Trenches, Embankments, and Palisades: Terraforming Landscapes for Defensive Fortifications in Coast Salish Territory

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Abstract:
The Coast Salish hunter-gatherer fishers of the Northwest Coast built substantial defenses, involving the labor of multiple households and entire villages. These fortifications, perched upon high bluff promontories or at the points of narrow coastal sandspit ridges, often involved deep trenches and steep embankments that were enclosed by tall palisades of cedar planks. Such constructions would have dominated the viewshed of their seascape. In this presentation, I'll highlight the degree of terraforming involved in their constructions and consider the monumental aspects of these defensive works. Further, I will also address the collective monumentality of numerous sites, wherein fortifications appear to be built in conjunction with neighboring sites. In so doing, they exhibit both the material manifestation of their own autonomous power in defense at individual sites, while also establishing and signifying their allied power in closely-networked fortifications to serve needs at inter-community scales.

[*Preliminary Draft for Discussant Review]*

Session:

Terraforming and Monumentality in Hunter-Gatherer-Fisher Landscapes
Organizers: Colin Grier (WSU) and Margo Schwadron (NPS)

Session Abstract:
Monumental constructions, whether economic, political or symbolic in their origin and use, are integral to how hunter-gatherer-fisher (HGF) peoples have constructed and shaped their worlds over much of the Holocene. For this symposium we bring together studies from various areas of the globe to theorize about these practices, and to account for the complex and varied ways in which large-scale features were constructed and terraforming was practiced in HGF societies. While monumentality has been well-studied in early agricultural and later contexts, the record of HGF monuments is clearly extensive, and attests to a more complex engagement with material production, the construction of place, of identity, and of history than is recognized in the broader discipline. We seek to provide a set of theoretical and methodological tools to address this record.
Discussants: Timothy Pauketat (U of Illinois); Joshua Pollard (U Southhampton)

Introduction

The Coast Salish hunter-gatherer fishers of the Northwest Coast built substantial defenses, involving the labor of multiple households and entire villages. These fortifications, perched upon high bluff promontories or at the points of narrow coastal sandspit ridges, often involved deep trenches and steep embankments that were enclosed by tall palisades of cedar planks. Such constructions would have dominated the viewshed of their seascape.

Here, I'll highlight the degree of terraforming involved in their constructions and consider the monumental aspects of these defensive works. Further, I will consider how these represent two modalities of sociopolitical structure, involving both decentralized and centralized forms. Aspects of defensive sites are material manifestations of their political formations.

I will also address the collective monumentality of numerous sites, wherein fortifications appear to be built in conjunction with neighboring sites. In so doing, they exhibit both the material manifestation of their own autonomous power in defense at individual sites, while also establishing and signifying their allied power in closely-networked fortifications to serve needs at inter-community scales.

Autonomy in Architecture of Plankhouses

In the research of the Coast Salish, a common cultural trait is their emphasis on local group autonomy. This is something I've especially been focused on, in particular assessing autonomy through the material manifestations of features and artifact patterns at sites. There are ways to see it expressed in their economy (Angelbeck and Cameron 2014), politics (Angelbeck and Grier 2012), and even in religious expressions, both archaeologically and ethnographically (Angelbeck 2016).

One key example that expresses is architecturally in their villages. These were generally consisted of shed-roof plankhouses, which were highly flexible structures that could be added or reduced, dependent upon the size of the household (Suttles 1991). Given their bilateral kinship structure, Coast Salish individuals could opt to join either family after marriage, for instance, or at any other point. The house structure allowed for such flexibility. Further, these were generally occupied in winter, and otherwise were deconstructed as families took their planks to use as part of temporary shelters at seasonal camps throughout the rest of the year. Thus, the main village was only a winter village. The separation of the village households into seasonal camp groups exemplified the distributed nature of Coast Salish communities. Each was autonomous and pursued their own seasonal activities based on their kin ties. One can see this pattern as reflecting a social formation predominantly anchored in the household, consisting of numerous family groups, that assembles together with other households in winter villages, the largest congregation of Coast Salish individuals. Yet, this notion of a village contrasts with our own Western notions, wherein a village or town conveys greater coherency given it's year-round occupation. Coast Salish villages were annual and seasonal assemblies for the ceremonies in winter. For this reason, Homer Barnett stated that it may be better to conceptualize their villages as "clusters of households".

This is also represented in their distribution of villages as isolated houses dispersed along bends of a river, with some houses a mile apart from the other, yet conceptually identified as the same village, extending across miles of a river (Collins 1974:15-20).

This is the materialization of local autonomy as demarcated through their household architecture. Yet, there were also instances of collective materialization of village-scale unity, in the construction of fortifications.

Two Main Reasons for Village-Scale Coordination

Most chiefs' authority, in Coast Salish villages, generally extended to the limits of their household. As Suttles (1951:277) described, while one might be seen as a village chief, he more operated as a "potlatch organizer" for the village as a whole. Economically, households functioned autonomously for most tasks. But, when it came to the defense of the village, Suttles (1951:277) noted that the villagers generally worked together: "The village usually, though not always, functioned as a unit in defending itself against enemy attack. And the village might function as a unit in potlatching. But there were probably no other functions of a village as a whole."

When it came to defensive fortifications, the whole village might work on the fort's construction, as Julius Charles related to Suttles about the fort at Gooseberry Point (Suttles 1948[2]:83). So, just as the warrior's authority over the village is temporary, during times of attack, so is the operation of the community as a whole: it is done for defense, or perhaps for potlatches.

Trench Embankment fortification

Compared to plankhouses, trench-embankment fortifications were of substantial architectural scale. Many were situated upon high bluffs with broad views of the seascape. Steep bluffs, anywhere from 10 to 40 m high above the beaches below, naturally formed a major part of the defensive structure, while a trench and embankment were excavated along the exposed perimeter in flatter areas. Some took advantage of ravines along either or both sides, heightening naturally steep defenses. Others were situated on narrow and steep rocky headlands or high sandy peninsular spits that afford the broadest possible view. These constructions required significant investments of labour and likely were warranted only when warfare was commonplace.

Trench-embankment sites are the most broadly distributed type of defensive structure built by the Coast Salish, although there is a concentration or core area near the southern end of Vancouver Island.

Bluff-top defensive sites were placed high above the coast, anywhere generally from 10 to 40 m above sea level. The main defense was natural, consisting of the steep bluff which protects the front of the village. The setting generally provided a broad vantage point upon which to view incoming raiders as well. The edge of the bluff, however, only provided protection along the front, so in order to protect the back of the village, a trench was constructed, with the same principle as that of a moat in the Middle ages, although without water. The trench creates a steep defense along the unprotected perimeter along the sides and the back of the site, a cultural defense to complete the natural steep

defense. Some were placed adjacent to deep ravines along either (or both) sides of the site, generally gullies associated with intermittent creeks. These sites take advantage of natural defensiveness even further, with the front protected by the bluff and the sides by deep ravines. The defendants need only to create a shorter trench-embankment behind the village, a slight arc to connect the ravines.

A third type consisted of sites generally closer to sea level, on a minor peninsula or spit. The protected area is usually about 5 to 15 m above shoreline, but the naturally steep protection nearly encompasses the perimeter of the site and, in most cases, only a minor trench is needed across the neck of the peninsula.

A final location for trench-embankment fortification are on stony, peninsular headlands, jutting out into bays. Most are thus protected by bluff walls that drop into the water.

Bluff top fortifications

Cardale Point (DgRv-1)

Cardale Point is bluff-top trench-embankment on Valdes Island, on the first triangular point north of Porlier Pass (Figure 3). In his study of Shingle Point, the next spit on the same island to the north, Matson (2003:100) noted that the position of Cardale Point would allow for ready control of Porlier Pass, one of the few passages through the Gulf Islands between the mainland and Vancouver Island. There are two portions of the site, the defensive portion up on the bluff and the older midden below along the beach. Grier and McLay have dated both parts of site, with the lower occupation dating back over 4,000 years (4,130 ± 70 BP), while the fortification area dated to just over 500 years, with three dates ranging from 510 to 540 BP (Grier and McLay 2001; Grier et al. 2009; Angelbeck 2009b). A three-dimensional surface map of the site, produced with a total station, indicates its position and the shape of the trenches (see Figure 3); two photographs of the trench-embankment are also provided (Figures 4 and #).

The site exhibits an oblique, subrectangular trench-embankment that protects approximately 200 degrees or 55 percent of its perimeter, while the rest is along the bluff edge, 15 to 20 m above the spit. In the southern portion of the site, the trench branches in two sets of trenches about 20 m before the southern bluff edge. This might represent a rebuilding and restaging of the trench, although since both maintain form, I argue that it likely was a doubly protected entrance into the fort.

The trench that lines the back perimeter is also quite deep, taking advantage of the natural prominence. The trench is so deep that it effectively serves as a double protection—the outer embankment of nearly 2 m (at 45 degree slope) would have to be breached, then a half-meter descent into the trench before a 55 to 60 degree slope up 2.5 m towards the top, where the base of the palisade wall would be located (Figure 5).

Core-sampling of the trench profile revealed, similar to other trench-embankment investigations (e.g., Mitchell 1968; Buxton 1969), the slope was steepened by the trench with the excavated matrix mounded in front of the trench (Figure 6). This resulted in the removal of natural surface horizons in the trench area and natural substratums overlying prior surface horizons in the embankment area. During our exposure of the trench and embankment, we also encountered a clear distinction between

the midden in the interior, which exhibited a hard demarcation that likely indicated the placement of the palisade wall. It also exhibited a small postmould also at the top of the trench (Angelbeck 2009b).

Peninsular spits

High sandy peninsular spits are also selected for trench-embankment sites. Peninsular settings, again, generally provide the greatest amount of natural protection in a perimeter, requiring only a single trench minimally across the neck of the peninsula. At Cadboro Bay, however, three trenches were implemented, according to drawings of Newcombe (n.d.; see Figure #, see pg. ?) in the early 1900s. Sites on peninsular spits are in locations that typically have other functions besides defense. Sand spits were often near dense clam beds and likely were good areas for fishing. Hence the midden surrounding or near the defensive site there could be quite deep, while the middens within the actual protected area might still be shallow and spotty. I describe two examples, both from the Northern Gulf Islands.

Rebecca Spit (EaSh-6)

Rebecca Spit is a defensive site situated at the front of a sand spit on Quadra Island. The trench embankment is semirectangular, designed to steepen the slopes and add obstacles along the southern front and western approach. Along the back to the north, a longer trench extends nearly 50 metres across to the eastern slope, which is naturally steep. Rebecca Spit is the most extensively excavated defensive site in the Coast Salish region. Donald Mitchell (1968) conducted those excavations, including a total of sixteen excavation units covering multiple aspects of the site, such as interior midden areas, the fortified wall along the perimeter, and several profiles of the trench-embankment feature. A surface map is provided of the site (Figure 7), which is reconstructed based on the contour map provided by Mitchell (1968:30, Figure 1).

Mitchell noted that Heriot Bay was the largest village close to Rebecca Spit, located two kilometres (1.3 mi) to the west of Rebecca Spit, while another semicircular trench-embankment (EaSh-9) is located even closer, just 1.6 km (1 mi) to the south.

Within the upper, protected area of the site, Mitchell determined that there were three small house platforms, suggesting less permanent structures than plankhouses at residential villages. He interpreted these structures as "temporary," however, there was evidence that these were still "fairly substantial dwellings" (Mitchell 1968:44). This indicates a lengthy occupation, if not a primary residence. Mitchell (1968:45) pointed out that the absence of readily accessible fresh water would make it "untenable for great lengths of time"; moreover, the midden areas within the walls of the site were "so shallow that we are led to conclude the [site was] occupied for relatively short periods." Instead of a blanket of midden across the interior of the fortification, there was was a scatter of shallow deposits with most near the "inner lip" of the perimeter. One hundred and twenty-seven artifacts were recovered. These were interpreted as a single assemblage, and these included a chipped stone point, ground slate point, knife, scrapers, and abrasive stones. Bone artifacts were more numerous, including 56 bone points (or bone point fragments) of various styles (barbed, blunt-based, wedge-based, and spindle-shaped bipoints). While it is known that many of these bone point types can or did serve as points for subsistence—arming harpoons, fish hooks, leisters, or fish rakes—most of these point styles can serve as arrowpoints. Mitchell (1968:37-38) noted that the Comox Coast Salish, who had lived in the area when

Rebecca Spit was occupied, used several styles as points for arrows. Given the context of a fortification site, it is more likely that many of these points served defensive rather than subsistence function. Along the perimeter of the site's high ground, Mitchell's excavations indicated the presence of stakemolds; he provided a profile of a postmould from the top of the western trench-embankment (Figure 8). In some units, they recovered the remains of cedar stakes. This and other stakes revealed in postmoulds were "clearly pointed" for insertion vertically into the ground (Mitchell 1968:40). This line of stakes marked a "vertical break" of the midden area of gravel and shell inside the wall. The pattern of stakemolds along the outer perimeter suggested to Mitchell (1968:33, 44) a "light barricade." Or, since these were so widely spaced, these may have indicated light posts supporting a wall of horizontal cedar planks, similar to the construction of Coast Salish plankhouse walls. Excavations of the trench-embankment feature indicated that subsequent site formation processes have somewhat obscured the depth of these trenches. For instance, the western portion was 70 cm deeper than the contemporary surface indicated, resulting in a depth of 1.3 m behind the front embankment (Mitchell 1968:33). Making a case for defensiveness, Mitchell (1968:45) concluded "In each case the ditches and walls serve to isolate a habitation area, and the most obvious explanation for their presence is that their construction was primarily for protection."

Rocky headlands

Trench-embankments constructed upon rocky headlands exhibit a similar strategy as that employed at sandy peninsular spits in that only a narrow neck of land is trenched. Otherwise, the landforms are quite different. While sand spits were often near beaches and clam beds, rocky headlands are surrounded by cliffs or rocky shorelines. In some cases, defensive sites on rocky headlands often exhibit minor midden areas, simply because some have less areas of soil development.

Manor Point (DbRv-13)

Manor Point is located near the southernmost tip of Vancouver Island, on a stony promontory facing eastward in the general area of Rocky Point; an area associated with the highest concentration of rock cairns in the Coast Salish area (Mathews 2006). In fact, one rock cairn is located about 30 m to the west of the trenched area. Between the promontory and the mainland where the cairn is located, the landform narrows at the neck of the headland with steep, ten-metre drops to rocky shores along the north and south; a surface map of the site is provided as well as a photograph of the trench from the highest point on the bluff behind the trench (Figures 12 and 13).

The feature is distinguished from other sites of this type in that it is mostly a trench, and does not exhibit an embankment in front of the trench. The trench, however, is more substantial than most, with a depth of nearly a metre along the front, and generally three to four metres wide. This accentuates the height of the rocky wall behind the trench, which is over seven metres at the highest point from the top of the wall to the base of the trench.

The main area behind the trench consists mostly of exposed bedrock, approximately 65 by 40 m, with only spotty and shallow areas of soil situated primarily in niches between stony outcrops; these contained minor deposits with cultural material such as lithic debitage. For this reason any structures

within would likely have been light and would have to be set up on top of the exposed rock. Areas of rock outcroppings could have been used as naturally protective walls near the perimeter.

Estimates regarding Terraforming & Construction

Labour Organization

One striking aspect of these fortification sites, particularly the trench-embankment sites and the stockades, is the amount of labour required to build them. Julius Charles told Suttles (1948[2]:83) that, while the man with the carpenter power, Xwłe'yukw, led the construction, the "Whole tribe worked on fort." In another interview, Charles told Suttles (1949 [5]:70) that the "Lummi didn't go month [away]. Had to build forts to protect the people." That is, the Lummi forewent other activities so that they could invest time in building a fort for a month. During that time, they had to rely on stores of food instead of building up their surpluses. Also, while Xwłe'yukw led the people of his own village to build a fort, Charles said that the Lummi did not have a man with such power and had to hire a Samish man, named Syəqwa'nəq, to lead the construction (Suttles 1949 [5]:70). So, in addition to investing labour for its construction, the Lummi also had to hire a specialist to direct and plan the work.

As fortifications generally had room for a few households, the hiring and construction likely would have been shared by the household chiefs, each expending some capital for such investments. They might also earn some social and symbolic capital through the organization of such efforts, just as elites might earn capital through organizing household activities, as detailed by Grier (2001) for a Dionisio Point household, and others (e.g., Arnold 1993). The construction of fortifications indicates a further extension of controlling or organizing household labour. Indeed, the fear of attack can be ideologically used to garner support for such efforts.

Ames et al. (1992) have provided some insight into the amount of labour required for a single plankhouse for the Meier site in Oregon. They determined that one house required about 40,000 board feet in building and maintenance throughout the duration of its occupation, about four hundred years. Large numbers of planks and posts were used in stockades as well. And, these had to surround not just one house but multiple houses. For refuge sites, boards may have been borrowed from the main village, as was done for some seasonally occupied villages, leaving mainly the framework of posts—these skeletal houses gave early explorers the idea that these villages were abandoned. From Suttles' (1951) and Stern's (1934) descriptions, the palisade walls were constructed and do not appear to rely on planks from their houses for temporary installation. For defense, it likely was more effective to have walls in place and ready to protect as soon as needed, although interior structures might have reused portable wall planks from their residential villages.

For most stockades, a palisade surrounded the full perimeter of a site, however, Barnett (1955:38) reported that only the "most vulnerable sector" was stockaded. In his excavations at Towner Bay, Mitchell (1968) found, parallel to the trench, a row of five stakes eight cm in diameter that were placed high and inside the trench-embankment, each of which was 25 cm apart. Again, at Rebecca Spit, Mitchell (1968:32) encountered a row of stake remains at the top of the trench. And, as Kane (1971 [1847]) noted, when he visited the fort at I-eh-nus, there were two walls: an inner wall that was only 5 feet high, but the outer one with boards 20 feet high. I-eh-nus also was shown with planks, in contrast

to other descriptions of a wall of posts from young trees, which seems similar to what Mitchell (1968) uncovered.

Among the sites in the northern Gulf of Georgia, surrounding Smelt Bay, the inner protected areas of trench-embankment sites (meaning the area within the innermost trench) average 48 m by 24 m, however, from the description of Snatelum Point on Whidbey Island, the wall must have been at least 145 to 285 m long and 35 to 50 m wide to enclose the numerous plankhouses end on end within (Bryan 1963:47-48).

We must keep in mind that more than just stockade walls are involved in construction. If a trench was present, a significant amount of earth movement was conducted to create trenches commonly 2 m deep and 1 to 1.5 m wide and extending up to 140 m in length as they protract in subrectangular fashion from bluff edge to bluff edge, as at Cardale Point. Julius Charles described other constructions for one fort, as Suttles (1949 [5]:83) quickly recorded:

Fort—land sloping all around fence. 3 tiers of tunnels with loopholes. Inside [were] 2 houses [with] shed roofs plank walls. Fence has kind of sidewalk around with wall up to climb.

Tunnels for escape or entry require additional excavation and camouflage to obscure. Entranceways would have needed boards for closing and locking, and stockade walls require supports and cross-beams, and—as Charles described—a high "sidewalk" for defense and a lookout. Lookout towers and areas would require additional construction, as would torchlights. Then, additional efforts were also required, including the making of weapons, assembling large rocks for tossing down from the fort or gathering pitch for torches. Some also added carved elements for intimidation or display of spirit powers, as at the fort at Lyackson on Shingle Point that Bishop Demers visited (Theodore 1939:187), and these carvings may have required additional hiring of specialists.

Fortifications as an Expression of a Centralized Sociopolitical Modality

From these examples of trench-embankment fortifications and other defenses, it is clear that Coast Salish hunter-gatherers expended a great of resources and labor towards the creation of defenses, and they did this at a variety of scales, from the household to the village. Here, my interest has focused on the trench-embankment fortifications as the materialization of multi-household coordination. In the process, they often shifted from their common preference for local group autonomy towards one that included following the directions of a leader. This can be seen as two different modalities: one decentralized and heterarchical, the other centralized and hierarchical. These substantial fortifications visible on the landscape throughout the Salish Sea upon prominent headlands, bluff-tops, or distinctive spits would have conveyed to those that saw them, the materialization of coordinated action.

This shift to a centralized and hierarchical modality is not just assumed by singular construction from generally independent groups. It is attested to by Salish elders interviewed by Wayne Suttles and others. In the Haro Straits, Suttles recorded that an individual knowledgable of engineering and military strategy were hired by a chief to lead construction of a fort. This is an extension of their cultural practice, discussed above, that defense was one of the two main instances in Coast Salish cultural life in which they coordinated action as a village. In times of attack, able fighters (notably including men and some women) followed the direction of the warrior, which was one of their few specializations (in

addition to the chiefs and shamans). By following the direction of a single lead warrior, they enabled quicker defensive responses to threats as well as the implementation of offensive tactics. In terms of warfare, centralization has certain advantages to the more deliberative, council-based decision-making processes that villages and households typically engaged in, as those practices required time to build consensus. The authority of the warrior, however, was temporary. Once the threat of attack diminished or the battle ended, the authority reverted in decentralized fashion to the household chiefs (Smith 1940). In this way, the fortifications themselves, are an instantiation and materialization of this collective modality that is hierarchical and singular, as opposed to residential constructions that exhibit decentralized tendencies, as with the dispersed distribution of the villages along bends and stretches of the Skagit River.

In other work, I have argued that there are economically shifting modalities of sociopolitical organization for a variety of subsistence activities as part of their seasonal round (Angelbeck in press). Accordingly, some activities were performed by nuclear families or households in generally egalitarian fashion. Yet, during other periods of the annual round, there were times when households conjoined their efforts under the leadership of a particular chief—a classic case is reef-net fishing, in which large teams worked together at owned reef-netting sites during peak salmon runs. Thus, there are several ways to approach these shifting modalities of sociopolitical experience throughout the year.

A recent study makes such a case with a focus on the Upper Paleolithic and early Neolithic. Wengrow and Graeber (2015) have pointed to the unusually rich burials of the Mesolithic for instance in [check site]. They note that these were unexpected. Some have been argued away sometimes as not being hierarchical—yet had they they found in a later time period, the assumption that these were higher ranked individuals would have been uncontested, even assumed. They point out that we need to move beyond simplistic notions of egalitarian versus hierarchical societies, and begin to recognize that many cultures regard these as modes to enter into, dependent upon the year. Annual gatherings in many cultures serve as times for hierarchical forms of power, as with the buffalo hunt on the Plains, while the rest of the year is spent in a much more decentralized fashion.

They even use a Northwest Coast example of this, showing that names of the Kwakwaka'wakw individuals would change. They would generally go by their main name in times of decentralized rounds, but during periods of winter gatherings, they assumed their given name, indicating their status and rank relative to others.

They also point to Göbekli Tepe as a possible scenario for such gatherings, as did Conkey for the Upper Paleolithic sites.

While Wengrow and Graeber (2015) focused on ritual aspects, and I have previously focused on economic aspects, these shifting modalities indicate that complex hunter-gatherers often engaged in a richer array of sociopolitical formations than they are often attributed. And, here, the example of defensive fortifications, they materialize the centralized modality in the substantial constructions throughout prominent points of land throughout the Salish Sea.

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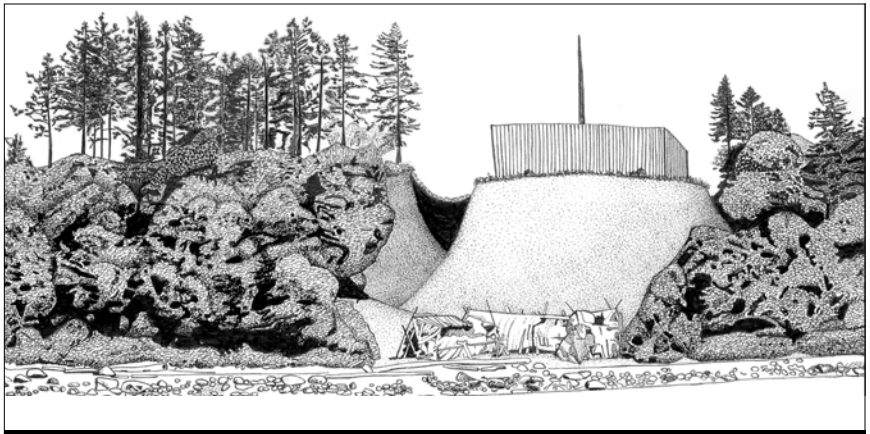

TRENCHES, EMBANKMENTS, AND PALISADES
TERRAFORMING LANDSCAPES FOR DEFENSIVE FORTIFICATIONS IN COAST SALISH TERRITORY

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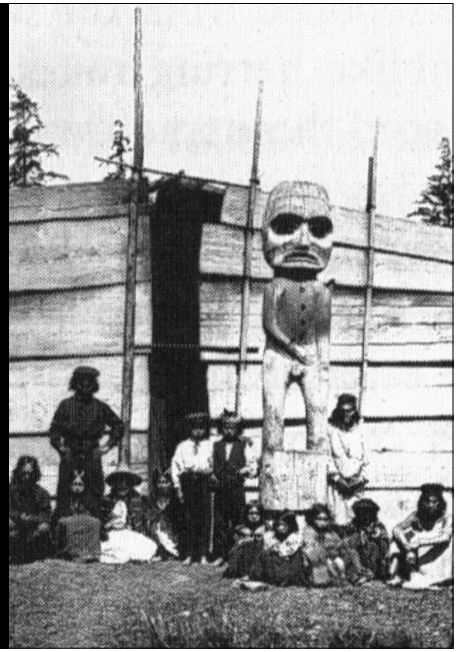
PLAN OF ATTACK

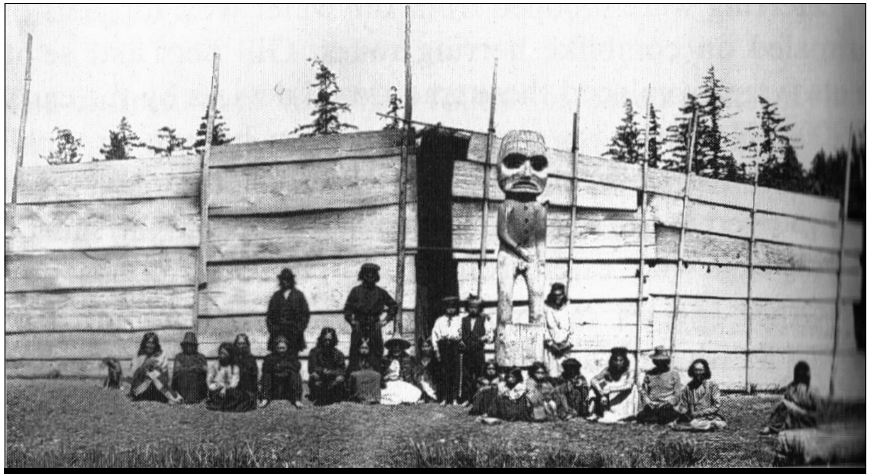
- Assess the **scale of terraforming for fort construction** among Coast Salish complex hunter-gatherers of the Late Period (centralized).
  - Contrast this against the common **residential constructions** (decentralized).
- Consider the **materialization of two political modalities**: one hierarchical, the other heterarchical.

British Columbia portions (Northern & Central) is mostly unceded traditional territory of Coast Salish peoples.

RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

- Shed-roof plankhouse
- Villages as "clusters of plankhouses", often widely dispersed.
- Decentralized Modality





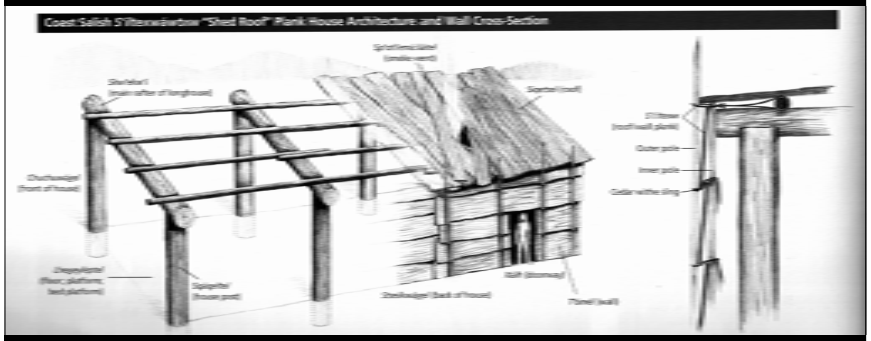
SHED-ROOF PLANKHOUSE, COMOX, 1866

Provincial Archives, Victoria

Royal B.C. Mus., Victoria: PN 6810.
Fig. 13. Potlatch. The hosts sit on the roof of the house with the gifts to be distributed. The guests sit on the ground. A mat screen at the base of the house is for use of ceremonial participants. Photograph by Richard Maynard, Old Songhees, B.C. 1872.

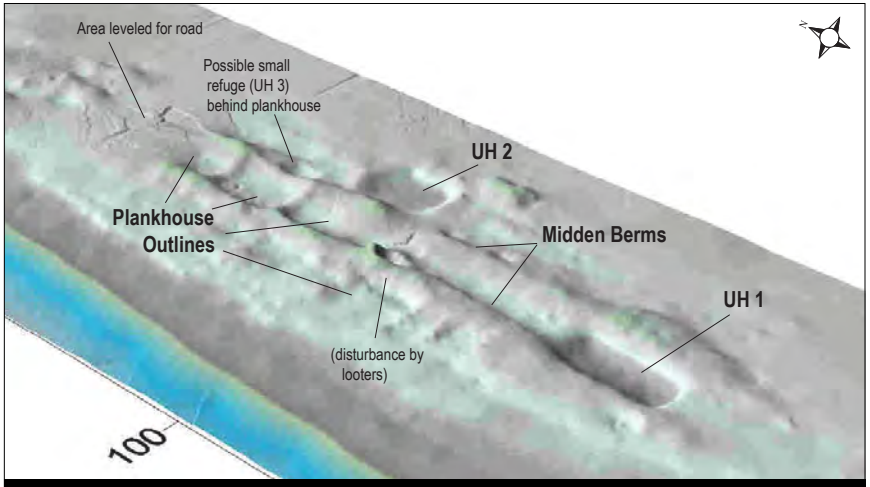
SHED-ROOF PLANKHOUSE, SONGHEES, 1872

Handbook of North American Indians (Suttles 1990)



SHED-ROOF PLANKHOUSE CONSTRUCTION

Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas (Carlson 2001)



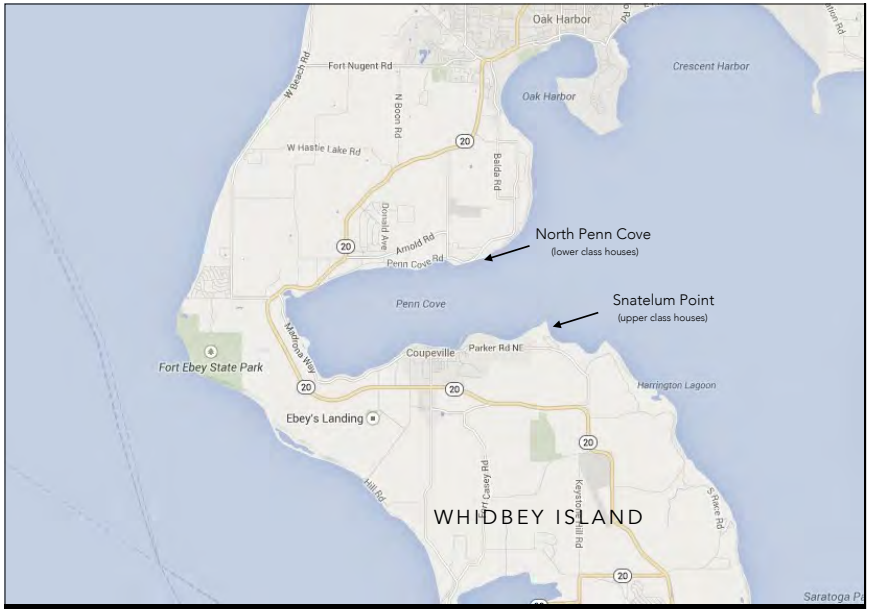
REMAINS OF A PLANKHOUSE VILLAGE

Angelbeck, Bill
2016 The balance of autonomy and alliance in anarchic societies: the organization of defences in the Coast Salish past. *World Archaeology* 48(1):51-69.

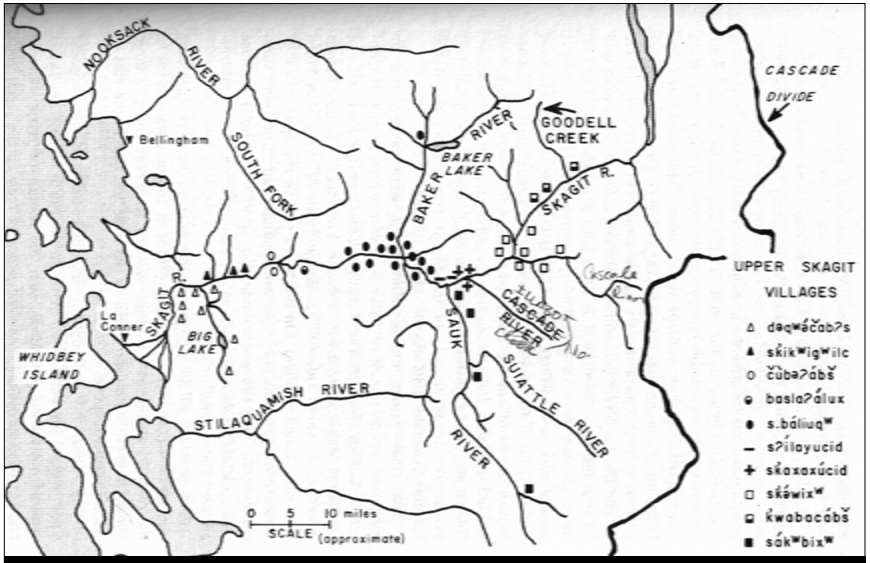
CHARACTERIZATIONS OF COAST SALISH LOCAL GROUP AUTONOMY

Category	Characterization
Regional Group / Tribe	"clusters of villages" (Kennedy 2000:3)
Village	"house clusters" (Barnett 1955:253)
Household	Bilateral Kinship options; flexible membership (Suttles 1987); "cluster of families" (Angelbeck 2014 NWAC)
Individual	"atomistic" (Mitchell 1992); strong "individualism" (Suttles 1987; Amoss 1978)

GRAY'S HARBOUR, SLIAMMON TERRITORY



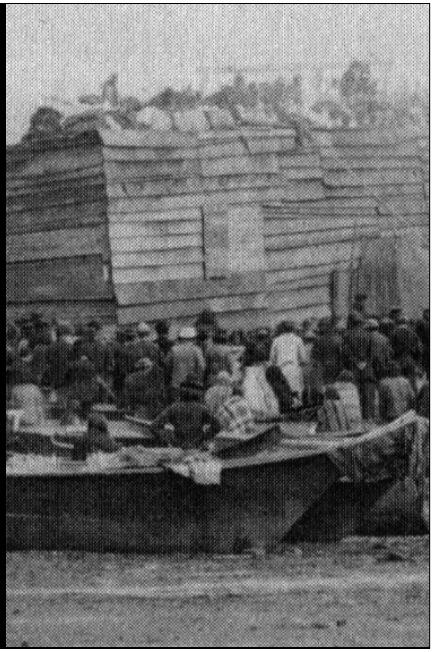
PENN COVE, LOWER SKAGIT TERRITORY



Map of Upper Skagit Coast Salish Collins 1974

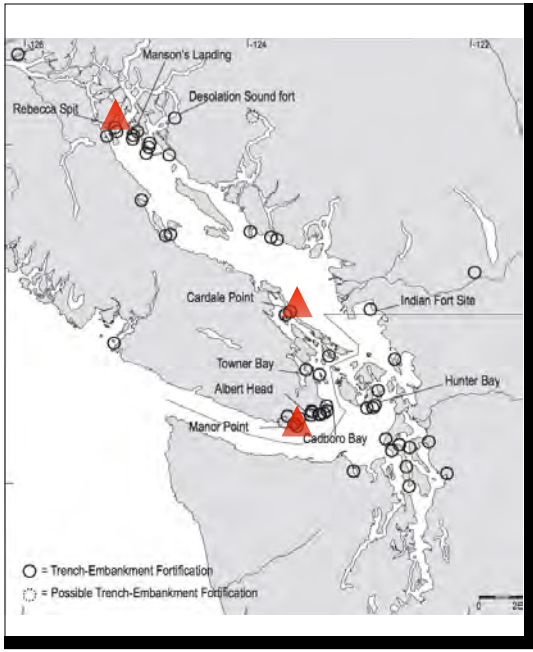
RESIDENTIAL VILLAGES

- Heterarchical in political authority
- Each household headed by it's own chief or leader
- Decentralized modality



"The village usually, though not always, functioned as a unit in defending itself against enemy attack. And the village might function as a unit in potlatching. But there were probably no other functions of a village as a whole."

WAYNE SUTTLES



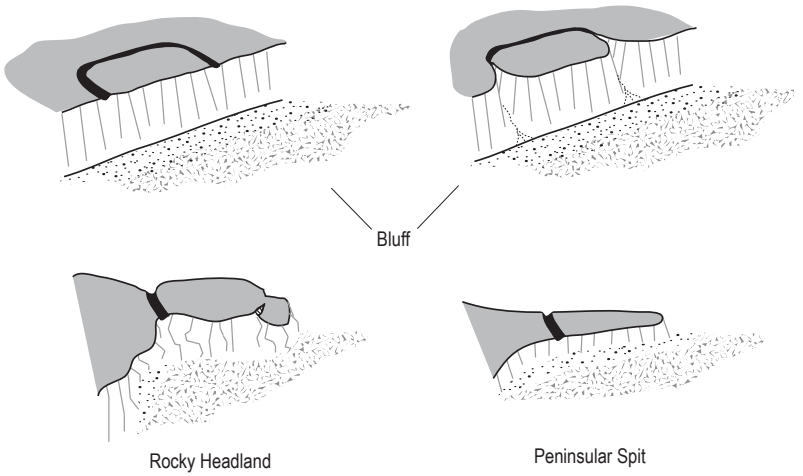
DEFENSIVE SITES

- Trench-Embankment Fortifications
- Labor Organization
- Centralized Modality

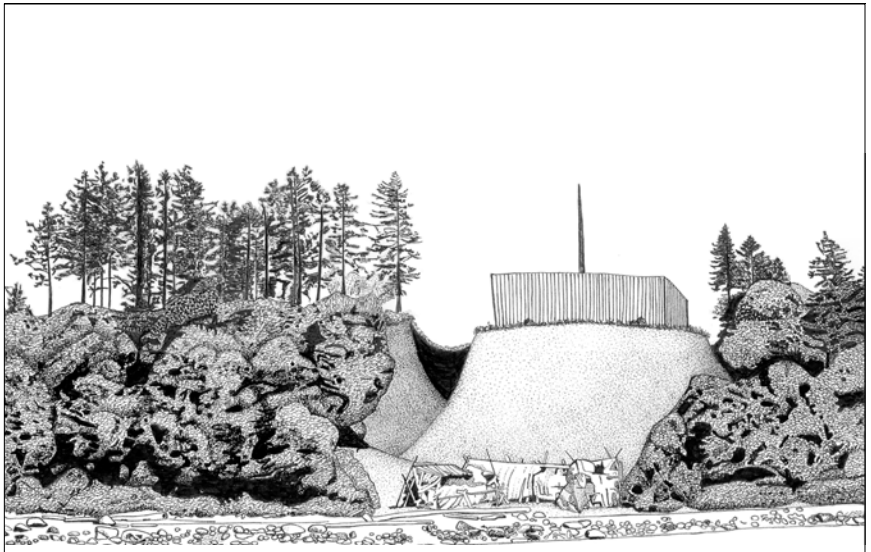
WARRIORS

- One of several specialized occupations
- Centralized leaders in times of attack and defense; authority is situational and temporary.
- Authority ends with the end of the conflict
- Construction of forts also singularly headed.

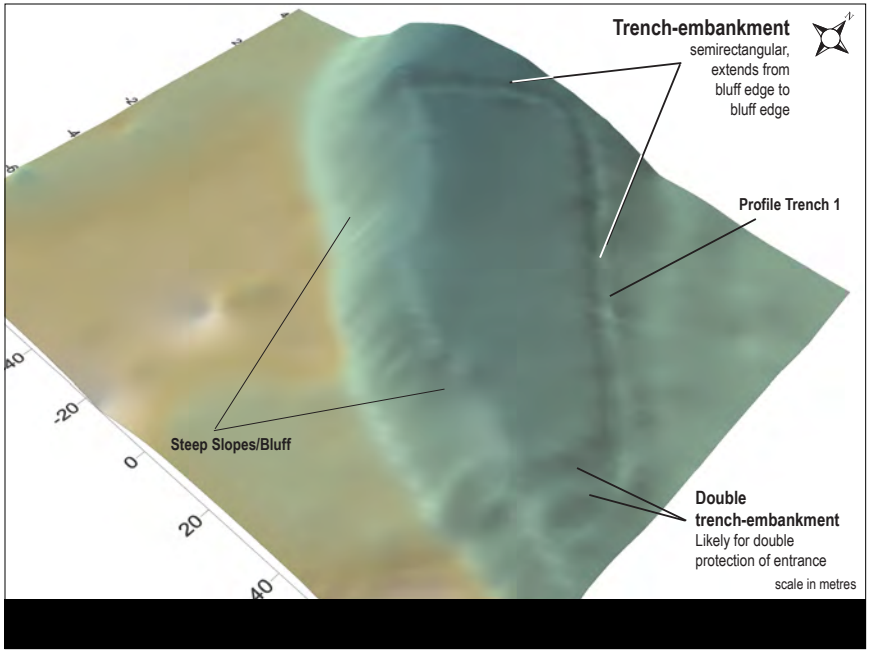
Edward Curtis (1913), *Cowichan Warrior*

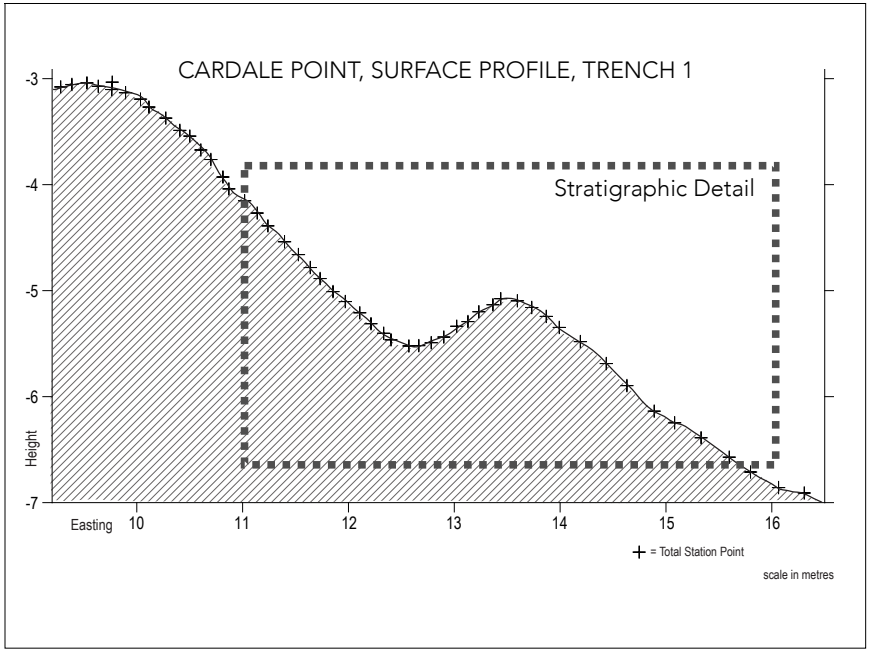


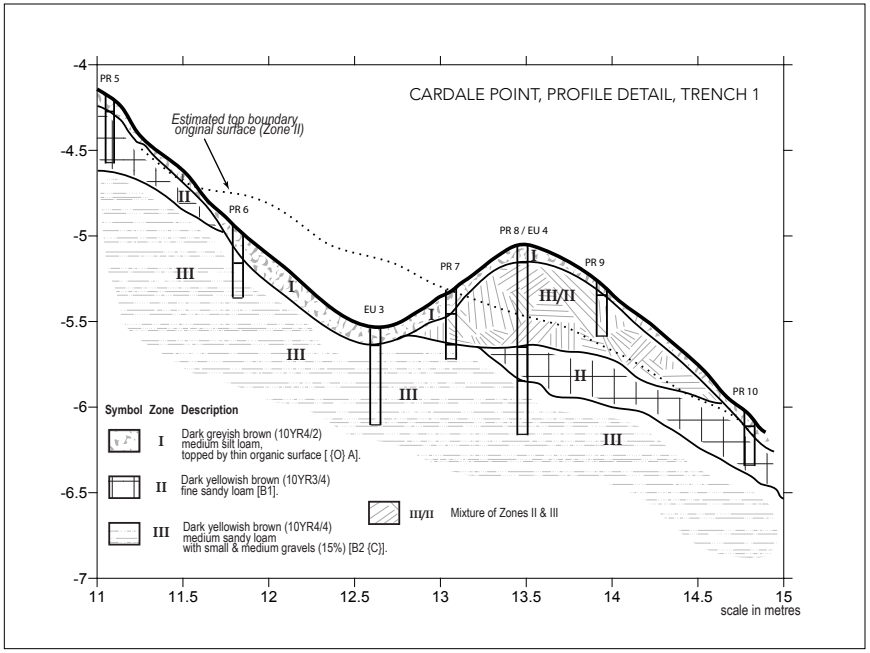
Angelbeck, Bill 2016 The balance of autonomy and alliance in anarchic societies: the organization of defences in the Coast Salish past. *World Archaeology* 48(1):51-69.

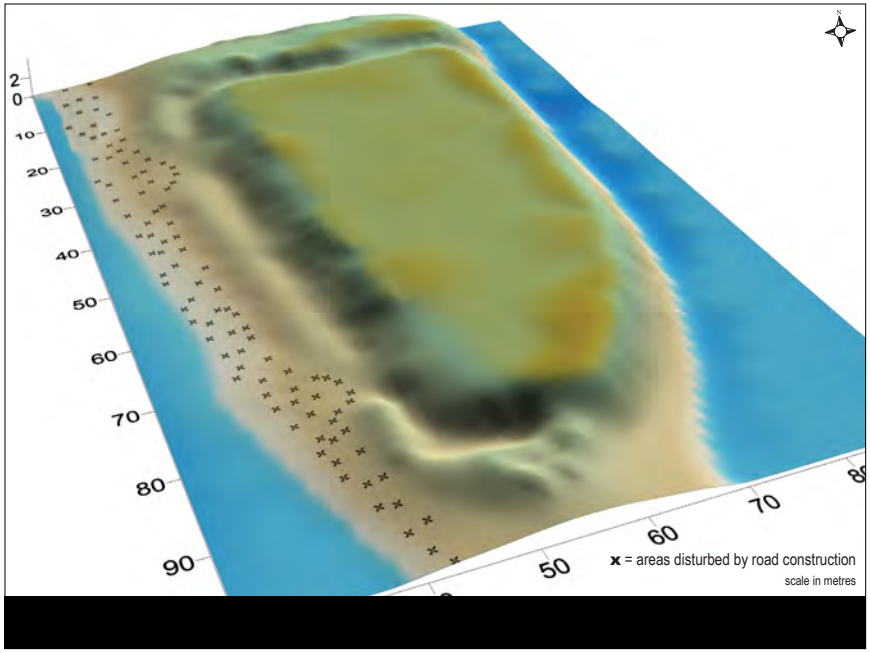


Artist's depiction of Indian Fort Site (Site DgRr-5), by Don Welsh, based on the oral histories recorded by Wayne Suttles









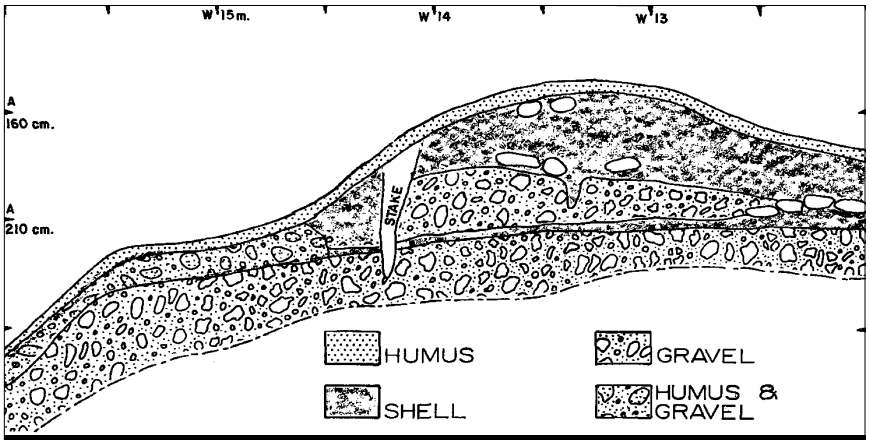
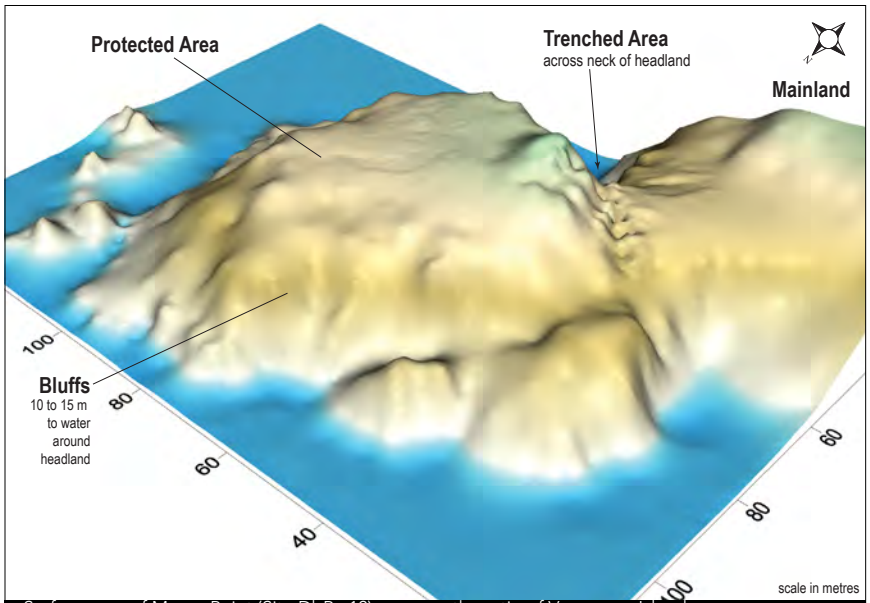


Figure 1: Mitchell's (1968:32, Figure 4) stratigraphic profile of the top portion of the western trench-embankment feature, showing stakemould of barricade and midden material abruptly stopping at barricade wall.



Surface map of Manor Point (Site DbRv-13), near southern tip of Vancouver Island. LiDAR provided by Darcy Mathews; map by B. Angelbeck.

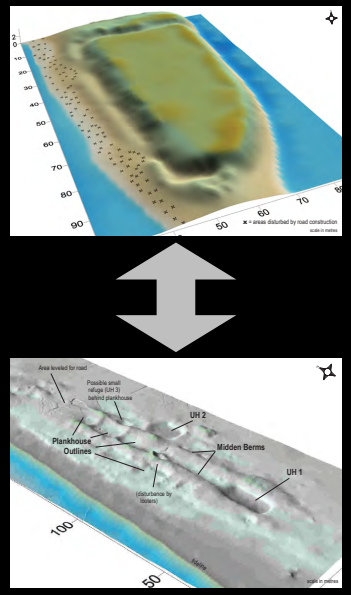
MANOR POINT TRENCH

View of defensive outer trench at Manor Point (Site DbRv-13), near southern tip of Vancouver Island.

(Pete Dady in trench; Bill Angelbeck on western outer portion of trench feature; panoramic photograph by Darcy Mathews).

TWO POLITICAL MODALITIES

- Commonly **decentralized** as expressed in plankhouse villages
- Times exist for **centralized** formations, notably in defense (also, potlatching)
- Both exhibit the **materialization** in the archaeological record



TWO MODES ECONOMICALLY

- Variance in economic modalities throughout the seasonal rounds

Centralized Mode of Production

Decentralized Mode of Production

Angelbeck, Bill
in press Applying Modes of Production Analysis to Non-State or Anarchic Societies: Shifting From Historical Epochs to Seasonal Microscale. In *Modes of Production in Archaeology,* edited by Robert Rosenswig and Jerimy Cunningham. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

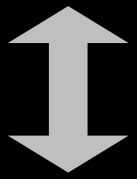
Are rituals and ritual seasons expressions of arbitrary authority or venues of social creativity?… Were our earliest ancestors simple and egalitarian, or complex and stratified?… Perhaps all these questions blind us to what really makes us human, which is our capacity – as moral and social beings – to negotiate between such alternatives.

WENGROW & GRAEBER (2015:613)

Wengrow, David, and David Graeber
2015 Farewell to the "childhood of man": Ritual, seasonality, and the origins of inequality. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (NS) 21:597-619.

HIERARCHY

Centralized Authority



HETERARCHY

Decentralized Authority

BILL ANGELBECK

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