thought extends back at least to the 1800s, stemming from the writings of William Godwin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Max Stirner, although some see its elements developing in thinkers many centuries earlier (e.g., Marshall 1993). Anarchism as a movement gained momentum with Mikhail Bakunin. In the days of the first congress of the International Workingmen's Association (or First International), held in Geneva in 1866, members included socialists, trade unionists, and anarchists. Over subsequent years, a primary debate within the organization crystallized around Karl Marx's communism and Bakunin's anarchism. Although these ideas were similar in many respects—mainly in their shared criticism of state capitalism and similar aims for an ultimate form of communism—these two camps were quite opposed in their conceptions of how such a society should be organized. Mounting tensions produced a split in the First International in 1872, with Marx taking the association's headquarters to New York, essentially distancing it from the influence of Bakunin and his anarchist proponents, whom he had expelled. Marx then became singularly prominent, not only in the organization but eventually in academic contexts. Marxism has subsequently enjoyed an important role in the development of both anthropology (e.g., Bloch 1983; Godelier 1977; Meillassoux 1980 [1972]) and archaeology (e.g., Childe 1964; Gilman 1984; McGuire 1992; Spriggs 1984; Trigger 1993), and Marxist or Marxian scholars continue to find utility with his theories today (e.g., Matthews, Leone, and Jordan 2002; McGuire 2008; Patterson 2003).

The draw of Marxism for anthropology has been its cogent insights into the internal frictions that exist in societies of all scales and types and how these have ultimate genesis in fundamental contradictions of a materialist nature. Such an approach resonates with archaeological scholars who are concerned with economic processes, particularly the socially constituted economics of small-scale societies. Marxism stresses that inequality resides in the fundamentals of material life. Economic differences are socially meaningful differences, and consequently material inequalities and social inequalities are inextricably linked.

While these socioeconomic inequalities were seen as fundamental problems in capitalist formations by both anarchists and Marxists, the path to ultimately defeating inequality was another source of division. Anarchism, as developed in the work of Bakunin, emphasized self-organized local collectives (Bakunin 1950 [1872], 1970 [1871]; Maximoff 1964; Morris 1993). In debates at the First International congresses, Bakunin argued against the centralization of political and economic organization envisioned by most Marxists as a viable solution, contending that it would contribute to more totalitarian forms of government than those of existing states. In the late nineteenth century, the ruling elites of European states owned or controlled only part of the economy. If Marxists

had their way, he argued, the state would exert even more control over the economy, leading to more powerful forms of authoritarianism. In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, some regarded his comments as prescient (e.g., Singer 1999).[1]

Following Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin became the leading anarchist theorist and activist of the late nineteenth century. Kropotkin fought for anarchist ideas in radical cells and socialist congresses, and he was imprisoned twice for his activities in France and Russia (Morris 2004). Like Marx, Kropotkin had a long-term historical perspective that situated anarchism in the process of human cultural evolution. Through his work *Mutual Aid* (1972 [1902]), he challenged prevalent social Darwinist ideas, which he believed only buttressed support for capitalist systems. Instead of a "struggle for existence" (as Huxley had advanced) or a "survival of the fittest" (as Spencer put forward), Kropotkin offered the concept of mutual aid. He argued that the principle of cooperation was as important, if not more, than competition as a factor influencing the evolution of human social organization—a position to which many neo-Darwinian theorists are now moving (e.g., Fehr and Gintis 2007; Gintis 2000; Hammerstein 2006).

Subsequent anarchist theorists include Elisée Reclus, Emma Goldman, Colin Ward, and Murray Bookchin, among others. In recent years, social science theorists have considered the affinity and relevance of these and other anarchist thinkers to postmodern and poststructuralist thinkers such as Foucault, Derrida, and Lacan (Call 2003; May 1989, 1994; Newman 2001). In anthropology and history, researchers have increasingly explored anarchism (Anderson 2005; Barclay 1982, 1997; Graeber 2004, 2007, 2009; Morris 1993, 2004, 2005; Scott 2009). Despite these contributions and their constructive critique of Marxist theory and objectives, anarchist scholarly work is not nearly as prevalent in the academy as Marxism, as noted by Graeber (2004:3–7).

The relative lack of anarchist approaches in academia is curious, given that both Marxism and anarchism have long histories of development, debate, study, and practice (Guérin 1989). Both have been reworked and refined over decades, leading to a wide variety of perspectives within their own lineages that have sharpened their ideas, rhetoric, and debates. Both have signature thinkers and practitioners over the successive generations since their origins. Both have been translated into practice in moments of modern political upheaval and revolution: Marxism in Russia, China, and Cuba and anarchism in Spain and Italy, for example. With similar traditions, one might find reason enough to explore the utility of both theoretical realms. In our view, the most compelling rationale for exploring anarchist theory stems from its advantages over Marxist thought for the study of nonstate societies. Marxism was developed explicitly for the analysis of state societies and has less direct import for the study of "precapitalist" societies (Marx 1964 [1857–1858]). Anarchism, on the other hand, focuses precisely on the nature of small-scale, decentralized systems and therefore is more appropriate for the study of societies lacking centralized political authority.[2]

For many, anarchism evokes images of chaos, dissent, and disorder. Those who harbor such sentiments are typically unaware that anarchist theory, like chaos theory in the physical sciences, differs markedly from its perception in popular consciousness. Rather than promoting chaos, anarchists developed and implemented principles for social organization that ensured autonomy for individuals and local groups. They envisioned communities linked with other communities through networks of cooperation. Thus, anarchic societies are not ungoverned societies but rather self-governed societies. We emphasize here that anarchism has been advanced as a form of social organization, not disorder.

The Limitations of Egalitarianism as a Construct

The concept of egalitarianism has had broad use in anthropology and the study of past societies. The term has been used to describe a social ideal or ethic, a form of economic redistribution characterized by leveling mechanisms, sharing, selflessness, the absence of social inequality, communal ownership of the means of production, and a lack of coercive control (Paynter 1989; Wason 1994; Woodburn 1982). The literature on egalitarianism is complex in that scholars have emphasized different aspects of the concept and, over the last couple of decades, have provided increasingly nuanced criticisms and evaluations of its utility for analysis (e.g., Blake and Clark 1999; Clark and Blake 1994; Paynter 1989; Trigger

1. Indeed, some Marxists also opposed centralizing power. Notably, Rosa Luxemburg (Luxemburg 1951; Nettl 1989:1–2, 168–170; Scott 1998: 168–174) was an advocate for a more democratic form of Marxism and challenged "imperial" or centralizing forms—such as happened with the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, which set the basis for the totalitarianism of Stalin.

2. We recognize that recent forms of Marxism (or post-Marxism) have incorporated elements that have addressed anarchist critiques or even adopted theoretical principles of anarchism. For instance, the autonomism of Antonio Negri (1999) emphasizes the coordinated bottom-up actions of autonomous local groups rather than centralized parties. With Michael Hardt, they have stressed the composition of the proletariat as a "multitude," or social complexity (Hardt and Negri 1994, 2001, 2004). This is similar to Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) argument against the simplification of the worker class, instead advocating for decentralized pluralism that includes student, environmental, and feminist movements—in part, they included those traditionally regarded as nonlaborers in their analysis. Antonio Gramsci (1971 [1929–1935]) also reinvigorated Marxism, critiquing many of his contemporary Marxists as too nomothetic and ahistorical; he redirected the heavy orientation on economy and ideology toward cultural practices in place for particular historical conditions with the concept of hegemony—that is, he added a better understanding of power, which has affinity with anarchist conceptions of power. Gramsci also recognized that leaders could not be of an intellectual vanguard but must come from local groups or the grassroots to be seen as valid and effective. The examples could continue, but it is clear that anarchist critiques and components have been integrated into forms of Marxism.

1990, 2003:669–670). Here we focus on a few key issues in its use and shortcomings.

First, egalitarianism has stood in opposition to the state and at the same time has been defined and applied by those who live within states (Lee 1988; Trigger 1984). Many discussions of egalitarianism have included critiques of the state, with egalitarian societies representing and embodying social formations that lack its trappings. These perspectives are idealist, presenting egalitarian, usually small-scale hunting and gathering societies as a form of primitive communism, where social differences involved those of age and gender only (e.g., Fried 1967). Such views have been fueled by 1960s notions that hunter-gatherers do not pay for their egalitarianism in the form of poverty (Lee and Devore 1968). Hunter-gatherers often live quite well, as exemplified by the "want not, need not" ethic of "Man the Hunter"–inspired studies (e.g., Sahlins 1972). Lacking poverty, these small-scale societies stand as examples of having a cake and eating it too, being saddled with none of the impositions of the state yet having few, if any, of the economic wants seen as the hallmark of hunter-gatherers living in marginal environments.

Anthropologists have rightfully challenged such positions. Inequalities beyond those based on age, sex, ability, or skill exist in all societies, and egalitarian societies must actively maintain both a sociopolitical ethic of equality (a conception of people being equal in some social sense) with protocols and practices that encourage and maintain such relations (e.g., social fissioning, ostracism, and mockery; Blake and Clark 1999). Hunters and gatherers generate prohibitions against hoarding and the control of material surplus in an effort to mitigate behaviors that disrupt the economic fundamentals of equality (Cashdan 1980; Woodburn 1982). As Trigger (1990, 2003:669–670) has noted, egalitarianism is asserted and maintained rather than a natural condition. Such notions are consistent with an anarchist position of resisting the authoritarianism, hierarchy, and control that can exist in all types of societies (e.g., Cobb 1993; Scott 1990).

Recent literature pertaining to small-scale societies has revealed a wide range of sociopolitical dynamics in the middle ground between centralized societies (chiefdoms and states) and small-scale, so-called egalitarian societies. In these societies, which are often described as "transegalitarian," skilled individuals do accumulate wealth and have more control than others over subsistence and prestige resources, labor, and knowledge. These individuals, often referred to as "aggrandizers," are seen as operating within a backdrop of egalitarianism. Yet in their pursuit of greater control over resources, such individuals act in apparent contravention to egalitarian ideals. Their success in acquiring preferential access to resources is limited to contexts in which it either is useful for others or does not impinge on the ability of others to access the basic needs of life. In short, they manipulate the system but work within it. Hayden (1995) provides perhaps the most extensive chronicling of the diversity of these aggrandizer strategies, outlining a progression of increasing control over resources, labor, and surplus by emergent leaders termed "despots," "reciprocators," and "entrepreneurs."

While such discussions of emergent leadership represent important contributions to our understanding of the development of social inequality and complexity, they do not effectively model how sociopolitical systems resist emergent leadership. The end result of emergent leadership is presented as institutionalized authority, even if such changes may reflect unintended consequences. Blake and Clark (1999) and Trigger (1990, 2003:669–670) have identified how egalitarian societies exert great efforts to resist the consolidation of power. Similarly, we see emergent leadership as engaged in a dialectic with resistance in all societies as part of cultural practices that curb the centralization of power. As Foucault (1980, 1997: 291–293) reminded us, power is embedded in all relations, and the machinations of aspiring individuals and their increasing accumulation of power and control bring responses and realignments from others in the community. In an anarchist view, hierarchies are resisted through mutual aid, consensual decision making, and the maintenance of decentralized networks. These practices represent cooperative actions undertaken to constrain the abuse and centralization of power.

Nonhierarchical systems that exhibit inequalities and power differences are therefore not reducible to aggrandizers that centralize power by working against and ultimately usurping traditional leveling mechanisms. Rather, with the development of power and authority come organizational changes that are both a reaction and a response to emergent authority, limiting the potential for control and centralization. We suggest that anarchic principles of organization are a means to allow for the development of power, privilege, and affluence but retain the consensual, decentralized properties of nonhierarchical systems.

A final point we offer concerning egalitarianism and hierarchies is terminological. A focus on emergent leadership has created some curious and awkward wording to describe the ground between small-scale foragers and centralized social forms, such as the chiefdom and state. "Transegalitarian" is used in a fashion similar to that of "nonhierarchical"—by reference to the form it supplants or contrasts. It is also common to characterize small-scale, nonhierarchical societies with reference to hierarchical social formations. For example, phrases such as "reverse dominance hierarchy" (Boehm 1993)[3] and "sequential hierarchy" (Johnson 1982) draw upon

3. Barclay (see his comment in Boehm 1993) has remarked on Boehm's terminology that such notions are better characterized in a simpler manner, akin to what we offer here: "I do not know that 'egalitarian' is an appropriate term for the systems that Boehm refers to. As he himself notes, egalitarian societies are not egalitarian when it comes to women and children, and some egalitarian societies practice slavery. For others, such as the Australians, equality is the happy circumstance of the elder males alone. Boehm's term 'reverse dominance hierarchies' is rather awkward. I would call these 'anarchic' societies, having leadership but no government or true legal sanctions" (241).

the terminology of hierarchy to describe what are essentially nonhierarchical sociopolitical forms. Such descriptors invoke the kind of incongruity typical of paradigms that are ill fitted to explain the phenomenon of interest (Kuhn 1962). Our intention here is to present a theoretical position that addresses these conceptual inconsistencies.

Core Principles of Anarchism

> *The Nuer constitution is highly individualistic and libertarian. It is an acephalous state, lacking legislative, judicial, and executive organs. Nevertheless, it is far from chaotic. It has a persistent and coherent form which might be called "ordered anarchy."* (E. E. Evans-Pritchard 1940:296)

Anarchism is a broad corpus of ideas encompassing various canons of thought. Marxism is substantively associated with one individual, even in name. In anarchist theory, no thinker has been or is singularly predominant, and anarchist thought and practice encourages diversity and contributions from numerous sources. Anarchism has generated individualist forms, collectivist approaches, and other variants coined as anarchosyndicalist, neoprimitivist, and ecoanarchism, just to name a few. Graeber (2004:5–6) has aptly noted that these are named after practices, not their proponents. Indeed, it can be claimed that one does not have to know who Kropotkin, Bakunin, Landauer, or Bookchin was in order to identify oneself as an anarchist. Rather than canonical texts, there is instead an adherence to a set of principles that guides much of anarchism and provides connections among its strains. These principles include individual and local autonomy and expression, voluntary association, mutual aid, network organization, communal decision making, justified authorities, and decentralization (including active resistance to centralization). Instead of a rigid model for social organization that should be implemented top down upon a society, anarchists emphasize core principles to be adapted to local contexts in a manner appropriate to regional settings and circumstances. Below, we focus on some of these key principles that lay the groundwork for our case study, showing how they form a coherent framework for assessing social organization.

Individual and Local Autonomy

According to anarchists, social control should lie not within any one center but rather be distributed more broadly throughout the society. Centers of control are more robust at smaller scales, beginning with the individual and including families, households, and local cooperative groups. Society should be organized from the bottom up, with groups freely associating with other groups in broader confederations. As these links of participation build into larger forms of organization, the main centers of control should remain at the local scale. While anarchists advocate for autonomy, this does not mean atomism in the sense of independent agents concerned for their own affairs. Rather, autonomy conveys personal and local group freedom but with extensions of cooperation as individuals and groups voluntarily associate with others in networks of mutual alliance.[4]

Network Organization

Mutual aid and cooperative endeavors are seen by anarchists as the core dynamic for structuring the self-organization of groups. These actions link autonomous local groups into larger communities and regional networks of interaction. Higher-level anarchic organization is not driven by minorities or authorities but rather is generated and structured by the needs of the people involved in negotiation with one another. According to Bookchin (1991:52), the practical needs of individuals within local groups are the medium for organization. The means through which such mutual needs are met are self-organizing networks. Network forms of organization, as defined by Podolny and Page (1998), constitute "any collection of actors ($n > 2$) that pursue repeated, enduring exchange relations with one another and, at the same time, lack a legitimate organizational authority to arbitrate and resolve disputes that may arise during the exchange" (59).

Such processes are in opposition to market systems or hierarchies. Market relations are neither lasting nor enduring but rather are episodic, existing only for the transaction. Hierarchies are structures in which "clearly recognized, legitimate authority exists to resolve disputes" that arise in matters of socioeconomic exchange (Podolny and Page 1998:62–63). Network forms of organization adapt more quickly to changes due to having more effective lines of immediate communication than found in centralized forms. Not only does information travel faster, but it also conveys "richer, more complex information" that allows for a wider array of responses from various nodes in the network. This stands in contrast to the narrow options to be delivered from managers in centralized forms of organization (Podolny and Page 1998:62–63). The notion of a nonhierarchical network form of organization[5]—an acephalous series of parallel pathways for communication and action—has been a common means of describing social networks of many varieties, but such a system is rarely considered as a conscious founding organizational principle in and of itself.

4. Some archaeologists have examined the changing nature of expressions of autonomy through time, including Douglas (1995), who analyzed the independence of groups in the Southwest, and Rapp (1977), who evaluated the changing autonomy of women in relation to the development of states.

5. Archaeologists have also explored the role of networks in the past. For instance, Braun and Plog (1982) described how groups form networks of cooperation in response to resource stresses, akin to what Kropotkin would call mutual aid. In addition, Feinman (2000) has examined how networks are politically different from corporate formations.

Even so, while networks do not have centers, they do not lack authorities.

Justified Authority

> *Does it follow that I reject all authority? Far from me such a thought. In the matter of boots, I refer to the authority of the bootmaker; concerning houses, canals, or railroads, I consult that of the architect or engineer. For such or such special knowledge I apply to such or such a savant. But I allow neither the bootmaker nor the architect nor the savant to impose his authority upon me.* (Mikhail Bakunin 1970 [1871]:32)

As bluntly stated by Bakunin (1970 [1871]), "authority [is] a word and a thing which we detest with all our heart," adding that "this is the sense in which we are really Anarchists" (21). However outspoken Bakunin was about authority, he did not reject it entirely; he made a distinction between natural authorities (those sought for their knowledge, skill, or experience) and artificial authorities (those imposed by institutions; Maximoff 1964:239). His position is more accurately described as an opposition to authoritarianism. Bakunin argued that one should consent to the authority of another on the basis of reason. Authorities are not fixed; instead, there should be "a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and, above all, voluntary authority and subordination." Chomsky summarized this antiauthoritarian stance as a core expression of anarchist principles:

> Anarchism, in my view, is an expression of the idea that the burden of proof is always on those who argue that authority and domination are necessary. They have to demonstrate, with powerful argument, that that conclusion is correct. If they cannot, then the institutions they defend should be considered illegitimate. How one should react to illegitimate authority depends on circumstances and conditions: there are no formulas. (Chomsky 1996)

Anthropologists have provided many examples in which authority was respected and permitted on the basis of merit or a specialty in particular arenas of society. Among the Coast Salish Puyallup-Nisqually, for example, Smith (1940) noted that warriors were given power over villages but only for the duration of battle. In addition, certain household chiefs may have been called upon to adjudicate a dispute between other households. In that role, the arbitrating chief does not occupy a formal position but is simply respected by both parties and is seen to have strong spirit power to help resolve disputes (Miller 2001:149–150). In many cultures, shamans have been given authority in times of sickness or to counter curses and other ills. In these examples of the warrior, chief, and shaman, the power and allotment of authority has a limited range and a narrow time period of applicability. More directly, power of authority must always be situationally justified.

Decentralization

> *True progress lies in the direction of decentralization, both territorial and functional, in the development of the spirit of local and personal initiative, and of free federation from the simple to the compound, in lieu of the present hierarchy from the centre to the periphery.* (Peter Kropotkin 1910: 914)

Sebastien Faure has written that "whoever denies authority and fights against it is an anarchist" (Woodcock 1962:9). In much of anarchist theory, antiauthoritarianism is directed foremost at the state and its centralization of power and control. Resistance to centralization is not limited to state contexts, however. For anarchists, all communities resist tyrannical or absolute power, both in principle and in practice. Proudhon, capturing this sentiment, noted that "all parties without exception, in so far as they seek for power, are varieties of absolutism" (Woodcock 1962:18).

Notions of decentralization have nonetheless played a limited role in anthropological models of political evolution. In the last 2 decades, however, scholars have worked to develop analyses in which decentralization is emphasized. Crumley's (1995) formulation of heterarchy is perhaps most prominent among these. Heterarchy describes structures with elements that may be ordered or ranked in a variety of ways or that may remain unranked (Crumley 1995:3). Crumley (1995) explicitly challenged the association of hierarchy with order, since this "makes it difficult to imagine, much less recognize and study, patterns of relations that are complex but not hierarchical" (3). For example, trees and symphonies exhibit order yet are not hierarchical in structure. This is true of the human brain as well; McCulloch (1945) initially developed the concept of heterarchy to help explain brain function, furthering the potential for research in artificial intelligence.

Archaeologists have pursued analyses of heterarchy in numerous regions of the world (e.g., Conlee 2004; Ehrenreich, Crumley, and Levy 1995; Rautman 1998; Scarborough, Valdez, and Dunning 2003), fueled in part by a lack of fit between archaeological data and expectations derived from hierarchical models. Crumley (1995), for example, found that site distributions in the Celtic Iron Age did not adhere to central place theory and sought a model that reflected the complexity, but not hierarchy, of Celtic chiefdoms. Similarly, White (1995) developed a heterarchical approach to settlement data from mainland South Asia. Flexible decentralization and local autonomy were better able to account for intervillage variability in material culture, suggesting a high degree of village autonomy during the early formation of states in the region.

McGuire and Saitta (1996) addressed the nature of U.S. Southwest Puebloan sociopolitical organization to confront a parallel problem. Their analysis was a reaction against the rigid categorization of Puebloan groups as either hierarchical or egalitarian. To counter, they advanced a dialectical epistemology with roots in Marxism. In so doing, they empha-

sized daily lived experience as the product of contradictions. In Pueblo society, a critical contradiction stemmed from their sociopolitical organization being both egalitarian and hierarchical.[6] Saitta and McGuire (1998:335) considered heterarchy a useful but predominantly categorical and descriptive approach to nonhierarchical complexity. Their dialectical approach, which explores the dynamics between communal and hierarchical structures as an agent of change, was advanced to break down oppositional thinking, whether egalitarian versus hierarchical or hierarchical versus heterarchical. Saitta and McGuire's (1998) critique does not apply to all heterarchical approaches, however. Crumley (1987) posited heterarchy as in a dialectic with hierarchy within societies, which has important similarities with an anarchist theory of history.[7]

We advance the anarchist perspective to address similar issues and see our approach as building on the important work of Crumley (1987, 1995), Saitta and McGuire (1998), and others. The advantage of an anarchist approach is that it provides a more expansive and integrated framework for analysis. In such settings, it incorporates the flexibility of heterarchy through its emphasis on decentralized, network-based systems. Anarchism also integrates a dialectical perspective in that it posits mutual aid and justified authority as a key dynamic of active resistance to centralization. From an anarchist perspective, this dialectic represents ongoing negotiation within cultures through time, constituting a persistent tension between centralized (hierarchical, or "imperial") and decentralized (heterarchical, or "anarchic") forms of social organization (Carter 1989; Kropotkin 1987 [1897]). The principles of anarchism and its theory of history, in our view, provide a foundation from which we can assess how decentralized systems are constructed and actively maintained by social actors. The core principles are not simply descriptive but characterize the objectives and strategies of social actors, which, in their implementation, produce heterarchical forms of sociopolitical organization. Much like the recognition of egalitarianism as a maintained rather than a natural state, decentralized political systems are not simply alternatives to hierarchy but represent actively maintained social formations.

We have found these insights illuminating with respect to debates in our own study region on the Northwest Coast of North America. For example, in Tollefson's (1987) discussion of a Puget Sound Snoqualmie chiefdom, he mused, "How could a model of local village autonomy explain how hundreds of small villages, competing for wealth, slaves, prestige, are able to manage their intervillage affairs?" (129). The statement implies that the only means to do so is through centralizing the decision-making process in the hands of chiefs, who manage the process. As we emphasize, anarchic organizations do exactly that without recourse to centralization. Certainly the question is valid—but the answer is not that the situation requires centralized authority. It demands that we theoretically consider ways in which such situations are handled without recourse to centralization, a task to which we turn in our case study.

A Northwest Coast Case Study: The Coast Salish as an Anarchic Society

> *I recognize no infallible authority.* (Mikhail Bakunin 1970 [1871]:32)
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> *They recognize no superior chief.* (Manuel Quimper, 1790 [Wagner 1933:131], in the first recorded encounter with the Coast Salish)

In 1790, Spanish explorers of the Quimper expedition encountered powerful chiefs of the West Coast, such as Maquinna of the Nuu-chah-nulth and Tatoosh of the Makah, who appeared to rule over large territories. In contrast, as he sailed through the Salish Sea (fig. 1) Quimper would find himself dealing with numerous chiefs, ultimately writing about the Coast Salish that "they recognize no superior chief" (Wagner 1933:130–131). Suttles (1989:262) has remarked that this statement, penned by perhaps the very first European visitor to Coast Salish territory, is particularly revealing of some important elements of Coast Salish politics. First, it indicates that Coast Salish political organization was not organized around "superior chiefs." Second, it conveys that the Coast Salish were not prepared to recognize superior chiefs (presumably including the Spanish, should they have designs on such a role). Third and perhaps most intriguingly, it indicates that they did nonetheless recognize chiefs but that those chiefs were neither superior nor paramount. Quimper's statement appears to capture in few words a set of organizational principles that deter and inhibit the centralization of power, as embodied in anarchist principles.

A key issue is how far back in the past this political structure extended. We contend that the Coast Salish political organization that "recognizes no superior chief" is a product of a long history that involved the development of peer-exchange networks over the last 2 millennia (Blake 2004; Burley 1980: 66–67; Grier 2003). These exchange networks affected the trajectory of political developments in the Gulf of Georgia region in that the individuals participating in them actively resisted the centralization of power. They used a variety of mechanisms to this end, some of which were inherent prop-

6. In the Northwest Coast, Coupland, Clark, and Palmer (2009) have taken a similar approach, although without an explicit dialectic epistemology, arguing that the social dynamics of large Northwest Coast longhouse groups were structured by the perpetual management of contradictions between communalism and hierarchy in the intimate context of the household.

7. For highland Burma, Edmund Leach (1954:8–9) similarly argued that there was an oscillation through time between structured, hierarchical political systems (*gumsa*) and acephalous or decentralized forms (*gumlao*), which he described as "anarchistic." However, this should not be seen as a simple and constant alteration of "model systems" of society; as Wolf (1982) critiqued, these polar opposites are not "invariable outcomes" (345), as each change in sociopolitical form must be viewed within specific historical contexts as people reformulate the organization of society.

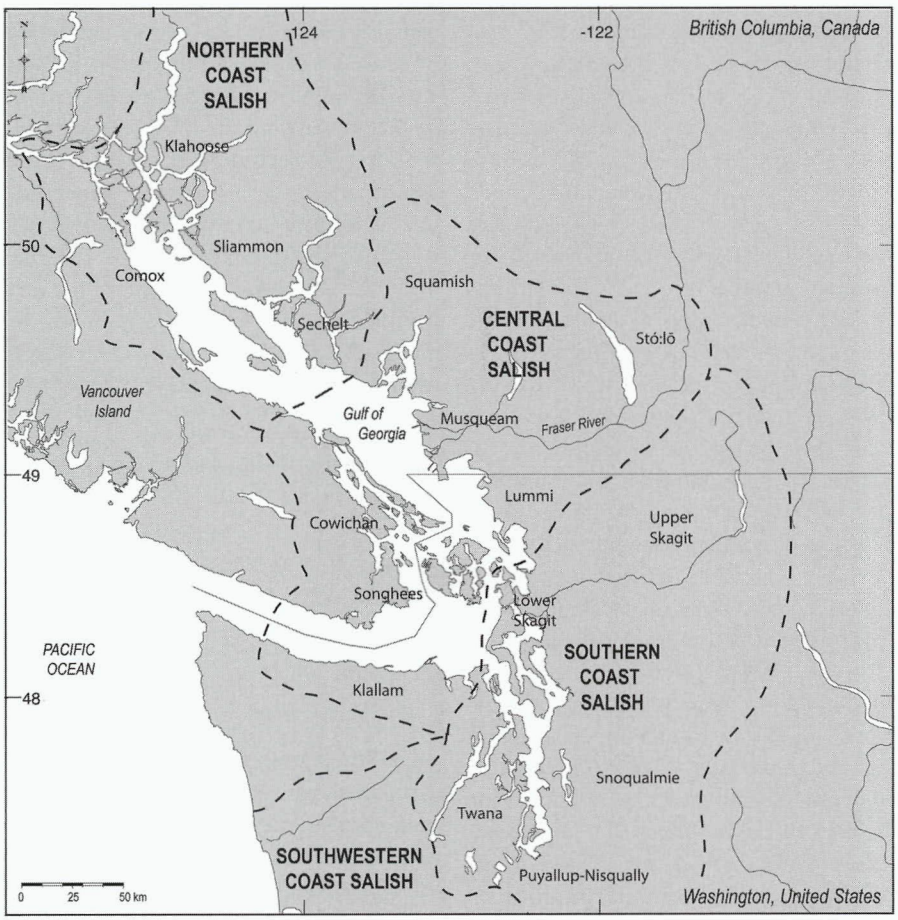

Figure 1. Map of the Coast Salish world at contact, with the general areas of some local groups indicated.

erties of the network itself. In short, resistance to centralization shaped the nature of Coast Salish sociopolitical life over time. This in turn had significant implications for the broader organizational dynamics of these societies. Social differentiation and the unequal distribution of wealth developed within Coast Salish societies over the last 2 millennia as part of a trajectory of increasing inequality without an apparent increase in centralization. This is not a contradiction but rather a consequence of strategies designed to maintain decentralized, mutual-aid networks yet allow for the construction of affluence.

An intriguing consequence of this trajectory played out in the sociopolitical organization of Coast Salish societies, which came to include a prevalence of elite individuals. Families of "high class" were the majority. These high-class people were those who "knew their history," received training, and possessed private knowledge (Suttles 1987*b* [1958]). Commoners, who were in the minority, did not know their history and hence were lower class. An even smaller minority consisted of slaves, often acquired as war captives. Suttles described this Coast Salish sociopolitical organization as exhibiting the shape of an inverted pear (fig. 2):

> I suggest that the structure of Native [Coast Salish] society was not that of a pyramid. There was no apex of nobles, medium-sized middle class, and broad base of commoners. Instead, Native society had more the shape of an inverted pear. The greater number of people belonged to an upper or respectable class, from which leaders of various sorts emerged on various occasions. (Suttles 1987*b* [1958]:6–7)

We view this inverted-pear society and its unusually top-heavy distribution of status as resulting from the implementation of principles of social organization that emphasized local autonomy, networked relationships, and the decentralization of authorities. In the case study presented below, we examine the diachronic development of this Coast Salish political organization and present it as an example of how decentralized forms can emerge in small-scale societies.

The Coast Salish world encompasses the Gulf of Georgia, Puget Sound, and the major river valleys that flow into these waters, particularly the Fraser River (see fig. 1). The last 2,500 years of Coast Salish precontact history has been of particular interest to archaeologists and ethnographers. The period from roughly 2,500 to 1,000 years ago, known as Marpole, provides

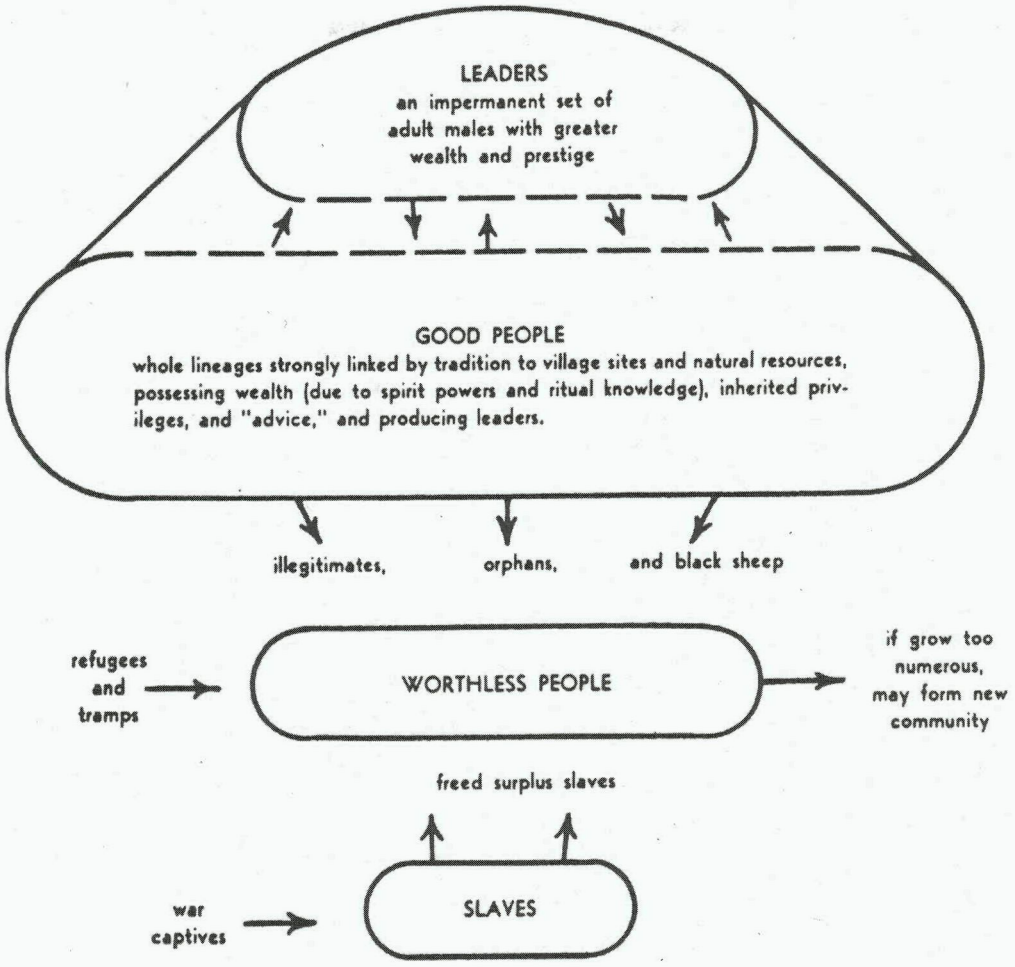

Figure 2. Suttles's (1987*b* [1958]:12, fig. 1) model for Coast Salish sociopolitical organization as exhibiting an inverted-pear shape.

the most convincing archaeological evidence for the existence of many of the complex social and economic practices that were evident at the time of contact, including large longhouse-based residences (plankhouses), mortuary practices that included mound construction and the inclusion of exotics, significant wealth and socioeconomic inequality, and intensive storage economies. As these are relatively novel elements in the broader context of hunter-gatherer lifeways, pursuit of the origins of these institutions and practices has dominated the attention of archaeologists. Here we make no specific arguments concerning the emergence of socioeconomic complexity. Rather, we focus on the Marpole and later periods, a time during which the social practices of ethnographically documented Northwest Coast societies had developed.[8]

Ethnographically, the Coast Salish were known to exhibit a highly flexible sociopolitical organization relative to other peoples of the Northwest Coast, particularly in comparison to more northern groups (e.g., the Haida, Kwakwaka'wakw, Tlingit, or Tsimshian). Suttles (1987*c* [1960], 1990) discussed this feature specifically, finding that the Coast Salish system of bilateral kinship, as opposed to the more strictly defined matrilineal descent typical of northern groups, allowed for a high degree of social mobility and unencumbered associations. Collins (1979) referred to the situation as a "Coast Salish strategy" to allow individuals to choose which household they aligned with and reside within (either the mother's or the father's side). This capacity to shift affiliations helped prevent accumulation of material wealth and power within households, since individuals could avoid domination through exercising their autonomy. Grier (2006*b*) addresses this situation in detail from the perspective of household organization, outlining how the flexibility in potential associations functioned as a brake on the power that house chiefs could wield over their household.

This flexibility had implications for how leadership operated within the Coast Salish sphere as well as how positions of power

8. As a general statement, our view of the nature and significance of these developments over the long term is summarized in Grier (2003).

Figure 3. *Caw-Wacham*, Paul Kane's ca. 1848 painting of a Cowichan woman with child and cradleboard (oil on canvas; Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Purchase, William Gilman Cheney Bequest; photo: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Christine Guest). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

related to the control, concentration, and redistribution of material wealth. For example, among the Coast Salish the potlatch acted as a system for redistributing wealth, as is the popular view of its primary function (Suttles 1987*c* [1960]). This event of largesse was accompanied with ostentatious displays and individual expression of status. The practice of potlatching certainly facilitated the conversion of material capital into status, or symbolic capital, but, as importantly, it also ensured that resources were redistributed to those with less. Consequently, any tendency for wealth to accumulate inordinately in the hands of a few was limited and controlled.[9]

Precontact Status among the Coast Salish

While ethnographers have described many dimensions of Coast Salish social differentiation and political organization,

9. Ferguson (1983:136) illustrated how potlatches controlled for wealth concentrations. He provided two cases where Northwest Coast groups were forced or threatened to hold a potlatch soon after acquiring substantial fortunes of loot. Under Chief Maquinna, the Moachat Nuu-chah-nulth raided the fur-trading ship, the *Boston*, in 1803. Soon thereafter, news of their success spread, and they were visited by neighboring Nuu-chah-nulth groups for a potlatch; he complied, redistributing much of the booty. In contrast, the Yakutat Tlingit, after sacking a Russian fort, opted to keep the wealth for themselves instead of redistribute; other Tlingit then decided to take it from by force and attacked.

archaeologists have had to consider how expressions of status were manifest in the precontact material record. Cranial deformation, the deliberate shaping of the cranium, is an important aspect of the mortuary record bearing on status (Ames and Maschner 1999; Burley and Knüsel 1989; Matson and Coupland 1995:215; Mitchell 1971:49). Archaeologists have argued that cranial deformation has been used to indicate status differences in various regions of the world, including Colombia (Boada Rivas 1995), the Eurasian steppes, the Andes (Torres-Rouff and Yablonsky 2005), and Chile (Torres-Rouff 2002). It has also been viewed as a marker of ethnic identity (Blom 2005) and as a matter of aesthetics (Blackwood and Danby 1955; Dingwall 1931; Trinkaus 1982). It is likely all three. In analyzing Chilean human remains, Torres-Rouff (2002) argued, "Cranial vault modification is not merely an aesthetic choice but a social signifier of great importance. . . . What is critical is the acknowledgment that the shaped and altered body carries an indelible symbol of membership in a social group" (178). Beyond this, in perhaps the broadest study of the practice, Torres-Rouff and Yablonsky (2005) concluded that cranial modification from both the Andes and the European steppes was a marker of higher status, emphasizing that "the use of the human body to create differences and similarities in a society where they do not necessarily exist biologically is a crucial conception for understanding the use of intentional head shaping in prehistory" (4–5).

For the Coast Salish, archaeologists have applied all three interpretations: aesthetics, group or ethnic identity, and eliteness. Early European explorers recorded the practice of cranial deformation in many areas of the coast. The historic-period painting by Paul Kane in 1847 depicts a woman with a shaped head holding a baby bound to a cradleboard, which acted to deform the skull of the infant (fig. 3). In interpreting such practices, Barnett (1955:75) asserted that it was an aesthetic choice, while Cybulski (1994:78) argued that it was a marker of general Coast Salish identity. Many archaeologists have argued that it represented a marker of membership in an upper stratum or class (e.g., Burley and Knüsel 1989; Matson and Coupland 1995:215; Mitchell 1971:54). These various arguments have lacked a diachronic perspective, however, which we see as critical to understanding how the practice may have changed and evolved in relation to dramatic changes in Coast Salish status systems over the last 2 millennia.

Confirmed instances of cranial deformation occur first during the Marpole Period (2400 to 1000 BP), with the earliest directly dated examples of skeletal material reported at the Beach Grove site (2030 ± 88 cal BP [2720 ± 80 BP conventional]; Beattie 1980) near Vancouver and the Pender Canal sites in the southern Gulf Islands (1908 ± 62 cal BP [2620 ± 50 BP conventional]; Carlson and Hobler 1993:39). Practices of marking status in the preceding Locarno Beach Period (3500 to 2400 BP) are assumed to have involved wearing labrets—small stone or bone plugs inserted through slits in the flesh of the face (Keddie 1981). Labrets can be adopted at any point in life and can be worn or removed as status varies, while the physicality of cranial deformation cannot be undone. The change from labrets to cranial deformation is therefore significant in that it indicates that status representation systems became more rigid. Cranial shape must be modified during infancy, before it would be possible to acquire high status through accomplishments, and once created it persists through life. On this basis, the shift to deformation practices from more flexible status marking reflects a corresponding shift from a flexibly ranked to a stratified society (Matson and Coupland 1995:214–215).

General agreement can be found on the basic point that cranial deformation was a more permanent signifier of status relative to more ephemeral markers. However, the specific status expressed by the practice remains debated, particularly in relation to whether deformation reflected ethnicity or high class. On the basis of the assumption that a high status marker should be relatively restricted within any population, Beattie (1980:59) and Thom (1995) argued that the frequency of cranial deformation on the Northwest Coast was too widespread to serve as a marker of status. Thom (1995:32) cited a roughly 50% frequency for cranial deformation within both Marpole and later burial populations as support for its use as an ethnic marker. Similarly, Curtin (1991:53) maintained that cranial deformation was too common to be of use analytically, pointing out that almost everyone exhibited cranial deformation in the postcontact period. We emphasize that these critiques of cranial deformation as a status marker are premised on the practice not being limited to a minority.

While the prevalence of cranial deformation in Coast Salish and other Northwest Coast populations has been evaluated for various times and places, none of these studies have taken a fine-grained diachronic view of how the representation of cranial deformation changes through time. Below, we assess its prevalence in Coast Salish society through time, with the objective of showing how change in its prevalence tracks important trajectories of change in Coast Salish sociopolitical organization.

Cranial Deformation: A Diachronic Assessment

In total, we have collected data on 264 burials for which some determination of the presence or absence of cranial deformation is possible and for which dates can be assigned through absolute radiocarbon dating or other association (table 1).[10] For many excavated burials such a determination cannot be made, since they exhibit poor preservation or lack crania altogether. These are not considered here. Of the 264 burials for which determinations can be made, 117 have had human bone directly dated by radiocarbon methods or can be assigned a radiocarbon age with some confidence through

10. The data concern Central Coast Salish groups, who predominantly are restricted to British Columbia. This is the largest set of burials among the four major Coast Salish groups; burial studies regarding cranial deformation in dated mortuary sites simply are not common in the other three Coast Salish regions (Northern, Southern, and Southwestern).

Table 1. Burials analyzed for cranial deformation

Site name	Site no.	Source(s)	Total burials with determinations	Radiocarbon dated	Radiocarbon association	Other association	Cranial deformation present
Beach Grove	DgRs 1	Beattie 1980	14	1	0	13	6
Bliss Landing	EaSe 2	Beattie 1972; Beattie 1980:185	2	0	0	2	0
Buckley Bay	DjSf 13	Mason and Hoffman 1997; CARD 2009	1	1	0	0	0
Cadboro Bay	DcRt 9	Keddie 1987	1	0	1	0	0
Crescent Beach	DgRr 1	Beattie 1976, 1980; Percy 1974	9	0	0	9	0
DcRu 52	DcRu 52	Condrashoff 1984	1	1	0	0	1
Deep Bay	DiSe 7	Monks 1977	7	0	2	5	1
Duke Point	DgRx 5	Murray 1981; Cybulski 1991	10	0	10	0	0
False Narrows	DgRw 6	Burley 1989	28	0	0	28	3
False Narrows	DgRw 204	Curtin 1998	3	2	0	1	0
Glenrose Cannery	DgRr 6	Styles 1976:206	11	0	0	11	0
Harbour House	DfRu 3	Brolly, Muir, and Schulting 1993	1	1	0	0	1
Hatzic Mound		Thom 1995	1	0	1	0	1
Helen Point	DfRu 8	Beattie 1980	7	0	0	7	0
Hill Site	DfRu 4	Hall and Haggerty 1981	4	0	0	4	1
Locarno Beach	DhRt 6	Beattie 1980:182	3	0	0	3	0
Long Harbour	DfRu 44	Johnstone 1988	23	1	0	22	3
Maple Bay	DeRu 12	Cybulski 1998:20	2	0	0	2	2
Marpole	DhRs 1	Beattie 1980:181	18	0	0	18	3
Montague Harbour	DfRu 13	Mitchell 1971	7	0	3	4	2
Mueller Cabin	DgRw 20	Skinner and Thacker 1988	1	1	0	0	0
North Saanich		Thom 1995; Smith and Fowke 1901	4	4	0	0	3
Pender Canal	DeRt 2	Weeks 1985; Wright 2000	31	22	2	7	4
Point Grey	DhRt 5	Coupland 1991	1	0	0	1	0
Six Mile	DcRu 453	Keddie 1988	3	0	0	3	0
Somenos Creek	DeRw 18	Warner 1993; Cybulski 1993	6	3	3	0	3
St. Mungo	DgRt 2	Calvert 1970	3	0	0	3	1
Tsawwassen	DgRs 2	Curtin 1991	57	21	36	0	38
Welbury Point	DfRu 42	Skinner 1984; CARD 2009	1	1	0	0	1
Whalen Farm	DfRs 3	Seymour 1976	2	0	0	2	0
Willows Beach	DcRt 10	Eldridge 1987	2	0	0	2	1
Total			264	59	58	147	75

direct association with another radiocarbon-dated human bone sample (as with multiple interments) or other nonhuman sample in direct association with the burial (i.e., within the burial feature context; table 2). The remainder of the data set (the remaining 147 of the 264) includes burials that have not been directly dated through radiocarbon methods but for which an approximate age can be assigned on the basis of stratigraphic associations between the burial and otherwise-dated archaeological contexts.

The sample of burials we have amassed for the Coast Salish region goes beyond the data sets considered previously in mortuary analyses, including those offered in Beattie (1980), Burchell (2004, 2006), Burley and Knüsel (1989), Curtin (1991), Thom (1995), and Wright (2000). Yet the sample remains quite modest relative to the population of individuals who must have lived within the study region over the time frame we are considering. Two major sites (Tsawwassen and Pender Canal) contribute most of the burials to our data set. These two sites were large habitations occupied over long time spans and have been central to our understanding of Gulf of Georgia precontact history (Ames and Maschner 1999; Carlson and Hobler 1993; Matson and Coupland 1995). Within each site, the burial population includes both genders and various age classes and status grades, as evident through mortuary context preparation, grave inclusions, and cranial deformation. Other sites contribute smaller numbers of interments to our sample, which are quite variable in terms of their gender, age, and status. Overall, the burial sample represents more than a narrow range of variation for these characteristics. Moreover, the variability in burials characteristics make it an appropriate data set for our analyses. In fact, this extant sample will likely stand as the bulk of available burial data for addressing such questions for some time; Northwest Coast archaeologists no longer target burials in excavations or routinely submit skeletal samples for destructive analyses (such as radiocarbon dating) in respect of First Nations' cultural protocols.

For dated burials, we calibrated radiocarbon ages using the mixed terrestrial/marine calibration for the Northern Hemisphere in Calib 5.0, which includes a standard global correc-

tion and a user-specified local reservoir correction (ΔR). We used a local correction of 390 years, consistent with that used employed by others (e.g., Deo, Stone, and Stein 2004). We assumed 90% marine protein in the diet, consistent with isotopic determinations of most precontact Northwest Coastal peoples (e.g., Brown 2003; Chisholm, Nelson, and Schwarcz 1983). By calibrating burials in this fashion, we are in some cases reporting ages for burials inconsistent with those already published. In the past, archaeologists have reported and interpreted burial dates from bone without proper calibration, which has caused confusion in discussions of the chronology of development of status systems in the Gulf of Georgia region. Notably, this affects burials at the Tsawwassen site, where our calibration shifts many burials from the Marpole Period to the Late Period. We have corrected all radiocarbon ages similarly so that their relative chronology is clear. Marine reservoir corrections will continue to be refined, but further refinements should not change the overall chronological patterns we highlight, even while the absolute ages associated with the data set may change slightly. We present the data for both the properly calibrated and directly dated burials (^{14}C set) as well as for the combined set of directly dated burials plus burials dated by association (full set) in figure 4. The results are generally in agreement.

Cranial deformation is extremely rare prior to the Marpole Period, with only a single potential example occurring before 2400 cal BP at the Montague Harbour site (Mitchell 1971: 218). During the earlier Marpole Period, between 2400 to 1600 cal BP, a minority of burials exhibit cranial deformation (full set: 19 of 112, 17.0%; ^{14}C set: 1 of 6, 16.7%). This percentage is consistent with expectations for deformation having been used to mark an elite status with limited distribution in the population. This degree of prevalence continues in the later Marpole Period (1600 to 1000 BP), with the frequency increasing only slightly (full set: 2 of 8, 25%; ^{14}C set: 2 of 7, 28.6%). The practice of cranial deformation becomes dominant in the Late Period, rising to a clear majority of the sample (full set: 41 of 64, 64.0%; ^{14}C set: 39 of 58, 67.2%). After 550 BP, the pattern of increasing prevalence continues (full set: 12 of 16, 75%; ^{14}C set: 12 of 13, 92.3%). The sample size is the smallest for the later part of the Marpole Period, but the trend in the data proceeds from a relatively low prevalence to widespread use of the practice over the last 2,400 years. For 550 BP to contact, a period defined by Schaepe (2009) as the Sí:yá:m Age, the sample is also small, likely due in part to the shift to aboveground burial practices beginning about 1000 BP (Thom 1995). Despite these caveats, cranial deformation steadily increases over time during the precontact period.

In the postcontact period, numerous ethnographic and historic accounts have documented the practice of cranial deformation as widespread, with most historic Coast Salish people having exhibited the trait. Direct commentary on its use suggests that the Coast Salish practiced cranial modification merely for beauty, in order "to make them handsome" (Gibbs 1877:211). Barnett (1955) asserted that it was not associated with "aristocratic attributes," since "everybody had it" (75). However, both qualified their statements, noting that slaves did not exhibit the marker or confer the practice on their children. As Gibbs (1877) remarked, deformation is "confined to children of free parents; slaves not enjoying the privilege" (211). These statements are telling in that accounts stressing its aesthetic significance also indicate its association with free status. Coupled with direct assertions that postcontact deformation practices were specifically associated with high class (e.g., Collins 1974:219; Duff 1952:91; Elmendorf 1992 [1960]: 425), it is difficult to sustain the view that cranial deformation was not a marker of status in the region. While it may have been aesthetically pleasing, its perception as such may have stemmed from the value placed on high-status people in Coast Salish society.

Patterning of cranial deformation in Coast Salish burial contexts should be considered in relation to broader patterns of sociopolitical change over the last 2 millennia. Our cranial data show an increase in the proportion of elite to nonelite individuals in Coast Salish society over time, tracking the emergence of a top-heavy elite demographic matching Suttles's (1987*c* [1960]:6–7, 11–13) inverted-pear society. Suttles (1987*c* [1960]:6–7, 11–13) offered no argument as to how an inverted-pear society developed, although he explicitly links the ethnographically recorded elite demographic to strong social differentiation in the form of social classes. We see burial data from the last 2,400 years as providing the diachronic perspective and time depth necessary to illuminate processes critical to the development of this inverted-pear society.

The predominance of elite-status people in Coast Salish society stands in opposition to traditional views of how political systems expand. From the perspective of increasing centralization as the dominant perspective in models of political evolution, eliteness is associated with increasing exclusivity and restriction of status positions. What explains the expansion of eliteness rather than sustained restriction of that status through time in the Coast Salish case? As discussed above, the Marpole Period represents a time of increasing interactions throughout the region, involving the formalization of long-distance relations into a network of peer-exchange relations. This network of ties, likely solidified through intermarriage, facilitated the circulation of subsistence resources and prestige/ritual objects (Grier 2003). It is these relations and their increasing exclusivity that likely formed the basis for an incipient and exclusive elite class that emerged during the Marpole Period. This indicates the consolidation of power among a minority of elites. The circulation of seated human figure bowls perhaps represents the most distinctive marker of these increasingly exclusive relationships, as might the spread of an elaborate burial mound tradition throughout the region during Marpole times, both of which suggest the circulation of the symbols of eliteness throughout the region (Lepofsky et al. 2000; Thom 1995). Also during the Marpole

Table 2. Burials with human bone directly dated by radiocarbon methods or indirectly dated by association with a radiocarbon age

Lab code	Sample code	Site no.	Site name	Mean ^{14}C age (conventional)	Corrected median probability	Corrected error	Direct or indirect[a]	Material dated	Cranial deformation type
RIDDL 100	84-12b	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	5170	5127	223	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 96	84-31	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	4320	4013	223	1	Human bone	None
Beta 38357	F-4b	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	4220	3870	125	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 268	85-1a	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	4070	3682	154	1	Human bone	None
Beta 38353	D-14	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	3980	3558	62	1	Human bone	None
SFU 541	85-22	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3970	3547	70	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 107	84-41	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3940	3523	145	1	Human bone	None
Beta 38354	D-16	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	3900	3469	70	1	Human bone	None
GSC-437	6	DfRu 13	Montague Harbour	3160	3375	130	2	Charcoal	None
GSC-437	15	DfRu 13	Montague Harbour	3160	3375	130	2	Charcoal	None
GSC-437	11	DfRu 13	Montague Harbour	3160	3375	130	2	Charcoal	Frontal (probable)
RIDDL 271	85-30	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3750	3283	164	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 274	85-38	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3630	3138	145	1	Human bone	None
Beta 39228	D-48	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	3600	3108	70	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 272	85-36	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3600	3104	164	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 272	84-39	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3600	3104	164	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	6	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	1	Human bone	None
S-2350	10	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	9	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	8	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	7	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	5	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	4	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	3	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	2	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
S-2350	1	DgRx 5	Duke Point	3590	3092	130	2	Human bone	None
RIDDL 275	85-17	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3520	3016	174	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 273	85-37	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3380	2848	154	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 102	84-34c	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3370	2830	282	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 108	84-35	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3270	2701	223	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 99	84-27	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3260	2687	203	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 97	84-37	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3140	2541	203	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 106	84-43	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3050	2448	154	1	Human bone	None
SFU 545	86-10	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	3040	2435	70	1	Human bone	None
AECV-1689 C	3a	DeRw 18	Somenos Creek	2900	2162	81	2	Marine shell	None
SFU 26	24	DgRs 1	Beach Grove	2720	2030	88	1	Human bone	Lambdoidal
SFU 537	86-24	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	2620	1908	62	1	Human bone	Present
Beta 37843	2	DgRw 204	False Narrows Bluffs	2450	1709	70	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 571	4 (2H)	DcRt 9	Cadboro Bay	1760	1680	110	2	Charcoal	None
Beta 37844	1	DgRw 204	False Narrows Bluffs	2320	1557	79	1	Human bone	None
SFU 639	87-3	DfRu 44	Long Harbour	2320	1556	70	1	Human bone	Occipital
Beta 37846	6	DgRw 204	False Narrows Bluffs	2300	1532	79	1	Human bone	None
CAMS 54729	1	DjSf 13	Buckley Bay	2240	1460	62	1	Human bone	None

Beta 40985	C-19	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	2160	1390	97	1	Human bone	None
Beta 40985	C-17	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	2160	1390	97	2	Human bone	None
Beta 40985	C-18	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	2160	1390	97	2	Human bone	Lambdoidal
Beta 38348	B-1	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1770	1001	106	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
WSU-4627	22a	DeRw 18	Somenos Creek	1765	994	70	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 267	85-1	DeRt 1	Pender Canal	1710	944	193	1	Human bone	None
Beta 58221	1	DeRw 18	Somenos Creek	1690	910	79	1	Human bone	Fronto-occipital
Beta 39231	D-23	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1650	865	70	1	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
Beta 38352	C-24	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	1	Human bone	Present
Beta 38352	C-11	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
Beta 38352	C-12	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Present
Beta 38352	C-13	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	None
Beta 38352	C-15	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Occipital
Beta 38352	C-20	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
Beta 38352	C-21	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	None
Beta 38352	C-22	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	None
Beta 38352	C-25	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Occipital
Beta 38352	C-26	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Frontal
Beta 38352	C-7	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	None
Beta 38352	C-8	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1620	838	62	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU-[NA]-4	87-6-C1	DgRw 20	Mueller Cabin	900	823	60	2	Charcoal	None
Beta 40986	D-7a	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1600	821	70	1	Human bone	Lambdoidal
Beta 39226	G-3	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1600	821	62	1	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
WSU-4626	20a	DeRw 18	Somenos Creek	1560	787	79	1	Human bone	Frontolambdoidal
WSU-4626	20b	DeRw 18	Somenos Creek	1560	787	79	2	Human bone	Frontolambdoidal
Beta 78983	2	NA (HM)	Hatzic Mound	840	762	60	2	Wood fiber	Present
Beta 39225	G-1	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1530	758	70	1	Human bone	Occipital
SFU 583	C-3	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	1	Human bone	Present
Beta 39229	D-39	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	1	Human bone	Lambdoidal
SFU 583	D-12a	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	None
SFU 583	D-13	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-15b	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Occipital
SFU 583	D-19	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-20	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
SFU 583	D-22	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Occipital
SFU 583	D-28	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-29	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-34a	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	None
SFU 583	D-34b	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
SFU 583	D-35	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
SFU 583	D-42	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-43	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Lambdoidal
SFU 583	D-49	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	None
SFU 583	D-5	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Occipital
SFU 583	D-50	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-6	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 583	D-8	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	None
SFU 583	D-9	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital

Table 2 (*Continued*)

Lab code	Sample code	Site no.	Site name	Mean ^{14}C age (conventional)	Corrected median probability	Corrected error	Direct or indirect[a]	Material dated	Cranial deformation type
SFU 583	G-5b	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
SFU 583	S-4	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1510	740	70	2	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
Gak-6035	1	DiSe 7	Deep Bay	790	729	80	2	Charcoal	Fronto-lambdoidal
Beta 39230	D-33	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1500	728	62	1	Human bone	Frontal
RIDDL 270	85-12	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	1460	708	135	1	Human bone	None
GSC-436	13	DfRu 13	Montague Harbour	730	690	130	2	Charcoal	Occipital
Beta 38351	C-23	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1450	687	70	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
RIDDL 98	84-44	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	1420	664	97	1	Human bone	None
RIDDL 98	84-86	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	1420	664	97	2	Human bone	None
WSU 4547	NS-2-1898	NA (NS)	North Saanich	1380	643	174	1	Human bone	Present
Beta 40987	G-7	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1380	627	79	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
Beta 38350	C-16	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1360	610	70	1	Human bone	Lambdoidal
RIDDL 269	85-4	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	1340	606	154	1	Human bone	Fronto-occipital
Beta 11055	1	DfRu 42	Welbury Point	1260	547	88	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
Beta 40984	C-9	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1260	547	88	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
Beta 39277	D-40	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1260	547	62	1	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
Beta 38355	D-26	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	1250	540	70	1	Human bone	Bifronto-occipital
WSU 4545	NS-6-1898	NA (NS)	North Saanich	1190	487	97	1	Human bone	None
WSU 4546	NS-4-1898	NA (NS)	North Saanich	1140	443	88	1	Human bone	Present
WSU 4543	NS-1-1899	NA (NS)	North Saanich	1160	443	203	1	Human bone	Present
RIDDL 95	84-42	DeRt 2	Pender Canal	1090	390	135	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
Beta 40983	C-1	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	960	285	70	2	Human bone	Anteroposterior
Beta 40983	C-2	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	960	285	70	2	Human bone	Occipital
Beta 40983	C-4c	DgRs 2	Tsawwassen	960	273	164	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior
SFU 247	SG-1-1984	DcRu 52	Victoria[b]	610	254	441	1	Human bone	Present
Beta 65249	B2	DfRu 3	Harbour House	870	172	70	1	Human bone	Anteroposterior

Note. NA = not available.

[a] Direct ^{14}C = 1, indirect ^{14}C = 2.

[b] No site name on record, general location reference.

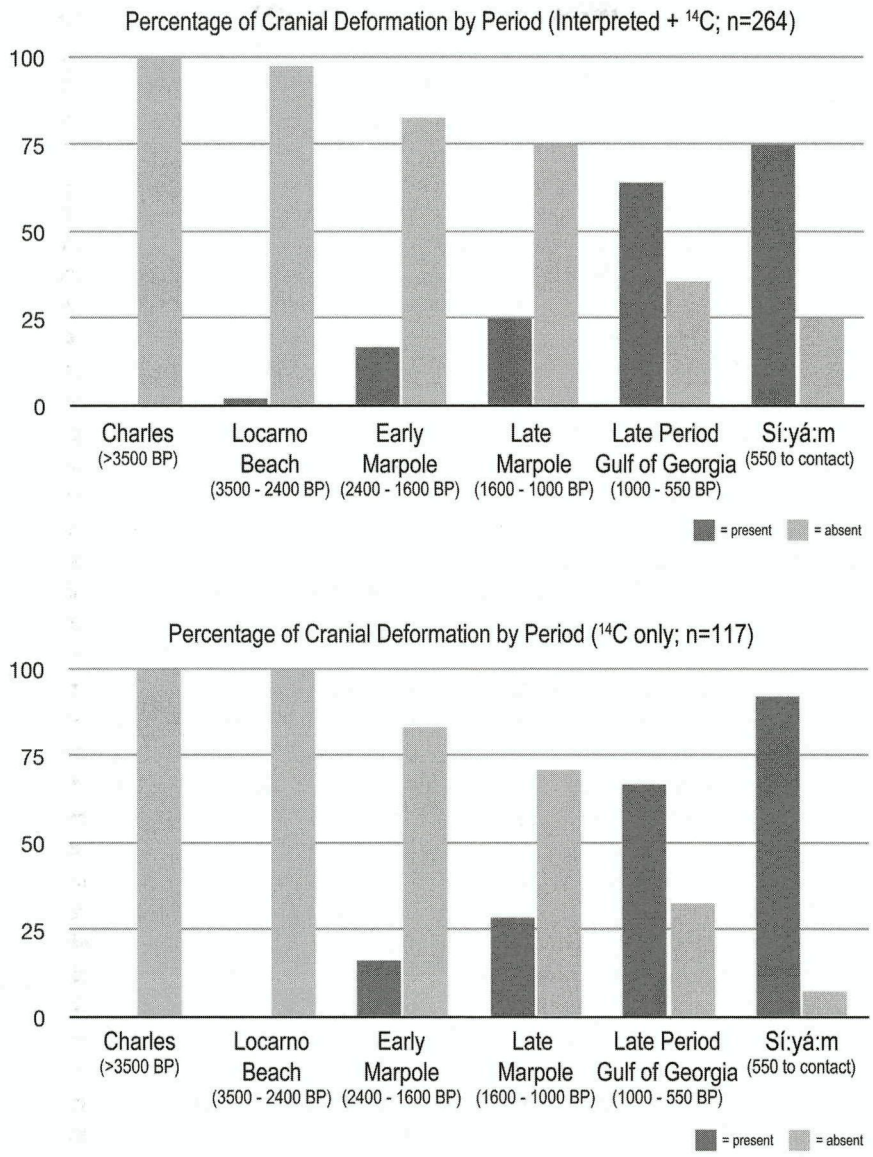

Figure 4. Percentage of cranial deformation by period for the full data set (radiocarbon and associated burials) and restricted to the radiocarbon data set.

Period, large corporate households and villages first appear in various areas of the Gulf of Georgia (Grier 2006*b*; Matson and Coupland 1995). Household heads, commanding the productive power of these expanding households, were the dominant actors in regional networks. This incipient elite peer group, managing both a household faction and negotiating regional network relations, emerged as a distinctive and successful group economically, socially, and politically. We view the limited distribution of cranial deformation in the Marpole Period as indicative of this initial process, in which household heads emerged as a de facto class with preferential access to household and distant resources and who distinguished themselves symbolically from a large body of commoners through the use of prestige-based material culture. These elite employed cranial definition as a hereditary status marker as it became increasingly critical to pass on the status and wealth of household heads to their offspring.

However, by the onset of the Late Period large segments of society increasingly joined this elite stratum, suggesting a nouveau riche, as evident in the expanded practice of cranial deformation. Why did this occur? We argue that an expansion of elite-class membership resulted from commoners actively resisting and challenging the increasing status and control of the hereditary elite in society. There were multiple practices available to mount such resistance. First, while elite success had come through skillful manipulation of local and long-

distance relations, the flexibility of social relationships in Coast Salish society allowed individual members to shift their household affiliation, acting as a break on household elite control over a key resource: labor (Collins 1979). Second, leveraging this potential autonomy to their advantage, household commoners could have secured much more prestigious positions in the household, including demanding some of the social prerogatives of elite members, including the use of cranial deformation. Through these processes, Coast Salish commoners were able to level the field—that is, act as a brake on the centralization of power in the hands of elite household heads—by negotiating themselves into the elite stratum as nouveau riche.

From an anarchist perspective, this shift involved the (re)assertion of commoner autonomy in opposition to increasing hierarchy and centralization of power within household leadership. The actions of the nouveau riche worked in opposition to constraints imposed on their participation in the practice of cranial deformation. Their resistance to the centralization of power and exertion of their potential autonomy allowed for a wider use of the marker, broadening it to the bulk of society. These developments indicate a significant transition from a more centralized hierarchy to inclusive heterarchy and from a restricted elite network to one that encompassed a wide majority.

Warfare as a Leveling Practice

Outside the context of the household, another key element of resistance and decentralization was warfare. By the end of the Marpole Period, warfare was prevalent in the Gulf of Georgia region, as indicated by the presence of defensive sites throughout the Coast Salish region. The specific timing of periods of elevated conflict are critical to understanding the role warfare played as a practice to resist the centralization of power; we see heightened warfare as an important strategy of resistance to centralization in the region. Warfare can be viewed as a strategy for breaking the increasing concentration of power in the hands of Marpole elites. Indeed, oral histories of warfare predominantly concern battles fought between Coast Salish groups rather than as associated with external conflicts with non–Coast Salish peoples (Angelbeck 2009:227–229).

Archaeologically, indicators of warfare on the Northwest Coast typically include the presence of weaponry, imagery, skeletal trauma, and defensive sites and its occurrence in histories, both written and oral (Lambert 2002; Maschner and Reedy-Maschner 1998). In the Coast Salish region, the first two lines of evidence are insufficient for an analysis of the nature and prevalence of warfare, as weaponry is often not specific to combat (Ames and Maschner 1999:209), and imagery of warfare in rock art is limited and commonly not dated to particular periods (Bell 1982).

There is, however, a wealth of ethnohistoric evidence for warfare in the Coast Salish region. Most of this information concerns postcontact warfare, which was endemic between ca. AD 1790 and 1870 (Angelbeck 2009:69–98). The many oral and written accounts of warfare are valuable for understanding both precontact and postcontact periods of warfare. Using oral histories, researchers have documented defensive sites in the northern Northwest Coast that are associated with wars waged 2,000 years ago (Marsden 2001; Martindale and Marsden 2003). Much of this oral history in the Coast Salish region relates to the postcontact period of warfare, such as their wars with the Kwakwa̱ka'wakw (Angelbeck and McLay 2011). Other histories of warfare are rarely anchored to a specific period of precontact times. For this analysis, we draw on this information to assist in the interpretation of elements of the archaeological record of warfare in the Gulf of Georgia, which include skeletal trauma and defensive sites.

In a comparative study of skeletal trauma across the Northwest Coast, Cybulski (1992:157–158) cited a low incidence (6%) of trauma typically attributable to warfare for the Locarno and Marpole Periods (3500 to 1500 BP) in the Coast Salish region compared with that in the northern Northwest Coast. But for the Late Period (after 1500 BP), Cybulski (1994: 76–77) noted an increase (to 27.6%) in skeletal trauma across the whole region. Although his sample size for the Coast Salish region is small, his findings do suggest a correlation between the timing of increased skeletal trauma inferred to derive from conflict and the construction of defensive sites.

The construction of defensive fortifications was a relatively late phenomenon in the long-term unfolding of Northwest Coast precontact history (Moss and Erlandson 1992). In the Coast Salish region, these date no earlier than 1600 BP. The absence of evidence for defensive sites prior to this period does not mean that conflict was absent previously but rather that by about 1600 BP the scale and/or frequency of conflict had increased to the point that the construction of defensive sites was warranted. Known defensive sites date to two main periods, both correlated with major transitions in regional culture history (tables 3 and 4). Defensive sites initially appear around 1600 BP, with sites constructed and assumedly in use from the Late Marpole Period until roughly 500 BP, which corresponds with the onset of the Sí:yá:m Period in the Lower Fraser Valley (Schaepe 2009). The second period of warfare begins after contact, ca. AD 1790, and continues through about AD 1870; the introduction of firearms, epidemics, and economic instabilities associated with the fur trade contributed to opportunities for warfare (Angelbeck 2007).

Both periods of warfare documented for the Coast Salish region occur following periods of increased social inequality (Angelbeck 2009:296–301; fig. 5). The mortuary data presented earlier point to a significant entrenchment of elites as a demarcated social class during the first half of the Marpole Period through 1600 BP. Elite entrenchment likely fueled resistance by those participating in the system (i.e., other elites with similar and competing objectives) or those left outside the system. We see conflict as having played a role in checking power and accumulation in an era of increasing control over

Table 3. Radiocarbon dates for precontact Coast Salish defensive sites

Site	Borden no.	Date	±	Material	Lab no.	Source(s)[a]
Cardale Point	DgRv 1	510	60	Shell[b]	Beta 153507	Grier and McLay 2001
Cardale Point	DgRv 1	530	40	Shell[b]	Beta 250605	Angelbeck 2009
Cardale Point	DgRv 1	540	80	Shell[b]	Beta 250606	Angelbeck 2009
Lime Bay	DcRu 123	540	80	Charcoal	SFU 123	Keddie 1983
Flemming Beach	DcRu 20	580	70	Charcoal		Keddie 1996
Flemming Beach	DcRu 20	660	65	Charcoal		Keddie 1996
Aquilar Point	DfSg 3	705	95	Charcoal	I-4008	Buxton 1969
Finlayson Point	DcRu 23	880	70	Charcoal	SFU 772	Keddie 1995; CARD 2009
Finlayson Point	DcRu 23	1080	70	Charcoal	SFU 773	Keddie 1995; CARD 2009
Aquilar Point	DfSg 3	1190	95	Charcoal	I-4007	Buxton 1969
Lime Bay	DcRu 123	1240	80	Charcoal	SFU 791	Keddie 1983
Pedder Bay (Ash Point)	DcRv 1	1580	100	Charcoal	GaK-1484	Moss and Erlandson 1992; CARD 2009

[a] Details on sources are provided in Angelbeck (2009).

[b] Shell dates are corrected for the marine reservoir effect (Deo, Stone, and Stein 2004; Stuiver et al. 1998).

resources. In our analysis, warfare was an important practice, as targeted internecine conflict, for destabilizing efforts at centralization and regulating concentrations of wealth.

After about 500 BP, Coast Salish use of defensive sites declined, suggesting a decrease in the use of warfare as a political leveling mechanism. The centuries between 500 BP and historic contact constitute the Sí:yá:m Period. In this period, Schaepe (2009:254–260) found increasing intrasite house size inequities over time in house pit settlements in the Fraser Valley. On the basis of these data, he argued that the Sí:yá:m Period exhibited increasing inequality through time and that that provided a "strong implication of centralized authority" (Schaepe 2009:261). The transition from the Sí:yá:m Period to the contact period is associated with the rise of the second main period of warfare, and signs of centralized society among the Coast Salish were no longer present.[11]

In the Coast Salish past, both periods of increasing inequality were followed by periods of elevated conflict. These periods of warfare resulted in an overall narrowing of the gap that had developed between elites and commoners. On this basis, warfare can be viewed as an action that negated attempts at centralizing or consolidating the power of elites. This active resistance to increasing centralization and control of resources reflects another key organizing principle of anarchic systems: active resistance. In the context of South America, Clastres (1994) has argued a parallel point in reference to dispersion as a means of eluding efforts at control, explaining that "the dispersion of local groups . . . is thus not the cause of war, but its effect, its specific goal" (164). Accordingly, warfare in such settings exhibits "a *centrifugal logic* . . . a logic of separation which expresses itself from time to time in armed conflict. War serves to maintain each community in its political independence" (Clastres 1994:164).[12] The "centrifugal logic" of warfare acts against the "centripetal logic" of the state or against any hegemonic entity with aims of centralizing power, resources, and authority. Notably, this is in marked contrast to Carneiro (1970), who proposed that warfare unified groups within territories, providing a coercive model for the process of centralization that ultimately produced states. A component of Carneiro's argument rests on population density, where circumscription denies those faced with assertions of power the ability to fission as a response to the aggressions. Threatened groups could not simply move to another territory to avoid the consolidating advances of the chiefdom or state. However, in small-scale societies without such obvious circumscription bottlenecks, such as the Coast Salish, warfare can have a centrifugal nature. This use of warfare as a political "leveling mechanism" reflects and reproduces a dominant theme in the Coast Salish political world, indicating an opposition to centralization and consolidation of power.

11. Indicating a change from increasing house differentiation prior to contact, Matson (2003) argued that during the postcontact period there was a reduction in household sizes. In a comparison of postcontact versus precontact houses predominantly from the Coast Salish area, he determined that after contact there was reduced compartment width (the distance between rafters) within households. Matson (2003:101) argued that events after contact affected house compartment size, and he pointed to the development of nouveau riche after contact, as Gibson (1991) detailed historically. In his analysis, the growing presence of the newly rich had a somewhat equalizing effect, checking the rise in social inequities.

12. In political science, it is common to use the concept of anarchy to characterize situations of conflict, whether between states or within states, as in revolution or civil war. By using the term, they mean that warfare indicates that there is no authority overriding the situation—the contest for authority or autonomy is being negotiated by force through conflict. Helbling (2006) and Snyder (2002) have called for the use of this concept from political science for the anthropology of warfare. However, this use of "anarchy" derives from its connotation of chaos under a lack of rulership and is not associated with the theory of anarchism, which is about a form of social organization. Here we argue that this use of anarchy could benefit from engaging with the theory of anarchism—as it is, their use simply means the polities in warfare act autonomously. The theory of anarchism includes such autonomy but provides a much larger framework within which to assess such interactions.

Table 4. Dates for postcontact defensive sites documented historically and ethnographically

Palisaded fortification	Year(s)	Source(s)[a]
Suxtcikwí'iñ	1860–1880s	Gunther 1927:183–184
Cowichan area	1850s	Grant 1857:300
Shingle Point	1853	Gordon 1853
Keekullukhun	1850s	MacDonald 1990; Suttles 2004
Kullukhun	1850s	MacDonald 1990; Suttles 2004
Swinomish fort	1800–1850s	Sampson 1972
I-eh-nus	1847	Kane 1971
Cadboro Bay	1844	Bolduc 1843–1845; Newcombe n.d.
Dungeness Spit	1841	Pickering 1854:15–16
Penn Cove	1838–1842	Wilkes 1845
Rocky Point	1838–1842	Wilkes 1844
Blaine Fort	1820–1858	Suttles 1951:322–323
Guemes fort	1820–1830	Suttles 1951:43, 322–323
Gooseberry Point	1820–1830	Stern 1934:101–102; Suttles 1951:37–38, 322–323
Salmon Bay	1800–1820s	Barnett 1944:266–267
S.báliuq^{w}	1800–1840	Collins 1974:13, 1980:6
South Vancouver Island	1792	Galiano and Valdes (Gunther 1927:63)

[a] Details on sources are provided in Angelbeck (2009).

Discussion

Our analysis provides a history of the process of status construction and resistance to centralization in Coast Salish society over the last two millennia. We posit that there is considerable time depth to the development of the Coast Salish status system recorded ethnographically, as suggested by Elmendorf (1970:374–375). However, this should not be construed as promoting a view of long-term change in Coast Salish societies as the inevitable evolution of complexity to its historically recorded form. Rather, the ethnographic social structure reflects a long period of social interactions and negotiations in which inequality was repeatedly constructed and challenged. Importantly, this long-term dynamic cannot be effectively described as aggrandizers employing strategies designed to defeat or evade egalitarian leveling mechanisms, nor can this process of development be explained as a classic Marxist-style class struggle in which elites and commoners were in conflict as classes. Instead, commoners aspired to become elites and acquired the right to display elite symbols, forming a nouveau riche. While there are certainly tensions of class, these developments do not represent the struggle of classes but competing factions. Commoners, aspiring elites, and entrenched elites engaged in a complex series of interactions that reflected the historical renegotiation of their social organization. There were periods of increased entrenchment of wealth and the centralization of authority. There also were assertions of autonomy, pursuits for freer forms of association, and resistance to the centralization of authority. The net result was the emergence of a heterarchical and anarchic society that had inequality, even social classes, but one that emerged with inherent structural resistance to centralization at multiple scales.

Our interpretations generated through an anarchist framework are consistent with the ethnographic portrayals and oral histories of the Coast Salish, which reveal anarchic elements to their politics. This is indicated in the bottom-up nature of their political structure, in which households were the extent of chiefly power (Ames 1995). The autonomy of households was strident, to the extent that anthropologists have asserted that villages are more aptly viewed as clusters of households than coherent political entities. As Elmendorf (1992 [1960]) described for the Twana of Puget Sound, villages consisted of houses that were "politically independent of, and unaffiliated with, one another and never exhibited any unity of action as Twana" (257–258; see also Mitchell 1983). Even within households, individuals were free to align with either their mother's or father's side, as described by Collins (1979). She has also described how authority was granted to individuals with particular skills but only for the duration of the activity, generally involving the larger-scale building projects such as construction of a plankhouse or the setting of a large fish weir (Collins 1974:113). Leadership was limited in many respects to the event, providing a form of justification for such authority. Suttles (1983) also stressed that "leadership was specific to an activity; there were no all-purpose leaders and no great concentrations of authority" (132). For many major decisions, Collins (1974) noted that all household members participated to determine the resolution in "simple democracy" (112). Furthermore, the power of chiefs depended on their household support. As Barnett (1955) described, "No chief in the give and take of daily life could flaunt his superiority in the face of his social inferiors and expect their support and cooperation. . . . A chief had to be generous. He gave frequent feasts and entertainments to the members of his family group to maintain their goodwill" (245–246).

Similarly, Miller and Boxberger (1994) noted that "other members of the village submitted themselves [to a chief] because they derived benefits, not because the headman had coercive authority" (284). Chiefs needed to be generous with wealth to gather supporters in their households. The orga-

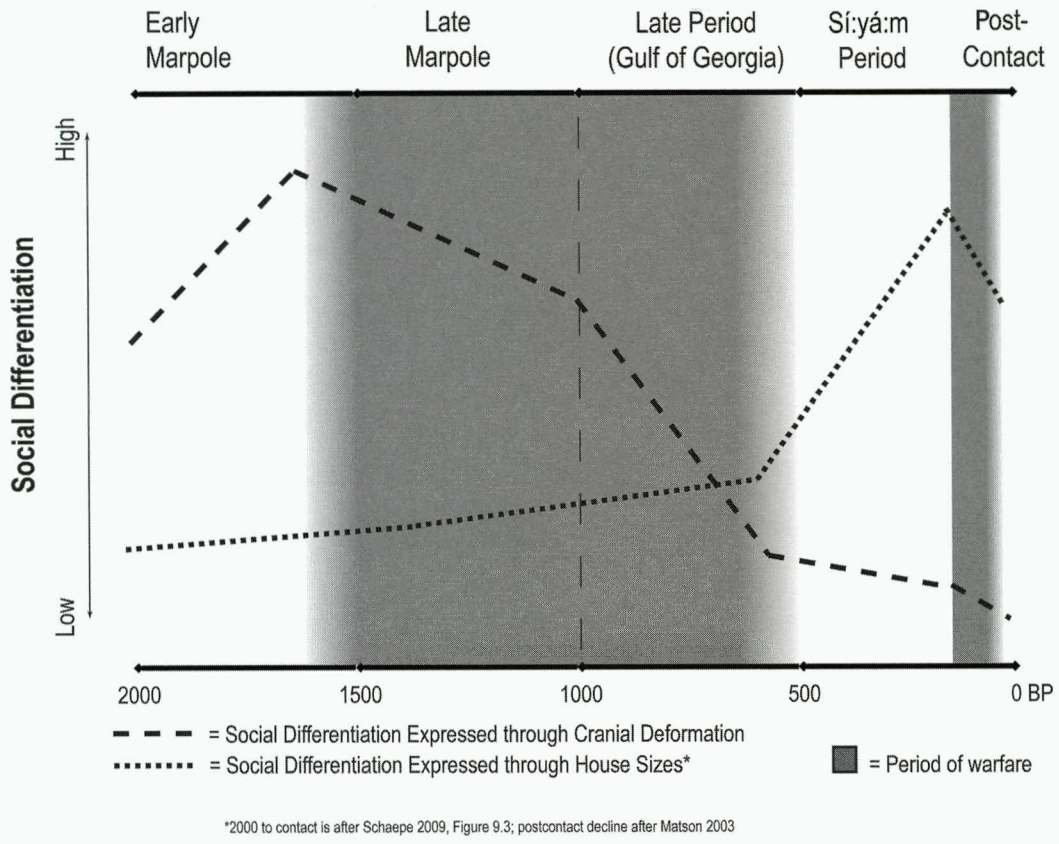

Figure 5. Chronology showing periods of warfare following periods of increasing sociopolitical differentiation or inequality.

nization of the household economy of the Coast Salish itself encouraged more autonomy for individuals. Suttles (1990: 151) noted that most household practices were conducted by one- and two-person teams. For this reason, Suttles (1990) determined that "subsistence activities and relations were not leading the Central Coast Salish toward a greater concentration of authority" (151).

Moreover, while there were expressions of authority and high class, such expressions were under social scrutiny and critique. Coast Salish oral traditions indicate a high degree of intra- and interclass tensions, which played out commonly as interpersonal conflict (Bierwert 1996:104; Snyder 1964:131). As Miller (2001) has observed of the Coast Salish, "The concentration of ethnographic material that shows the persistence of concern for social status suggests that issues of social hierarchy must have been significant and that *limits to social mobility were deeply felt and the source of conflict*" (117; emphasis added).

For the Coast Salish, oral accounts outline resistance to excessive and thus unjustified authority. The rise of Slabebtikud, a religious leader among the Upper Skagit after European contact, provides an important example. The first salmon ceremony was a rite typically conducted by a household or households sharing fishing grounds. When Slabebtikud gained greater authority, he demanded that he perform one first salmon rite for all the Skagit, an attempt to centralize power over the ritual and fishing season. As Collins (1950) noted, "Since authority in these realms had earlier been limited to the control of elders over younger persons within the family, this concentration of authority was a marked departure from former procedures" (340). Skagit peoples did not stand for such claims, and they killed Slabebtikud.

In this case, Slabebtikud had earned the respect of their communities through his religious knowledge, and Skagit people had bestowed authority upon him. However, these events show that his authority had limits, and his followers actively ended his authority when his actions exceeded acceptable prerogatives. In Bakunin's sense of authority, the actions taken based on Slabebtikud's self-assumed authority were not considered justified. Or as Clastres (1987) argued, autonomous groups do "not permit the desire for prestige to be replaced by the will to power" (210).

In perhaps its most intriguing expression, decentralized notions continue to play out in modern Coast Salish political organization. Thom (2010) has remarked how Coast Salish groups, during their negotiations with the nation-state of Canada in the modern treaty process, emphasize decentralization in their efforts at self-government, referring to this

practice as "the anathema of aggregation." Moreover, Thom detailed how the authority of any Coast Salish individual to speak for the Coast Salish in such negotiations must be justified for the purpose it serves and accepted broadly as such. As with their ancestors in the past 2 millennia, the Coast Salish aim to decentralize power, emphasizing greater local autonomy and the subjection of authority to challenge.

Conclusion

The archaeological data we present provides a basis for understanding how processes of decentralization and resistance operated in past Coast Salish society. The expansion of a hereditary elite class to include a broad segment of society, as measured through the increasing prevalence of cranial deformation over time, reflects commoners successfully exercising and leveraging their autonomy within households to negotiate for elevated status, effectively mitigating increasing socioeconomic differentiation pursued by existing elites. Warfare provided a more overt tool of conflict primarily among the elite class to break increasing exclusivity of access to material and social resources. In these practices, core principles of anarchism were expressed and embedded in Coast Salish social systems, shaping the historical trajectory of political evolution in the region for 2 millennia.

We have argued that the theory of anarchism has much to offer to archaeologists and other social theorists. Anarchism can serve as a framework for the analysis of nonstate or other noncentralized societies and, in particular, the dynamics of power and authority that operate within them. The principles of anarchism provide a set of propositions to examine social forces within heterarchical societies. Anarchism allows us to move beyond the weaknesses of concepts of egalitarianism, expanding our understanding of the dynamics of power and authority in small-scale social formations. The principles of anarchism provide not a set of traits to be measured but rather constitute a set of generative principles and overarching framework for the analysis of history. In an anarchist view, every society constantly renegotiates the terms of its sociopolitical relationships. Accordingly, we would expect shifts in the expression and emphasis of these principles over time, with shifts from autonomy to domination, from involuntary identifications to free associations, from cooperation to competitiveness, from hierarchy to heterarchy, and from imposed to justified authorities.

As we have shown with our Coast Salish case study, it is possible to measure such shifts with archaeological data. In the process, we have outlined how the theory and principles of anarchism can provide insights into archaeological and ethnographic patterns that have been confounding or explained only in a cumbersome fashion. The "conundrum" of the Northwest Coast past—where "high social complexity" was combined with "low political complexity"—arises from an attempt to fit inappropriate models based in teleologies of centralization to the elaborate yet decentralized societies of the Northwest Coast. Moreover, through an anarchist analysis it is possible to clarify how a society can develop and operate when a majority of individuals are in fact of "elite status."

In the end, our main point is not to excessively amplify the strident nature of Coast Salish autonomy and decentralization. Our emphasis, instead, is to suggest that there is utility in an anarchist approach to the past. Simply put, societies without governments are anarchies. Given that, we propose that the rich intellectual tradition of anarchist theory and practice has something to offer those studying the material record of those anarchic societies.

Comments

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This paper contributes to several important trends in our understanding of Northwest Coast social evolution. The first is a remarkable surge of archaeological and ethnohistorical scholarship over the past decade focusing on the Salish Sea and the lower Fraser River. This region is the best known anthropologically on the Northwest Coast (taking archaeology, ethnography, ethnohistory, and linguistics together). Despite that, it is not all that well know, and single projects can still force significant revisions of what we thought we knew (e.g., Clark, Coupland, and Cybulski 2012). The paper also contributes to a recent welcome rethink (e.g., Coupland, Clark, and Palmer 2009; Grier 2006*a*; Martindale and Letham 2011) and critique of the models of the evolution of social complexity on the coast that took shape in the 1990s (e.g., Ames and Maschner 1999; Matson and Coupland 1995). This critique includes arguments that concepts like complexity and intensification have outlived their value, do not fit the circumstances of the coast, and should be abandoned (Moss 2011, 2012) because these broad, universalizing ideas founder on the coast's fine-grained environmental diversity (e.g., Cannon, Yang, and Speller 2011). The diversity of the coast has been long known (e.g., Schalk 1977; Suttles 1968) but insufficiently appreciated. And as data accumulate, the picture becomes even more complicated temporally and spatially, appearing like a shifting 3-D mosaic. At some scales, patterns of change through this mosaic exhibit the Rowley-Conwy affect (Ames 2004): change proceeds in fits, starts and pauses, zigs, zags, reversals, and tangents (Rowley-Conwy 2001) in a dynamic that could be labeled chaotic or perhaps anarchic. Yet at other scales there is profound stability or stasis (e.g., Ames 1991, 2000; Cannon 2003; Lepofsky et al. 2009; Moss 2011). For a discipline

built on studying change, this presents considerable theoretical and methodological problems.

This paper also contributes to a long-standing anthropological tradition in which the Northwest Coast is a place to test high-level theory. This is because, as Angelbeck and Grier comment, the coast's ethnographic societies do not readily fit into anthropological, sociopolitical, or economic (e.g., Deur and Turner 2005) categories with its social stratification without polities (but see Arnold 2006). Consequently, we do not lack for theory on the coast; processual archaeology is alive and well in places; household archaeology with its Marxian focus on political economy flourishes; some researchers explore human behavioral ecology, others Darwinian evolution, while others work within the varied frameworks labeled postmodernism. Theories do not go away; they just accrete. What is lacking is coherence. A question arising, then, is whether we need anarchy concepts to elucidate the issue this paper addresses.

The absence of polities or of even stronger inequality is an issue larger than the Salish Sea. In many places along the coast, populations were large and dense enough to sustain permanent political leadership and polities. Ames and Maschner (1999) speculate that the coast's archaeological record may actually contain evidence of failed experiments in polity creation. The fur trade threw up several great chiefs (Ames 1995) along the coast, so it seems not unlikely that also happened earlier. Dislike for arrogant leadership or too much authority was not limited to the Coast Salish. The ethnographic record for the coast is clear—while chiefs might have had high prestige and authority, generally they had little real power or their power was circumscribed in a number of ways, some institutional (e.g., councils of elders), others more direct. For example, John Jewitt, an American captured and enslaved by Maquinna, the great Nuu-chah-nulth chief of the early nineteenth century, indicates in his journal that Maquinna feared assassins sent by other chiefs (Jewitt 1967 [1815]). Explanations for the absence of polities include people voting with their feet (e.g., Stearns 1984). In the final analysis, chiefs controlled slaves only; free peoples could leave. Another possibility is structural: there simply were too many chiefs for them to be successfully integrated into a polity—the centrifugal force was just too great (Ames 1995). However, these suggestions lack an integrating theory.

Angelbeck and Grier present a theory that problematizes and calls attention to the issue in a way that has not been done before, accounts for the ethnographic data, and appears to link that data to the archaeological record of warfare, cranial deformation, and house sizes in the Salish Sea and lower Fraser River. What is perhaps most interesting is their account of the evolution of the pear-shaped distribution of status among the Coast Salish. Anarchy theory, at least in their hands, is productive. I look forward to seeing it applied to other aspects of the Northwest Coast's 3-D mosaic and seeing whether it consistently helps us to make sense of things.

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Angelbeck and Grier's creative and provocative article draws on anarchist theory as a new way of conceptualizing politics in nonstate societies. I mean it as high praise to say that it raises more questions—genuine questions—than it answers. The most obvious question is whether the theory of anarchism adds anything to a rich literature that has been busy modifying and deconstructing the neoevolutionary model since at least the mid-1980s. To this existing work on egalitarianism, heterarchy, networks, and various typologies of transegalitarian social formations, does anarchism offer new insights into how political relationships are constituted? Potentially, yes. Two aspects of this article are particularly useful. First, it extends a recent thread of argument (e.g., Wiessner 2002) that acephalous societies are distinguished not by a lack of permanent hierarchy but by the active assertion of codes and practices that work against hierarchy and allow people to function without central leadership. As the authors note, it is more productive to talk about these institutions in positive terms than as deficits (although, ironically, the term "anarchy" replicates the negative wording they critique, along with many other unavoidable terms in their article and in this comment). The second contribution is the vision of a persistent dialectic or tension between centralizing and decentralizing forces and practices in society. Over time, there might be oscillations back and forth, à la Leach (1954) and McGuire and Saitta (1996), or a long-term trend in one direction, but with the ever-present potential for reversal. This perspective directs attention toward "collapses," delays, or "pauses" (Dillehay 2004; Harrower, McCorriston, and D'Andrea 2010) and movements away from centralization as things that need explaining as much as increasing centralization.

Going forward, a core question must be the extent to which decentralization (like centralization) is accomplished by human agency and practice or by "external" conditions such as resource opportunities and constraints. Tendencies toward anarchism might be more realizable in some social and environmental contexts. For instance, the crucial ability of Coast Salish people to "vote with their feet" rests on a flexible bilateral kinship system. Did preexisting bilateral kinship foster decentralization and individual autonomy, or did a general ethos of autonomy and dislike of unjustified authority lead people to expediently define kin relations in bilateral terms? This kind of chicken-and-egg question highlights the problem of how we are to think of a priori anarchist principles like individual autonomy and voluntary association. Where do these principles come from? (Is their authority justified, so to speak?) Are they part of our evolved heritage as social animals? Are they inherent and necessary structural properties of an acephalous society if it is to function? Are they present in germ form in any society, even the most hierarchical? Do

they emerge at a historical moment, as reactions to movements toward centralization? Or are they simply the ideals that occurred to a handful of nineteenth-century Russian revolutionaries for one imagined utopia among many of the age?

Another problem is intentionality. People in the past may not have thought as obsessively about abstract political power as archaeologists and anarchists do, and Angelbeck and Grier may attribute too much intentionality to Coast Salish people as conscious agents pursuing a long-term political agenda. The gradual adoption of cranial deformation is produced not by commoners working together against elites but by commoners aspiring to become elites and leave their commoner brethren behind. The treatment of warfare as a leveling strategy has a curiously functionalist flavor, reminiscent of relict theories that warfare's function was to limit population growth or optimally distribute protein (Harris 1984; Rappaport 1968). Warfare can indeed entrench local autonomy and thwart regional consolidation, but Coast Salish warmongers were probably more concerned with factional competition, resource conflict, and social advancement than an ultimate goal of decentralization. That warfare came after periods of increased inequality does not mean it arose as a direct reaction to inequality; periods of destabilization and crisis can be associated with both warfare and opportunities for social advancement, as is clearly the case in the late postcontact period. Yet war could have enabled anarchism regardless of whether warriors were anarchists.

At bottom, the authors are trying to deal with a context in which the traits classically associated with complexity are not tightly correlated. A highly developed social hierarchy contrasts with very limited political power beyond the kin group. Yet the conundrum of an exception to the "classic chiefdom" is hardly new. Years ago archaeologists realized that when you array societies in clumps along a single axis called complexity, a lot of them do not fit very well (Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Yoffee 1993). That we are still wrestling with the neoevolutionary model after nearly 3 decades of revision and critique speaks to the seemingly unshakable hold it has on our imagination.

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Amalgamating several strands of critical archaeological theory, this fascinating article advances a powerful alternative interpretation for the development and diversity of power relations. By questioning fundamental assumptions that have for millennia shaped interpretations of the past, this approach could give archaeology an exciting new role in re-visioning the future as well.

Since archaeology's founding as a discipline, the dominant interpretation of sociopolitical organization has been predicated upon a linear progression from small, early, "simple" societies to those that are more populous, later in time, and "complex." This scheme, borrowed from classical writers, is termed primitivism (Crumley 1974; Lovejoy and Boas 1935; Nisbet 1994). It would appear to be straightforward, based on increasing population and the elaboration of forms over time; its implications, however, are closely related to social Darwinism.

"Complex" has been taken to mean the emergence of social and political hierarchies, an interpretative scheme that offered nineteenth-century nations convenient scientific "proof" of superiority and the moral grounds for conquest. Thus, the world's indigenous populations could benefit from the colonial enterprise, and hegemony was the reward. Forms other than those that naturalized elite power were dismissed as quaint evolutionary byways on the road to progress.

University of Michigan ethnologist Elman Service's framework of band, tribe, chiefdom, and state (Service 1963) fit neatly within the larger milieu of cultural evolutionism then prevalent in the university's Department of Anthropology (White 1959). In those days, Michigan set the standard for American archaeological method and theory; "complex" political systems—tiered hierarchies of power—were considered more stable than other forms, a logical outcome of the passage of time.

Nowhere were archaeologists quite as obsessed with the epistemology of chiefdoms and states as in North America, where scholars defined states as sociopolitical hierarchies and undertook research on how elites constructed hegemonic power architectures. This is practically understandable, as large sites with monumental architecture are easier to find. However, evidence of coercion in their construction is hardly clear: ethnographic and documentary evidence demonstrates great organizational diversity in powerful societies, in North America (e.g., Coast Salish, Cherokee, and Iroquois), and elsewhere. Thus, impressive power can manifest in societies where careful checks and balances result in pear-shaped and other organizational forms. Service himself, ethnographer as well as ethnologist, drew attention to the importance of coalitions, federations, leagues, unions, and communities in societies of all sizes.

Archaeologists must reexamine assumptions about complexity. Dissatisfaction with the Service mantra is a strong reason for exploring other models; another important incentive is the model's poor fit with a considerable body of evidence. In any event, the question of what anarchic, heterarchical, democratic, level, or pear-shaped societies look like in the archaeological record is of central importance.

One way to explore frameworks is through the lens of complex adaptive systems, which are nonlinear, densely networked but not hierarchical, and exhibit novel "emergent" properties (thus "complex" in a different way; Crumley 2005, 2007*a*, 2007*b*, 2012). Another route is the investigation, in time and space, of the dialectical relationship between hierarchy and heterarchy, now explored in many regions of the

world (e.g., Chapman 2003; Crumley 2003; Crumley and Marquardt 1987; McIntosh, Tainter, and McIntosh 2000; Scarborough, Valdez, and Dunning 2003; Silverman 2004; Souvatzi 2008; Stein 1998).

Organizational flexibility—economic, social, and political—enables groups to adjust to changed circumstances. If we begin with the premise that the tension between competition and cooperation exists in all human societies, it behooves us to explore the ways rules and norms preserve or deny each and how both interact with history and changing conditions to forge institutions.

It is the break from outmoded ideas of complexity, the challenge to the naturalization of hierarchy, and the possibility of finding new patterns in the data that make these approaches attractive to researchers. At first glance, heterarchy is more clearly linked to complex systems thinking, anarchy to the history of political thought. Yet these fresh approaches—the archaeology of anarchic societies, societies as complex adaptive systems, the tension between hierarchy and heterarchy as the dialectical motor of change—are similar in concept, aim, and their applicability to the archaeological record, and all seek to explore how our species has organized itself in the past and might do so again. Congratulations to Angelbeck and Grier for the exciting launch of anarchaeology.

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This paper presents an original point of view[13] in the interpretation of the last millennium of Coast Salish history. Since the first descriptions of them, Northwest Coast societies have generally been elusive of categorization and taxonomy (semicommunal, middle range, complex, transegalitarian, etc.). The problem is probably due in part to the static nature of classification versus the continuous dynamics of social reality. It is also partly due to the biased ethnographic information generated by Boas (see Boas et al. [2002], Ruyle [1973], or Moss [2011]), whose interests included fighting evolutionism (Estévez and Vila 2010) and discrediting historical determinism (Adams 1981; Knight 2011 [1978]; Maud 1982).

The authors start from the "important work" of Crumley (1987, 1995) and McGuire and Saitta (1996) and the concept of heterarchy, but they add an anarchist approach because "anarchism also integrates a dialectical perspective in that it posits mutual aid and justified authority as a key dynamic of active resistance to centralization." This is probably a way to integrate efforts and overcome the nearly 150 years of divorce, fratricidal conflicts, and accumulation of defeats and experiences since the First International.[14]

I believe too that the only way to break down dualistic, oppositional, static categorizations (simple-complex, inequal-egalitarian, evolutionist-historical, particularist-nomothetic) is a dialectical approach, in which the dynamics of continuous transformation is essential.

The authors claim that this process of development cannot be explained as "a classic Marxist-style class struggle" between elites and commoners but rather represents "competing factions" of commoners and elites. Beyond political strategies (of how to reach a similar social utopia), sometimes the difference within and between anarchist and Marxist approaches has been in the explanatory emphasis on one aspect of social dynamics or another. The insistence of certain Marxist approaches on emphasizing the system of property, production relationships, labor, and "class struggle" should be, in my opinion, complemented by an interest in the analysis of the struggle between "factions" and other dynamics highlighted by the authors, as well as by the process of the emergence of self-organized structures or the operation of prestige and distributed punishment.

But the issue of what constitutes a social class or how to deal with the study of societies without a state has been debated, and consensus has not been reached within Marxism. The richness of the nuances and the difference of approaches in Marxist archeology (e.g., in Latin countries) speaks for itself.[15]

Careful reading of the founders of Marxism (especially Engels 2004 [1884]) or Bakunin reveals that women were to them the first oppressed class. Despite this, the status of women has often been seen as a simple matter of difference and not inequality.[16] It has therefore not been the subject of an integrated study and has had little attention in explanations about "social complexity." In spite of this, it could actually be a symmetric model and a factor of inequality, exploitation, and structural violence (Vila and Estévez 2010*a*, 2010*b*).

The increase in cranial deformation could perhaps be interpreted, like the change in the use of labrets, not only as a

13. The first time my colleague Assumpció Vila and I encountered the word "anarchism" in the title of an archaeological paper was in Angelbeck's dissertation (2009). Later, we were happy to see in 2009 at the Radical Archaeological Theory Symposium conference in Binghamton and a Theoretical Archaeology Group session in Durham that archaeology had met anarchy. Our interest in radical archaeologies, especially those of the center of the empire, led us to publish two chapters from the authors in a monograph specially dedicated to the Northwest Coast from our series *Treballs d'Etnoarqueología* (Grier [2010] and Angelbeck [2010] in Vila and Estévez [2010*a*]).

14. In addition to the persecution and mass murder of hundreds of anarchists in North America, Germany, Spain, Russia, Italy, Argentina, and Mexico, this story has been completely concealed by parties of the right and left. Anarchism as a valid approach to historical and social problems has been completely distorted and denigrated in academia and in society in general.

15. For examples, see Bate (1998), Lumbreras (2005), and papers in *Revista Atlántica-Mediterránea de Prehistoria y Arqueología Social*, edited by the University of Cadiz (Spain), and *Boletín de Antropología Americana*, published by Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.

16. Even among female anarchists there are opposed positions, such as those of Mujeres Libres (see Ackelsberg 1991) or those of Emma Goldman.

matter related to status (as the authors did) or ethnicity but as a change in gender relationships. The pictures I remember (by Kane, Curtis, or Maynard) are always of women.

The explanation of the intensification of war as a result of these social conflicts is more robust, in this case, and opposes the direct causality by subsistence or demographic factors triggered by an environmental crisis. It also explains the scarcity of dates at the end of the Marpole Period (1500–1000 RCYBP; Estévez and Vila 2010).

But I do not believe that the explanation of war as a centrifugal movement is inconsistent with its centripetal character. In most wars, there are winners and losers. The battle of Mapple Bay (Angelbeck 2009, 2010) was won by an ad hoc centrifuge coalition, whereas the Skeena conflict contributed to the creation of a paramount (although fleeting) chiefdom.

As in Marxism, there is no consensus among different anarchist approaches. The authors define Coast Salish emerging society as a "heterarchical and anarchic society that had inequality, even social classes." I guess that equating "societies without governments" with "anarchies" (although we name them "primitive anarchism" even if we can detect some of the traits of the anarchist utopias) is perhaps too general or simplistic. I think that it probably contradicts some of the anarchist positions that emphasize freedom, equality, cooperation, and altruism.

Archaeology can demonstrate a high level of organization in the history of Northwest Coast native societies, but it can also demonstrate (as the authors do) that native societies contained contradictions and thus were dynamic, changing, and capable of finding alternative forms of organization. Archaeology has a major role to play in changing the characterization of native people as "fossilized societies incapable of change," which was once attributed to them by white people as an excuse to deny them their rights. Certain limitations of today's archaeology can be overridden: as in the examples described by Moss (2011), it is perhaps just a question of showing which side archeologists are on.

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This paper on the Coast Salish is an exercise in anarchistic anthropology. Anarchist theory (if there is such a thing) focuses on small-scale, decentralized, self-governed societies and aims at understanding the mechanisms of how "sociopolitical systems resist emergent leadership." This opposition against hierarchies mainly operates "through mutual aid, consensual decision making, and maintenance of decentralized networks." Anarchist theory, thus, wants to explain how small-scale societies self-organize and resist the institution of central power.

Angelbeck and Grier assume that resistance against centralization shaped Coastal Salish history. The authors start with the Marpole Period (500 BC to AD 1000), with its socioeconomic inequalities and tiny elites of hereditary chiefs. Angelbeck and Grier demonstrate an increase in the rate of cranial deformation, which is interpreted as an indicator for the status gain of the commoners at the expense of the hereditary chiefs: a transition from "a more centralized hierarchy to inclusive heterarchy."

On the basis of data on cranial deformation, skeletal trauma, and settlement fortification, the authors sketch the following scenario: no intensive warfare and high inequality between 500 BC and AD 400, intensive warfare and declining heredity of leadership between 400 and 1500, less warfare and increasing inequality between 1500 and 1790, and intensive warfare and decreasing inequality between 1790 and 1870. The two periods of warfare (400 to 1500 and 1790 to 1870) followed periods of increasing social inequality; warfare narrowed the gap between elites and "commoners"—that is, other "worthy people" as nouveau riche aspiring and succeeding to become elite. The result was the emergence of a heterarchical and anarchic society with inequalities but also with mechanisms against political centralization, as Angelbeck and Grier state.

But why did inequality or hierarchy with hereditary chiefs emerge in the first place? Why did it take 1,100 years for commoners to gain status? Why did inequality increase again between 1500 and 1790? What exactly was the role of warfare in the reduction of hierarchy? Could not the increase in cranial deformation also be interpreted as the increasing popularity of a noble fashion?

The authors see the Northwest Coast society with its complex structure and decentralized rather than centralized form as a problem. But things seem not to be so difficult: relations between autonomous local groups (anarchy) are egalitarian in principle (but relative size and military strength matter), whereas relations within local groups always combine hierarchical aspects (men/women, seniors/juniors, chiefs/commoners, worthy people/worthless people/slaves) and heterarchical aspects (factions, leaders of local kin groups, rivals, peers, age, mates, etc.).

The Coast Salish obviously had numerous chiefs (mostly chiefs of single villages, perhaps also of village alliances), but not one single overarching paramount chief. The question is, why did they have chiefs in the first place? Legitimate and accepted authority was accorded to different kinds of leaders on the basis of merit: skilled warriors in wartime, chiefs of local kin groups for their competence in dispute settlement, and shamans for their healing skills. Chiefs had to be generous (in competitive feasts) and show their skills and abilities, for instance, in organizing war campaigns and arranging alliances. That is basically why Coast Salish needed chiefs. Village members acquiesced because—and as long as—they derived ben-

efits from chiefs and not because chiefs exerted coercive authority. Authority had limits, and chiefs could even been killed by their followers. The opposition within local groups, however, was not against the chiefly position but against an unwanted chief or commoners trying to gain access to the chiefly position.

Angelbeck and Grier distinguish two key elements of resistance and decentralization. The first is the cognatic kinship system, which allows for a certain flexibility of membership. But this kinship system seems to have been in place since time immemorial and thus can hardly explain the nonlinear upward mobility of the commoners. The second key element is warfare. Angelbeck and Grier claim that war was "a strategy for breaking the increasing concentration of power in the hands of Marpole elites," but they do not elaborate on how this mechanism worked. I suspect this rise of the commoners occurred because, given the high war-related mortality (and later mortality due to imported epidemics) and the simultaneous demand for highly qualified political leaders, local groups could not afford hereditary recruitment of chiefs but instead had to rely on a more competitive system. Each local group needed one or more political leaders to organize war campaigns, recruit allies, and pursue diplomatic negotiations. Other village members, however, constantly evaluated their performance and could switch to a rival and depose the current leader.

Pierre Clastres, a proponent of anarchist anthropology, points to the importance of warfare in yet another respect: the unintended reproduction of a decentralized, polycentric, anarchical society through warfare between villages with changing alliances. This corresponds to the balancing strategy in alliance politics, according to the neorealist theory of international relations. We do not know much about the changing conditions of warfare and alliance throughout Salish history, but warfare has probably shaped this history even more than the opposition against chiefs. War not against superiors but against equals (other local groups), however, does not fit very well with anarchist ideals.

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Bill Angelbeck and Colin Grier present a paper that is very suggestive in several senses. For me, the main point is that they contribute to the widening of our theoretical framework for understanding the social and political evolution of past societies. Archaeology and anthropology in general were born and have been developed within the evolutionist paradigm, proposing, from Morgan to Service, a growing organizational complexity in human societies and the interdependence of the different spheres of human behavior. Thus, economy, society, political organization, and even symbolic thinking evolve together, from savagery to civilization. This theoretical framework has the advantage of being highly explicative and coherent, but many of us feel a bit uncomfortable in what is seen as a much-too-tight corset in which it is difficult to put all the voluptuousness of human behavior inside. The reactions against the evolutionist paradigm taking place beginning in the 1980s have not been able to build a structured alternative.

It is likely that the key to advancing our capacity to understand past human behavior is in reality itself. Studies of the American Northwest Coast bear a long tradition of calling our attention to the fact that even the best explanatory theories leave outside their limits a good part of reality. There, the presence of hunter-gatherer societies with a high social complexity, which should be expected in advanced farming societies, is an example of this asseveration (Price and Brown 1985; Vila and Estévez 2010*a*). Angelbeck and Grier show for the Coast Salish another apparent paradox: social and political complexity does not imply that power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. It has been proposed that the sustained effort in the egoist behaviors of ambitious individuals, the aggrandizers, would have led to the concentration of wealth and power for their own benefit through the manipulation of social rules and ritual (Hayden 1996). However, Angelbeck and Grier, resorting explicitly to anarchist theory, state that the sustained effort in altruism, which can also be institutionalized, may be as strong as the social mechanisms promoting the benefit of a few. They mention the natural tendency in human groups, even when accepting authorities deemed legitimate, to avoid concentration of power among certain individuals. They also show that very complex and integrated political structures can be maintained without centralized rulers, using concepts such as autonomy, network organization, and decentralization. The advantage of anarchist theory for understanding past political organization is that it does not constitute a closed corpus of explanation but just some general principles, which can let the theory establish a fruitful dialogue with reality, as these authors show.

However, I think that, in their vivid picture of Coast Salish society, the explanation of the mechanisms by which the concentration of power was avoided and large segments of society increasingly joined the elite stratum needs further work. It is not clear to me why commoners not only succeeded in resisting the ambition of aggrandizers and kept their autonomy but also managed to reach in massive numbers the elite status. Following the logic of the authors, we could suppose that there were some shared beliefs and political institutions that insured interaction among household heads while the concentration of power was impeded. Moreover, it is not fully explained why war was a factor for breaking the increasing concentration of power in the hands of elites instead of the contrary. Were commoners always successful in resisting the attacks of the emergent elites? Why? If we accept that war is a continuity of negotiation by other (dramatic) means, we

should conclude that war is an arena for social interaction, so centrifugal or centripetal evolutions of society should be explained from inside the dynamics of the society, independently of the peace of war context. In any case, these ideas should not be considered criticisms of this very interesting paper, but they do express my wish to get the authors involved in further deploying their suggestive approach. In this sense, it would be very interesting to hear how they explain, from their theoretical position, why concentration of power existed in other areas of the Northwest Coast but not in the Salish Sea and if there is any information on what the relationship between the areas with centralization with respect to the Coast Salish was. We might be tempted to think that decentralized organizations would be at a disadvantage with respect to the centralized ones, but perhaps this idea is again part of our strictly evolutionary preconceptions, as some historical examples (i.e., the resistance of Greek cities against Persian rulers) show.

Finally, I would like to mention that some of the ideas proposed in this paper could be useful to achieve a better understanding of the first Neolithic communities in the Near East, the historical context in which I work. The concentrations of hundreds and even thousands of persons in some Pre-Pottery Neolithic villages (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2008), without clear evidence of social hierarchy while an egalitarian ethos probably existed (Ibáñez and González-Urquijo 2011; Kuijt 2000), could be better understood resorting to utopian or anarchist theory than to our preconceptions about a historical need for evolution toward a concentration of power.

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Algenbeck and Grier challenge classic models of social evolution, which they call "state-focused models," proposing anarchist theory as an alternative framework for analyzing nonstate complex societies. Their discussion is thoughtful and a welcome addition to the study of complexity.

Since the late nineteenth century, models of social evolution have usually been based on essentialistic typology of societies and teleological arrangement of the types. Advocates of social Darwinism saw the evolution of human society as a process from chaotic and primitive to ordered and advanced stages. Other models, such as Marx's historical materialism, considered it as a process from egalitarian and harmonious to unequal and contradictory. Despite differences in focus and perspective, many models in the twentieth century still seem to have shared (overtly or covertly) assumptions of earlier models. For example, Elman Service's model, in my view, was a mixture of early approaches, regarding political evolution as a process toward increasing organizational order as well as systematic inequality among members of a society.

Recently, archaeologists and anthropologists began to avoid the conventional equation of increasing complexity with the development of centralized hierarchy (e.g., Crumley 1995). No doubt, decoupling of the two concepts constitutes important progress. But it seems to me that most studies focus primarily on reconsideration of the nature of complexity per se rather than on why this problematic conceptual linkage emerged. The authors elegantly argue that it was inappropriate understandings of egalitarianism and hunter-gatherer societies that conventional coupling of complexity and centralization in state-focused models actually stems from. This point is one of the most significant achievements of this article.

Simplistic, direct connection between subsistence economy and sociopolitical complexity has a long history. Marx and Engels imagined most hunter-gatherer societies as primitive communist societies in which capital accumulation and inequality did not exist. Childe considered that socioeconomic contradictions emerged only after the Neolithic Revolution, which created agricultural surplus to accumulate. Service and Fried's "band" was described as an egalitarian society based on hunting and gathering.

The imaginary coupling of hunter-gatherer economies and egalitarianism has led to another conventional linkage between complexity and centralization—many models have been based on a dichotomous binary opposition of "hunter-gatherers = simple = egalitarian" versus "complexity = centralization = hierarchy = inequality." It was not long ago that archaeologists and anthropologists were able to separate hunter-gatherer society from egalitarianism and simplicity.

I agree with the authors that anarchist theory offers a useful framework for understanding complexity in nonstate complex societies. In particular, their discussion of warfare as a leveling mechanism effectively demonstrates how anarchist theory can explain a lack of centralized authority in the study area, which has not been satisfactorily answered by other models.

There is, however, one thing to consider. The difference between Marx/Engel's historical materialism and anarchist perspectives may have derived from a difference in political strategy rather than from a different understanding of evolutionary "principles." To solve problems with the European capitalistic economy of the nineteenth century, Marx considered proletariat dictatorship followed by socialist government as the only realistic strategy. Marx thought that systematic contradictions inherent in capitalism "should" be resolved by the establishment of another centralized system. In contrast, anarchists saw recovery and reinforcement of autonomy, mutual aid, and decentralization as keys to utopia. To them, people could be emancipated only by resisting and dissolving centralized, absolute power, which controlled and benefited from capitalistic economy. In my view, both Marx's historical materialism and Kropotkin's mutual aid as a factor of evolution were historical justification of each strategy. This is not to say that the authors' suggestion is of little use. Whether it

was an academic framework or a tool for justification, anarchist theory still provides important insights to analyzing human societies, as Marxist theory has done.

As the authors admit, anarchist theory is not the single most powerful explanatory framework. In particular, one might question how decentralization and autonomy, as they stand, can be applied to explaining the development of centralized states. However, I do not think Marxist, neoevolutionary, and anarchist models are contradictory to each other. Key concepts of anarchist theory, such as resistance to centralization, mutual aid, and autonomy, are easily found even in highly centralized states in various forms. They just have rarely been fully appreciated by models based on Marxism and neoevolutionism, probably because of a difference in focus and explanatory scale.

Complexity is far more complex than current models conventionally assume. It does not have a single form but consists of multilevel dynamics among strategies adopted by various agents, which include not only conflicts, competition, and centralized hierarchies but also strategic negotiations and leveling mechanisms. Contextual integration of anarchist theory with Marxist and/or neoevolutionary models would provide archaeologists and anthropologists with a richer basis for understanding diversity in power relations and evolutionary processes.

Overall, this article is an important contribution to the study of complex societies, and I look forward to the authors' continued work.

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Raise the Red Flag and the Black

In the twilight of the twentieth century, numerous archaeologists began to question the universalizing categories and assumptions of cultural evolutionary theory (McGuire 2011). They found it difficult to plunk societies into cultural evolutionary typologies of tribe, chiefdom, and state. Oppositions between egalitarianism and stratification increasingly failed to capture the cultural variability that they observed. Moreover, the historical narratives that archaeologists wrote ceased to tell tales of evolutionary progress toward greater complexity and/or increased stratification. Many scholars proposed new approaches, such as heterarchy (Crumley 1995), the dialectics of egalitarianism and hierarchy (McGuire and Saitta 1996), and dual process theory (Blanton et al. 1996; Mills 2000). They abandoned "which" questions for "how" questions. The new methodologies ask how past societies were complex and how equalitarianism and hierarchy were related, rather than to which evolutionary type a society belonged. Bill Angelbeck and Colin Grier's article plunges this discussion into anarchy.

Angelbeck and Grier do an excellent job of introducing the reader to the political theory of anarchism, with its emphasis on mutual aid and the constant contestation of authority. I highly recommend their discussion to students and scholars who naively confuse anarchy with chaos. They present an equally impressive critique of the limitations of egalitarianism as a construct. They demonstrate that egalitarianism is not simply the null case in the absence of hierarchy. Rather, they show that people must actively maintain egalitarian relations via mutual aid, consensual decision making, and a militant refusal to submit to artificial authorities. They argue that anarchism's focus on the nature of small-scale, decentralized systems provides a superior way for archaeologists to understand the complexities of noncapitalist societies. Their case study of the Coast Salish finds a historical process contrary to evolutionary expectations of increasing hierarchy through time and that war may serve to level inequalities rather than create them.

Angelbeck and Grier's theory could inform the practice of archaeology beyond the issues of this article. For example, postprocessual theorists have argued that archaeologists should embrace a radical multivocality and give up their authority to interpret the past (Hodder 1999). The anarchist distinction between "natural authorities (those sought for their knowledge, skill, or experience) and artificial authorities (those imposed by institutions . . .)" suggests that a radical practice of archaeology might be best served by giving up the artificial but not the natural. The comparison of natural and artificial authorities intersects with my Marxist-derived opposition between the craft of archaeology (our natural authority) and who controls the uses of that craft (artificial authorities; McGuire 2008:60–62). Angelbeck and Grier also find many parallels between anarchism and Marxism.

Angelbeck and Grier bring to archaeology a debate that begins with Karl Marx and the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin. They recognize that contemporary Marxist and anarchist archaeologists hold many compatible positions. For example, Bruce Trigger (2003:669–670) asserts that people must maintain egalitarianism rather than it being a natural condition. They also critique Marxism on two fronts: first, that Marxism as a theory of capitalism and class relations is inferior to anarchism for the study of noncentralized societies; and second, that the centralization of political and economic organization embraced by Marxist revolutionary movements predictably leads to totalitarianism.

I would admit that the application of class analysis to noncapitalist societies often has a clunky feel compared with the eloquence of Angelbeck and Grier's case. They effectively show how the Coast Salish were complex and how quantitative changes in complexity and hierarchy occurred. As a Marxist, however, I am ultimately interested in accounting for qualitative or revolutionary change. Angelbeck and Grier dodge this issue by beginning their analysis in the Marpole Period and by setting aside the issue of how sociopolitical

complexity emerged. I would argue that Marxism, with its emphasis on the internal contradictions that create social relations and conflicts, provides a superior theory of transformative social change (Ollman 2003).

I welcome the anarchists' warnings about the authoritarian tendencies of Marxist praxis. Anarchism provides a counterbalance to such tendencies. We need to recognize, however, that totalitarianism did not simply spring from Marxism. Capitalist forces actively opposed Marxist revolutions, and this struggle fueled and exaggerated authoritarian tendencies in Marxism. Anarchist movements, with their constant aversion to institutional authority, have not led to totalitarianism, but they have also always lost in the end.

A radical archaeology should embrace the intersections and the tensions between anarchism and Marxism. The desire to transform capitalism drives both theories. Both lead us to critical understandings of our noncapitalist pasts. Marxist and anarchist archaeologies reveal that capitalism is not the natural state of human society, nor was it an inevitable product of cultural evolution. They show that people created capitalism and therefore that people can change it. Raise the red flag, and beside it raise the black banner too.

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Angelbeck and Grier have identified several of the vexing issues concerning Coast Salish social organization and propose a means to address all of them. They write, "Simply put, societies without governments are anarchies." They point out the inadequacies of current approaches, including models of egalitarianism and Marxist-derived theory, for understanding noncentralized small-scale societies such as the historic and precontact Coast Salish of the north coast of North America. As an alternative, they describe anarchist theory and deploy, primarily, archaeological materials to make their case for relevance. They make an interesting and compelling argument.

There are four central concerns for ethnographers and archaeologists of the Coast Salish in play here. The first is the tension between personal aggrandizement and loyalty to one's local group. A second issue is how groups are composed in the first place in a region with no central authority. Scholarship has focused primarily on ecological analyses or on linguistic affiliation and spiritual affinities. This question has become vital in an era of litigation over resource rights.

Third is the issue of how complex political action can take place without central authority. Theorists have described the Coast Salish as having "no superior chief," or even having no political system at all. Tollefson (1987) attempted to escape this dilemma by positing mid-nineteenth-century formal chiefdoms, a position that ran aground on factual and interpretive shoals (Miller and Boxberger 1994). The final issue is whether there is significant continuity between precontact social organization, as revealed in the archaeological record and in oral tradition, and historic and contemporary life, as described in ethnography.

Angelbeck and Grier point to features of society, as anarchist theory would have it, that they believe characterize both pre- and postcontact Coast Salish society, including self-organized local collectives, mutual aid, and the autonomy of individual and group. A society structured along these lines, they argue, enabled commoners to resist the episodes of the concentration of control by elites. The Coast Salish society they depict, then, is one in which, as in anarchist theorizing, elite aggrandizement might get under way and commoners could block this development. They write, "Our central point is that anarchism is useful for understanding decentralized (or anarchic) networks—those that allow for complex intergroup relations while staving off the establishment of centralized political authority."

There is a history of deploying the idea of social networks to understand the Coast Salish world. William Elmendorf (1971) and Wayne Suttles (1987*d*) pioneered this approach some 60 years ago, but their efforts were more metaphor than measurement. I attempted to add some formalism in an early effort (Miller 1989), and Jay Miller (1999) emphasized spirituality in advancing the idea of a network of communities bound by ties to spiritual practitioners. Recently, Carlson (2010) examined the ways in which the Coast Salish Stó:lō organized into nested identities operating on multiple scales from individual ancestor, local tribe, and beyond. All of these are framed from a social network perspective but without the broad explanatory power of the anarchic approach.

Both archaeologists and ethnographers have been interested in the episodic periods of the consolidation of power by elites followed by a retreat. The Marpole Period of 2500 BP is one such period, and Schaepe (2009) describes the Sí:yá:m Period, the centuries between 500 BP and historic contact, as another period of increasing inequality. Kew and Miller (1999) associated the creation and dissolution of tribal councils in the contemporary period with similar processes of the consolidation of power by elite and pushback by local communities. All of these processes, operating on different timescales but with similarities, might be incorporated within the framework proposed here. Significantly, anarchist theory indicates how emergent leaders are resisted—through mutual aid, consensual decision making, and decentralized social networks. And if anarchic ideology underpins Coast Salish practice over the last 2,500 years, then it constitutes a significant continuity and suggests that ethnographic evidence is relevant to the interpretations of archaeological materials.

Having suggested the possibilities opened by anarchist theory, some questions arise: are the authors subliminally critiquing contemporary society? They are quite right that there are no adequate models from the North Atlantic world for societies such as the Coast Salish. But have there been any

such anarchist societies in the West? Graeber (2004) is unwilling to say that there are, although he writes that there is no fundamental divide between supposed "primitive" anarchic societies and "modern civilization." Graeber suggests that Western societies historically have more in common with anarchism than we would suppose, including the current global movements. Would this anarchist approach compete with those developed by Jay Miller and Keith Carlson, which go beyond the material by emphasizing spiritual connections? I think that it need not and that these can complement one another, mutually taking on the central questions about a society still not well understood.

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Angelbeck and Grier have demonstrated that anarchy theory is a productive way to think about social relations and social dynamics among historically known groups living along the Northwest Coast of North America. Even though the term "anarchism" may suggest images of chaos, dissent, and disorder, anarchism was developed as a form of social order. Anarchist theorists and practitioners aimed to develop a form of social organization that ensured autonomy for individuals and local groups, linked in networked alliances of cooperation. The authors explain that the principles of anarchism include individual and local autonomy and expression, voluntary association, mutual aid, network organization, communal decision making, justified authorities, and resistance to centralization.

Applying this model to the ethnographically documented Alaskan Tlingit, the locally autonomous group is the clanhouse. Members of a clanhouse work together to provide mutual aid in solidarity with one another to overcome obstacles and defend themselves against adversaries. They are connected to other houses through networks; clanhouses have relationships to other clanhouses through intermarriage (across moiety) and within moieties within a single town. Clanhouses have relationships to other clanhouses in other towns (again, through intermarriage or within a moiety). Decisions within a clanhouse are made communally through negotiation, and leaders (including clan mothers who influence their sons) are persons who have earned respect through their deeds, expertise, and skill. Leaders are acceded to, but their power is not necessarily permanent. Warfare probably played a role in checking power and accumulation. Such challenges to the elite kept power decentralized and fluid. Tlingit warfare can be seen as resistance to concentrations of elite power not for the purpose of reducing inequality but to decentralize and redistribute power among a broader base of elites. Local divisions of Tlingit clans vied for autonomy within a broader network in which they continually struggled with clans from the "opposite side" or other moiety in other towns. Persistent conflict kept the power of individuals in check, leading to a heterarchy of clan leaders in ongoing competition. While there was a heterarchy of clan leaders, hierarchical relations of various types were maintained within the clanhouse itself.

In colonial situations, coalitions of Tlingit groups formed to challenge state institutions; their adversaries were Russia and, later, the U.S. government and the state of Alaska. During the nineteenth century, the Tlingit resisted theft of their property and resources, suffered population loss due to introduced diseases, adopted new weapons, and took advantage of opportunities to gain wealth and prestige. Across the Northwest Coast, arenas for warfare expanded, with several groups engaging in long-distance conflicts. Introduced wealth, population loss due to disease, labor shortages, and the increase in frequency of long-distance interaction stimulated wars fought for slaves, resources, and prestige. The increased frequency of these kinds of wars is a response to and a result of colonialism. So using the nineteenth-century record of warfare as a model for precontact warfare or social relations more broadly may not be appropriate because of the rapid social changes that were part of colonialism.

Although I agree that anarchy theory has great potential for understanding resistance to centralized control, I doubt we can push back the cultural patterns observed in the nineteenth century to the more distant past. The "ethnographic pattern" is very much a product of history. Although "warrior culture" has ongoing appeal for the Tlingit today, I suspect this is a reaction against the suppression of indigenous war in the nineteenth century, a reassertion of Tlingit identity and sovereignty, and a result of conflicts with the state not being resolved satisfactorily.

With regard to the Coast Salish, the authors identify two periods of warfare: one between 1600 and 500 BP and the other after contact. Despite the 148 Coast Salish defensive sites listed by Angelbeck (2009, app. A), only eight sites have been radiocarbon dated. This seems to be very limited chronological data upon which to propose a period of warfare. With regard to the data on head shaping ("cranial deformation"), many of the burials were not directly dated, and age was inferred by association. We are thus left with a tautological problem, since cranial deformation has been used as a cultural historical marker of the Marpole Period. It is certainly possible that head shaping was primarily a marker of status and that the number of people who considered themselves elite increased over time, but other explanations are not necessarily excluded. Despite these caveats, I hold out hope that detailed archaeological studies can help us determine to what extent ethnographic descriptions of Northwest Coast social dynamics and warfare are relevant to gaining an understanding of the precontact past. Recognizing that historically Northwest Coast societies simultaneously exhibited aspects of both hierarchy and heterarchy has been useful. Anarchy theory provides yet another framework by which to understand Northwest Coast social dynamics.

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Can Anarchism Be a Useful Model Today?

In *Custer Died for Your Sins*, Vine Deloria Jr. famously cautioned against anthropologists "studying Indians" for the sake of developing their own models and cultural theories (Deloria 1969). His stinging critique recalls the potential dangers of simplified conclusions drawn by governments and bureaucracies based on simplistic misreadings of theoretically driven research in American Indian communities and instead implores us to collaboratively develop research agendas that can be of practical use in tribal communities today. Angelbeck and Grier's use of anarchist theory to reframe the long-term development of Coast Salish sociopolitical organization raises both the specter of Deloria's sharp rebuke and the possibility of openings that could inform both future research and contemporary indigenous self-government.

It is easy to imagine that Angelbeck and Grier's characterization of stridently independent households in a perpetual state of anarchistic resistance to institutionalization and inequality could be misread in the contemporary political and legal climate. In Canada, for instance, court-defined common-law tests demand that First Nations characterize their communities as "organized societies" that can trace their cultural practices back to a time before contact in order to secure the recognition of constitutionally protected Aboriginal rights (Bell and Asch 1997; Slattery 1992). Given the abundant cultural baggage that has come to be associated with anarchism, Angelbeck and Grier could be easily misread to suggest that a society in anarchy is not an organized society at all. While they provide some caution against such a misinterpretation, reminding us that anarchic societies are not ungoverned but self-governed, this risk is the unfortunate consequence of mobilizing social theory that draws on more than 150 years of European intellectual history in the context of describing indigenous sociopolitical systems. It is precisely the kind of theorization that contemporary indigenous scholars have demanded be framed in indigenous theoretical terms (Atleo 2005).

While Angelbeck and Grier have pointed to the inadequacy of a Marxist theoretical framework to account for Coast Salish social and political structures, they continue to focus their model on the development of social classes and the resistance of the commoner minority to form the inverted-pear population of nouveau riche. One of the key insights of recent ethnography of Coast Salish social and political structures has been to show the importance of both networks of extended kin and local residence groups in the political economy of the region (Kennedy 2007; Thom 2009). Could the famously vibrant Marpole Period be better understood as a time of the establishment of power and dominance of property-owning local residence groups, whether these residence groups are single-household Stselax at Musqueam, local villages like Quamichan or Tsawwassen, or the larger named regional village groups like Quw'utsun' or Chilliwack? Could the regional social and political changes described by Angelbeck and Grier for the transition to the Late Period be explained as an eventual resistance of this centralization of local group power by networks of property-owning extended kin? While data beyond their small sample of cranial deformation would be needed to address these questions, Angelbeck and Grier inspire further archaeological work to explore the nature and extent of regional kin networks and local groups over time.

Angelbeck and Grier fare better with Deloria's second concern, that anthropology should be useful to the indigenous community itself. Thirty years after Deloria, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development has shown that successful self-government is the best predictor for success of indigenous communities in the Americas (Cornell and Kalt 1998). Real decision-making power, capable institutions, and leadership that acts in the Nations' best interests are important elements of successful self-government, but also essential is the goodness of fit between the self-governance political structure and the political culture of the community. It strikes me that the reading of the archaeological record that Angelbeck and Grier are pursuing may offer helpful insights for these contemporary efforts. They provide a framework for seeing the deep roots of an indigenous political culture where over a period of thousands of years autonomous local groups have resisted centralization through an extended network economy. Their model suggests that this decentralized, nontotalitarian sociopolitical system was achieved through individual and local autonomy and expression, voluntary association, mutual aid, network organization, consensual decision making, and justified authority. With some notable yet fragile exceptions, there continues to be significant reluctance in contemporary Coast Salish governance building to submit to centralized authority, in spite of very significant pressure and incentives from state governments to coalesce as aggregated regional nations (Thom 2010). Many of the values identified by Angelbeck and Grier continue to be vibrant elements of Coast Salish political culture. Provocative labels of anarchistic self-governance aside, the Coast Salish resistance to centralization has deep roots and can provide the foundation for rethinking alternatives to the state's push for aggregated, centralized self-government.

Reply

We wish to thank our colleagues for taking time to carefully consider our contribution and for crafting a set of very insightful and important comments. In our original article, we

found it difficult, even with the generous space allotted by *Current Anthropology*, to fully address many aspects of our study. In their comments, our colleagues draw attention to several of the areas that we had hoped to cover more fully, and so we welcome this opportunity to elaborate on and amplify elements of our argument.

We also appreciate the constructive nature of the comments overall and are particularly pleased that our argument was found useful by both Northwest Coast archaeologists and those working elsewhere. Madonna Moss, for example, found utility in applying our approach to the Tlingit area, while Juan José Ibáñez saw relevance for the Neolithic Near East. It was also well received by those of diverse theoretical stripes, which was our hope and intent. As many commenters point out, this article represents a starting point, one that we hope spawns sustained discussion and draws in a variety of voices and perspectives.

Since space is limited, in this reply we address issues raised in the comments primarily thematically rather than individually, focusing on archaeological specifics as relevant. We consider four areas: the overall relevance of our approach, including some clarifications of concepts and implications; the broader implications of an archaeological approach based in anarchism, including what constitutes an anarchist analysis; the connections between anarchism and other theoretical perspectives, including those advanced by some of our commenters; and the contemporary implications of our approach, particularly for indigenous peoples and the Coast Salish themselves.

In 1995, Gary Feinman (1995) remarked that "in the history of human species, there is no more significant transition than the emergence and institutionalization of inequality" (255), adding that little systematic analysis of the problem had at that point taken place. In the ensuing 2 decades, archaeologists and anthropologists clearly have made progress on this front (Ames 2010; Kim and Grier 2006). Part of this progress has involved a reconceptualization of inequality, focusing on equality as an actively maintained system. However, the dynamic of centralization has been less critically examined, at least for societies that lack it. As we point out in our original narrative, it has often been assumed that centralization is an inevitable track once inequality does emerge. We therefore appreciate the general agreement—voiced, for example, by Elizabeth Arkush and Randall McGuire—that nonhierarchical political systems are actively maintained.

For the Coast Salish region, we advanced more specifically that large-scale, decentralized political systems (and therefore less hierarchical forms of inequality) were constructed and maintained by those participating in them. In response to periods of rising inequality, Coast Salish peoples pursued practices that implemented core principles of anarchism, resulting in greater autonomy, less restrictive forms of association and identity, and less rigid authority. We do find it surprising, therefore, that Arkush (for one) is skeptical of attributing a high degree of intentionality to political actors in generating these outcomes—a degree of agency, we note, readily ascribed to individuals in small-scale foragers who maintain interpersonal inequality. We do see substantial agency in all human action and believe that humans have a relentless intentionality (but not necessarily an unwavering rationality or narrow self-interest). As such, all humans are deeply invested in their own social existence and perpetually (though not necessarily obsessively) work to construct and manage the social reality in which they live. Such intentionality can have many spatial and temporal scales and can be realized at the scale of regional political organization and structure social change over the long term.

So, regarding whether the Coast Salish themselves obsessed on managing their own social dynamics to maintain decentralized sociopolitics, we see no reason why this cannot and has been not the case, as both Miller and Thom suggest in their comments. There are obvious lessons concerning proper political intentions embedded within Coast Salish oral histories, some examples of which we identify near the close of the original article (see also Angelbeck 2009:312–314). Moreover, testaments to overreaches of authority or excessive desire for power are enduringly embedded in transformer stones (typically large, exposed glacial erratics), which act as reminders concerning the consequences. In this way, such intentionalities have been materialized on the landscape and represent a set of persistent guiding principles that inform social action.

Our emphasis on the role of active, conscious political agency is consistent with our perspective on the importance of fluidity and the limitations of typologies and structural models. Jordi Estévez raised the issue that discussing societies as anarchies is perhaps simplistic. However, our claim that many societies are anarchies is not an effort to invent a taxonomic category or reify a new form of structural model. Rather, our point is to show that societies with anarchic dynamics have been common in the past. Throughout human history, communities have organized themselves without (and often in opposition to) centralized government. The principles emphasized in anarchism—autonomy, association, mutual aid, decentralization, and justification of authority—have been enacted, contested, and negotiated as diverse peoples have aimed to maintain or change their sociopolitical organization.

We therefore offer an anarchist approach as a form of analysis that archaeologists can use to examine the sociopolitical dynamics of societies in the past and present, whether that society is predominantly anarchic or has institutionalized hierarchies at its core. The principles outlined in anarchist theory operate in all societies, and in some societies these principles gain ascendancy, remain prominent, and are emphasized in a multitude of ways. Explicating the reasons for this ascendancy, clearly derived from historical factors in our view, is where we must now must turn our attention (we return to this point again below).

By advancing an analysis based in anarchist theory, we do

not intend to suggest that any society had or held explicit anarchist ideals as formulated by nineteenth-century political theorists. In his comment, Jürg Helbling recognizes the importance of warfare in shaping Coast Salish history but stresses that it often involved conflict against other local groups, or equals, rather than commoners versus elites and remarks that this does not fit well with the "anarchist ideals" of the struggle against authority. This framing, however, presents anarchism as an "ideal" to pursue rather than as a form of analysis about how anarchist principles, such as autonomy or decentralized organization, are operationalized in any society. Even so, the struggle against the unbalanced accumulation of power by equals expresses anarchist principles profoundly, in our view.

As illustrated by our case study, historical change is multidirectional and dynamic, with oscillations and complexities sometimes only hinted at in the archaeological record. While we presented the Coast Salish as embodying a complex yet decentralized political network that poignantly reflects core principles of anarchism, this is not a timeless statement about the totality of the Coast Salish past. We have argued that there were periods when the principles of autonomy were furthered, associations between groups increased, cooperative ventures undertaken, and network forms of organization favored. Yet at other times there were periods (such as Marpole or Sí:yá:m) when powerful elites limited the ability of others to promote such principles, strengthening elite power and constraining the autonomy of nonelites and their ability to associate or identify with elites. As such, we provide a historical examination of how these principles are contested and renegotiated over time. Here, we have highlighted the periods of resistance to centralization in the Coast Salish, although there were other periods of their history that reveal trends toward the consolidation of power.

In elaborating on such dynamics, we explicitly avoid resorting to any kind of "cycling" process between centralization and decentralization. Change is always historical rather than a reflection of the swings to and fro between political poles (e.g., *gumsa* to *gumlao*, as outlined by Leach [1954]). Political climates are not akin to natural climates, changing with the seasons while returning to former states in an ahistorical fashion. Processes such as warfare reflect not functionalist regulation of a system but broadly collective actions that were adopted when historical circumstances were likely favorable for certain groups or factions.

Actions such as warfare and resistance have no inherent end or effect but have contextual motivations and are adopted as appropriate by actors in specific situations. We argued that in the Coast Salish case, warfare has had predominantly centrifugal effects, dispersing concentrations of power. In this, we find an archaeological example that parallels the arguments of the anthropologist Pierre Clastres (1987). Jordi Estévez has raised the notion that warfare does have centralizing effects as well, and we certainly agree that warfare can have both. We do contrast our approach explicitly to that of Carneiro, however, who has long argued that warfare served to concentrate power and as such was causally critical in the emergence of centralized polities. We do not challenge this view (though it has had its critics) but rather illuminate that warfare itself is a complex phenomenon that is used tactically by human actors. We maintain that the singular argument that warfare leads to an increasing concentration of power is inadequate. As Ibáñez remarks, both centripetal and centrifugal directions in political organization can occur without involving warfare at all.

Our explicit focus on the complexities of sociopolitical dynamics articulates with others who have undertaken such analyses, empirically and theoretically. As such, we do not see an anarchist analysis as replacing or otherwise superseding prior approaches, as Jangsuk Kim also notes. We do see it as illuminating social dynamics not previously well understood or appreciated. As we note in our original study, others have raised the key questions, particularly by those engaged in Marxist analyses. As such, we want to briefly address the connections several commenters have made concerning the relationship of an anarchist approach with other research strains in anthropology and archaeology, especially Marxism, heterarchy, complex adaptive systems, and networks.

An anarchist approach, as noted by many commentators and in our own historical overview of anarchism, shares many elements with Marxism. McGuire highlighted how both approaches lead to critical perspectives of class, capitalism, and authoritarianism. Kim describes how both Marxists and anarchists developed their theories while attempting to achieve ultimately similar goals and that the theories reflect varying strategies operationalized in revolutionary practice. At the same time, Estévez aptly reminds us that both anarchism and Marxism do not consist of singular modes of theory but that each encompasses numerous approaches. In a similar vein, David Graeber (2004:5–6) emphasized the strength of Marxism as theory and the effectiveness of anarchism as practice with respect to realizing the goals they share.

Some commenters also noted the limitations of our approach from a Marxist perspective. Both McGuire and Kim indicate that our approach seems limited for explaining the rise of more centralized authority, for instance, during the Marpole or Sí:yá:m Period. However, as Kenneth Ames points out, the origins of Northwest Coast inequality have long been studied, including by Ames himself (1994, 1995, 2010) and Grier (2003, 2006*a*, 2006*b*), among numerous others. While many intriguing and satisfying perspectives (Marxist and otherwise) exist on why inequality developed in Northwest Coast contexts, as Ames notes, the truly critical question remains why more political inequality (read: centralization) did not develop given the affluence and high degree of social differentiation that appears to have existed for many millennia.

Less theorized than the emergence of inequality has been how those in power are challenged and resisted. Cultural "climax periods" are often viewed as the product of elite actions, implying that nonelites passively accept such efforts or otherwise are only limited actors in such developments.

In times of perceived "decline," descriptions of how concentrations of power dissipated are common, with declines also framed from the perspectives of the elites. Explanations rarely involve the active resistance and challenge of such power, which is what we have attempted to provide in our study. For this, drawing on Marxism and anarchism, rather than a single canon, is perhaps the most appropriate way to approach complex histories. In the end, we endorse McGuire's call to explore the tensions between Marxism and anarchism. The long-standing debates since the mid-nineteenth century have been beneficial for both Marxist and anarchist theory, and we see no reason why this would not hold true for the debates within archaeology as well.

In the spirit of Feyerabend's (1986 [1975]) epistemological anarchism, worthwhile dialogues can also occur regarding anarchism and heterarchy as well as with network approaches, among which there are numerous shared aspects. Archaeological approaches to heterarchy, which Carole Crumley pioneered, share ties to currents in complex adaptive systems studies, which parallel the sociopolitical focus within anarchism on the ways in which decentralized structures are organized and maintained. As well recognized by Crumley, McGuire, and other commenters, dialectical motors of change are a key driver of history.

Bruce Granville Miller has described the importance of network theories in analyses of the Coast Salish, connecting this prevalence with our treatment of network forms of organization as a principle of anarchism. We have been struck by how many anthropologists studying the Coast Salish have turned to network models and their decentralized structure as an appropriate approximation of Coast Salish social relations. Miller added that these networks can and do readily incorporate spiritual entities as important nodes and actors. Here we have focused on sociopolitical aspects, but spirit powers clearly also substantiate the power or authority of Coast Salish leaders.

What we are drawn to in these related approaches to anarchism—Marxism, heterarchy, networks—is the emphasis on the social. As archaeologists who study human culture through time, it is important to keep our focus on the human history, as opposed to relying upon changes in the environment, climate, or ecological carrying capacity as the main interpretive framework for understanding change in the past. We do not deny the importance of the environmental context and climate oscillations—perennial emphases in explanations for Northwest Coast "complexity"—as clearly these factors constrain human actions (e.g., Trigger 1991). However, the focus should be on the evidence for social decisions made and political actions taken and on how communities responded to events and processes, whether environmental or social.

Such a focus on the social leads, however, to a complicated relationship with causality in archaeological explanations. As Arkush asks, were environmental factors key in driving the development of Coast Salish bilaterial kinship, which allowed for the residential mobility that formed the basis for individual strategies of resistance? Wayne Suttles (1987*c* [1960]) certainly raised such possibilities when he considered the effects of the patchy and variable Northwest Coast environment upon Northwest Coast societies. These are important questions to which we must turn to flesh out the longer-term histories we seek as archaeologists (see Grier and Kim [2012] for an example of this approach). The better answers, in our view, will come through considering reasons for action rather than physical causes and formal models of explanation.

As a form of analysis, anarchist theory can also lead to considerations of contemporary contexts, and McGuire offers some examples of how anarchist theory can inform contemporary practice and theory. This does go beyond the scope of our original study, but we agree that there is much that anarchist theory can illuminate (and critique) regarding the nature of archaeological authorities and the Western/capitalist context of modern archaeological work. It can highlight the importance, for instance, of collaborative archaeology, which mitigates the centralized authority structures that have dominated many archaeological projects in the past. Collaborative archaeologies recognize the numerous groups with stakes in archaeological heritage—particularly indigenous communities—and aim to build relationships in often bottom-up or grassroots fashion in a way that respects and recognizes shared interests and promotes mutual aid. Clearly there are many more elements of contemporary archaeology that could be pursued from an anarchist perspective.

Also from a contemporary perspective, Brian Thom raises some very important issues that go well beyond the scholarly intent of our paper but that are critical to address here, since we (who work with indigenous communities) take seriously the need to consider the impact of academic scholarship on indigenous communities. We think Thom has in some respects been too quick to see our effort as a violation of Deloria's first concern. Our goal is not to "use" Coast Salish history to develop a generalized model, as has been attempted often in the past, particularly with unilinear cultural evolution. Rather, our goal is to show that Coast Salish peoples—and their modern political and legal struggles for autonomy—are and have been part of the collective human history of resisting unjust authority and striving for self-determination. Such struggles, indigenous or not, should be accorded the legitimacy that all such movements warrant. Ironically, such values and actions are often mythologized in the constructed histories of modern nation-states (see, for instance, the anarchistic leanings of Thomas Paine prior to the American Revolution, challenging the authority of King George).

As scholars, we need to strive for accuracy in the way we characterize Coast Salish political dynamics rather than hedge our discourse because it may be misread, and we hope that our study will work to counter the "provocative label" issues that often plagues anarchism despite it being a theory about the self-organization of communities. We suspect Thom would agree that it is governments that must take the time

to understand the histories of indigenous peoples and resist forcing their political organization into Western categories. The Coast Salish strategy for ensuring self-determination may work against the desire of modern nation-states for negotiating with aggregated and centralized tribal entities. Indeed, from a Western perspective the dynamics of complex yet decentralized societies may be somewhat difficult to grasp, but that does not undermine their legitimacy.

Archaeologically, we appreciate the comment by Thom that it will take more than the data we have marshaled on cranial deformation to fully characterize the development of (and resistance to) elites in the Coast Salish region and on the Northwest Coast. As we mentioned in the article, there is likely very little new data that will be generated from mortuary contexts, as acquiring these data no longer forms a significant part of archaeological research on the coast. Overall, the archaeological record of sociopolitical change on the Northwest Coast remains frustratingly incomplete. Yet in recent years we have obtained a much better sense of change in the Coast Salish region, as Ames points out (see, e.g., Angelbeck 2009; Grier and Kim 2012; Schaepe 2009).

Similarly, Madonna Moss rightly points to the paucity of radiocarbon dates in the area for defensive sites; however, these sites have produced other indicators of their age, particularly in the form of time-diagnostic tool types. These tie defensive sites chronologically to the Late Period generally. What the extant radiocarbon dates do show, in contrast to past conceptions, is that warfare appears to decline in the centuries prior to contact, beginning about 500 BP. This corresponds well to Schaepe's recently named Sí:yá:m Age on the Fraser River, which he characterizes as the time of rise of greater power and control by powerful individuals and groups. Despite thin data, some trajectories of change in Coast Salish history are becoming clearer.

We close by adding that while past theoretical frameworks have been effective for understanding the actively maintained egalitarianism found among small-scale foragers and the political machinations involved in pyramidal chiefdoms and states, we turned to anarchism, in part, because existing approaches were ill fitted for characterizing societies such as the Coast Salish. In this way and based on the data we had available, we were drawn to anarchism as a productive body of theory to help us illuminate certain dynamics of their sociopolitical organization. In doing so, we hope that others may find the process useful and worthwhile not only for analyzing complex yet decentralized societies but for interpreting sociopolitical changes across a broad range of social formations, including centralized societies with formal governments. We hope to take the project forward and that such an effort contributes in part to a broader push to expand our understanding of the diversity of human societies, particularly at a time when a globalized and ever-changing world seeks to organize itself politically.

—Colin Grier and Bill Angelbeck

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